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victory**

2 Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 OJW
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 71) 627 4449
Telex 261 735 SISEC G
Telefax (44 71) 720 4448
or (44 71) 498 1293
Cables INTESOCN LONDON SW4

Publisher and editor

Luis Ayala
Editorial consultant
Hugh O'Shaughnessy

WOMEN & POLITICS

Publisher and editor
Maria Jonas

Subscriptions

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

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VICTORY IN SPAIN

The victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, and the subsequent appointment of its leader Felipe González as head of government consolidate social progress in Spain. The Spanish electorate has decisively rejected the policies on offer from the right.

The PSOE victory, however, is clearly of more than local interest. It sends out a strong and clear message worldwide about the vitality and popularity of social democracy and the principles for which the member parties of the Socialist International stand.

The election results in Spain show that democratic socialism is alive and energetic in southern Europe in the same way as the return to power of the Social Democrats earlier in the year in Denmark demonstrated that fact in northern Europe. Indeed the ideals of our International are steadily being put into practice from Madrid to Canberra, from Kingston to Copenhagen.

CONSTANT VALUES, NEW SOCIAL MODELS

The socialist struggle is at its most significant when defending our universal values all over the world - the values of freedom, social justice, solidarity, peace, democracy and human rights. Social democracy embodies those values and they have not been eroded by time - on the contrary, we have only to look around us, in Europe, all around the world, to see that people have not rejected them.

Right now we can greet the victory of Felipe González and the PSOE in Spain. We can hail the recent victory of our member parties in Denmark, in Ireland, in Australia, and in Senegal. And we can reasonably hope for successes to come in Germany, in Great Britain, in Greece, in Finland, and in Sweden, and for a brilliant re-endorsement in Austria.

The Socialist International is patiently weaving its tapestry. One notable step forward is the establishment in Europe of the Party of European Socialists, led by Willy Claes. We are redoubling our efforts to expand our organisation in Latin America and in Africa, and to ensure our foothold in Asia.

Of course, in order to surmount the current crisis the SI must adapt to change; we must adapt to a deep-seated transformation whose origins reach well beyond the collapse of communism. Many would have us believe that that collapse is synonymous with an inevitable victory for capitalism and, indeed, that is a challenge we must take up, but at the same time I note that the Socialist International has never received as many applications for membership as we are receiving today from those fighting for justice, progress and the rule of law in the countries of the third world.

As for those democratic forces born out of the break with communism, we intend to open up new forms of dialogue with them. This has been the case with the Italian Democratic Party of the Left, whose evolution led to their becoming full members of our International last September, and who have recently, in the midst of considerable difficulties, had a real success in the municipal elections. In eastern Europe, we shall also be carrying this forward through our recently established European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity.

In France we have, of course, suffered a heavy defeat. But the picture of socialism around the world is one of contrasts: in one place defeat, in another victory. Today no less than yesterday, our struggle is a difficult one and socialism is still a new idea to be put into practice. Today no less than yesterday, this struggle is often a tragic one demanding sacrifices from its active participants.

In Slovenia, in Macedonia, in Croatia, even in Serbia, and especially in Bosnia, our comrades are risking their lives to fight against the intolerable manifestations of crude nationalism. I would like to pay particular tribute to the social democratic mayor of the town of Tuzla, which has been under siege for months, and to the president, also a social democrat, of the multi-ethnic parliament of Bosnia.

I think also of our comrades Hocine Ait-Ahmed of Algeria and Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, who are waging their struggle against religious extremism in difficult conditions. Nor can I refrain from mentioning the dramatic developments in Algeria. The rise of fundamentalism is not just a problem for the Arab countries. We accord full respect and recognition to the religion and the identity of a people. But we cannot keep silent about attacks on human rights. Totalitarianism always works in the same way. First they burn the books; then they kill the intellectuals; finally they take the whole people hostage. Algeria is close and dear to me as a Frenchman, and I must express my

SI President Pierre Mauroy reflects on the state of democratic socialism worldwide.

revulsion at the murder of seven intellectuals whose only crime was wanting to build bridges between Islam and the West.

I think of our friend Rigoberta Menchú, the Nobel Peace laureate, who is carrying on her courageous battle for the freedom and dignity of the Indian people in Guatemala and Central America. I think of my friend Michel Ascueta, the former mayor of Villa El Salvador and hero of the slums of Lima, who was recently injured in a cowardly attack by the Shining Path.

In places where the lot of socialists is less hard, their struggle is no less symbolic of the values we defend. Particularly where human dignity is at stake, socialists never miss an appointment with honour.

In Germany, the SPD is working courageously to combat the flood of violence against the Turkish minority, as we are working in France against the new laws introduced by the Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, which idly cast suspicion on all foreigners and exacerbate divisions instead of easing them.

Among these highly symbolic struggles I naturally include that for the rights of women, the progress needed to ensure their equality in the workplace and equal access to political power. In this context I salute the Socialist International Women and their president, Anne-Marie Lizin.

These struggles which are ours today are the same ones which generations of socialists have been waging in their own countries and worldwide. Of course, there has been great progress on democracy and human rights. After the collapse of the Berlin Wall, in 1989 and 1990 a tidal wave swept away many dictatorships, in Africa, in Latin America and in Asia, and opened up a breach in the wall of apartheid, showing us a view of a new world order.

But the organisation of collective security is coming about far too slowly for our taste. The great powers are still too often reacting as though the world was structured on East-West confrontation, and the United Nations, with inadequate financial resources and too few troops, is too often faced with a fait accompli. This new world order that we are seeking must be one where peoples and states are treated equally, or it will be going against the very principle of collective security and the organisation charged with ensuring that security.

The case of the former Yugoslavia shows exactly how not to do things. Of course, military intervention can solve nothing unless it is based on a clear political project. Of course it is difficult to go against the will of small states seeking their independence. Of course the blue helmets have, by their presence, saved the lives of thousands of men and women, and humanitarian intervention is a new right which we welcome.

And yet, we are sickened by the crimes committed and our impotence gnaws at our consciences. We Europeans must draw the consequences of this ghastly war by showing greater presence, firmness, will and clarity; and by resolutely pursuing the political construction of a Europe able to throw its weight behind peace.

All these struggles are our struggles. We find in them today's expression of our combat, and of the combat waged by Willy Brandt, whose memory and whose key role in the development of our International I salute. He is the man who, as I have said in the past, believed we cannot yet foresee what is possible.



6 I am convinced that social democracy represents the hopes of most people in Europe, and no doubt in much more of the world. Everywhere in Europe, the middle classes, who have become more and more important, and the working class, aspire to what social democracy offers. The challenge now is to convince them that this social guarantee now requires major reforms and changes.

We are at one of those junctures when for everything to continue everything must change. This will be the great difficulty for those in power in the times to come. It is also the reason why the Right everywhere in Europe is resigned, and therefore powerless. We are seeing this already in France and no doubt we will see it even more in the coming months.

The dominant economic model is in crisis. It is founded on economic assumptions which are those of 40 years ago. If we lack the ambition to envisage great and radical reforms, capitalism will start to adapt itself, as it does, through one of those great upheavals, establishing a new order which, I fear, would be even more unequal and dangerous than the one we have today.

The great challenge for all social democratic parties is to invent a new social model which preserves the achievements of social democracy, but also interprets them in a modern manner. It is an immense task. Socialists in France are embarking upon it, and they are not alone. In October, when our International meets in Lisbon, our work will centre precisely on this theme. John Smith, the chair of our Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, will put forward some proposals whose scope will, I think, surprise us.

We need to begin to move towards work-sharing as a response to unemployment, but we also need to develop a global vision of social change, even, perhaps, of changes in life style.

We need to establish a fairer system of taxation which will guarantee the future of our social systems without hampering economic development, and that means a taxation system no longer based solely on the cost of labour. We must also seek to discourage through taxation the environmental damage which, as we saw at the Rio conference last year, is one of the great destabilising factors in the modern world.

Finally, we must act in more concrete solidarity with the third world. I am convinced that the solution to the crisis of the developing world lies in greater efforts to aid the development of the poorer countries. We want to see no barriers erected in Europe, even if that temptation is there for the Left as well as for the Right. But we do urgently need to establish new rules for world trade which will not throw off balance the markets of the industrialised countries and which will allow the freeing of necessary financial resources for the development of poor countries. ■

*Franz Vranitzky, the
Austrian chancellor, sets out
his vision for Austria's
future.*

HELPING TO UNITE EUROPE

Without the Social Democrats the problems of Europe, and especially of Austria, cannot be solved. The Social Democrats are now stronger than our political opponents would like us to be - more alive than many contemporary historians have predicted and more needed than even some of us want to believe.

Some academics voice the opinion that the historic role of the Social Democrats is exhausted and that they have reached the end of their way. I am of a different opinion. Social Democrats are no less important than they were at the time when in Austria our grandfathers set out with Victor Adler to unite the Party and to fight together for basic workers' rights.

It is clear that the challenges of today are quite different. Thanks to our policies the emancipation of the oppressed working people in our country has been achieved. But today we face issues for which yesterday's solutions are no use. Recourse to the past cannot guarantee a future for Social Democrats or for our society. This is not only because environmental, security and employment issues are now the most important, but also because the end of the cold war and the collapse of the traditional blocs have brought about a host of serious new problems, for instance in the successor states of the former Soviet Union as well as in the rest of Europe.

Moreover, the continuing integration in the west of our continent and the establishment of the single market and the future political union in Europe are confronting our country with completely new questions.

In addition there is the immeasurable suffering in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, where 90 per cent of the population are subject to the insanity of the 10 per cent who are warmongers, nor can we disregard Somalia, Angola, Sudan, Cambodia, Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh and the still unsolved problem of the Middle East.

When, if not on questions of such complexity, when, if not now, are Social Democrats called on to come up with solutions? It is not simply a matter of updating, or even preserving, previous achievements - it is not in these areas that the main challenges for Social Democrats are to be found today. Where questions arise that demand a full, qualitative and humane answer, that is where the challenge lies. The Social Democrats, with their traditional values of humanity and equality, liberty and solidarity are best placed to find answers to these questions, and in such a way that the ensuing burden does not work out to the disadvantage of many and the advantage of a few.

If you want to tackle such questions successfully, there is a need not only for traditional values but also for ideas for the future.

But it cannot suffice politically to develop visions for the future. A forward-looking policy must today come up with the initiatives necessary to solve the problems of tomorrow or the day after. Politically this means nothing less than adopting a position, initiating developments and providing proposals that may seem utopian now. By continuous effort and commitment, circumstances will so change that they become a reality before long.

I myself have started up a whole range of such projects which lead us straight to the future. They are not, or not only, on questions of technology, but also on questions relating to the organisation of our shared future and our future economies.

Some years ago I proposed the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe. At the beginning I was patronised for this. A former high-ranking member of the Czechoslovak government asked me once if I didn't have any other hobbies. This was no hobby, but he was right insofar as the issue of nuclear power is a very real concern of mine. The consequences of the Chernobyl disaster have been so devastating, and recent horror stories have reconfirmed that nobody can in good faith condone nuclear energy.



Popperfoto

*Vranitzky welcomed by
SPOe congress ...*

It is not a question of the probability of an accident occurring, but of the consequences of that admittedly small probability. I insist that nuclear energy has no future and I will not tire in my opposition to nuclear power stations, especially on our borders.

One of the projects I mentioned is the 3-litre car. Here it has been my aim to encourage industry to develop by the year 2000 a car which will consume only 3 litres of fuel per 100 kilometres. Only by setting clear targets and initiating projects will we properly respond to the general wish for the conservation of our environment.

Among the challenges for the future there is also the question of how we behave towards each other, for instance in the family. With the 'Against Violence in the Family' project, I have launched an initiative which supports the weak members of the family and which above all is meant to break the wall of silence surrounding this sickness in the midst of our society. As Social Democrats we must not allow the most vulnerable in our society to be helpless.

And finally there is an issue which is of particular concern to me, the fight against anti-semitism. It is a fight which cannot be won merely by conviction and consciousness-raising, but by working towards a society in which the social conditions that allow anti-semitism to thrive can never again emerge.

There are also the traditional challenges in store for Social Democrats. These arise where a centralist planned economy or an unbridled market economy have been active, where people are facing unemployment, where they cannot rely on a social safety net, where they are looking for a guaranteed good education and the provision of health services which do not depend on financial contributions. That is where social democratic action is needed.

One general question comes up again: the role of the state. We support the responsibility that the state has to carry for the economy and society. By this we mean a modern, democratic and above all an efficiently operating state, which has nothing at all in common with state interventionism of the old school; a state which does not merely step in on a short-term and isolated basis where questions of environmental protection and the social and health sector are concerned, but which creates the necessary framework for such issues to be dealt with.

You have to stop and think about this: no company, however major, builds national and regional roads, schools, hospitals and museums, funds public administration or pays social welfare benefits. This means the public, social and cultural infrastruc-



Popperfoto

... and in Israel

ture without which the economy cannot flourish remains essentially a matter for the state. To question that is to weaken the future of the whole community.

We live in a time of globalisation of commercial and financial flows, of globalisation of the market, of globalisation of the entire transport and information networks. That means that we live in a world where privilege and isolation may be possible, but are hardly sensible. What is happening around us in Europe, in the world, concerns us directly and has an effect on our daily lives.

Above all we have to ask ourselves what responsibility we can take on in the international sphere, what we can contribute in terms of our considerable economic power, in terms of social peace and high social standards, in terms of a particularly progressive environmental policy.

Austrians do not have to hide, but we must also not call for special treatment. We are strong and confident enough to be part of a European and a global community which solves problems together and across borders.

How else can the security of our country be guaranteed in such a turbulent and unstable time? How else can the urgent economic problems, the safeguarding of jobs, our industry's ability to compete, the social consequences of technological change be addressed except jointly with the other European democracies?

There is, especially in view of the disastrous war only a few hundred miles to the south of us, a particularly important reason to play an active role in the unification of Europe, namely the safeguarding of peace.

Only 50 years after the end of the Second World War, only 50 years after the Germans and the French, for example, faced each other as enemies, a war between mem-

10 bers of the European Community has become unimaginable. I have said this elsewhere, but I would like to repeat it, because it is of such importance to me: the political unification of Europe forms our safeguard against history repeating itself. It is there, first and foremost, that our concerns as Social Democrats and those of the European Community meet. A unified Europe must not cause another war, a unified Europe combats nationalism, a unified Europe will have no place for fascism and anti-semitism.

It is the EC that has a clear concept for the continuing unification of Europe, and we can accept in good faith and unequivocally the basis of this concept, this essential motivation for a peaceful coexistence. But this also means making a strong contribution and putting forward the interests of Austria, for our future in Europe. We said that we are prepared to join the EC on the basis of the Maastricht treaty. But in negotiations we have also said that we will state our interests clearly and represent them confidently and consistently.

We take it for granted that neutrality will have to play an important role in the future, too. We assume that our neutrality can also play a positive role within a future European security system. And we further assume that this is reason enough for it not to be a problem.

My recent visit to Israel is an important step towards normalisation of relations with that country. But it is also an important sign, which will be acknowledged worldwide, of the manner in which we Austrians deal with our own history and with our view of ourselves.

Too much has happened, too few gestures of reconciliation have been made, demands for justice have at times been too half-hearted, since hundreds of thousands of Jewish Austrians died in the Holocaust, were exiled, or lost their livelihoods. Today sees a new and different Austria, aware of its history and its responsibility, an Austria which is willing to hold out its hand and welcome those who were expelled at a time when our country did not exist.

We cannot undo the tragedy. We cannot give back what has been lost. But with an attitude of warmth and respect for humanity we can at least convey that we have not forgotten the thirty thousand surviving expellees. We can convey our willingness to lend a hand and acknowledge that they are part of us.

Austria's international role is naturally also determined by its handling of its security policy. The euphoria about the end of the cold war has quickly turned into disillusionment or even horror. This is another area in need of re-orientation, as clearly illustrated by the war in our neighbouring region to the south. We must not tire of trying to mitigate this disaster by all peaceful means, but should guard against raising hopes for military intervention for which nobody can take the responsibility.

As a small country we have to be mindful of our international relations and constantly endeavouring to improve them on all sides. ■

Socialist Affairs looks at the career of the man who won the general elections in Jamaica in March.

March 30 saw a smashing victory for the People's National Party, the Socialist International's member party in Jamaica. Much credit therefore goes to Percival James Patterson, universally known as PJ, Jamaica's sixth prime minister since independence from Britain in 1962. He had taken over the leadership of the government of the island of 2.25 million people last year after Michael Manley left the premiership.

He sought a renewed term as prime minister having spent 17 years as a member of parliament and having been chairman of the PNP since 1983. He was Jamaica's foreign minister from 1976 until 1980.

By reducing the conservative opposition Jamaica Labour Party of former Prime Minister Edward Seaga to a handful of seats in the 60-seat House of Representatives in Kingston, Patterson amply justified calling elections almost a year before the last date they were constitutionally due to take place.

The elections were the first held without the participation of the Manleys, who, father and son, had done much over the years to bring the PNP to the dominance it enjoys today.

Norman Washington Manley was a founder of the PNP in 1938 and helped to bring his country to independence. He retired from political life in 1968 after a period as prime minister, as the party passed on leadership to his son Michael.

The influence of the Manley dynasty has clearly been very strong in Jamaica but Patterson, though close to Michael Manley, is of a different generation and comes from a different background. Norman Manley, a man with European and African blood in his veins, went into politics as a successful lawyer with a reputation for



PJ PATTERSON

unimpeachable honesty which he maintained all his life. His son Michael grew up in a household where the practice of politics, trade unionism and the law was a daily phenomenon.

Patterson's upbringing was different. Born of African stock in the countryside to parents of modest means, his childhood was filled with the tasks of a country boy. Hard study and determination to win scholarship brought him an excellent education. He took his first degree at the University of the West Indies before studying legal advocacy at the Middle Temple in London.

He was always keen to stay intimately familiar with the organisation of his party, retaining the chairmanship even when he held high posts in Michael Manley's cabinet. After the PNP victory of 1989 Manley gave him the difficult job of finance minister at a time when the party was adopting cautious economic policies. Early in 1992 he resigned his deputy premiership and

his finance portfolio after a national controversy over the taxation of unleaded petrol. Nevertheless after Manley's retirement later last year Patterson comfortably won by 2,322 to 756 votes the contest for the party leadership against Portia Simpson, the labour minister.

At the recent general election he summed up his personal and political position: 'I come from the people, I walk with the people, I talk with the people, I feel the sufferings of the people and I hope I can help the people to fulfil their ambitions'.

After his victory he said the PNP would continue its policy of liberalising the Jamaican dollar and selling state enterprises, aiming for 'an economy that is market-driven, modern and competitive'.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

New Zealand's institutions are under siege. From parliament to the medical profession, from clerics to courts, polls show that over the last ten years, confidence and faith in our institutions have been on the decline. Parliament, being the most powerful and visible of these institutions, has received the most public odium.

When a nation does not have strong institutions, it loses its way and becomes vulnerable. Institutions are the anchor, the rock, upon which the foundations of civilised societies and civilised behaviour are built. Governments were established to take us beyond tribal and factional fighting, to a more civilised set of values and institutions that could arbitrate between the conflicting interests in society.

If people don't have the basic faith that the government is on their side - that the law, the police, the doctor, or the teacher and their organisations are honourable parts of society - then that's a recipe for disillusionment and for people's ambitions to be frustrated, sidelined, and ignored.

When I became leader of the New Zealand Labour Party, I said I would be the least 'promising' politician the country had ever seen - a promise I have kept. Leadership is more than finding an angry crowd and agreeing with it. You can get elected on false poll-driven promises. But what then? You are perpetually under siege; you lose any pretence to leadership and moral authority. If the people's expectations are raised too high, then crash down, obviously they lose faith.

People feel they no longer own their country, they no longer control their lives, that everything seems to be happening beyond their influence. All our policies, programmes, manifestos and dreams come to nothing unless there is a responsive system of government that can efficiently deliver the pledges given by politicians to the people.

*New Zealand Labour
Party Leader **Mike
Moore** confronts some
of the criticisms levelled
at governments and
politicians today.*

Parliament must respond ...



We are blessed in New Zealand with an honest public service. Its confidence and enthusiasm must be encouraged; its successes ought to be acknowledged as well as its weaknesses.

We have supported the establishment of a new parliamentary committee to provide stronger parliamentary scrutiny of public services. However, the principle of appointing good people, giving them the government's objectives and not interfering with management is a good one. I was proud that Labour in office appointed the best public service managers, regardless of political affiliation. Alas, that is changing as the present National government appoints its mates again.

