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***Willy Brandt and the
International***

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WILLY BRANDT

When Willy Brandt was elected President of the Socialist International in Geneva in 1976, he said his main priorities would include East-West and North-South relations.

The fact that the International has extended its influence across the globe from North to South and from East to West is testimony to his success in achieving what he set out to achieve. Few people, perhaps no-one, have done more for our International than that tireless fighter for peace, democracy and development, the former Chancellor of Germany.

On the occasion of his departure from the presidency, we salute him and express our most profound gratitude for all that he has been able to do for the cause of democratic socialism in every corner of the world. His name will for ever be linked to the history of our organisation.

WILLY BRANDT AND THE INTERNATIONAL

When Willy Brandt took up the presidency of the Socialist International at the congress held in Geneva in November 1976 he had many plans and hopes for it. He had his vision.

Writing in his memoirs, 'Erinnerungen', published in 1989, he was frank about his long-term objectives. One was that of 'overcoming the Eurocentrism of the organisation'. He recalled how he was surrounded at the gathering in Geneva by leading politicians from many parts of the world, Léopold Senghor, president of Senegal, for instance, and Carlos Andrés Pérez, president of Venezuela, not forgetting many from the Middle East and southern Africa who 'let it be known that they hoped we would show increased commitment to their regions'.

The fact that the SI now embraces 88 different parties and organisations supported by more than 200 million voters in every region of the globe and that new members are likely to be admitted to the family at the forthcoming congress in Berlin is one proof that he

The former German chancellor steps down as president of the Socialist International at its Berlin congress in September.

The secretary general of the International, Luis Ayala, reflects on Willy Brandt's long connection with the SI.

Geneva: the new SI president





*SI party leaders: Willy Brandt
with Golda Meir and
Harold Wilson*

succeeded in this aim. Another is that the Socialist International is today engaged in initiatives and commitments which were not even on the horizon when Brandt became president sixteen years ago.

In Geneva the newly elected SI president also made clear his concern that East-West and North-South relations and human rights should figure high on the agenda. The recent ending of the Cold War, an aim that Brandt pursued tirelessly during his years as chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, has justified his confidence in the ultimate triumph of détente and the strenuous efforts that the Socialist International itself devoted to the East-West issue. At the same time the establishment of the International as a leading forum for informed debate among its members on the issues of development bears witness to the fruitfulness of the president's initiative in that field.

It is not too much to say that from his earliest years the Socialist International was never far from Willy Brandt. In his autobiography he recounts how in May 1923, when he was nine years old, he witnessed the revival of the International. Formed in Paris in 1889, a distinct body from that established twenty-five years earlier in London, the Second International had suffered grievously during the hostilities and divisions of the First World War. On an outing to Hamburg with the children's group of the Lübeck Labour Sports Club the young man and his friends were allowed to put their noses round the door of the trade union hall. In that hall Léon Blum of France, Thorvald Stauning of Denmark and Hjalmar Branting of Sweden were meeting to breathe new life into the organisation. They were electing to the secretary generalship Friedrich Adler, who was to hold that post till 1940 when war again put a temporary halt to the progress of the International.

During his time in Scandinavia, in exile from Nazi Germany, Brandt met with other internationally-minded young politicians to think about the post-war years. In Stockholm, he recounts, a group called the Little International, of which he was a member, gathered to discuss political ideas whose influence continued long after the Second World War had drawn to an end. Formally at least, he had to take part in these discussions as a Norwegian

citizen: Hitler's men had taken away his German nationality. These times in Sweden saw the cementing of the friendships which would be important in his later political work in Germany and in the Socialist International.

By 1945 Brandt was back home, earning a living writing about Germany for Scandinavian publications and playing his part in the reconstruction of his native land, wrecked by the war, and in the resuscitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, with which he was identified. By 1948 he had recovered the nationality of which the Nazis had stripped him ten years earlier.

He was on the way to the highest offices. In 1949 he sat as deputy for Berlin in the first German Bundestag; the next year he became a member of the Berlin City Council Assembly. By 1957 he had become governing mayor of the city, a post he retained till the end of 1966.

This man from Lübeck turned leader of Berlin was by 1960 recognised as the SPD's candidate for the federal chancellorship. Neither then nor in 1965 did he emerge victorious. By 1964, however, he had become chairman of his party on the death of the revered Erich Ollenhauer. His chairmanship, first bestowed on him at party elections at Bad Godesberg, was confirmed later the same year at Karlsruhe. That, he said, was the green light which enabled him to play an enhanced role in the Socialist International, which in Frankfurt in 1951 had been re-founded once again. He was to remain party chairman for a long time, re-elected successively at party congresses in Dortmund in 1966, Nuremberg in 1968, Saarbrücken in 1970, Hanover in 1973, Mannheim in 1975, Hamburg in 1977, Berlin in 1979, Munich in 1982, Essen in 1984 and again in Nuremberg in 1986.

Underpinned by his party's support, he moved confidently out onto the national and international stage. In 1966 he became foreign minister and deputy chancellor in the 'Grand Coalition' government of the Federal Republic.

The Socialist International acknowledged his work for it and his growing international stature by electing him a vice-president, at the same time as Guy Mollet of France, Harold Wilson of Britain, and Tage Erlander of Sweden. With characteristic frankness he recalled, 'I cannot honestly say I threw myself heart and soul into the movement. I was afraid that too much unrealistic speechifying would do the SPD no good. When I allowed myself to be elected a vice-president at a congress of the International in Stockholm in 1966 ... it was partly because I hoped to help channel its activities into a sensible course'.

Foreshadowing the worldwide role Brandt was later to seek for the International, the 1966 congress at which he was named a vice-president was the first one to welcome delegations from Africa to its debates.