Reinventing Government is the title of an excellent book by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler. David Osborne is in the inner circle of President Clinton's economic advisors. He writes in praise of 'entrepreneurial public managers who have discarded budget systems that encourage managers to waste money, scrapped civil service systems developed for the nineteenth century and jettisoned bureaucracies built for the 1930s'. He praises those public service managers who have replaced industrial age systems with decentralised, more entrepreneurial, more responsive organisations designed for the rapidly changing information-rich world of the 1990s.

We can rescue the idea of government if we are bold enough to learn new ways of achieving old objectives. The idea of government must triumph if we are to achieve the partnership model we advocate. No one wants to be a partner to a boring, insecure, inward-looking government that's lost its nerve, confidence, mission and direction. And who wants to work for an employer like that? Government service must attract and retain the best managers and workers. To do this, we need management and leadership that encourages and rewards.

I'm passing Osborne and Gaebler's book around Labour MPs. It's an essential read for those who seek to write policy and become ministers. The chapter headings tell it all: Catalytic Government - steering rather than rowing; Community-Owned Government - empowering rather than serving; Competitive Government - injecting competition into service delivery; Mission-Driven Government - transforming rule-driven organisations; Result-Oriented Government - funding outcomes, not inputs; Customer-Driven Government - meeting the needs of the customer, not the bureaucracy; Enterprising Government - earning rather than spending; Anticipatory Government - prevention rather than cure; Decentralised Government - from hierarchy to participation and teamwork; Market-Oriented Government - leveraging change through the market.

Government can be the highest calling; public service should be honoured. Institutions that are open and encourage excellence will deserve such respect and get loyalty from enthusiastic staff. The old public service trade-off - lower wages than the private sector for more security - has gone. We need a transfer of talent from the private sector into public service and vice versa.

The politicians I most admire - Franklin Roosevelt, Ben Chifley, Norman Kirk and Peter Fraser - all owed their success to an affectionate and trusting relationship between their personal power and the people.

When John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, I was a teenager working in a freezing works. I can remember my anguish at the time. JFK was a symbol of a new generation, a symbol of hope, and his great call was that people could do things with government. The idea of government was triumphant. He did not promise the people, he challenged them: 'Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country'. People of talent and ambition and principle flocked to government to play their role.

Parliamentary reform must continue whatever political system we have. My experience in government taught me that ordinary members of parliament who chaired powerful parliamentary committees handling, for example, tax legislation, did more work and had more pressure than the bottom end of any cabinet. Why shouldn't the government agree that the opposition chair some committees? We lose nothing by being generous. The governing party doesn't own the system; it has merely got the responsibility to manage it. All wisdom does not reside in the government party or the opposition party, or the minority party.

Democracy is more than what happens in the parliament and the local town hall. It is about the community and the family and the individual having power over their own lives. We have to progress in a concerted, confident and consistent manner, and find powers that we can shed to local and regional government, to families and to the people.

In 1981 I introduced a bill into parliament on the disclosure of MPs' interests. The



Richard McCaig/Impact

... to people

point I made then was that disclosure was needed not only to protect the public, but also to protect the politicians from rumour, innuendo and smear. Alas I know, too, that people with integrity do not need rules, and that people without integrity will find ways around the rules. But other countries have much stricter disclosures rules and I think we ought to follow their example.

The fourth New Zealand Labour government forced ministers to declare their assets. The fifth Labour Government will expand on those rules. I believe disclosure should go beyond members of parliament. In Queensland, Australia, they now insist that senior public servants also disclose their interests. We can take steps to prevent senior officials in government departments like Immigration walking into highly paid private consultancy jobs. In some countries consultants have to be registered, particularly if their client lists include foreign governments.

In our small democracy, the pinnacle of political success is considered to be cabinet. But you can achieve political success without going into cabinet. There have to be other avenues within parliament for fulfilment, for ambitious people to contribute and serve their country.

There are people who have been successful in managerial and political positions who should give something back to their country. We should be grateful for their contributions. I was rather proud that the last Labour Government didn't ask people's politics for these sort of jobs. It's good if people have the same political views as you. That's a

nice coincidence, but it ought not to be the only reason for appointing someone.

Many patriotic business people give up their hard pressed time to sit on government committees and boards. Contrary to public perception, it is sometimes hard to get qualified business people to help out government because it calls on their valuable time and can cost them money and privacy.

Labour's disclosure policy will make government more transparent, and hopefully will bring back some trust in the political process. We have reached a situation in New Zealand in which the very idea of government - of the parliamentary democracy that has served this country and so many other countries so well - is under threat. That is a betrayal that may take a generation to rectify. When I became a member of parliament 20 years ago, I was proud to be called a public servant. I was proud to be a part of an institution at the centre of all the great concerns of the people. I was proud to be a member of the House of Representatives. Not so today.

If the principle of government perishes, if people do not have confidence in the concept of government itself, there is little hope for parties such as mine that see government as an instrument of common good, that see the government as being on the side of the people.

The 1980s will be remembered as the age of corporate capitalism and the entrepreneur. I have no complaints about that. We need the skills of the entrepreneurs. We need their energy. We need the jobs they create. But the 1980s also exposed an ominous line of thinking: that all private enterprise is good, thus all government service is bad.

People started questioning the skills and contribution of public servants. The view gained currency that if people were really any good at their jobs, they would work for themselves or in private enterprise rather than for the Treasury or the Department of Social Welfare.

The biggest problem is not finding a solution to unemployment, or creating a new national park or doing away with the Employment Contracts Act, all of which we can do. The biggest problem is regaining the confidence of the people and trust in our system. The concept of government has evolved over many hundreds of years as an instrument of collective security. Our challenge is to rebuild the sacred social contract between the people and their government.

Democracy must be more than something you do on election day.

My call is for a fresh form of civic engagement and civic responsibility, where people control more of their destiny at the workplace, in their schools, and have real social security in their homes. Citizenship in a free society is not only about civil and legal rights, nor even political rights. It's about social rights. Everyone has the legal right to stay at the best hotel or shop at the best store. We can ensure there is no legal impediment because of race or gender. But unless the struggle for social rights is maintained and advanced, then citizens cannot fully extend themselves or exercise their civil rights and liberties with certainty and economic security.

We must heed the lessons of history and of our own shortcomings and failures. I believe in a democratic form of government and a parliamentary form of democracy. It is more than just a matter of principle. It is a matter of organisational and managerial fact.

It is based on the premise that people who are involved and who own part of their enterprise or their home control their own future. They can manage themselves better because of ownership. It is based on the premise that the country does not belong to the government. Even less does it belong to the cabinet. It belongs to the people. ■

TOWARDS A HEALING PROCESS

**Julian
Hunte**

Rationalisation is a favourite coping mechanism for individuals and organisations traumatised by failure or defeat. We must be honest and admit that few defeats have been more painful for the St. Lucia Labour Party than that suffered in the 1992 general elections. The healing process within the party (both the leadership and the rank and file) can never be resolutely undertaken unless there is first an honest and open admission of the shock and disappointment dealt us by the election results.

Difficult as it may seem to convince disenchanted Labour Party supporters of this, our loss of the 1992 elections was a victory of sorts. I shall endeavour to explain this admittedly strange perspective in our island's politics.

But first a word about St. Lucia. The island is a parliamentary monarchy in the Eastern Caribbean. For much of its history the island was a possession of France, which accounts for the fact that Creole is widely spoken to this day. Under the Treaty of Paris of 1814, however, the island became a British crown colony.

St. Lucia has been an independent member of the Commonwealth since 1979. The second largest of the Windward Islands, it is 238 square miles in area and has a population of nearly 150,000. One main export is bananas, most of which are bought by the European Community. Another big money earner is tourism and the island attracts visitors from around the world to its beaches and its tropical forests and mountains. There is some manufacturing too.

The present government is formed by the United Workers' Party, whose leader is John Compton and which won last year's elections.

From the dawn of 1991, senior UWP officials were privately acknowledging the possibility of losing the 1992 elections. Very early in the year, the ruling party set in motion a plan whose effects would be felt in the event of an SLP victory. The UWP engaged in a sustained extravaganza that would stretch the nation's resources of public capital to the farthest limits.

Countless mammoth capital works projects were begun simultaneously; several of these projects had been pending for the entire decade of the UWP's tenure in government. Suddenly they were all there: the new hospital, the promised marina for Vieux Fort, the West Coast road, three

million dollars for the refurbishment of Government House, a plethora of multi-purpose courts, payment of artificially high net prices to banana farmers in the five weeks preceding the elections.

This list of feverish 'fool-the-people' projects is by no means exhaustive - the projects were in fact many times more numerous than those examples cited here.

The idea was to set a trap for the SLP in the event that we formed the next government. I and my colleagues would inherit an empty treasury, penniless public corporations and statutory bodies, dead broke banana and coconut industries and consequently zero foreign exchange reserves or earning capacity. In short, the SLP would be placed in the untenable position of having to manage a crippled economy and govern a country that had been rendered virtually ungovernable - a kind of Haiti. Such economic distress would naturally lead to social and industrial unrest, an increase in drug trafficking, strikes and demonstrations. As he had done so effectively during the last SLP administration, John Compton could have been counted upon to capitalise on the troubles of the new administration - troubles which his party had busily crafted prior to its departure from office. He would have strutted the length and breadth of the nation, the region and indeed the globe, pushing his favourite line - that he is the only one who can properly manage St. Lucia. Picture John Compton relentlessly driving home the message that when he was in charge everything ran smoothly and with near perfection, but the moment Labour took over there was instant catastrophe.

His vindictive parting act would be to turn the corridors of power into an administrative minefield for our party and its leaders. He would also have set up the Labour Party to become permanently discredited as a political organisation that simply did not have what it takes to govern. The resulting disenchantment with Labour would have guaranteed the return of Compton and the UWP to office.

By the time the UWP realised (around February or March 1992) that there was after all a chance of its winning the elections, it was already too far gone in its commitment to set-



Julian Hunte is the leader of the St. Lucia Labour Party.

ting this trap for the SLP. The UWP would have to work its way out of the net it had laid for the opposition.

The hard evidence since the elections is that the ruling party has become more and more entangled in its own net, and is finding it more and more difficult to navigate safely in those waters it had mined for the opposition.

The banana industry, which was supposed to have been in perfect health and slated for increased prosperity until the year 2000, is now on its deathbed. The consequences of its eventual demise are too frightening even to ponder. The coconut industry continues to decay even as it awaits its final burial. Unemployment is growing daily; violent crime is explosively increasing; people are finding it increasingly difficult to supply even their most basic needs, and local enterprises, especially the small businesses, are being daily forced out of the reckoning by foreign enterprises, which enjoy from our government the sort of concessions and other blessings for which similar indigenious efforts are never even considered.

Our society is trapped in a state of angst and general disorientation. People feel tense. A vague but very oppressive dread hangs continuously over their heads. That lingering sense of foreboding is by no means misplaced; there is every likelihood that something terrible is about to befall our nation. The explosion must come, as the booby traps designed to frustrate justice and equality explode one by one in the faces of those who laid them.

It is important that a means be found to avert the impending disasters. When they do come, the St. Lucia Labour Party will not rejoice in the petty glee of 'we told you so'. We are deeply concerned that the people most hurt by the coming tribulations will be the unwary masses rather than the closeted overlords who callously consign us to disaster for the sake of their personal aggrandisement.

To this end, the SLP has repeatedly offered the government its hand, arguing that only a broad-based multi-partisan approach stands any chance of mitigating St. Lucia's myriad socio-

economic problems: the drug trade and general crime situation, the banana industry and the coconut industry, the national economy as a whole ... On each occasion, the UWP has contemptuously spurned our offers as sly opposition attempts to share in the limelight of government. 'Bravo!', we say, 'Enjoy the limelight while it lasts - but that will not be long, we fear!'

Once the elections were over the cost of public health care skyrocketed on every single count. And yet the quality of that service continues to decline to previously unimaginable squalor. What is worse, an undeclared official policy of 'pay first or no treatment' has been adopted.

Prime Minister Compton, in his 1993-4 Budget, dropped a strong hint that his government was considering abolishing the public utilities commission, and vesting the power to adjust utility rates entirely in the hands of the cabinet. The SLP will fight this move to the utmost, but should Compton have his way we can brace ourselves for some hefty increases in water, electricity and telephone bills. These are some of the only ways in which he can find money to complete his excessive and extravagant project while keeping his vow never to resort to the IMF.

That battle, though, cannot be won by the SLP. Victory or defeat in the context of national welfare can only be determined by the people. The SLP can only offer itself, as the best trustee of the people's victory, to consolidate and secure what they have determined for themselves.

St. Lucians would do well to ask themselves now whether the Labour Party's defeat in last year's general elections was not in fact a defeat for the entire nation. Many St. Lucians who contributed to retaining the UWP in office last year are now experiencing the rather disturbing feeling of having been ill-advised, although in public most will vehemently deny this. Genuine supporters of the Labour Party can rest assured that such people are unable to raise their heads any more. We do not have to look far to see how they are one by one being either dumped or ignored by the ruling party, which, having used them to retain office, finds it now has no use for them.

SECURITY IN A TIME OF INSECURITY

'From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across Europe.' These famous words from Winston Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946 marked the opening of an exceptional era in Europe's history which was to last just over 50 years.

Now that the strait-jacket of the cold war no longer exists, we can breathe more easily.

But we have all been made painfully aware that the fall of communism and the Berlin Wall does not mean the advent of the rule of peace. Instead, much of what is now happening has more to do with the demons of the past than the torch-bearers of the future.

At the same time, large parts of the former Eastern Bloc are threatened with social meltdown, because of our inability to cope with the transition from the command economy.

This could result in western Europe becoming ever more industrialised and eastern Europe remaining backward, with people migrating westwards in search of prosperity and employment. The military and police forces that the West deployed against the communist threat are being mobilised at national borders against what is called illegal immigration.

During the cold war, the nuclear arms race was the paramount security problem. The nuclear apocalypse no longer hangs over us as it used to, but nuclear weapons are still there in great quantities. The need now is for a policy to make nuclear disarmament irreversible.

But the long-term threats to pan-European security today are of a different, non-military character. The West simply has no strategy for dealing with the liberation of the East.

The fall of Eastern communism has more or less coincided with the crisis of Western capitalism. No Western country has been capable of mobilising resources of the necessary magnitude. Germany would seem to be the only exception, faced as it is with the task of coping with the enlarged Federal Republic. It has provided support to the East greater than all that provided by the rest of the European Community together.

We face the possibility of a social explosion in Russia following the implosion of the Soviet Union. That immense country is afflicted with an inflation rate of 3,000 per cent, a steep decline in production, a rising mountain of debts and cataclysmic unemployment. Living conditions are wretched. One-third of the population has an income below subsistence level. Nationalists and the military establishment have a nightmare of Russia also dissolving, and some of them therefore advocate a kind of Russian Monroe Doctrine for the former Soviet Union, with Russia having a sphere of vital interests throughout the former Soviet territory. One especially disturbing factor is the 600,000 officers and other ranks of the Red Army who were made redundant in 1992.

Our debate on Europe presents a large number and variety of images, but no matter whether we are pessimists or optimists, one thing is certain - however grey and arduous everyday reality may be it is still better than the bondage of the past.

It is obvious that the democratic process in the East will have to be 'oxygenated' and the reform states consolidated by means of a comprehensive pan-European cooperation which will advance more rapidly and will go deeper than the architects in Brussels originally contemplated.

Two generations of Europeans in modern times have been marked by two devastating world wars which have also conditioned their political achievements. For continental politicians, the European idea has become a life project.

At the end of the 1920s, Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, was guided by a dream of lasting peace when he launched his plan for a 'European federal union'. In Sweden the idea was supported by Arthur Engberg, chief editor of the newspaper *Social-*

Pierre Schori, foreign affairs spokesman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, looks at some options for his country and for Europe.

demokraten. Just over a decade later, Jean Monnet broached his idea of a European union for the same purpose - to prevent aggressive nationalism and promote growth and cooperation by intertwining peoples and nations. Willy Brandt took up this theme with his Ostpolitik. Olof Palme perpetuated it with his doctrine of common security. Could a Mikhail Gorbachev ever have paved the way for change without the visionary policies of Brandt and Palme?

Personally I regard today's debate as a continuation of this long-standing European endeavour to create a mosaic of independent nations coordinating their action with a view to mutual benefit. According to some opponents of the European Community, peace may have been the vision and motive power of the EC just after the war, but with the cold war ended this no longer occupies such a central position. In my opinion this is a static view and lacks perspective. Where would we be today without the stability which the cooperation and common foreign policy of the EC countries imply? What chaos might not lie ahead of us if every western European country pursued its own national interests? And just supposing that Yugoslavia had been a member of the EC or NATO - would the Third Balkan War have been possible?

Responsible Europeans cannot avoid asking themselves these questions. Some kind of union for peace and progress is needed.

What I do not want to see is a European Union as part of an Orwellian 1994 world picture, with the three hostile blocs of Eurasia, East Asia and Oceania fighting each other. Nor do I wish to see the emergence of a western European rich men's club. It is an illusion to believe that we can build anything enduring and worthwhile in Europe without the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America also having the opportunity of a decent life.

Without a reduction of economic inequalities and social injustices, we will always have to live with threats of conflict and war and with insupportable moral challenges. And what is more, if we do not, of our own free will, open our markets to goods from the East and the South, then our frontiers will be forcibly opened by hungry people from the East and South in search of prosperity. We must make it our business to promote a pan-European order of peace and cooperation, based on conviction, on voluntary participation, and regarding European and global security as indivisible.

In this time of upheaval, Sweden has to find its role.

Our government's policy for eastern Europe, however, lacks resources, creativity and imagination. A new policy is needed.

Economic ills in Russia ...



It is important too that we should draw up a strategy for a reborn northern Europe.

Sweden's non-participation in military alliances remains unchanged. Membership of NATO or the WEU is incompatible with our present security policy. The debate on our relationship to the WEU is really rather bogus. The WEU represents the pursuit in various parts of Europe of an independent European defence system having no formal connection with the US superpower. As yet, however, NATO alone represents a plausible form of regional collective security. The debate between the NATO- and the WEU-minded is far from over.

The revolutionary upheaval in European and global security policy naturally has an impact on our traditional neutrality. Neutrality has never been an end in itself, but rather the tool we chose to ensure our independence. Our possibilities are no longer restricted by cold war conditions. If we are serious in our endorsement of common security, this must mean that we are ready to relinquish parts of our sovereignty on security questions as well.

The recent revolution in European and global security policy, must inevitably lead to a reform of Swedish security policy. But in the present situation there is no alternative to our non-participation in military alliances.

One indispensable factor in the pursuit of common global security will be a strengthening of the United Nations. The UN secretary general must be given adequate resources for pursuing the intentions of the UN Charter concerning peace and security.

In June 1992 Boutros Boutros-Ghali put forward the most detailed and thoroughly worked out proposal so far concerning peace-keeping operations in a new age - his Agenda for Peace. He noted that there was great willingness on the part of member nations to take part in operations of this kind, but that there was a lack of preparedness for mobilising fast enough and with the specialised and varying types of units which different situations could demand. Boutros-Ghali therefore recommended that the member nations take steps to augment that capacity for rapid response. So far, with just a few exceptions, the response has been disappointing. In a Bill put before the spring session of the Riksdag, the Swedish Social Democrats have requested plans for a Swedish 'peace brigade'. In this way, Sweden could show that it was accepting its full responsibility in an age of new demands.

In security policy, it is clear that Sweden should give priority to the pan-European level. The CSCE, with its all-European membership plus the USA and Canada, and its comprehensive agenda, is the ideal framework for discussing a peaceful continental order and its conditions. But one has to admit that this possibility has been weakened, especially by the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

There is, however, scope for thoughts and initiatives which could lay firmer foundations for the CSCE of tomorrow.

Compliance with the CSCE Paris Charter, which all the nations of Europe have promised to respect, should be managed more systematically by a special monitoring body. To this body could be affiliated the special Commissioner for Human Rights, who should work in close consultation with the Council of Europe.

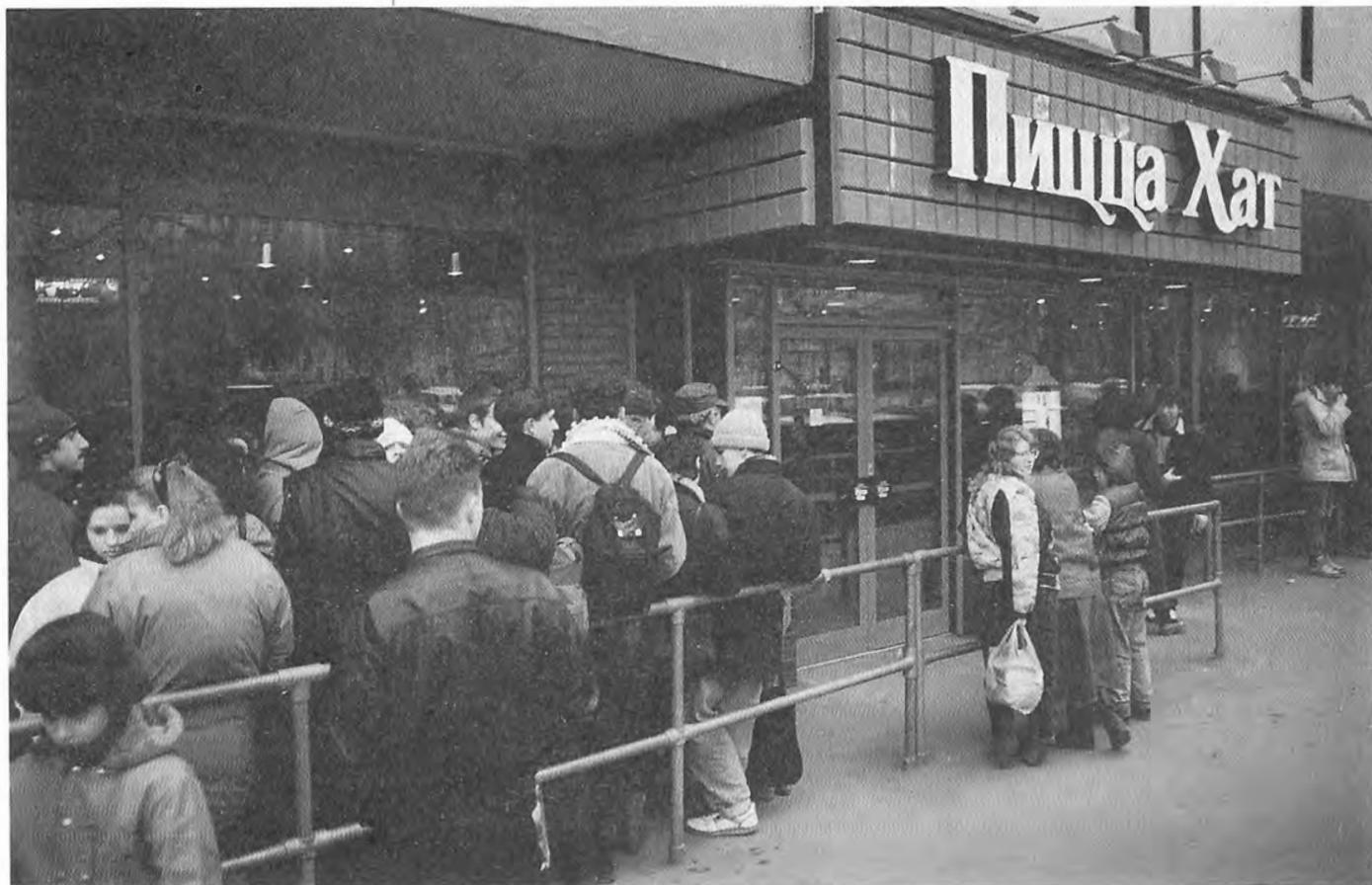
The so-called Crisis Prevention Centre of the CSCE should be substantially strengthened. Here the nations of Europe could identify budding conflicts and other threats to European security.

A similar network of coordinated information interchanges on various environmental threats could also be affiliated to the CSCE. Pan-European environmental projects could also be coordinated. A European Refugee Commission could be established for the purpose, in consultation with the UNHCR, of coordinating humanitarian measures more efficiently. Perhaps most important of all would be the coordination of much needed measures for strengthening the democratic process by means of a Marshall Plan for democracy.

There is a connection between domestic and foreign politics, between national and international security. Sweden's security and prosperity hinge directly on our ability to shoulder our international responsibility. The truth today is that we are not fully prepared to take measures for the creation of peace and the avoidance of conflicts. We must consider what changes ought to be made to our defence priorities.

The economic recovery package adopted by the Swedish government last autumn involved a reduction in development assistance. All over the world, that was regarded as a symbolic defeat for development assistance. The one-per-cent target must be achieved.

The Western world has failed to measure up to the demands which the historic transformation in eastern Europe is now making. The new chance which the peoples of Europe now have must not be lost.



Maurizio Giuliano/Link

... inadequate Western responses

The number of displaced persons is increasing, and also the numbers seeking a livelihood in wealthier countries. We must respond to this with a policy based on an integrated approach to the causes and effects of displacement and migratory movements.

Security, poverty, the environment and development, the transformation of eastern Europe, refugee questions - matters of such great moment demand a broad national consensus. We have to be constantly aware of the interests we share with others.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party has therefore proposed setting up a national commission to carry out a review and to recommend changes aimed at strengthening Sweden's assumption of international responsibility.

Modern Sweden is irreversibly a multi-cultural society, a natural part of a dynamic European cooperation, and more and more integrated in the global economy. We ought therefore to combine a clear national identity with a commitment to regional cooperation and a perception of the need for global security. ■

Hugh O'Shaughnessy reviews...

Contemporary Socialism: An Analysis

edited by Pradip Bose, B
Vivekanandan and KK
Panda

New Delhi, 1992, Haman Publishing
House. ISBN 81 85151 67 9

This book presents itself as 'the first Indian contribution to a lively on-going and world-wide debate on contemporary socialist thought and practice'. It is a concise but at the same time a very wide-ranging work consisting of 15 lively essays on the subject written from a democratic socialist standpoint. They are grouped under the headings of ideology, the Indian situation, the international scene, and a reflection on the future. The authors show a

very firm understanding of every sort of political practice claiming to be socialist, from Stalinism to the social democracy of Scandinavia.

One of the most interesting contributions for those who are not familiar with the political development of the sub-continent is that of Narayan Hazary of Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, which is devoted to an examination of the Indian experience of socialism and the relevance of the thought of Gandhi. Not surprisingly, the author is severely critical of the present socio-political state of his country and of the ways in which the example of Gandhi has been mocked by successive Indian governments.

But this is only one of the many insights in a book which makes a very useful contribution to consideration of the future of socialism. It succeeds admirably in its objective and deserves to be read widely within and outside India.

*Gandhi in
the East
End of
London,
1931*

Haiti after the Coup

National Labor
Committee Education
Fund in Support of
Worker and Human Rights
in Central America

New York, 1993

In mid-March a four-person mission of senior officials of US trade unions visited Haiti. Their mission was to investigate the conditions of life for workers since the military putsch in which Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the constitutional and highly popular president of the country, was attacked and exiled. Their report is a direct and unvarnished account of what they found, dictatorial rule by a gang of drug traffickers, unlawful killings and the reduction of living standards of working people to the lowest possible level. 'Haiti', the report comments, 'is in terrible shape. For the last 19 months it has been in the hands of military thugs'.

The mission makes eight recommendations which go from a tightening of the embargo to the strengthening of the United Nations/Organisation of American States Peacekeeping Force in the country by the inclusion of members drawn from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Each of those recommendations was a bullseye, hitting exactly the relationship between the US government at home and the interests of US commerce abroad. Each specified exactly the concrete measures which needed to be taken for some semblance of the rule of law to return to Haiti.

Not many weeks after the publication of the report the UN Security Council indeed decreed a tightening of the embargo and the universalisation of the previous partial ban on oil shipments which had been successfully evaded by traders.



Sadly for Haiti - and sadly for the international image of US justice - that tightening of the embargo coincided with the publication of a decision of the US Supreme Court which, to the bemusement of many friends of the US, condoned the illegal practice of the US Coast Guard in intercepting Haitian vessels on the high seas and returning refugees from the regime of General Raoul Cédras to their country.

This apparently modest report, produced swiftly and without frills, has an importance beyond its immediate context.

It illustrates well the link that exists and is replicated in many other poor countries between tyrannical governments and unscrupulous entrepreneurs who are prepared to work their employees into the ground in the interests of lower wage costs. The report also serves as a tacit commentary on the variance in attitudes among richer countries. The indefensible Iraqi attack on the less than democratic government of Kuwait produced a rapid response from the West: the overthrow of a constitutional and highly popular government in Haiti was met with footdragging, apologies and adoption of clearly illegal measures against refugees.

The authors of this report deserve congratulation for having produced a document which transcends the murky story of the man Cédras.

Ellen Bird

Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe

Minority Rights Group International

London, 1993, ISBN 0 897693 10 9

A number of minority groups in central and eastern Europe are the focus of the latest report from the Minority Rights Group, a well-respected, London-based NGO which in recent years has published more than 90 reports on the situation of minorities around the world.

In the context, naturally, of the changes which have swept across Europe since 1989 and served to expose long suppressed minority and nationality issues, a multinational team of experts examine in this survey, which does not set out to be comprehensive, the circumstances of some dozen distinct groups in the region.

Setting the tone in his introduction, MRG Director Alan Phillips stresses that 'it is natural that those people of similar origin, language or culture who were kept apart by political and ideological frontiers for many years should want to live together once more. Yet they, in turn, are inflicting the very oppression they experienced on new minorities who are emerging as borders are recast. It is imperative to avoid such developments ...' He goes on to give the report's purpose as helping to start a dialogue 'by offering general principles and guidelines for action, through objective analysis of some countries'.

The report's authors are academics and experts on human rights from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Germany, Canada and Great Britain. Separate essays touch on the recent founding of the Czech and Slovak Republics, on the situation of Poles in

Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania; Rusyns in Transcarpathia; Hungarians and others groups in the Vojvodina; Sorbs in eastern Germany; Italians in Slovenia and Slovenians in Italy, and ethnic Germans in Poland and elsewhere, giving, in less than 50 pages, a wealth of historical background and topical detail.

Some recommendations conclude the report. Resources should be directed to research. Legal and political standards on minorities and human rights agreed by the CSCE, the Council of Europe and the United Nations should be more widely disseminated in the region. Support and publicity are needed for the work of international bodies in promoting minority culture and education. Progress towards the ratification of the European Convention on Regional and Minority Languages is vital, as is the drafting of an additional protocol on minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights. International donors and lenders need to give priority to programmes which advance cooperation between communities and redress previous structural injustices towards minorities. In particular, greater attention must be paid to the UN Declaration on Minorities.

Proffered on the basis of detailed research and in no mood of false optimism, these recommendations at least open a window to discussion and point out some directions for international action.

Dispiriting therefore that as I read the MRG report, Council of Europe sources were suggesting a lack of enthusiasm on the part of some member states for the proposed minorities protocol to the Convention on Human Rights.

It is to be hoped that the spirit embodied in this valuable small publication may prevail over such lack of enthusiasm.

The report costs £4.95 Sterling or US\$8.95, from Minority Rights Group, 379 Brixton Road, London SW9 7DE, United Kingdom; Telephone (44 71) 738 6265; Fax (44 71) 978 9498.

The Socialist International

Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 0JW
United Kingdom

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

ABOUT THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

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

The Socialist International, whose origins go back to 1864, has existed in its present form since 1951 when it was re-established at the Frankfurt congress.

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

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

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

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

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

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Full member parties

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

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

Consultative parties

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

* members of SUCEE

Observer parties

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

Fraternal organisations

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

Associated organisations

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

SI COUNCIL MEETING IN LISBON TO FOCUS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY

The Council of the Socialist International will meet in Lisbon on 6 - 7 October 1993. The meeting will be chaired by SI President Pierre Mauroy and hosted by the Socialist Party of Portugal, PS, whose general secretary, António Guterres, an SI vice-president, will open the Council. President Mário Soares of Portugal is an honorary president of the International.

The Council's discussions will focus on the world economy, following the first meeting in July of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, chaired by British Labour Leader John Smith.

The SI presidium will meet in Lisbon on the eve of the Council meeting.



SI PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT COUNCIL MEETS IN LONDON

Following discussions over some time in meetings of the very active SI Disarmament Advisory Council, the SI Council at its meeting in Athens in February of this year agreed, in the light of changing international realities, to a change in the name and mandate of SIDAC. The first meeting of the newly established SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD, under the continuing chairmanship of SI Vice-President Kalevi Sorsa (Finnish Social Democratic Party,

SDP) was held at the SI secretariat in London on 5 April 1993, with the participation of 14 member parties and fraternal organisations of the International.

On the agenda of the meeting were the questions of arms transfers, chemical weapons, humanitarian intervention, and non-proliferation. A number of papers on these issues were considered and debated and SIPSAD will continue to examine and develop these as part of its ongoing work.

Some urgent topical questions were also discussed. The meeting took place shortly before the UN-supervised elections in Cambodia and a statement was issued stressing the Socialist International's established tradition of work for peace and security, drawing attention to the critical situation in Cambodia, and appealing to all parties, particularly the Khmer Rouge, to respect and implement the provisions of the Paris Agreement and to assist in the peaceful resolution of the conflict and the reconstruction of the country. The statement went on to affirm the support of the Socialist International for the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC, and its willingness to contribute to election preparations (see

page 28 for report of subsequent SI mission to Cambodia).

The meeting agreed to send a message to US President Bill Clinton, commending his support for nuclear disarmament, appealing to him to play a leading role in work towards a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and urging the prolongation of the US moratorium on nuclear testing.

The members of SIPSAD also agreed on messages to the governments of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, expressing deep concern at the decision of the government of the Democratic People's Republic to withdraw from the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and appealing to that government to cancel its decision. The messages conveyed to both governments the readiness of our International to exchange opinions on this issue and interest in sending an SI fact-finding mission to the region.

Participants in the meeting voiced deep concern about the stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction which remain in a number of regions, including republics of the former Soviet Union, and a message was sent to the government of Ukraine expressing this concern and conveying the great interest of SIPSAD in holding an exchange of views with governmental and parliamentary officials in that country on the question of denuclearisation and on other issues of international peace and security. The initial response of the Ukrainian authorities to this suggestion has been positive, and it is hoped that such an exchange of views will take place in the fairly near future.

Other decisions of the meeting included the establishment of a working group of SIPSAD members on United Nations reform in matters relating to peace and security. The group will be chaired by Lasse Budtz, Social Democratic Party of Denmark.

MIDDLE EAST COMMITTEE MEETS AT CRUCIAL TIME FOR PEACE TALKS

The SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, held a two-day meeting in Bad Honnef, Germany, on 13 - 14 May, hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD. Under the chairmanship of Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski (Germany, SPD), the committee was attended by representatives of SI member parties in the Middle East, Africa and Europe, and by a number of guests, including representatives of the governments of the United States, Russia and China, of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and of the Crown Prince of Jordan. The meeting focused on the current situation in the Middle East and prospects for the peace process.

The discussions covered many aspects of the situation in the region, and in particular in the West Bank and Gaza and considered the progress made and the problems facing the peace negotiations reconvened in Washington. Participants, including those from Israel, from Egypt, and the representatives of the PLO, stressed the present opportunity for progress and the need for all parties to seize that opportunity and for the international com-

munity to give its support.

It was agreed that the SI Committee would seek to hold its next meeting in late September or early October in Tunis, hosted by the governing Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, and would work towards a meeting at the end of 1993 in Israel, to be followed by a meeting in Amman.

The committee elected two vice-presidents from among its member parties in the Middle East: Mohamed Abdellah (Egypt, NDP) and Israel Gat (Israel, Labour Party).

A further subject of the committee's discussions was the plight of Noubir El Amaoui, a leading Moroccan trade unionist and member of the leadership of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, serving a two-year prison sentence after expressing in a Spanish newspaper views critical of the Moroccan government (see Socialist Notebook 1/1992 and 1/1993). Committee Chair Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski undertook to make representations to the Moroccan authorities and urged SI member parties also to continue their protests on Amaoui's behalf.



SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN GUATEMALA

The Socialist International condemned in the strongest terms the 'self-coup' carried out by President Jorge Serrano of Guatemala on 25 May, calling for the immediate re-establishment of the constitutional order in Guatemala, a nation living through acute economic and social conflict, aggravated by constant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and whose citizens have long suffered from the absence of peace, and demanding respect for the rights of all those illegally detained or under threat.

The International extended its

broadest fraternal solidarity to the democratic forces of Guatemala and to its member party, the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, and called on the entire international community to condemn the illegal action of the Guatemalan president and to join in efforts for democracy and peace in Guatemala.

Having closely followed the situation, the Socialist International joined with our member party in the country and with all Guatemalan democrats in welcoming the successful rejection of the coup d'état and the restoration of the constitutional

order under a new president, Ramiro de León Carpio.

SI President Pierre Mauroy wrote to President de León, 'Your election gives hope to all those who are attached to human rights and democracy'. He expressed the hope that the new president's actions would be guided by the need to end human rights violations, and stressed the importance of a rapid resumption of the peace process, the demilitarisation of Guatemala and the establishment of real democracy.

SI DELEGATION OBSERVES ELECTIONS IN PARAGUAY

At the invitation of the SI member party in Paraguay, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, a delegation of the Socialist International observed the presidential and legislative elections held in Paraguay on 9 May. The delegation was headed by SI Secretary General Luis Ayala and included Guillermo Estévez Boero and Carlos Costela (Argentina, PSP); Renée Fregosi (France, PS); Yamandú Fau (Uruguay, PGP); José Liberato Caboclo (Brazil, PDT); Giorgio Rossetti (Italy, PDS); and Carmen Pereira, Fernando Pantoja and Gonzalo Azurduy (Bolivia, MIR). The SI observers were accredited with the Central Electoral Council and followed the election

process in the capital city, Asunción, and in other centres, where they met the electoral authorities, candidates, voters and other international observers.

The members of the SI delegation stated their entire satisfaction with the democratic and responsible attitude demonstrated by the Paraguayan people on election day, when they saw no untoward incident.

They nevertheless put on record their concern about certain facts which, although they did not alter the final elections results, went against the democratic will voiced by the Paraguayan people. These included the prohibition on some Paraguayan citizens from enter-

ing the country at the time of the elections; the difficulties experienced by the parallel counting centres in obtaining timely and informed figures; and the programming of demonstrations and victory claims by some candidates before results were known.

The delegation expressed the wish and hope that the Paraguayan people would continue their advance on the path of consolidating democracy by working for progress and well-being, as categorically expressed by the majority vote in favour of change. (For election results, see Socialist Notebook, page 59).

SI OBSERVERS IN CAMBODIA

Representatives of the Socialist International observed the elections held in Cambodia from 23 to 28 May. The SI observers were Manae Kubota (Japan, SDPJ); Sachiko Taguchi (Japan, DSP); Etienne Huchet (France, PS); and Ennio Grassi (Italy, PDS).

Their visit was organised in collaboration with the United Nations, whose operation in Cambodia had been closely followed and strongly supported by the Socialist International, and with the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC.

The SI observers followed the voting process both in the capital, Phnom Penh, and in several other provinces. They had the opportunity to meet leaders and representatives of political parties and members of the United Nations authorities, including the special representative of the UN secretary general in Cambodia, Yasushi Akashi. They concluded, in accord with the United Nations and with other inter-



John Spaul/Panos Pictures

Arriving at the polling station

national observers, that despite limitations in technical equipment to facilitate the voting and counting process and in media information, and despite the threat of violence which continued in the run-up to voting, the

elections were carried out in a free, correct and orderly fashion. They noted with satisfaction the high voter turnout of some 90 per cent of registered voters, demonstrating the strong democratic commitment of the Cambodian people.

In the 120-member constituent assembly elected, 58 seats went to the royalist FUNCINPEC, 50 seats to the PPC of former Prime Minister Hun Sen, and ten seats to the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party. A welcome, internationally as well as in Cambodia, has been given to the new assembly's election of Prince Norodom Sihanouk as head of state and the subsequent formation of an interim coalition government, to be jointly led by FUNCINPEC Leader Prince Ranariddh and PPC Leader Hun Sen. Under the terms of the Paris Agreement, the assembly is due to adopt a new constitution before the withdrawal of the UN Transitional Authority scheduled for the end of August.

PIERRE MAUROY IN RUSSIA

SI President Pierre Mauroy visited Russia from 19 to 22 May at the invitation of President Boris Yeltsin. As well as holding talks with the president of the Russian Federation, he met former Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev; Vassili Lipitski, one of the leaders of the opposition Civic Union; and Anatoli Golov, the chair of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

In all these meetings,

talks focused on the economic and political situation in Russia since the referendum held in April and on the social implications and consequences of economic reform. The SI president reported that great interest was shown by all the Russian politicians in implementing values of freedom, democracy and social justice and in strengthening dialogue and cooperation with the Socialist International.

SI GROUP OBSERVES ELECTIONS IN LATVIA

At the invitation of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP, a delegation of the Socialist International travelled to Latvia to observe the parliamentary elections held there on 5 and 6 June.

The members of the delegation were Rainer Hermann (Germany, SPD); Joe Wilson MEP and Cherylyn Humphries (Great Britain, Labour Party); Daiva Jakaite (Lithuania, LSDP); and Kristina Svenson MP (Sweden, SAP).

During the two days of voting in these first completely free elections the delegation observed the voting at polling stations in the capital city, Riga, and in other towns. They met the Central Electoral Commission and leaders, candidates and other members of the LSDSP.

The SI representatives concluded that the elections were free and fair and conducted in a calm and positive atmosphere, with only minor technical irregularities observed, whilst expressing the hope that the newly elected parliament would proceed with the establishment of updated election procedures. They stressed the great social and economic transformation still taking place in Latvia and the future need for a strong social democra-

tic movement to work for social justice, full employment and a social market economy, and called on their colleagues in the International to give support and encouragement to the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

Following discussions with many Latvian citizens during their stay in the country, the members of the SI delegation also expressed support for the recommendation of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) High Commissioner on National Minorities that the newly elected Latvian government adopt a new citizenship law, clearly defining the conditions for naturalisation. (For details of election results see Socialist Notebook, page 57).

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SI COMMITTEE ON CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

On 28 May the SI Committee on Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, established at the last SI Council meeting in Athens in February, met at the SI secretariat in London. The Committee is jointly chaired by Jiri Horak (Czech Republic, SDP) and Piero Fassino (Italy, PDS) and this first meeting brought together delegates of SI member parties in eastern, central and western Europe, the Middle East and North America, as well as of the International Union of Socialist Youth and the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity.

On the committee's agenda were a discussion of social democracy in the region in the present political context, and the committee's programme of future activities.

The members of the SI Committee agreed to focus efforts in the coming period on the strengthening of social democratic parties in central and eastern Europe, and of regional cooperation amongst social democratic forces. With national elections due in many countries between now and 1995, this was felt to be a crucial time for reinforcing sup-

port and contacts in the region.

Among decisions on future activities, it was agreed to have two meetings of the committee each year, with the next meeting to be held in conjunction with the next SI Council meeting. The committee also plans to organise missions to a number of countries in the region, with a view to establishing new contacts and strengthening existing contacts with political forces close to the International. The possibility of preparing an SI conference on social democracy in central and eastern Europe, to be held in 1994, is to be examined.

The committee also discussed the critical situation in the former Yugoslavia and adopted a statement.

SI Committee on Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE

STATEMENT ON THE WAR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE:

expresses its deep concern about the prolonging of the tragic war which has already cost unspeakable suffering to the people of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia.

Denounces the genocide perpetrated against the Muslims and the repressive policies of Serbia against the population of Kosovo.

Reaffirms its conviction that peace, stability and coexistence will not be possible in the Balkans unless negotiations succeed.

Expresses its disquiet about the Washington agreement, which distances itself from the Vance-Owen plan.

Confirms the validity of the 'Seven Points for Peace in the former Yugoslavia' approved in Athens by the Council of the Socialist International.

Appreciates the efforts of Cyrus Vance, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg and asks all parties involved in the conflict to work for a positive outcome through mediation.

Stresses that any peace plan - be it

the Vance-Owen Plan or a new proposal - can only be based on safeguarding the sovereignty of Bosnia and maintaining the multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of Bosnia and of each State in the region.

Believes that in order to encourage a ceasefire and the re-opening of the peace negotiations, the international community must take the following measures:

- the continued rigorous enforcement of the embargo on Serbia, which has already led to the beginning of a change of attitude by the leaders in Belgrade, whilst also examining the possibility that the blue helmets be involved - alongside the forces of each country and in agreement with them - in the monitoring of borders and communication routes;
- the deployment of blue helmets or UN observers along the Drina, on the border of Serbia and Bosnia, to ensure the effective interruption of military and economic aid and logistical support for the paramilitary forces of the Bosnian Serbs;
- the imposition of sanctions against Croatia if annexations of territory, ethnic cleansing and the perpetration of human rights violations continue;
- the extension of protection zones of the UN blue helmets, with a mandate allowing them to ensure the defence of the civilian population and territories;
- the reinforcement of the blue helmet presence by the agreement of the principal member states of the United Nations to deploy their own military

forces and to make available the necessary financial means;

- the reaffirmation of the refusal to accept a 'fait accompli' and the determination that all the war crimes which have been committed should be punished.

Calls for the ending of the siege of Sarajevo, as a first step.

Calls for the rapid implementation of all necessary measures to avoid the extension of the conflict to Kosovo and to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Calls for the reconvening of all concerned parties in order to reopen the peace negotiations, from the starting point of the Vance-Owen Plan.

Calls for the provision of adequate financial support for the aid programmes set up by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and international organisations for the civilian population and for refugees.

In this context, a mandate is given to the Socialist International Committee for Central and Eastern Europe:

- to establish permanent contacts for consultation and advice with all the social democratic forces in the various Republics of the former Yugoslavia, and to examine the possibility of carrying out missions to the area;
- and to give help to the social democratic or democratic socialist parties of the region.

London, 28 May 1993

HUMAN RIGHTS: SI VIEWS PUT BEFORE WORLD CONFERENCE

The SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR, has had a period of intense activity centred on the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna from 14 to 25 June.

The committee, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch, Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPOe, met in Vienna on 4 May at the invitation of the Social Democratic Group of the Austrian Parliament. The committee chair and the SI secretary general, Luis Ayala, reported on their representation of the International at the meeting of the World Conference Preparatory Committee held in Geneva in April, where they held talks with the secretary general of the conference, Ibrahima Fall, and the chair of the Preparatory Committee, Halima Embarek Warzazi, with the heads of different Regional Groups and with a number of heads of national delegations from all continents.

The members of the SI Committee concurred on the importance of participation in the World Conference, in view of the great significance of its subject matter and the need to bring the Socialist International's highly developed approach to human rights questions to the widest possible public.

Participation in the Vienna Conference was discussed in the context of the committee's programme of work and the many issues of continuing urgency to be tackled in the coming period. These included, among others, questions affecting refugees, and women refugees in particular; children's rights; human rights and 'conditionality' of development aid; the relationship between human and economic rights; democracy, human rights and the media; questions affecting Islamic societies - with the



possibility of a joint meeting with the SI Middle East Committee; international humanitarian intervention, and the protection of human rights in the context of threats from terrorism.

As a non-governmental organisation having consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Socialist International was represented at the World Conference on Human Rights by an official delegation including Peter Jankowitsch, Chair of SICOHR; SI Secretary General Luis Ayala; Gabriel Lansky (Austria, SPOe); Steve Lee (Canada, NDP); Rudolf Binbig and Claudia Kornahrens (Germany, SPD); Dafna Sharfman (Israel, Labour Party); Jan Marinus Wiersma (Netherlands, PvdA), and Thomas Hammarberg (Sweden, SAP).

A memorandum, based on the SI platforms on human rights adopted by the XVIII Congress in 1989 and the XIX Congress in 1992 and outlining the International's hopes and expectations of the Vienna Conference, was prepared by the SI Committee on

Human Rights and circulated at the conference.

A further activity in the context of the World Conference was a Round Table of the political Internationals participating, on Human Rights and the issues raised by the conference, held in Vienna on 15 June. The Round Table which was opened by Heinz Fischer, president of the Austrian Parliament, and addressed by Conference Secretary General Ibrahima Fall, brought together leading spokespersons on human rights of the Socialist International, including SICOHR Chair Peter Jankowitsch and Vice-Chair Marco Tulio Bruni Celli, and of the Liberal and Christian Democrat Internationals, as well as delegates and observers at the World Conference and other distinguished guests. The three political Internationals subsequently issued a joint statement to the World Conference in support of the strengthening of global human rights and the capabilities of the United Nations in that field (see below).

**Memorandum of the Socialist International
Committee on Human Rights to the
World Conference on Human Rights,
Vienna, 14-25 June, 1993**

**HUMAN RIGHTS ARE
UNIVERSAL - AND SHOULD BE
ENFORCED**

Introduction

The World Conference on Human Rights is convened against the background of on-going massive and systematic violations in several countries and regions. The Conference, however, could make a difference:

- It could formulate an international vision on how human rights standards could be made a reality during the coming decades.

- It could address, and solve, the contradictions and misunderstandings which made the preparatory process such a painful exercise.

- It could give the United Nations effective means to monitor and promote the implementation of the international human rights treaties.

- It could lay the foundation for concrete actions against those who commit serious violations.

All that is possible if the political will is there.

The final purpose of the work for human rights is the freedom and protection of the individual. The human being should be the beneficiary and, at the same time, the central subject of human rights, including the right to be an active participant in the defence of these rights.

The promotion and protection of human rights are essential also for the full achievement of other purposes of the United Nations: peace and security, development of friendly relations among nations based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, international cooperation for economic and social development and joint efforts to solve problems of a humanitarian character.

The position of the Socialist International is clear. Rights and freedoms must be respected among all peoples and nations, and there must be constant vigilance, and condemnation wherever they are violated or denied. Conditions must be created for the effective enjoyment of human rights

all over the world. This is one of the most urgent political goals of our time.

Decisive measures are now required to enforce the agreed human rights standards. In this, national protection and promotion is essential. One purpose of international - or regional - monitoring is to encourage a serious approach to human rights within states: in law, in the judicial system, in the administrative apparatus, in industrial relations, in the education and health systems, etc.

Building an effective strategy against human rights violations requires an examination of the root causes, and measures to improve the situation of the most vulnerable and to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor.

Methods for enhancing international cooperation for economic, social and cultural rights must be further developed. There is no conflict between these rights and civil and political rights. All of them are universal, indivisible and interdependent.

One of the strongest reasons against restrictions of freedom of expression and freedom of assembly is precisely that these rights are so strategically important in the defence of all rights. Non-governmental organisations could - and do - play an important role for the enforcement of rights; the media could do the same, if their rights are respected.

These positions were formulated at the 1989 Congress of the Socialist International when a platform on human rights was adopted. It emphasised that true social welfare cannot be attained where individuals are deprived of their human rights, that fundamental rights and freedoms must be respected in every society regardless of its degree of development.

The following proposals to the World Conference are based on the principles of that platform. The purpose is to contribute to a constructive discussion. Emphasis has been put on the rights of women, the rights of the child; minority rights; economic rights and the right to development; the right to participation; and measures to

improve the UN work for human rights. These are areas in which it is particularly important that the Conference should reach bold decisions.

1. The status and human rights of women

1. The World Conference should take a clear position for the equal enjoyment by women of all human rights. This should include the possibility to take a full and active part in the political process. No gender-based discrimination can be accepted in the right to vote and be elected. In situations where prejudices undermine the genuine implementation of these rights, affirmative actions ought to be taken to address the problem of inequality. Such measures are also needed within the UN organisations themselves, at all levels.

2. Strong measures should be taken to protect women against violence in public and private life. Sexual harassment, exploitation and trafficking of women must be stopped. Preventive and punitive actions are needed to halt the maltreatment of women, also in a family context. Traditional practices which result in genital mutilation or other abuses against girls and women, including forced marriages, should be combatted. The Draft Declaration on Violence Against Women should be adopted at the next General Assembly, and its provisions applied in all states.

3. The violations of the rights of women in armed conflicts, in particular murder, rape and sexual slavery, should be treated as serious breaches of human rights and humanitarian law. Forceful actions by the international community are required, also against individual criminals who commit such atrocities. Refugees victimised by such war crimes should be granted asylum.

4. Discrimination against women in education should not be accepted. Strong efforts should be made to guarantee universal access to primary education with special emphasis for girls and accelerated literacy programmes

for women. Teaching at all school levels should promote egalitarian values. 5. Special attention should be given to the health and nutrition of the female child and to pregnant and lactating women. Conditions should be created to give women opportunities to decide whether to have children, and on their number and spacing.

II. The rights of the child

6. The World Conference should underline the importance of major national and international efforts to reduce infant mortality. Each state should take effective measures to reach the targets set at the World Summit for Children in September 1990.

7. The goal of universal access to basic education should be promoted with priority in national and international development programmes. Primary education should be compulsory and freely available to all children. Children have the right to learn about their rights.

8. Major steps are needed to prevent the suffering of children in armed conflicts. Humanitarian norms should be enforced and measures taken in order to facilitate assistance to children in war zones. There should be a ban against recruiting children as soldiers. The need for aftercare and rehabilitation of children traumatised by war is a grave concern; the fate of refugee children is a major challenge for the international community.

9. The acute problem of children under especially difficult circumstances must be addressed with priority. Development programmes for economic reform should include guarantees for the protection of the rights of the child; exploitation of children should be actively combatted. Effective measures are required against harmful child labour, including child prostitution.

10. The World Conference should urge all states to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. States which have done so but registered reservations, should be recommended to consider withdrawing these to strengthen the universal support for this important treaty. The Committee which has been appointed to monitor its implementation should be given adequate resources to fulfil this task.

III. The rights of minorities

11. Safeguarding the rights of the minority is an important aspect of genuine democracy and therefore one of the basic principles of human rights. The World Conference should request that peoples and individuals belonging to minorities or indigenous peoples be treated on the basis of equality; no discrimination in the enjoyment of their rights can be accepted. Their

desire to preserve their cultural, linguistic or religious identity should be respected and supported. They should have equal opportunity to participate fully in political and social life.

12. The Conference should welcome the recently adopted UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The next step is to agree on effective implementation procedures. Further standard-setting is however required for the protection of indigenous peoples; a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples should be adopted.

13. The protection of minority rights requires active political steps: public programmes in fields like education and professional training; and special measures to protect individuals, their property and common institutions. In certain cases affirmative action, such as minimum representation in elected bodies, can help prevent political discrimination. The freedom to organise politically must be guaranteed on the basis of the rule of law.

14. Concrete measures for the elimination of all forms of racism, xenophobia and related intolerance should be a priority item at the World Conference. This cannot be seen as an exclusively national affair. Further attempts should be made to build and develop mechanisms at international and regional level for the prevention and, if necessary, solution of conflict or communal strife between groups of different religion, nationality, ethnic belonging or other similar characteristics. It should also be recognised that minority problems are often intensified by social and material inequality, turning battles about economic distribution into ethnic and cultural conflicts. Human rights education is essential for harmonious relations between communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace.

15. The rights of asylum seekers and refugees must be protected also in periods of economic difficulties. Agreements should be sought in order to establish joint regional or international responsibility for a generous and coordinated application of refugee rights. Special assistance and care programmes for women and children in the refugee community are needed.

IV. Economic and social rights; the right to development

16. As all rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent there is no good reason for downgrading the importance of economic, social and cultural rights - or civil and political rights. It should be recognised that the division in the discussion between the two sets of rights is indeed artificial. Most human rights situations contain

elements of both, as illustrated by labour standards and trade union rights or the work for the rights of the child. The World Conference should take the lead on this point.

17. This, in turn, would require a reorganising of the agenda of the Commission on Human Rights. Optional Protocols should be prepared to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in order to allow for petitions and also to strengthen some of the substantive provisions. Relevant UN agencies should be encouraged to cooperate more closely with the Committee monitoring the application of the Covenant. The efforts to develop indicators to measure progress in the realisation of economic, social and cultural rights should be pursued.

18. A more constructive approach is needed also in relation to the discussion about the right to development. The aim should not be to formulate new standards - they basically exist already - but to clarify relationships between relevant background factors and human rights in the development process. This could be of great importance for both national and international implementation programmes.

19. Development programmes should aim for the realisation of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. They should be designed in a way that the individuals concerned could take part themselves in the process.

20. Steps should be taken to avoid a situation where programmes for structural adjustment and other economic restructuring victimise vulnerable groups and violate their rights. The international community has a clear responsibility in this regard.

V. Democracy: the right to participate

21. Democracy is based on the freely expressed will of the people - both in local and national affairs. This is at the same time a prerequisite for the full and effective enjoyment of all human rights.

22. The holding of free and fair elections is a necessary condition for genuine democracy. The World Conference should express its support to efforts under way to organise independent, international mechanisms for the systematic monitoring of elections.

23. The right to dissent is crucial in any democratic society and should be protected by constitutional law. No one should be harassed for the peaceful expression of views which may be seen as inopportune by the authorities.

24. The important role of non-governmental groups, including trade unions, should be recognised by the World Conference. Their freedom of operation is essential but is unfortu-

nately hampered by the authorities in some countries. The deliberate prevention of the work of human rights NGOs should be seen as a violation in itself. The work on a UN Declaration for the protection of human rights defenders should be pursued with a sense of urgency. Relevant bodies within the UN system should be encouraged to cooperate with the non-governmental community.

VI. Strengthening of the UN machinery

25. The World Conference should agree on basic principles for the strengthening of the United Nations work for human rights. The focus should move from standard-setting to implementation of agreed norms, even though more precise rules are needed for the abolition of the death

penalty and for the protection of vulnerable groups, including people discriminated against because of their sexual orientation. The Human Rights Centre should be reorganised and given substantially more administrative and financial resources; a quantum leap is required.

26. The Conference should in clear terms underline the paramount importance of the international human rights treaty system. It should recommend all states to ratify the treaties to which they so far have not acceded. A clear mechanism should be defined to deal with the problem of reservations which are not compatible with the object and purpose of the conventions.

27. The information and documentation facilities of the Centre should be improved to allow for an efficient handling of data. The public information programme should be developed and made more user-friendly.

28. The programme for advisory services and technical cooperation in the field of human rights should be energised, designed for further outreach and opened for closer cooperation also with NGOs.

29. The United Nations systems should develop a comprehensive human rights programme which would include the programmes of the specialised agencies and other UN bodies. Constructive coordination is called for.

30. The follow-up of the World Conference requires an energetic approach. The Secretary-General should appoint a special committee - with participation of both non-governmental organisations and UN agencies - to work out a concrete programme for the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference.

STATEMENT FROM THE POLITICAL INTERNATIONALS TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The world's three political Internationals participating at the World Conference on Human Rights have agreed to make joint recommendations to the World Conference meeting in Vienna.

We recommend that the United Nations take specific steps to strengthen global human rights and that the UN improve its own human rights coordination, monitoring, intervention capabilities and human rights resources.

We also agree to promote the ratification of human rights treaties and to promote the establishment of national human rights parliamentary committees as steps in supporting stronger UN efforts and abilities.

Recognising that this is an unusual show of political unity, and that a democratic society offers the best safeguards for human rights, we declare that we are in full agreement and completely united on the central importance of the defence of human rights and the right of the international community to intervene to defend them.

The Internationals are convinced that human rights are universal and indivisible.

The Internationals commit

themselves to take common initiatives to promote universal respect for human rights. We agree to jointly monitor human rights situations and human rights compliance.

We recommend:

1. That this Conference urge all states to ratify the international human rights covenants and treaties without delay. Universal ratification should be achieved no later than the year 2000. Ratifications should be secured without reservations.

2. That governments should comply with their reporting obligations to the human rights monitoring committees. They should cooperate with procedures allowing for individual complaints and give free access to fact-finding activities by Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups.

3. The establishment of a Special Commissioner for Human Rights in order to improve the United Nations system of coordination and in order to facilitate rapid intervention in urgent human rights situations.

4. The urgent adoption of a Declaration on the Protection of Human Rights Defenders.

5. Adoption by the next General Assembly of the draft Declaration on Violence Against Women and the

appointment of a special UN Rapporteur on this issue.

6. Enforcement of humanitarian norms and adoption of extra measures for assistance to children in war zones.

7. That the Conference recommend effective implementation procedures to enforce the UN Declaration on National, Ethnic and Religious Minorities.

8. Adoption this year of a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

9. Improving the operation and resources of the UN Human Rights Centre in order to strengthen its administration and activities. The Centre's budget should be doubled within the next two years and its staff enlarged to meet growing human rights challenges.

10. That the Secretary-General of the United Nations appoint a special committee, with the participation of governments, non-governmental organisations and relevant UN agencies, to design an action programme for the implementation of the decisions of this Conference. The three political Internationals offer to assist in this work.

Vienna, 17 June 1993

Christian Democrat
International

Liberal International

Socialist International

CONFERENCE IN ALMA-ATA

*Delegates
from
Kirghizstan,
Kazakhstan,
Russia and
Belarus*

The SI secretary general represented the International at a conference on 'Problems of Nationality in the Former Soviet Union' in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, from 30 April to 2 May. The conference was attended by delegates from political parties, including many social democratic parties, in all the republics of the former Soviet Union, together with some western European guests, and was organised with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and with the participation of Hans-Jochen Vogel, former leader of the Social



Democratic Party of Germany and an honorary president of the Socialist International. The three days of debates and discussions, led by politicians and academics from various republics of the

CIS, covered subjects including national identity, national conflicts, human rights, and the political and social rights of minorities, as well as the history and principles of social democracy.

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PEOPLE



Vendredi

Michel Rocard, above, prime minister of France from 1988 to 1991, in April became president of the Socialist Party of France, PS, at the head of a new party leadership charged with the preparation of the 'States General' of the party in July (see Socialist Notebook, page 53).

Rudolf Scharping, below, premier of Rhineland-Palatinate, was elected as the new leader of the German Social Democratic



Popperfoto

Party, SPD, by an extraordinary party congress on 25 June (see Socialist Notebook, page 53). The congress followed a ballot of party members on 13 June, in which Scharping comfortably led the other two candidates, with 40 per cent of the votes cast. The new party leader has indicated his willingness to stand against Chancellor Helmut Kohl in next year's elections.

José María Figueres, 38, son of the late José (Pepe) Figueres, three times president of Costa Rica who died in 1990, has been chosen as the presidential candidate of the National Liberation Party, PLN. Elections are due on 6 February next year. After his selection the candidate called on the party to work together for victory and the chance in government to wage a 'war on poverty'.

Ottaviano Del Turco was elected secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, in May. From 1983 until his election he was assistant general secretary of the CGIL trade union confederation.

Enrico Ferri is the new general secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party, PSDI.

The new president of Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela is **Pedro París Montesinos**.

Gaqo Apostoli is the new general secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Albania.

Janez Jansa, the country's current defence minister, was elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, SDSS, at its congress in Ljubljana on 15 May. The party council subsequently elected a new secretary general, **Brane Grims**.

Johan Jorgen Holst has replaced **Thorvald Stoltenberg** as foreign minister after the latter's appointment as a UN mediator in the former Yugoslavia. **Siri Bjerke**, formerly the international secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party, has become state secretary at the foreign ministry, while **Frode Forfang** has assumed responsibility for the party's international relations.

The Australian Labor Party has a new national president, **Barry Jones** and a new national secretary, **Gary Gray**.

Paavo Lipponen, below, was elected chair of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, at



its congress in Helsinki in June. He was elected to parliament first in 1983, having previously served as the party's international secretary. The party has chosen as its presidential candidate **Martti Ahtisaari**, a former diplomat who served as UN special representative in Namibia during the independence process and most recently as the chair of the Bosnia Working Group of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia.

Gonzalo Barrios, 91, a founder of Democratic Action, AD, and an honorary president of the Socialist International, died in Caracas on 30 May. He was, together with Rómulo Betancourt, Raúl Leoni and



Gonzalo Barrios

other veterans, a member of the 'Generation of 1928'. This was the group of students who in that year staged strong protests against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez. The protest was initially unsuccessful and some of its instigators, including Barrios himself, went into exile. Gómez' rule was to end only with the tyrant's death in 1935 after 27 years on power. But the experience was to weld together those who were later to establish Acción Democrática. Barrios held several ministerial posts including that of interior minister. He was AD presidential candidate in the 1968 elections.

■
Pierre Bérégovoy, a leading French socialist, senior cabinet minister and, from 1992 to 1993, prime minister of France, died at Nevers by his own hand on 1 May. Born in

1925 to a family of immigrants from the Ukraine, Bérégovoy left school at 16 and worked in the textile and railway industries. He was a strong opponent of France's policy in Algeria in the closing years of its rule there and a critic of the government of General de Gaulle. He learnt politics from, among others, Pierre Mendès-France and was a leading member of the group which sought to modernise French socialism. He was in charge of the presidential office after François Mitterrand won the presidency in 1981 and ran the successful presidential campaign in 1988.

From 1983 to his death Bérégovoy was mayor of Nevers. Speaking after Pierre Bérégovoy's death, President Mitterrand said, 'We are weeping for a man of integrity, a good man'.

■
Ian Mikardo, a vice-president of the Socialist International from 1978-83 and until 1992 one of its honorary presidents, died on 6 May.

The son of poor east European immigrants to Britain, Mikardo was born in Portsmouth into a community where the first language was Yiddish. He joined the British Labour Party and its Zionist affiliate Poale Zion but in his

youth had little opportunity for political work so pressing was his need to earn a living in the calamitous days of the 1930s slumps. He won a seat in parliament in 1945 among the flood of new MPs who were the basis of Clement Attlee's post-war Labour government. He continued in the House of Commons till 1987. In 1974 he was elected chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

■
Irving Howe, the notable US democratic socialist and co-chair of the SI member party Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, died in May aged 72. Born in the Bronx district of New York into a Jewish family of east European origin and humble circumstances, he started his working life as a freelance journalist and later reviewer for *Time* magazine. His academic career was crowned by a professorship of English at the City University of New York which he held until his retirement in 1986. He was an influential figure in making modern European and Israeli authors better known in the US.

He was the founder and for forty years the editor of the influential magazine *Dissent*.



Ian Mikardo



WOMEN & POLITICS

Journal of
Socialist International Women

39

**Publisher and Editor
Maria Jonas**

SIW REGIONAL MEETING, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA, 31 MAY 1993

At the invitation of the Popular Socialist Party of Argentina, PSP, Socialist International Women held an Executive meeting on 30 May 1993 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, followed by a Regional Meeting for Latin America and the Caribbean on 31 May 1993. 64 delegates and 40 observers from member organisations in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile (PR), Colombia (PL), the USA (DSA), Great Britain, Haiti (Konakom), Israel (MAPAM), Italy (PSI), the Netherlands, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela (AD), as well as representatives of Socialist International, IUSY and the Parliamentary Group of the Party of European Socialists attended the meeting. The SIW President, Anne-Marie Lizin, chaired the opening, when introductory statements on the theme 'Women and Work' were delivered by María del Carmen Viñas (Argentina), Sofía Leonoz Sánchez (Dominican Republic) and Ligia Doutel (Brazil). Ixora Rojas (Venezuela) read the paper prepared by Purificación Gutiérrez, the Director of the Women's Institute in Spain who was unable to attend the meeting. The region's Vice-President, Alejandra Faulbaum chaired the ensuing debate, the discussion and adoption of the declaration on the theme (see below).

Left to right: María del Carmen Viñas (Argentina); Maria Jonas, SIW General Secretary; Anne-Marie Lizin, SIW President; Alejandra Faulbaum, SIW Vice-President; and Clorinda Yelicic, Women's Secretary, PSP.



Encuentro Regional

Buenos Aires, 31 de Mayo de 1993



Maria Jonas

Declaration - Women and Work

40 The situation of women in Latin America is characterised by political, economic and socio-cultural discrimination. In the specific area of work, women in our region enter productive activity in a situation of total inequality which is demonstrated by lower wages and, in general, by jobs which demand few professional qualifications.

The 1980s saw substantial changes in the labour market, as well as in employer/employee relations. The continued economic stagnation resulted in an increase in official unemployment and under-employment, prolonging the decline in real incomes and worsening working conditions.

In Latin America, the implementation of neo-liberal policies has led to changes and the imposition of flexibility in employment practices. Consequently, norms and regulations have been adopted which seek to lower the cost of labour, to reduce incomes to subsistence levels, to weaken trade union activity and to diminish the responsibility of the state for social security.

The implementation of these policies has affected the different sectors of society in various ways, particularly middle-class and working-class women. It has led to modifications in the hours and working conditions of salaried work, making this work more insecure and forcing women, who have no other choice, to do housework. Women cannot do work they are qualified to do or wish to do. They have to accept whatever work they are offered: working illegally (without paying taxes or social security), domestic work, long hours, lack of infrastructures, low salaries, etc.

Under the pretext of modernising the state, in developing neo-liberal theories, the easy device of dismissing women workers is resorted to - seriously harming women - abolishing institutions which promote social development without replacing them with others which are better, severely limiting social investment in government budgets and in general reducing the role of the state.

Socialist International Women, meeting in Buenos Aires, urges its member organisations and all women, to reflect upon this reality, which is constantly changing and to implement action and programmes to defend the fundamental right to equality and dignity at work.

Our proposals for this are:

- To recommend to our parties that they propose alternatives to the neo-liberal model without which we cannot reverse the social and economic situation of our countries.
 - To review the contents of legislation now in force, in order to guarantee real equality of opportunity for women at work.
 - To demand the complete implementation of the said laws and to create instruments for participation in overseeing it.
 - The state should give priority to the provision of basic services like, for example, education, health and attention to the most disadvantaged sectors of society, with special emphasis on the infrastructures which give support to women, taking into particular account those women who have responsibility as head of household. To stimulate the solidarity and commitment of civil society as a whole to the duties described above.
 - With regard to the migrant population, we believe a shared agreement between those countries concerned is necessary, so as to guarantee proper living conditions, based on the principles of international solidarity and the unconditional respect for human rights.
 - To promote education for democracy and citizenship with particular emphasis on social and gender equality which will enable women to participate in the political, economic and social processes.
 - To adopt new alternatives of work, taking into account the changes in the labour market which will allow women to enter it with better conditions than the ones they have to put up with today.
 - To encourage women to participate in trade unions so that the trade unions can take up the struggle for the rights of women workers as an integral part of the general struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working class.
 - Women should become more and more influential in local communities, working on the definition, management and execution of public sector policies.
 - To make women aware of and train them in the defence and conservation of our planet.
 - To open channels whereby women can participate in decision-making on general economic and socio-cultural policies, so that the development plans take account of the basic necessities demanded by the female population.
 - To recommend to member organisations that they make efforts to promote respect for the rights of indigenous women.
- We women must articulate common action at national and international level which will put a brake on discrimination, inequality, as well as the ever more sophisticated and cruel forms of exploitation of women at work.

'HALF BY 2000' SAY AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

Margaret Reynolds



Women's policy issues were central to the Australian federal election in March - the burden of a consumption tax, the cost of health care and equal opportunities within the industrial relations system were widely debated before and during the campaign. Both the Prime Minister and Opposition Leader detailed policies on child-care, women's health and violence against women.

The Prime Minister recognised the necessity for a women's adviser and invited Anne Summers to join his personal staff early in 1992. Anne Summers has an impressive feminist background as an activist with the Women's Electoral Lobby, as head of the Office of the Status of Women and editor of *Ms* magazine. Her work as adviser was significant in educating the new prime minister about women's policy developments in areas not personally known by the former treasurer. While Paul Keating had participated in cabinet debate about a range of social reforms relating to the women's agenda and was particularly supportive in overhauling family payments and recognition of sole parents retraining needs, he was less familiar with issues like violence against women.

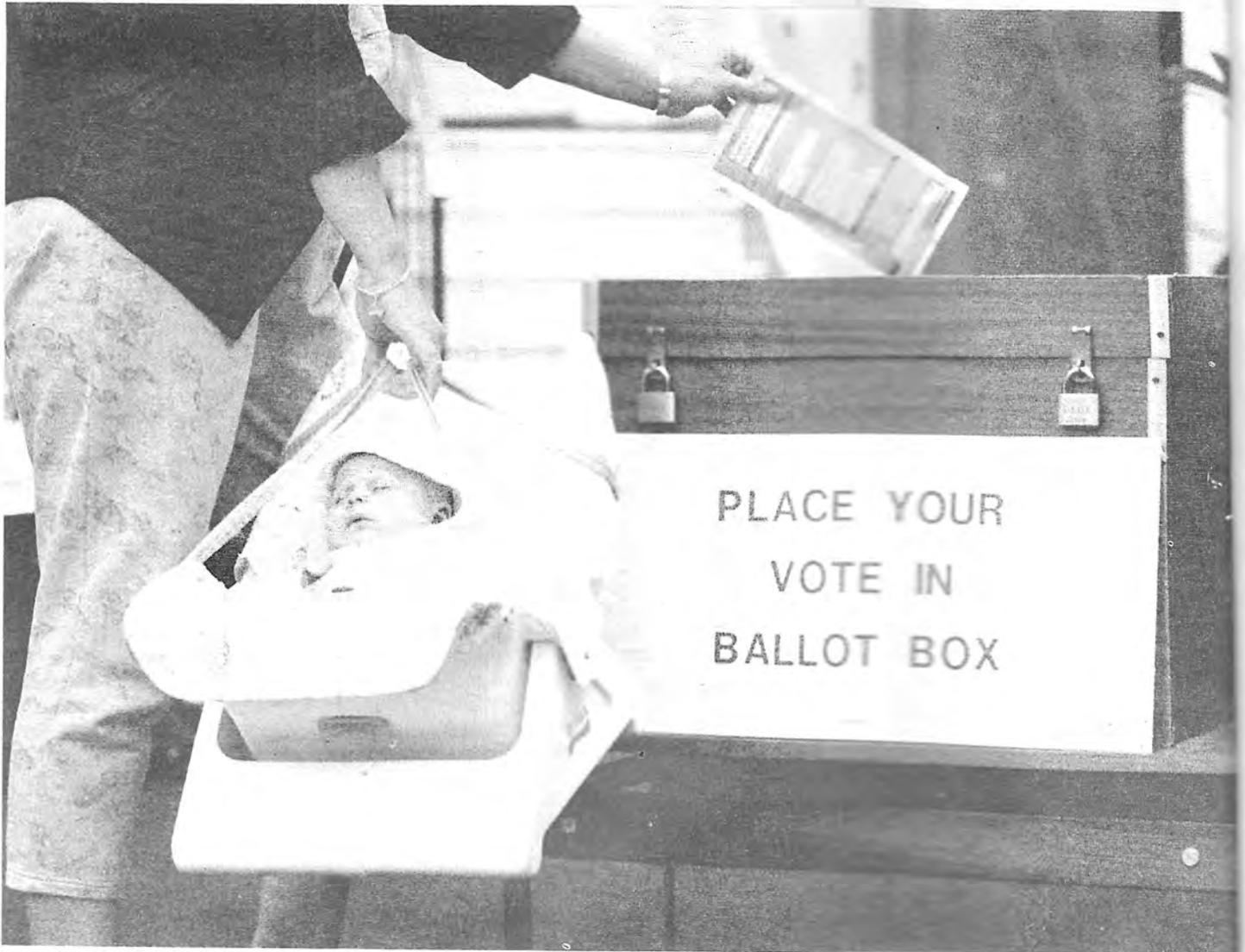
Summers provided both the philosophical and practical knowledge for updating policy advice to prepare the government for appealing to women voters in 1993. She oversaw market research to define the priority issues concerning Australian women in the 1990s and she developed subtle strategies to guarantee that the Prime Minister reflected an understanding of those issues. The Women's Electoral Lobby, still influential in 1993, issued a 'report card' summarising the record of both major parties in regard to their status of women policies:

"We have prepared reports on the careers and characters of two teams, the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal/National Party Coalition, who are competing for the position of running your enterprise. We have voluminous files on both contenders as we have been following their progress for many years.... Unfortunately, although both teams have shown flashes of interest and co-operation, in the main they have been far from model pupils, being slow to learn and too easily persuaded to join the big boys for a smoke at the back of the bicycle sheds. During their years here, both teams also displayed a distressing tendency to hog the lion's share of the food in the dining room, to stake claims to the largest part of the playgrounds and to continually interrupt and shout over the girls in debating sessions.

Nevertheless, as you will see when you study the accompanying report cards, one of the boys has shown rather more promise than the others in regard to those matters which lie closest to the heart of this school - matters that concern equity of opportunity for women, the well-being of their families and social justice for all - but not forgetting prosperity and productivity".

Throughout the election, both Labor and Liberal leaders targeted women voters with policies and speeches about child-care, superannuation, women's health and violence. But ultimately it was the Labor record of extensive social reform and commitment to a fairer society which returned the Keating Labor government with an increased majority. In his victory speech the prime minister acknowledged the women's vote of confidence with a special mention: 'And let me thank the women of Australia'.

One of the most interesting features of the overwhelming victory for Paul Keating



was the success of women candidates in marginal electorates. Four additional Labor women were elected, giving the Australian Labor Party (A.L.P.) nine of the 13 women in the Lower House and lifting the percentage of women's representation from four per cent to 8.8 per cent. However, the picture in the senate is less encouraging, with Labor losing one senior woman who has not been replaced, and three opposition senators also retiring without being replaced by women. Therefore the percentage of women's representation in the Senate has actually declined from 25 per cent to 19 per cent.

These figures reveal some optimism for Australian women's political participation, but obviously there is a need for urgent and creative action if women are to be more visible in parliaments by the year 2000. Census figures reveal that Australian women outnumber men by over 100,000 and in fact comprise 54 per cent of the voting population. The average Australian is a female in her thirties, yet our parliament is dominated by men over forty!

Australians are currently debating constitutional reform and the republican movement is gaining considerable momentum. It would seem that political parties, including the A.L.P. need to radically change their pre-selection procedures if women's representation is to reflect their place in a so-called egalitarian society. If this fundamental issue of equity is not addressed, then it is likely that gender will become a major issue in the constitutional reform debate. By the turn of the century, Australian women may demand a referendum to lock their guaranteed participation into the constitution and on present numerical strength such a proposition would no doubt attract an overwhelming Yes vote!

WOMEN & POLITICS

Issue 2/1993

The Australian Labor Party is gradually changing its image as the party of 'mates' with affirmative action deliberately increasing the numbers of women within party structures. However, there is no such policy in pre-selections so women are still offered very marginal seats, which they usually win and retain. It is of concern that the majority of Labor women now in the federal parliament are of similar age and will no doubt retire within a few years of each other and on present trends, there is no certainty that younger women will take their places. Therefore there are strenuous moves among women to seek creative new ways to guarantee a steady increase in the official endorsement of women as Labor candidates. Once women are elected they face considerable competition for promotion.

In 1987, Prime Minister Bob Hawke made a public commitment to a minimum of three women in his ministry and had to negotiate with the three factions which control selection of ministers to ensure his goal was attained. While there were three women appointed in July 1987 - Hon. Senator Susan Ryan, myself and Hon. Ros Kelly, this representation only lasted six months when the retirement of Susan Ryan both reduced the number of ministers and left the cabinet itself without a woman member for over two years. While Ros Kelly entered cabinet in 1990, the number of women ministers remained at two until 1992, when Jeanette McHugh filled a vacancy.

After the recent 1993 election there was again public debate about the number of women to be appointed to Prime Minister Paul Keating's new ministry. Rumour spread that only two women ministers had any chance of being returned as the male majority jockeyed for positions for themselves. Media speculation highlighted a range of men who were described as obviously talented and eligible for appointment. Yet again, the women would have been left behind had the Prime Minister not personally negotiated to ensure the final representation of three women ministers and one parliamentary secretary, just four of the forty prize positions!

Clearly if women are to become more influential in government, we must maximise the numbers being elected, so that there is a greater number of women in the caucus when voting procedures *within* determine who will gain access to the power wielded within ministeries.

So the task for Australian Labor women is obvious - we must increase the numbers of women in our branches, at pre-selections, in government and ultimately more women take their places at the cabinet table. We have a slogan in Queensland - 'Half by 2000'. Optimistic? Yes, but with six and a half years of determined action, we may yet achieve that goal.

Senator Margaret Reynolds has represented Queensland since March 1983. In 1987 she became Minister for Local Government and in January 1988 she assumed responsibility as Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women.

THE US ELECTORAL SYSTEM EXPLAINED

Dear sisters,

It was with great interest that I read Christine Riddiough's evaluation of the US election results in *Women and Politics* 4/92. What I felt it lacked, however, was an outline of the electoral system. We tend to get confused over the preliminaries, the electoral college and voter registration. Can you help those of us who lack this basic knowledge?

Can I add how interesting I find *Women and Politics*, which is always full of topical articles and which deals with issues not covered elsewhere. In solidarity,

Tim Oshodi
London E3

Christine Riddiough, SIW Vice-President, replies

The US electoral system is different from those of most democracies in several respects. In the United States elections are held on a regular basis - they are not called when the ruling party loses a key vote in Congress (the US equivalent of parliaments). The Congress is a bicameral legislature; it includes the US House of Representatives and the US Senate.

The House is made up of 435 voting delegates and five non-voting delegates from Puerto Rico, American Samoa, the US Virgin Islands, Guam and the District of Columbia (Washington, DC - the nation's capital and the only world capital whose residents are not fully represented in the national legislature). Each member of the House is elected on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in even-numbered years. They each represent an area within a state that includes about 500,000 people. These districts are redrawn every ten years after the census (the most recent one was in 1990). The Senate is made up of 100 senators, two from each state (a state is similar to a province in other countries). One-third of the senators are elected every two years to six year terms.

The president and vice-president are elected together every four years. While members of Congress can serve for indefinite periods, the president and vice-president can serve for only two consecutive terms. This provision was added to the US constitution after the death of President Franklin Roosevelt in 1945. Roosevelt is the only US president to be elected more than twice. In electing the president and vice-president voters choose a

slate - they cannot vote for candidates for these two offices from different parties, although they can, and often do, vote for candidates for Congress, governor or other offices from different parties. When the polls close on election day, the votes from each state are counted. The candidate who has the most popular votes carries the state.

The president and vice-president are not officially elected until December when the electoral college meets. In the US constitution, voters actually elect 'electors' - members of the electoral college, when they vote for president. Each state has the number of electoral votes equal to the number of senators plus the number of representatives from the state. In addition, the District of Columbia has three electoral votes. When a candidate carries the state, they are expected to receive all of that state's electoral votes. Because of this system, several candidates have won, including Bill Clinton, without receiving a majority of the popular vote. There have been a few instances where a candidate received a majority of the popular vote, but lost in the electoral college.

Candidates for the office of president and vice-president are nominated by party conventions or are placed on the ballot by circulating petitions in each state. During the spring of an election year, state primary elections are held in many states to select delegates committed to one of the candidates. Those delegates attend the summer conventions and help nominate the party's candidate for office. Candidates for other offices are placed on the ballot in the same way. In large part because of the US 'winner take all' voting system, it is very difficult for candidates from outside the major parties to succeed. Ross Perot, for example, while capturing almost 20 per cent of the popular vote, received no electoral votes. There is only one person in the entire US Congress (Bernie Sanders, a socialist from Vermont) who is not a member of either the Democratic or Republican Parties. The last time a 'third party' candidate was successful in winning the presidency was in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln became the first Republican president. Prior to that election the two major parties were the Democratic Party and the Whigs.

US political parties are also less ideological than their European counterparts. While each of the parties adopts a platform at its quadrennial convention, the platforms are often ignored by party candidates. Nonetheless, over the last 60 years, the Republican Party has become identified as the party of business and wealth, while the Democratic Party includes most of the more progressive forces in the United States: African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, feminists, gays and lesbians, labor. Over the last decade, the Republican Party has grown increasingly conservative, while the Democratic Party has moved to the centre, especially on many economic and fiscal issues. There is still a vocal progressive segment of the Democratic Party and Ron Dellums, a Democratic member of the US House from California, is a Democratic Socialist of America (DSA) Vice-Chair.

To put the US Democratic Party in the world political context, let me note a recent article in the *Washington Post*. The article described the work over the last decade of Pamela Harriman. Harriman is the widow of former New York Democratic governor Averell Harriman and a Democratic fundraiser. Before her marriage to Harriman, she was married to Randolph Churchill, son of former British Conservative Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Harriman was born and raised in England and was active in Conservative politics there. When the *Post* asked her whether there was a contradiction between being a Conservative in England and a Democrat in the United States, she replied that in fact the two parties were quite similar in their outlooks.

The US Democrats are clearly on the left of American politics, but that, to a large extent, simply reflects the work that democratic socialists here have yet to do.

IS THE EC SERVING WOMEN WELL?

Martine Buron

Industrious at school, good workers, educated and numerous, European women are continuing their journey on the long road towards scholastic, social and economic equality. Since the very beginning of this century, they have been fighting for their rights and invading the labour market. Are all areas surrendering? Obviously not - in many places males are resisting. But for how long?

The first battlefield is education: the army is on the march. To be convinced of this, simply consider the school attendance rates of girls throughout the European Community, the level of success they reach, even in junior schools, and the persistence with which, in some classes, they do better than boys (this can be noted in all highly-developed countries).

We often hear that the poor conditions for women in the labour market are due to an inferior level of training. This argument is often used as a pretext for perpetuating differences in salaries and promotion at work. Now, in a majority of EC member states, as many women as men pursue higher education. But there are still wide differences between the career patterns of boys and girls who entered university in the same year.

In fact, the distribution between the various branches and sectors of employment goes on showing clear sexual segregation. With an 'A level' qualification, a boy - in France for instance - will find a job in government services (18 per cent), services and enterprise (6.8 per cent), agriculture (6.7 per cent), construction and public works (5.4 per cent). These four branches represent only 42 per cent of the careers which boys follow.

For a girl with the same 'A level' qualification, the jobs available are first in government services (27.7 per cent), services (16.1 per cent), services in enterprises (8.5 per cent), banks (5.9 per cent) and food sales (5.1 per cent). These five branches of the tertiary sector amount to 63.3 per cent of the activities falling to girls, who are thus concentrated in a much narrower range of jobs.

A question arises which poses a challenge to politicians: how will the general and striking expansion of girls' education be translated in the economic organisation of society? How will their deep investment in acquiring knowledge find its natural expression? It is a fact that female employment has grown. The EC total for women at work is 38.26 per cent (highest: Denmark with 45.58 per cent; lowest: Ireland with 29.76 per cent). This phenomenon has been marked in Europe in the last quarter of this century and has increased in the past ten years. It has been statistically proven that from 1975 to 1980 the annual growth of the rate of female employment was superior in every EC member state to the overall growth rate. Even during the years between 1980 and 1985, when the overall employment growth rate was negative, the rate of women's employment continued to increase.

But this increase in women's employment comes up against the same problem in all the member states: the problem of childcare. It is obviously easier for women without children to enter the labour market. Their number is greater amongst the active female population, except in Denmark, where 43.58 per cent of women work and where the number of day-nurseries is sufficient.

Finding a job is difficult; fighting against discrimination inside companies is even harder. This discrimination is evident both in comparisons of various sectors of economic activity and within those sectors, in the distribution of tasks in the very organisation of companies. In Europe, almost three-quarters of women work in the service sector, whereas men work in agriculture or industry. Women are concentrated in a

narrow range of activities, less well paid and rather less prestigious than the activities carried out by men. Even if, as seen above, girls obtain the best results at school, the stereotypes which we try to combat at school reappear very fast in the workplace, where women are confined to tasks of execution, rather than tasks which require initiative and creativity.

Significantly, the industries that have shown a real interest in taking on women in the past years have been in growth sectors: food production, electronics, printing and publishing. But in these sectors growth has been mainly due not to investment in capital or technological modernisation, but to the low cost of the female labour. Where new technologies have been introduced, many repetitive tasks traditionally assigned to female workers have been computerised.

Since the establishment of the EC, the issue of equality of treatment for women in the labour market and in the workplace have been inscribed in the Treaty of Rome (Article 119), and Community institutions have paid specific attention to the problem of discrimination in the education and vocational training of women and their equal opportunity of access to all fields of employment. The European Parliament, under pressure from its permanent Committee for the Rights of Women - a rarity in parliaments of the EC - has insisted year after year on the importance of using Community policies and funds to promote this goal. Its efforts were recognised when the Council of Ministers adopted a recommendation encouraging member states to promote 'non-traditional' vocational training for women. Through the orientation of the European Social Fund (ESF), the EC Commission has invited members to intensify and diversify the vocational training of girls seeking a first job and of women wishing to pursue new qualifications in order to return to the labour market.

Freedom of movement, goods, capital and services in the single market will doubtless provoke industrial and social change. Doubtless this change will not have the same consequences for men and women.

One of the dangers of the coming years is the decreasing proportion of traditional full-time, stable jobs under the authority of a single employer, and the growth of casual, part-time and temporary jobs. The common view has been that this type of job corresponds to the wishes of women seeking to adapt their working time to family needs. This may be true to a certain extent and in certain conditions. But, once more, only when this kind of job began to proliferate and to affect men also, did people become aware that this situation could be dangerous and mean instability and less protection for workers.

There are many types of 'atypical' jobs, from proper job-sharing, where a full-time job is divided into two part-time jobs, to very casual or specific forms of work, often bordering on illegality. In economies which are made fragile by a high rate of unemployment, all types of atypical work are characterised by a certain degree of insecurity and marginalisation, because they often escape the central authorities and because they are covered by inadequate social protection and insurance. One might expect that, precisely because of this instability and insufficient social protection, wages would be higher. But exactly the opposite is the case. In fact a correlation exists between atypical jobs and women, and the development of this kind of job has contributed to the growth of women's employment. But it is clear that this introduces further discrimination, assigning women to unstable, low-paid jobs with no career prospects.

To face the difficulties of the coming years for women, the European Community has sought to promote specific approaches. In 1991 the Commission published the 'Third Action Programme' for equality between women and men (1991 - 1995). Recognising that only a global approach would solve the problem, and in order to make equality policies as effective as possible, the EC Council of Ministers declared it opportune:

- to reinforce the cooperation between the Commission, member states, regional and local authorities and the social partners;
- to intensify the social dialogue as part of equality;
- to integrate the aim of equality between men and women in the formulation and implementation of the policies and of their respective action programmes;
- to ensure the application and improvement of legal provisions;
- to improve the availability of information on rights and obligation;
- to increase the participation of women in the labour market;
- to improve the quality of women's work by recognising their abilities, above all by enforcing action in education, vocational training, and setting policy for companies;
- to bring into operation measures to enable the reconciliation of family and professional responsibilities for both men and women;
- to promote greater participation of women in the media and, most importantly, to

give in the media the best and most realistic image of women in society;
-to encourage measures intended to promote women's participation in the decision-making process in public, economic and social life.

The text also invites the social partners:

- to make a point of including equality of opportunity within collective bargaining;
- to continue and strengthen social dialogue on the subject of reconciliation of professional and family responsibilities and the protection of the dignity of women and men at work (a nice way of saying sexual harassment);
- to include in collective bargaining the subjects of equal pay and the elimination of discrimination on the basis of sex in systems of evaluation and/or classification of functions;
- to take all necessary measures to promote the representation of women in decision-making bodies.

A very different field of European Community legislation which has a strong impact on women's everyday lives, although it applies to both men and women, must also be insisted upon - directives concerning health and safety in the workplace. Significant advances have been made, laying down conditions for work on VDU screens, putting strict limits on, or forbidding exposure to a variety of dangerous substances, with particular regard to pregnant women. All this legislation is based on provisions in the 1986 Single Act, allowing its adoption by a majority of member states (and not, as usual, by unanimity).

The question of equal opportunities for women has thus been present in the policies of the European Community since the very beginning. It has also promoted the creation of a very active network of women throughout the Community, exchanging ideas and experiences, organising common struggles - and this solidarity is very effective.

Where do we stand today? Legislative means to allow further progress exist in Community institutions. These are extended in the Maastricht Treaty - regrettably Great Britain has excluded itself and its workers from the benefit of the Social Protocol - which allows all decisions concerning working conditions to be adopted by a majority vote, and recognises the possibility of positive discrimination in favour of women.

But politically we are at a stalemate: today, in the extremely unstable and constantly changing European panorama, the question of women's conditions suffers from the same 'low-priority' status as the whole of the social dimension. Unfortunately, the promotion of best practice offered to women at work is still an 'intellectual concept'. In 'real life' it is the same old story. For instance, let us look at the Maternity Directive.

In December 1991, a common position was arrived at by the European Council. The Parliament did not find it satisfactory, so we tabled amendments. In spite of the fact that they were voted for by a large majority, and that they were re-adopted by the Commission, the Council rejected the new text, in an illegal way.

The main points of disagreement were the level of wages (the average etc), the number of weeks holiday and above all the fact that maternity leave was treated as comparable to sick leave. We socialist women in the Parliament could not bear this comparison. That is why we were fighting the Council for an improved text. It is true that some of our colleagues, from countries with weak legislation on maternity tempered our anger. But we were ready to ask the Commission to remove the text and wait for it to come up with improved legislation.

In the end, the final text is bad, but maternity issues are no longer treated as comparable to sickness and the directive has to be revised in five years time.

This kind of text, in spite of the sexist character of the matter, shows the extreme complexity of establishing European social legislation. Some countries' legislation is so weak that it is hard to convince them to implement more progressive texts, while countries with much more progressive legislation are afraid to assist and participate in the implementation of texts that are weaker than, for instance the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions.

The European social model, based on a certain idea of labour relations and confidence in human resources, has proved its efficiency. Women have been playing a growing role in this, and today, more than ever, it cannot be cast aside for reasons of competitiveness. On the contrary, it is a token of Europe's competitiveness.

But pressure on the political decision-makers in this field must come from public opinion, and particularly from a better consciousness among women that the battle for equality, for all the progress made in the past years, is far from being won.

*Martine Buron MEP is
Coordinator of the Social Affairs
Committee of the European
Parliament. She is Mayor of
Chateaubriant and General
Councillor of the Loire
Atlantique.*

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ALBANIA

PSD conference

The second national conference of the Social Democratic Party of Albania, PSD, was held in Tirana on 17-18 April. In attendance were 319 delegates elected by 36 party branches, as well as over 100 representatives of the party's youth, women's and trade union organisations. Also present were delegates from a number of fraternal SI parties.

The PSD won 4.4 per cent of the vote and seven seats in Albania's 140-member assembly in the March 1992 elections and currently participates in the coalition government headed by the Democratic Party, holding the important portfolio of cabinet secretary general. The party has over 25,000 members throughout the country.

In his report to the conference, Party Chair Skender Gjinushi focused on the PSD's performance in parliament and in central and regional government. As well as charting the party's future course, Gjinushi also dealt with the external problems of the new Albanian democracy.

Decisions by delegates included adoption of a new party statute and resolutions on economic reform and the national question. As well as confirming Gjinushi as party chair, the conference elected Gaqo Apostoli as PSD general secretary.

AUSTRALIA

Labor moves for a republic

Following the victory of the Australian Labor Party, ALP, in the March general election (see 1/93, page 57), party leader and Prime Minister Paul Keating announced a new 19-member cabinet.

Brian Howe remained deputy prime minister and Gareth Evans in charge of an expanded foreign ministry. Newcomers to the cabinet included Graham Richardson, taking over at health; Laurie Brereton at industrial relations; John



Right:
Paul
Keating

Faulkner at veterans' affairs; Bob McMullen, a former national secretary of the Labor Party, arts and administrative services; and Michael Lee, tourism. Ros Kelly remained the only woman in the cabinet, with revised responsibilities for sport, environment and territories.

In April Keating re-stated his election pledge to move towards the severance of the constitutional link with the British monarchy. A 10-member Republic Advisory Committee has been appointed, in line with Labor's commitment to secure the widest possible consensus on the issue. The committee, headed by well known republican lawyer Malcolm Turnbull, will prepare the ground for a national debate on the options to be decided by referendum.

AUSTRIA

33rd SPOe congress

The governing Austrian Social Democratic Party, SPOe, held its 33rd congress in Vienna on 3-4 June, under the chairmanship of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. SI President Pierre Mauroy was among those who addressed the congress, as was Swedish Social Democratic Party Chair Ingvar Carlsson.

Congress deliberations centred

on reform of the party statutes and on economic and social policy issues. Keynote speeches were given by the Austrian finance minister, Ferdinand Lacina, and the minister for employment and social affairs, Josef Hesoun.

BOLIVIA

Jaime Paz bows out - for now

Almost 2.4 million Bolivians cast their votes on 6 June to choose 130 parliamentary deputies and 30 senators, and to decide between 14 candidates for president. This was Bolivia's sixth democratic election in a decade, in a country which has experienced 189 coups d'état and which returned to civilian rule as recently as 1982.

The SI's member party, the Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, led by the outgoing president, Jaime Paz Zamora, allied itself in 1989 with the Christian Democratic Party and with a former sworn enemy - the Democratic Nationalist Action Party, ADN, of General Hugo Banzer. The three formed the Patriotic Accord, AP, and agreed in 1992 to support Banzer's candidature for the presidency. The general's running-mate was Oscar Zamora, a former guerrilla leader. Such a broad alliance, which would have been unthinkable a few years ago, reflected the MIR's commitment to placing Bolivian politics on a new plane.

In the poll, Banzer came second, with 20 per cent of the vote, while mining magnate and former planning minister Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada of the centre-right Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, MNR, won 34 per cent.

President Paz Zamora, who was not eligible under the constitution to stand for re-election, said the poll was conducted in a calm atmosphere. Reviewing his term of office, he noted with satisfaction the economic changes Bolivia had seen from 1989 to 1993. After the hyperinflation of the 1980s, his government, pursuing modernisation through a politics of consensus, had brought the rate down to 9 per cent, the lowest in South

America, and now accompanied by significant growth. Inroads have also been made in combating the cocaine industry (see 3/91, page 54) and coup attempts, the most recent one linked to drug-traffickers, were withstood.

Banzer announced on 9 June that he would not stand in the run-off presidential vote to be held in the congress on 6 August between the top three candidates, which is required because none secured an absolute majority. Sánchez, whose party secured 50 congressional seats and a majority in the senate, is considered to be assured of the presidency. He has pledged to continue in the spirit of consensus, but is expected to push forward with a privatisation programme opposed by the labour movements.

BULGARIA

BSDP forges wider union

Prior to holding its fifth national conference at the beginning of May, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP, entered into an enlarged political alliance with 11 other formations of the centre-left. The BSDP has been seeking to build a 'third force' between the former communist Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, and the conservative Union of Democratic Forces, UDF.

In March, the BSDP formed the Bulgarian Social Democratic Union, BSDU, with three other parties (see 1/93, page 58). The following month it was a signatory of a 'protocol of collaboration' with 11 other parties, two of them represented in parliament, with the main aim of reducing the polarisation characteristic of the present Bulgarian political scene. To this end, the leaders of the 12 parties formed a council to coordinate political strategies.

Other objectives of the new alliance include 'the real fulfilment of social and trade reforms'; opposition to unconstitutional attempts to destabilise elected state bodies and opposition to attempts to restore any form of totalitarianism or authoritarianism.

Held in Sofia on 1-2 May, the BSDP national conference adopted a political resolution expressing qualified support for the incumbent Berov 'government of experts' backed by the BSP and the ethnic Turkish Movement for Rights and Freedoms, MRF. 'The most important thing', the resolution said, 'is that this government is leading a process of national dialogue and is against political extremism'. Other declarations opposed political organisation based on ethnic or religious identity and called for the full implementation of the law on the reorganisation of the cooperative movement adopted in 1991.

Following the conference, 13 BSDU parliamentary deputies associated themselves with a new Citizens Alliance for the Republic, established on 30 May by dissidents of the former ruling Union of Democratic Forces, UDF. On 16 June BSDP President Petar Dertliev became leader of an alliance of 22 parties and organisations which pledged their support for President Zhelev.

In a pre-conference memorandum, Dertliev noted that the BSDP had a 100-year history and had 'preserved the main social democratic values' while adapting to 'the conditions of economic and political transition'.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Election date agreed

Uncertainty about the date of much-postponed multi-party elections in the Central African Republic appeared to be resolved when agreement was reached on 10 June that presidential and legislative polling would take place on 22 August. Leading the demand that the military regime should set an early election date has been the Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, an SI observer party.

Following the abortive elections of October 1992 (see 4/92, page 64), manoeuvring by the regime had included the appointment of a bewildering succession of new

prime ministers and transitional legislative bodies. Previously set for 5 or 30 May, new elections were then postponed until October, but later brought forward to August.

The 10 June agreement that polling would take place in August followed pressure from the FPP and other opposition parties.

CHILE

Concertación backs Frei for president

At a convention held on 30 May, the governing *Concertación*, which includes the Radical Party, PR, the Socialist Party, PS, and the Party for Democracy, PPD, as well as the Christian Democrats, chose Senator Eduardo Frei, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, as its candidate in the presidential elections due in December 1993. The convention followed voting for presidential candidates by members and activists of the coalition parties in primary elections throughout the country.

COLOMBIA

Elections approach

As Colombia prepares for next year's presidential and legislative elections, the M-19 Democratic Alliance announced in April that it was proposing its leader, Antonio Navarro Wolf, as a candidate for the presidency. The AD M-19 will seek endorsement of Navarro's candidature from several other parties. Following his nomination, Navarro resigned as president of his party to campaign, and was replaced by a collective leadership consisting of Camilo González, Orlando Fals Borda, Carlos Franco and Senators Everth Bustamante and Pedro Bonett.

The Liberal Party, leading a multi-party government of national unity in which the AD M-19 also participated until November 1992 (see 4/92, page 33), will present its own candidate to succeed President César Gaviria Trujillo.

The state of emergency declared

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in November was extended in February by the new interior minister, Fabio Villegas Ramírez, who succeeded to the post following the resignation on 12 January of his Liberal Party colleague Humberto de la Calle Lombana.

Other Liberal ministers, Carlos Holmes Trujillo García and Alfonso Caballero, resigned in March to campaign for the 1994 congressional elections. They were succeeded, at education and agriculture respectively, by Maruja Pachón and José Antonio Ocampo.

CYPRUS

Impasse at UN talks

Resumed UN-brokered talks in New York reached another impasse in early June, as the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders failed to agree on the implementation of confidence-building measures designed to ease the path to an overall settlement of the Cyprus question.

Convened on 24 May, the new negotiating round brought the new Greek Cypriot president, Glafkos Clerides, together with the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash. Elected in February with the support of the SI member EDEK Socialist Party (see 1/93, page 59), Clerides developed his longstanding personal relationship with Denktash, but did not secure any movement on the key issues at stake.

The new talks centred on a UN Security Council resolution of 24 November 1992 that the two sides should take various steps to ease tensions on the ground. These included the transfer of the much-disputed Varosha suburb of Famagusta - Greek-populated until 1974 but now under Turkish Cypriot control - to UN administration within the framework of the existing UN presence on the island.

Denktash responded with counter-proposals calling for international recognition of certain other parts of Turkish-controlled northern Cyprus. These were seen by Clerides as an attempt to move towards legal acceptance of the

division of Cyprus, in contravention of the Greek Cypriot (and UN) insistence that the island should remain a single state. There were also other major differences between the two sides.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reacted to the breakdown of the talks on 1 June by setting a deadline of 14 June for Turkish Cypriot compliance with the transfer of Varosha. However, this deadline passed without further UN action being taken.

DENMARK

Yes to Maastricht second time round

In the second referendum on the EC's Maastricht treaty in less than a year, the Danish electorate on 18 May voted decisively in favour of ratification. In a turnout of 85.6 per cent, the Yes camp took 56.8 per cent of the vote and those against only 43.2 per cent.

In the first referendum last June,

Danish voters had stunned EC leaders by narrowly rejecting the treaty. The then centre-right government determined to reverse the verdict, for which purpose it sought a broad party consensus on the special terms required by Denmark to make the treaty more palatable.

In October 1992 six of the seven parliamentary parties endorsed a package of Danish demands, including the right to opt out of common currency, defence and citizenship arrangements, and also out of legal and police cooperation on matters such as illegal immigration. Parties endorsing this agreement included the then opposition Social Democrats, whereas the populist Progress Party was the only parliamentary formation which did not join the consensus.

The Danish requirements were largely accepted by the EC heads of government meeting in Edinburgh in December, following which the outcome of a second referendum was in little doubt.

The new SDP-led coalition which took office in January (see

**Poul Nyrup
Rasmussen
casts his
vote**



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1/93, page 60) campaigned vigorously for a Yes vote, as did the opposition Conservative and Liberal parties.

The SDP prime minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen commented: 'Three hundred thousand Danes changed their vote this time. But the still substantial No vote also sends the message that we must all work harder to make the Community more open, more democratic and closer to ordinary people'.

In an initiative to rebuild national unity, the government on 19 May announced new economic policy measures described as 'an offensive against unemployment'.

Pledging his government to 'breaking the curve of rising unemployment', Rasmussen predicted that the new measures would bring the jobless rate down from the present 12 per cent to 11 per cent in 1994. The programme includes a major income tax reform designed to reduce marginal rates from 52-68 to 38-58 per cent, the cuts to be financed by 'green' taxes on energy and water consumption.

EL SALVADOR

MNR prepares for poll

In El Salvador, where general elections are due next March, SI member party the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, is mobilising for the campaign. The United Nations security council has resolved to send 900 observers to oversee the poll.

The country continues to pick up the pieces after years of civil war. The UN recorded almost 1,500 human rights violations by Salvadorean security forces during the second half of 1992, and the March 1993 report of the Truth Commission, established as part of the peace process, confirmed that the government side had been responsible for the vast majority of atrocities and abuses during the conflict.

International pressure and the resolute stance of opposition groupings in El Salvador forced the government to proceed on 1 July

with a limited and much delayed purge of high-ranking army officers, including the defence minister. The retention of officers implicated in massacres and selective assassinations had jeopardised the pacification process (see 4/92, page 55), and the government's reluctance to concede on the issue was reflected in its passage on March 20 of a blanket amnesty which was opposed by the MNR and other progressive forces.

FIJI

FLP members walk out

The 13 representatives of the Fiji Labour Party, FLP, began a boycott of the House of Representatives on 23 June in protest against the failure of the government of Maj.-Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka to enter into talks on various issues of concern to the FLP and its predominantly ethnic Indian supporters.

The FLP had given crucial support to Rabuka and his Fijian Political Party, FPP, following the May 1992 elections, enabling Rabuka to become prime minister. But FLP backing had been conditional upon implementation of an agreement of 2 June 1992 providing for an immediate review of the controversial 1990 constitution (which entrenched the privileges of ethnic Melanesians). Also promised in the agreement were reviews of existing land ownership and labour laws and of the desirability of introducing VAT.

Explaining the FLP walk-out, Labour Parliamentary Leader Mahendra Chaudhry noted that Rabuka had been given a whole year to honour his undertakings but had failed to take even the first steps to initiate the promised reviews. 'Instead', he continued, 'Indians have been completely sidelined... and the government has gone ahead and produced its own agenda without any consultations'.

Chaudhry added that by continuing to sit in parliament the FLP members were 'merely giving our tacit endorsement to the government's dubious game-plan'. Instead, the party would now 'go

back to the people and obtain their views on what needs to be done'. It would also mount an international campaign 'to put pressure on the government to move swiftly towards amending the 1990 constitution so that it conforms to internationally accepted norms of human, political and civil rights'.

In an attempt to defuse the crisis, President Ganilau proposed the expansion of the cabinet sub-committee on constitutional affairs to include FLP representatives. However, Chaudhry dismissed the initiative as 'simply another scheme to drag on the whole matter'. For his part, Rabuka reacted by asserting (from Tahiti) that by walking out of parliament the FLP had ruled itself out of any future discussions on the country's constitution.

FINLAND

SDP elects new chair and presidential candidate

The 36th congress of the opposition Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, took place in Helsinki on 3-6 June and elected Paavo Lipponen as the new chair. It also endorsed Martti Ahtisaari as the SDP candidate in the presidential elections due in early 1994 (see People, page 37).

The vacancy in the top party



Martti Ahtisaari

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post arose because of the resignation of Ulf Sundqvist in February (see 1/93, page 61).

In other congress voting, Antero Kekkonen and Liisa Jaakonsaari were elected vice-chairs of the party, while Markku Hyvärinen was re-elected general secretary.

In the light of Finland's application in March 1992 for membership of the European Community, European integration featured prominently in the congress deliberations. In a resolution adopted on 4 June, delegates expressed support for the Maastricht treaty's goal of European union, stressing that the aim of the social democratic movement is 'a people's Europe'.

Calling for speedy completion of the entry negotiations, the resolution asserted that EC accession 'can be so implemented that Finland remains a militarily non-allied country, keeping an independent defence'. Backing the concept of EC economic and monetary union, EMU, the document noted that the final decision on Finland's participation in the crucial third stage of EMU, involving a common currency, would not be made until the latter half of the 1990s.

The resolution also stressed that close cooperation with Finland's Baltic neighbours and with Russia 'opens up possibilities that are economically important and increase political stability in the region'.

FRANCE

Socialist 'States General'

The Socialist Party of France, PS, convened a national 'States General' in Lyons on 2-4 July, with the aim of revitalising the French left in the wake of defeat in the March legislative elections (see 1/93, page 61).

A post-election meeting of the PS executive committee early in April voted to approve the creation of a new leadership under Michel Rocard. During the election campaign Rocard had called for a 'political big bang' on the French left.

On 5 May, a 45-member com-

mittee was convened to prepare the States General. Chaired by Claude Estier, president of the Socialist group in the senate, the committee included representatives of all the main PS currents. Local and regional States General were held throughout France in June, involving thousands of party members and supporters.

According to the timetable laid down by the leadership, the decisions and texts emanating from the Lyons States General will be discussed by party sections and departmental congresses in September and October. The national congress of the party will then be held at the end of October.

GERMANY

SPD elects Scharping

In an impressive 57 per cent turnout of the party's 870,000 members, the state premier of Rhineland-Palatinate, Rudolf Scharping (45), was on 13 June designated as national chair of the opposition Social Democratic Party, SPD. On the strong recommendation of the party leadership board, Scharping was officially elected at a special SPD congress on 25 June.

The vacancy arose because of the resignation on 3 May of Björn Engholm.

In the party primary, Scharping received 40.3 per cent of the members' votes, against 32.2 per cent for Gerhard Schröder, SPD premier of Lower Saxony. The third contender was Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul, SPD European policy spokesperson, who received 26.5 per cent of the vote. Regarded as being on the SPD's moderate wing, Scharping in 1991 ended 44 years of Christian Democratic rule in Rhineland-Palatinate.

At the special conference held in Essen on 25 June to endorse Scharping he received 362 of the 456 valid delegate votes.

The party congress took place amid continuing debate, involving the SPD in particular, on whether German forces should participate in UN operations in Somalia and the former Yugo-

slavia. In a historic ruling on 8 April, the Constitutional Court upheld a majority cabinet decision that German aircrews should participate in UN-approved NATO enforcement of a 'no-fly' zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, in this case the constitutional challenge being made by the Free Democrats, the junior coalition partner.

The next challenge to government policy came from the SPD, which contended that the despatch of German troops to Somalia was unconstitutional. In a further important ruling on 23 June, the court rejected the SPD's submission by deciding that the government could maintain German troops in Somalia provided it had parliamentary backing.

The vacancy in Schleswig-Holstein caused by Engholm's resignation was filled on 19 May by Heide Simonis, 49, hitherto the state's SPD finance minister. She became the first woman of any party to be elected to a state premiership.

GUATEMALA

Coup attempt fails

Ramiro de León Carpio, formerly the chief human rights ombudsman, became the new president of Guatemala on 6 June, with the full support of the SI-member Democratic Socialist Party, PSD. De León emerged from hiding to take over from a deposed president who had sought to exceed his powers. His appointment brought a bloodless end to what could have been a tragic blow to democratic development in the country.

President Jorge Serrano, half-way through his five-year term of office, suspended the constitution on 25 May on the pretext that the state was threatened by popular unrest over falling living standards. His government had come under increasing criticism for human rights abuses and a Congressional investigation had begun into bribery and corruption allegations involving the president. Announcing his intention to rule by decree, Serrano sought allies in the military high com-

mand. He suspended the democratically elected Congress and declared that a new constitution would be drafted. The move was characterised as a 'self-coup'.

Serrano had the attorney general placed under house arrest, and ordered the detention of other officers of state including de León, the Speaker of Congress, and the head of the Supreme Court. Numerous opposition figures were also illegally detained and press censorship was imposed. The Socialist International joined many governments and international bodies in condemning the coup and demanding the restoration of the constitutional order (see page 28).

The PSD, as a minority participant in Serrano's coalition government, has campaigned against violence and for national reconciliation (see 1/93, page 62). Serrano's dictatorial manoeuvre made it impossible for the PSD to remain in the cabinet, and General Secretary and Minister of Labour Mario Solórzano announced the party's withdrawal from the administration. The PSD formed an ad hoc alliance with groups throughout the democratic spectrum to demand a return to constitutional rule. Trade unions, cooperatives, academics and employers' groups joined in opposing the coup, and military chiefs were soon persuaded that the head of state had no support. Foreign aid was frozen and several of Guatemala's ambassadors resigned.

After just a week the army obliged Serrano to flee the country, while cheering crowds took to the streets of the capital. Following Serrano's flight to Panama, the reconvened Congress rejected an attempt by his vice president to take over and on 6 June voted massively in favour of appointing Ramiro de León Carpio as president.

Declaring his intention to run a government of national unity for the remaining two years of the current presidential term, the new president moved quickly to restore stability by dismissing several high-ranking army officers and promoting others who had remained loyal to the constitution. Fresh presidential elections

are due in January 1996. For the interim de León identified his main objectives as an end to corruption and the termination of 13 years of political violence.

The PSD expressed its satisfaction at the peaceful resolution of the crisis and suggested that, paradoxically, the Serrano coup and its aftermath may have resulted in a reinforcement of democracy in Guatemala.

Following the appointment of the new president the unified guerrilla command, UNRG, proposed reopening peace talks and urged a complete demilitarisation of the state. President de León said he too would welcome this but it would require an end to the guerrilla campaign, the last ongoing war in Central America. He said he was confident that the insurgents would want to join with the rest of Guatemalan society in consolidating democracy.

PSD advance in polls

Earlier in May, a low-key election campaign in the smaller or 'second category' municipalities had attracted a low voter turnout but provided a boost for the PSD.

The party, which has sought to increase the level of popular participation in local politics, voiced disappointment at the high rate of abstention, which it attributed to a widespread lack of faith in democracy and a distrust of politicians. Nevertheless the PSD, contesting only 120 rural municipalities out of 267, won seven mayoralties and 56 council seats, with

a total vote which was three times that which it secured at the previous polls in 1988. Serrano's Solidarity Action Movement, MAS, remained the largest party, winning control of some 40 per cent of the municipalities.

HAITI

Bazin resigns

The Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party, PANPRA, withdrew on 7 June from the cabinet headed by Prime Minister Marc Bazin. Party Coordinator Serge Gilles cited disagreements over a ministerial reshuffle and recognised that the regime could no longer sustain its claim to represent 'dialogue and consensus'. The Socialist International's insistence on the re-establishment of democratic rule had been re-stated emphatically at the SI Council meeting in Athens earlier this year (see 1/93, pages 8-9 and 59).

One day after the PANPRA decision came the resignation of the prime minister. The collapse of the Bazin government was widely seen as a sign of hope that the constitutional order would soon be restored.

The United Nations, the Organisation of American States and the Clinton administration in Washington had all been engaged in efforts to reinstate the legitimate government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted seven months after scoring a decisive election victory. More than 3,000 lives had been lost in subsequent violence. A comprehensive settlement was likely to involve Fr Aristide's return from exile and the resignation of the coup plotters, probably conditional on an amnesty. To speed up the process, the OAS in early June endorsed a strengthening of its embargo on oil supplies and trade with Haiti. On 23 June the UN also implemented a ban on oil and arms sales and ordered a freeze on Haitian assets abroad.

In the Haitian Congress, the main cross-party alliance, the National Front for Change and Democracy, proposed an interim



Left:
Mario
Solórzano

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

government including Aristide's supporters and urged the army to abstain from political interference. A congressional majority on 15 June approved the principle of Aristide's return, although no date was specified. Thousands of Haitian exiles in New York subsequently demonstrated their support for the displaced president during UN-sponsored negotiations between Aristide and the de facto regime.

Meanwhile, the United States Supreme Court rejected a challenge to the practice followed by successive US governments of forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees detained on the high seas, despite a dissenting judgement arguing that the policy breached international norms.

IRELAND

Labour in government

The Irish Labour Party held its national conference in Waterford at the beginning of April. Labour had doubled its parliamentary strength since the last such gathering and had found itself able to set terms for its participation in a coalition government with the liberal-national Fianna Fáil.

Labour Leader Dick Spring, now foreign minister and Tánaiste (deputy prime minister) told delegates that the new coalition was keeping to its agreed 'Programme for Partnership Government', incorporating many Labour demands. He emphasised equality issues, government and law reform, a central focus on tackling unemployment and a renewed commitment to education, which he called 'the greatest single project of the state'.

Pleading for an end to bloodshed in Northern Ireland, he declared that Irish politicians should be prepared to pay 'a substantial price' to reach a necessary compromise for peace.

ISRAEL

Rabin reshuffles as peace talks continue

Labour prime minister Yitzhak Rabin reshuffled some of his ministers in early June, following an adjournment of the Middle East peace talks amid continuing problems on important issues.

On 9 May Arye Deri, a leader of the Sephardic ultra-orthodox Shas party, submitted his resignation as interior minister in protest against the forthright secularism of the education minister, Shulamit Aloni, of the left-progressive Meretz alliance, which includes the MAPAM United Workers' Party.

It is theoretically possible for Labour (44 seats) and Meretz (12 seats) to rule as a minority government with the external support of the five Arab Knesset deputies. However, the political weight of the Shas is greater than its six seats, because the party brings at least part of Israel's orthodox community within the government consensus in favour of territorial concessions in return for peace.

The eventual compromise activated by Rabin involved Aloni vacating the education portfolio, which was taken by another Meretz minister, Amnon Rubin-

stein. His portfolio of energy and infrastructure went to Moshe Shal (Labour), while Aloni moved to the latter's previous post as communications minister.

The ninth round of the Middle East peace talks, originally launched in Madrid in October 1991, opened in Washington on 27 April. Intensive diplomatic efforts by the USA, Egypt and other Arab governments had persuaded the Palestinians to lift their threatened boycott of the process in protest against Israel's expulsion of over 400 Palestinians in December 1992 (see 4/92, pages 57-8; 1/93, pages 62-3).

Israeli concessions included acceptance as a negotiator of the head of the Palestinian delegation, Faisal Husseini. Previously, Israel had contended that Husseini's status as a resident of East Jerusalem disqualified him from negotiations. Israel also, on 28 April, lifted expulsion orders on 30 veteran Palestinians deported between 1967 and 1987, including the former mayor of Jerusalem, Ruhi Khatib.

On 11 April the Israeli government approved the indefinite 'closure' of the occupied territories. Taken primarily as a response to continuing Palestinian violence against Israelis, the closure decision meant that many thousands of Palestinians were cut off from their



*Yitzhak
Rabin*

jobs, mostly as construction and agricultural labourers.

The Washington talks opened in April amid some optimism, arising in part because the US government for the first time declared itself to be a 'full partner' in the negotiations. However, after a fortnight of procedural wrangling, the talks were adjourned. Problems arose in discussions on an Israeli-Syrian settlement. Israeli-Lebanese talks on southern Lebanon also came up against a deadlock. Nor was there any progress on a proposed Israeli-Palestinian joint declaration of principles.

Nevertheless, a tenth round of talks opened on 15 June with indications that the US government might be prepared to guarantee security arrangements for an Israeli-Syrian deal on the Golan Heights.

MAPAM discusses ideology

'Socialism 2000: Ideology and Implementation' was the theme of a special MAPAM party congress held in Tel Aviv on 12-13 June. The gathering was the culmination of several months of internal party debate on the ideological principles which should guide MAPAM into the 21st century.

Earlier, following a debate with its allies in the Meretz grouping on 1 April, the MAPAM leadership had adopted a resolution reaffirming the party's view that Israel should withdraw from the Gaza Strip immediately and transfer it to Palestinian rule, subject to Israeli security needs being met.

ITALY

Changes to political system

The political structure of Italy has experienced momentous changes in the first half of 1993, profoundly affecting all three of the country's SI member parties (the Italian Socialist Party, PSI; the Democratic Party of the Left, PDS; and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI).

In one of several referenda on 18 April, 82 per cent voted to do away with the proportional representation electoral system. At the same time, 90 per cent voted to abolish state funding of political parties.

Subsequently, a bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 30 June, with the support of the PSI and the PSDI but opposed by the PDS, was designed to pave the way for first-past-the-post elections within a year.

Amato government resigns

The government led by Giuliano Amato of the PSI reacted to the referendum results by tendering its resignation on 22 April. Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, governor of the Bank of Italy, was on 26 April asked by President Oscar Scalfaro to form Italy's 52nd postwar administration.

Members of both the PSI and the PSDI joined the Ciampi cabinet, which included many non-party experts: Fabio Fabbri, Defence; Valdo Spini, EC and regional affairs; and Fernanda Contri, Social Affairs, represented the PSI, and for the smaller PSDI Maurizio Pagani held post and communications.

The PDS leadership also decided to approve Ciampi's appointment and three PDS cabinet ministers were appointed. However, only hours after receiving their portfolios the PDS ministers withdrew in protest at a vote against lifting the parliamentary immunity of former PSI Leader Bettino Craxi.

Leadership changes

Former trade union leader Giorgio Benvenuto, who became PSI leader in February, resigned his post on 20 May after only 97 days in office. Ottaviano Del Turco, another prominent trade unionist, was proposed by the party leadership to replace Benvenuto and was confirmed as the new general secretary by a national assembly of the PSI on 28 May.

The PSDI has also undergone major changes, including the appointment of a new general secretary, Enrico Ferri.

Local polls

Two rounds of local and regional government elections were held on 6 and 19 June, following earlier regional elections on 31 May.

While the PDS made gains in central and southern Italy, the other established major parties, including the PSI, lost considerable support. Gains were made by the right-wing regionalist League movement, the radical anti-mafia Network, the fascist Italian Social Movement and the hardline Communist Refoundation.

IVORY COAST

Democracy anniversary

The opposition Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI, participated in celebrations on 30 April to mark the third anniversary of the country's transition to multi-party democracy. The FPI emerged from the November 1990 elections as the strongest opposition party.

The main event organised by the FPI was a cultural and political 'Freedom Days' festival in the town of Korhogo, one of the strongholds of its political support.

While acknowledging the real progress made towards a pluralist system since May 1990, the FPI stressed that the real test of the democratic credentials of the ruling Democratic Party of President Houphouët-Boigny lay in whether it would accept the alternation of power between parties if the voters so decreed at the next elections.

JAMAICA

Patterson appoints new team

Prime Minister P J Patterson (Profile, page 11) whose People's National Party took 55 out of 60 parliamentary seats in the April elections (1/93, page 63), has formed a new ministerial team and appointed Agriculture Minister Seymour Mullings as his deputy. The prime minister reassigned several portfolios. Former foreign minister David Coore takes over the ministry for legal affairs from re-appointed attorney general Carl Rattray, while Paul Robertson moves from the public service ministry to foreign affairs. Seven other ministers changed their responsibilities and planning chief Omar Davies was brought into the cabinet, joining PNP General Secretary Peter Phillips as a minister without portfolio.

A new ministry of water and transport was created under Horace Clarke, a former mining and energy minister. Stimulating economic growth and improving the nation's infrastructure are top of the PNP's agenda. The PNP government also intends to reform the electoral system, partly in order to address the recurrent problem of political violence.

JAPAN

General elections called

The long hegemony of the Japanese Liberal Democrats, LDP, was shaken on 18 June when the Miyazawa government was defeated on a no-confidence motion thanks to the defection of 35 LDP deputies. The government was forced to schedule early elections to the House of Representatives for 18 July.

The no-confidence motion censured the government for its failure to honour a commitment to introduce electoral reform. Behind the initiative was the growing public disquiet over the incidence of financial corruption in ruling party circles. Leading the attack on

the government was the Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ, the main opposition formation.

Two groups of LDP dissidents speedily announced the formation of new parties to oppose the LDP in the elections. The larger was the New Born Party led by former finance minister, Tsutomu Hata. The other was the Shinto Sakigake (translated as New Party Harbinger) led by Masayoshi Takemura. Between them, the two new formations attracted 46 defections from the 274-strong LDP contingent in the lower house.

The SDPJ declared itself in favour of a non-LDP coalition government, possibly headed by the New Born Party. In a speech to the SDPJ central executive committee on 21 June, party Chair Sadao Yamahana indicated that he would back Hata for the premiership if the post-election parliamentary arithmetic was favourable.

In the Tokyo metropolitan assembly elections on 27 June, the LDP remained the largest party, with 44 of the 128 seats, but its vote share fell to 31 per cent. In second place was the Komeito 'clean government' party (25 seats), while the Japan New Party, formed by LDP dissidents in 1992, took an impressive 20 seats. In a record low turnout, the SDPJ assembly tally fell from 32 to 14 seats.

On the same day as the Tokyo elections, Hata convened a meeting of his own grouping and four other opposition parties to discuss electoral cooperation against the LDP. The participants included the SDPJ as well as the SI's other Japanese member, the Democratic Socialist Party, DSP. Also present were Komeito and the Social Democratic Federation.

DSP Congress

The DSP held its 38th annual congress in Tokyo on 22-23 April and re-elected Keigo Ouchi as party chair as well as approving a list of DSP election candidates.

LATVIA

First free elections

General elections to the 100-member parliament (Saeima) held on 5 and 6 June were Latvia's first fully free elections since 1931 and were monitored by, among others, an SI observer delegation (see page 30).

The Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP, had held three seats in the outgoing parliament, having contested the March 1990 elections as a component of the victorious Popular Front. In the 1993 contest the party, which avoided formal alliances, although several of its candidates came from the new Latvian trade union movement, did not surmount the 4 per cent barrier to parliamentary representation, gaining 0.7 per cent of the vote overall.

The former ruling Popular Front, led by the prime minister, Ivars Godmanis, also failed to clear the 4 per cent hurdle, winning only 2.6 per cent of the vote.

The principal victor was the Latvian Way coalition of former communists and others led by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the incumbent head of state, which took 32.4 per cent of the vote and 36 seats. Second place went to the right-wing Latvian National Independence Movement (13.4 per cent and 15 seats), while Harmony for Latvia, representing ethnic Russians and other minorities, took third place (12 per cent and 13 seats).

The Latvian Peasant Union took 10.6 per cent and 12 seats and was expected to form a government coalition with the Latvian Way. Another ethnic Russian formation, Equality, took 5.8 per cent and seven seats, while the nationalist Homeland and Liberty list won 5.4 per cent and six seats. Two other formations secured representation, namely the Christian Democratic Union (5 per cent and six seats) and the Democratic Centre Party (4.8 per cent and five seats).

An issue in the elections was a controversial provisional law under which only those who were citizens before the Soviet takeover

in 1940 and their direct descendants qualified automatically for Latvian citizenship and thus the vote. Designed to safeguard Latvia's national identity in a situation where, because of post-war enforced settlement by Russians and others, only 52 per cent of its 2.6 million population are ethnic Latvians, this measure had the effect of excluding some 60 per cent of potential non-Latvian voters from the polls.

For the forthcoming debate on a definitive citizenship law, the LSDSP is committed to a 'centrist' position, arguing that citizenship should be granted to those with ten years' residence who speak Latvian and declare their loyalty to the Latvian republic.

LITHUANIA

LSDP post-election congress

The opposition Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP, held its 17th national congress in Vilnius on 22-23 May, when delegates discussed the situation resulting from October-November 1992 elections, in which the party established a solid parliamentary presence (see 4/92, pages 58-59).

The congress also focused on the social democratic alternative to neo-liberal and neo-conservative economic reforms in post-communist societies, as well as on organisational questions. Party Chair Aloyzas Sakalas and General Secretary Alvydas Medalinskas were re-elected, together with Vice-Chairs Vytenis Andriukaitis and Rimantas Dagys.

MONGOLIA

Opposition candidate elected president

The candidate of the opposition alliance of the Mongolian Social Democratic Party, MSDP, and the Mongolian National Democratic Party, MNDP, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, scored a decisive victory in presidential elections held on



6 June, defeating the nominee of the ruling former communist Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, MPRP.

A consultative member of the SI, the MSDP had established a parliamentary presence in the Great Hural elections of June 1992, winning one of the 76 seats, against 71 for the MPRP.

For Mongolia's first elections under universal suffrage, the MSDP and the MNDP decided to nominate incumbent head of state Ochirbat for the presidency after the MPRP had opted for an alternative candidate, Lodongiyn Tudev, reputed to be a hardline opponent of economic and political liberalisation.

Ochirbat was elected for a four-year term with 58 per cent of the popular vote, against 38 per cent for Tudev.

MOROCCO

USFP election gains

Morocco's much-delayed parliamentary elections, held on 25 June, resulted in significant gains for the opposition Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, in electoral alliance with the Independence (Istiqlal) Party. The USFP and Istiqlal are both members of the Democratic Bloc, which also includes the Party of Progress and Socialism, PPS, and the Organisation for Democratic and Popular Action, OADP.

At issue were two-thirds of the seats in a Chamber of Representatives enlarged to 333 members. The remaining third were to be indirectly elected by local councillors and professional bodies. The USFP campaigned on a platform of opposition rights, economic progress and the creation of an 'authentic democracy'. The results showed that in a relatively low turnout of 63 per cent the USFP and Istiqlal had won 48 and 43 seats respectively, well ahead of the three main parties of the ruling establishment. Of these, the Popular Movement took 33 seats, the National Assembly of Independents, led by King Hassan's brother-in-law, 28, and the Constitutional Union 27.

The USFP combined its electoral campaign with renewed efforts to secure the release of imprisoned trade union leader and senior party member Noubir El Amaoui (see 1/93, page 64). On the first anniversary of the end of his trial, on 17 April, the party organised nationwide demonstrations and meetings calling for his release. It also set up a committee to coordinate national and international pressure to that end.

The Western Sahara question remained in its end-1992 impasse throughout the Moroccan electoral period (see 4/92, page 59). On 2 June UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced that he would 'make one more effort to seek a compromise solution on the question of the criteria for eligibility to vote in the referendum' to decide the territory's future status.

Left:
President
Ochirbat

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK



John Hume

NORTHERN IRELAND

SDLP increases vote

Two of Northern Ireland's 26 local councils passed into the control of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, after elections in May. The SDLP's share of the vote rose from 21.2 per cent in the last council elections, in May 1989, to a record 26.9 per cent on this occasion. The party was thus confirmed as the region's second largest, behind the conservative Ulster Unionist Party on 29 per cent, and as the principal representative of the nationalist, mainly Catholic, minority population.

The SDLP, which is committed to peaceful progress towards Irish unity, fought the elections only weeks after controversial talks between its leader, John Hume, and representatives of Sinn Féin, a party which supports the IRA campaign of violence. He said he believed there was never a wrong time to seek progress towards peace. The SDLP's total of 120 council seats was more than twice the number secured by Sinn Féin.

The SDLP campaigned on the basis of sharing power at local level with unionist councillors, and it has offered such partnerships in

those councils where it emerged as the largest party. This has not always been reciprocated by the unionist-dominated councils, but the constructive approach of the SDLP in local government has provided a working model of the kind of cross-community arrangements it favours at regional level.

PAKISTAN

PPP briefly in interim government

Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, PPP, returned to office in a transitional cabinet appointed on 18 April pending new general elections in July. However, a ruling by the Supreme Court the following month reinstated the ousted Nawaz Sharif government as well as the Assembly elected in controversial circumstances in October 1990.

The PPP had campaigned vigorously against its ejection from office in August 1990 and had disputed the validity of the subsequent elections which brought Nawaz Sharif's Islamic Democratic Alliance, IDA, to power. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the prime minister on 18 April on the grounds that he had been incompetent, corrupt and authoritarian. New general elections were scheduled for 4 July.

An interim government appointed by the president under the premiership of Balkh Sher Mazari included a substantial PPP contingent. The PPP leader herself resumed a pivotal public role, aiming to lead her party to a new electoral victory.

The ousted prime minister appealed to the Supreme Court, which on 26 May delivered a 10-1 ruling that the president had exceeded his powers on 18 April. Under the ruling, the Nawaz Sharif government and the IDA-dominated Assembly were reinstated.

Talks between the PPP and the government in the course of June sought a political compromise which would forestall further polarisation.

PARAGUAY

Febreristas back alliance for change

The people of Paraguay went to the polls on 9 May for the first free legislative and presidential elections in most citizens' memories. Polling was scrutinised by a team of 200 international observers, including an SI delegation (page 28). The conduct of the election was broadly satisfactory; some irregularities were recorded but the outcome was not challenged.

The SI member Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, lent its support in the presidential contest to the National Rally (Encuentro Nacional) alliance, whose candidate, lawyer Guillermo Caballero Vargas, came third with around 25 per cent of the vote. The PRF campaigned for a multi-party government pact uniting all democratic forces, to complete the transition to democracy and tackle the country's urgent problems.

The winner, with about 40 per cent, was Juan Carlos Wasmosy, a civilian leader of the ruling Colorado Party. The Authentic Radical Liberal Party candidate, Domingo Laíno, came second with some 33 per cent. Wasmosy assumes the presidency in August from General Andrés Rodríguez, and will be backed by the majority which his party secured in simultaneous congressional elections.

SAN MARINO

Socialists stay in office

Elections on 30 May to the Great and General Council confirmed the continuing popularity of the San Marino Socialist Party, PSS, which remained the second-largest formation with 23.7 per cent of the vote and will remain in coalition with the Christian Democrats, PCDS.

The PSS in its present form results from the merger a year ago of the republic's two main socialist parties, which had secured a

combined total of 24.7 per cent of the vote in 1988. The unified party thus saw a slight fall in its share of the vote, but secured one extra seat for a total of 14. The PCDS share also fell slightly, from 44.1 to 41.4 per cent. Its 26 seats gave the ruling coalition 40 of the council's 60 seats. The republic's former communist party, the Progressive Democrats, PPDS, dropped 10 points in the poll to take 18.6 per cent, the remainder going to three minor parties.

SENEGAL

PS retains majority

The ruling Socialist Party, PS, retained its parliamentary majority in legislative elections held on 9 May. The poll followed presidential elections in February resulting in the re-election of the PS leader, Abdou Diouf (see 1/93, page 66).

Whereas the PS had held 103 of the 120 seats in the outgoing Assembly, the May election results gave it 84 seats. The principal winner of non-PS seats was the Democratic Party, PD, led by Abdoulaye Wade. In mid-May Wade and two other PD leaders were detained for 48 hours for questioning in con-

nection with the assassination of the vice-president of the constitutional court on 15 May.

The new PS-dominated government appointed on 2 June under the continued premiership of Habib Thiam included the leader of the Democratic League, Abdoulaye Barthily, as environment minister, as well as several new PS ministers. Among the latter, Moustapha Niasse became foreign minister and Djibo Ka interior minister, while Papa Ousmane Sakho became finance and economy minister and Mamadou Faye minister for water.

SLOVENIA

Third SDSS congress

The Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, SDSS, held its third congress in Ljubljana on 15 May. Discussion focused on economic liberalisation issues, legal rights, party statute and programme reform, and the scope for cooperation with other political forces.

The SDSS won four out of 80 lower house seats in the December 1992 elections (see 4/92, page 61). It subsequently entered a five-party coalition government headed by the Liberal Democrats (22

seats), being allocated the defence portfolio. The coalition includes the Christian Democrats (15 seats) and the United List headed by the former communist Social Democratic Renewal Party (14 seats).

At the May congress the SDSS defence minister, Janez Jansa was elected party chair in succession to Jose Pucnik. Also elected was a 12-member presidency including France Tomsic, president of the new Slovenian trade union movement and SDSS presidential candidate in December 1992. The party vice-chairs are Bozidar Brudar, Ivo Hvalica and Barbara Medved. Its general secretary is Brane Grims.

A resolution adopted by the congress expressed support for continued participation in the government. Other demands included one for a halt to 'illegal privatisation' and to the enrichment of former communist officials still at the helm of the state sector.

A resolution on 'the Slovenian reality and the role of social democracy' stated that 'Slovenia is far from being a highly developed west European country with rich democratic tradition, market economy, plural trade union movement and rich political culture. It is a new state... (undergoing) transformation of the state-controlled economic system into a market economy'. Over 80 per cent of enterprises, the resolution continued, were still run by the state, and communist-era centres of political power were still dominant.

The congress accordingly called for a more equitable sharing of the burdens and rewards of transition to a market economy, with ownership of state wealth coming into the hands of those who had created it. It also urged the institution of legal proceedings against former communist officials who had acquired state enterprises fraudulently, and called for the creation of a special 'finance police'.

Left:
Abdou
Diouf





Rex Features

Felipe
González

SPAIN

Right-wing challenge rejected

A general election on 6 June gave the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, a fourth term in office. The poll left the PSOE with the largest number of seats in the Congress, but some way short of an absolute majority.

The result was a major blow for the right-wing Popular Party, PP, which campaigned on a platform of economic liberalism and threatened to undo many of the achievements of the left in power.

The final results gave the PSOE 159 seats in the 350-member parliament, with 38.8 per cent of the vote. In 1989 the party had taken 39.8 per cent, but that translated into 175 seats. This time, the PP took 141 seats with 34 per cent; no other party won more than 10 per cent. Population changes meant that the Socialists in fact won around a million more votes in June than at the last poll. In a simultaneous election to the 208-

seat Senate, the PSOE won 96, down from 107.

Felipe González formally resumes office on 7 July. Meanwhile, Carlos Solchaga, the outgoing economy minister, has been elected to chair the Socialist parliamentary group

TURKEY

Changes in government

The sudden death of President Turgut Ozal on 17 April set in train a series of government changes which eventually resulted in the designation of Turkey's first-ever woman prime minister. The ruling coalition consists of an alliance between the conservative True Path Party, DYP, and the Social Democratic People's Party, SHP.

Ozal's successor as president was incumbent prime minister Suleyman Demirel of the DYP, who was elected by the National Assembly on 16 May. He received the votes of 244 deputies in the 450-member Assembly, including those of

the DYP and most of the SHP contingent. Demirel's immediate successor as prime minister was the SHP leader and deputy premier, Erdal İnönü, who took office in an acting capacity.

In June the economy minister, Tansu Ciller, resigned from the government in order to contest the DYP leadership, which was also sought by two senior male ministers. At a special conference of the DYP on 13 June, Ciller was elected on the second ballot, thus becoming Turkey's first woman leader of a major party and, on 14 June, prime minister. The new premier was to form a new coalition cabinet. Erdal İnönü meanwhile announced that he would not stand for re-election as party leader at the SHP convention due to be held in September.

Special SHP conference

The SHP held a special conference on the party's programme and rules in Ankara on 3-4 April. The delegates' consensus was that 'the healing of the wounds that democracy received in the past and the consolidation of democracy' remained a 'major priority facing the country', but that 'this priority needed to be complemented by... sustained economic development'.

Policy lines and principles endorsed by the conference included opposition to the 1982 constitution; economic development of Kurdish-populated south-eastern Turkey and the lifting of the state of emergency in that region; cultural and social freedoms for Kurds and other ethnic minorities; preservation of the secular state; eight years of free education for all citizens, and equal rights for women.

VENEZUELA

Interim president installed

President Carlos Andrés Pérez, of the Democratic Action Party, AD, was replaced in his functions by an interim head of state, Senate

President Octavio Lepage, and on 5 June by Senator Ramón José Velásquez, also of AD. Velásquez has formed a cross-party government of national unity.

Pérez remains titular president pending the outcome of a legal process in the Supreme Court in Caracas, stemming from charges brought against him related to

misuse of funds. President Pérez has strongly denied these charges, to which he imputes an entirely political motive.

Meanwhile, the AD candidate, chosen on 18 April, for the presidential elections to take place in December is Claudio Fermín, former mayor of Caracas.

FROM THE ARCHIVE

100 YEARS OF SUFFRAGE

The Ladies' Gallery of Parliament House was overflowing on the morning of 18 December 1894 when the Constitution Amendment Bill was passed. It marked the end of their hard won campaign to gain for the women of the colony the right to vote - the first women in the Australian colonies to achieve that right and among the first in the world to do so. For, although the Bill was passed by men who were elected by men, its success was a victory for the women of South Australia.

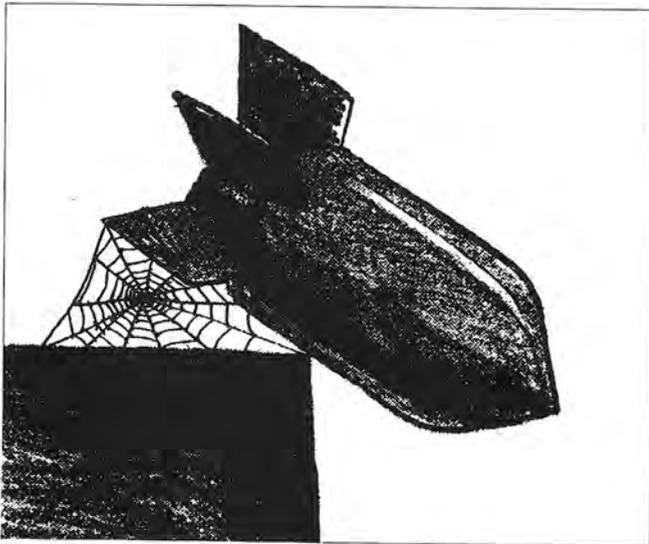
Two organisations were pivotal in its success, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Women's Suffrage League (WSL). These two worked alone and in tandem to achieve the vote. Indeed many suffragists belonged to both organisations.

The WCTU was led by courageous women. Long-time President Elizabeth Webb Nicholls was a firm believer in women being free to serve their country in any capacity and a strong opponent of all that debarred them from this service on account of gender. She was among the first four women appointed a Justice of the Peace in South Australia in 1915, and in 1920, at the age of 70, she represented two Australian women's organisations at the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship Conference in Geneva.

The Women's Suffrage League developed from the Social Purity Society (SPS), formed in 1882. The objective of the SPS was to raise the moral standards of both sexes. It focused upon rescuing prostitutes and raising the age of consent (14 years at the time) to prevent young girls from being enticed into prostitution. It was largely as a result of fighting for this reform that the women members of the SPS realised their limitations as lobbyists and reformers without the vote. Out of that realisation the Women's Suffrage League was born, at a public meeting on 20 July 1888.

The WSL constitution stated that women should have a choice in electing their parliamentary representatives and that women should qualify for the vote on the same terms as men.

From The Herald, the newspaper of the Australian Labor Party (South Australia Branch), looking forward to the centenary of women's suffrage in South Australia.



The suspension of nuclear testing -
as seen by *Le Monde*

*'We deeply regret it...
Deep regret goes much further
than just saying you are sorry.
Deep regret says that if I could
turn the clock back and if I could
do anything about it, I would
have liked to have avoided it.
Yes, we say we are sorry.'*

President F W de Klerk of South Africa,
in his first apology for the policy of
apartheid.

*'The death rate of women in childbirth in
Latin America is 180 per 100,000, whilst
in Europe it is only nine out of every
100,000 women.'*

Marta Maurás, Regional Director of the United
Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, for Latin
America

*'The route map to democracy
has been adopted'*

Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary
of the ANC and its chief negotiator
in the constitutional talks.



From the journal of the Canadian Labour Congress



Ja

for Danmarks skyld

Socialdemokratiet

'Yes - for Denmark's sake'

*Social Democratic Party campaign for a 'yes' vote in the 1993 referendum
on the EC Maastricht treaty*