From 1969 to 1974, as federal chancellor of Germany, the head of government of a country regaining the importance it had once exercised, Brandt dedicated himself to domestic reforms and to his *Ostpolitik*. He found that the International which he had suspected of being too verbose was in fact increasingly sharing his vision. The SI meetings held at Eastbourne in 1969, in Helsinki in 1971, and in Vienna in the following year were useful to the German leader. 'I encountered much understanding and even more support, not only of a rhetorical nature', he recalled.

A year after Brandt's election as president of the Socialist International, the party leaders met for the first time in the Japanese capital and in 1978 the SI met in congress in Vancouver on the pacific coast of Canada. Meetings began to be held in Africa and in Latin America. In 1980 SI personalities met in the US capital in a conference that Brandt



Solidarity with Spain: Brandt with Felipe González, 1977

called 'particularly notable'. The SI Disarmament Advisory Council also gathered in Washington, in Moscow and in New Delhi. Looking back on these years of geographic expansion for the International Brandt said, 'before long the International had almost as many members in Latin America and the Caribbean as in Europe'.

It was during this period that Brandt led the North-South Commission, whose work, steered by his vision of shared responsibility, was to make a major impact on international consciousness of the urgent questions of development and inequality.

Under his guidance and inspiration, North-South relations became more than ever a central focus of the work of the Socialist International.

Meanwhile, the International was also deeply concerned with attempts at peace-making, often taking more daring initiatives than those of the United Nations itself. Brandt was concerned with ending hostilities in Cyprus and in Western Sahara, in Eritrea and in Cambodia. The SI was called on to use its good offices in Korea.

'People thought us more likely than anyone else to help in bridging great gulfs', Brandt recalled. While he continued to play a leading role in bringing together the peoples of his own continent, three particular areas of the world also had a special place for him. The first was Central America. After the 1979 SI Bureau meeting in Lisbon special attention was given to Nicaragua, despite what Brandt called 'an unusual lack of understanding in North America'. The SI firmly opposed the forcible crushing by threats and violence of a country which had shaken off the dictatorial rule of the Somoza dynasty. With Brandt's backing the SI gave its support to the various initiatives for peace in the isthmus.

A second crucial area for Brandt and the SI was southern Africa. There for the work of the International he had the assistance of his friend Olof Palme, the Swedish leader, until his frightful assassination in Stockholm in February 1986. On the morning of 21 April 1986 Brandt, as president of the SI, met President P W Botha in Cape Town. The leader of the white South African minority angrily criticised Brandt and the SI for their hostility

Changes in Moscow: Red Square 1985, with his assistant Klaus Lindenberg (left)





*With Bruno Kreisky at the
Stockholm congress*

to apartheid. The encounter was clearly not going to be a meeting of minds. In fact it turned out to be in the SI leader's words 'full of coldness, intransigence and self-righteousness'.

The third vital area for Brandt was the Middle East, whose affairs - and in particular Israel's relationship with its Arab neighbours - were of continuing concern to the International. In addressing this issue Brandt was able to call on Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria. In 1978, two years after Brandt's election to the presidency of the SI, he and Kreisky met for a long discussion with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Shimon Peres, leader of the Israel Labour Party, at that time in opposition. This meeting was followed up a year later when Kreisky invited Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, to Vienna. Brandt was also to take part in these discussions.

In 1983 the SI's work for peace in the Middle East became tinged with tragedy when, at the SI congress in Albufeira in southern Portugal, Issam Sartawi, a leading Palestinian voice, was shot dead in the lobby of the hotel which was serving as the venue for the SI gathering. 'I was deeply affected as I stood beside his body', recalled Brandt.

Since that time, the continuing efforts of the International have made their contribution to positive developments in the Middle East and in southern Africa and to peace in Central America.

Indeed, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Socialist International, under the leadership of Willy Brandt, has consolidated its active commitment worldwide to efforts for peace and for the advance and development of democracy and our message of freedom and solidarity has become more relevant than at any time in our history.

In Germany, and everywhere in central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the vision embodied by Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* has been vindicated. In November 1989, at the SI Council meeting in Geneva he referred to his contacts with people in the eastern part of Germany as 'the most moving part of my political life'. The enormous implications of that year's events were already clear to him. 'What we are

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experiencing', he said, 'is not only fascinating and encouraging, it is in a way the greatest challenge for democratic socialism ... since World War Two'.

Above all Willy Brandt as our president has been a man with a global vision, one concerned with the future of humanity on this planet. His dedication to the cause of disarmament and détente is part of his concern for the world as a whole. Brandt's outlook was well summed up in a recent article of his in Socialist Affairs. 'We are', he wrote, 'still miles away from a world order in the positive sense of the term, despite some verbose claims to the contrary. What we are facing at this time is world disorder on a frightening scale. In this period of transition we are obliged to live with many uncertainties; the creation of more solid world structures will take time. But if we take seriously the justified concerns of all parts of the world, and if we take measures to try and ensure that unhealthy trends are limited and reversed, we are perhaps already making a contribution to the future of this - our only - world'.

In Madrid in March of this year, at the meeting of the SI Presidium, our President invited the leaders of the International to exchange views and ideas on the new opportunities and challenges for social democracy in this fast-changing world. That discussion will continue at our forthcoming congress in Berlin.

On that occasion, the member parties of the Socialist International - a very different organisation today from the one he took over - will be able to appreciate how Willy Brandt's leadership has shaped an International which could rise to the challenge of its times. His realism, devoid of all baseless optimism, combined with his determination to tackle problems constructively, are the qualities which have made him such an outstanding president of our International. ■

In the US with the SI family



DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT FOR AFRICA

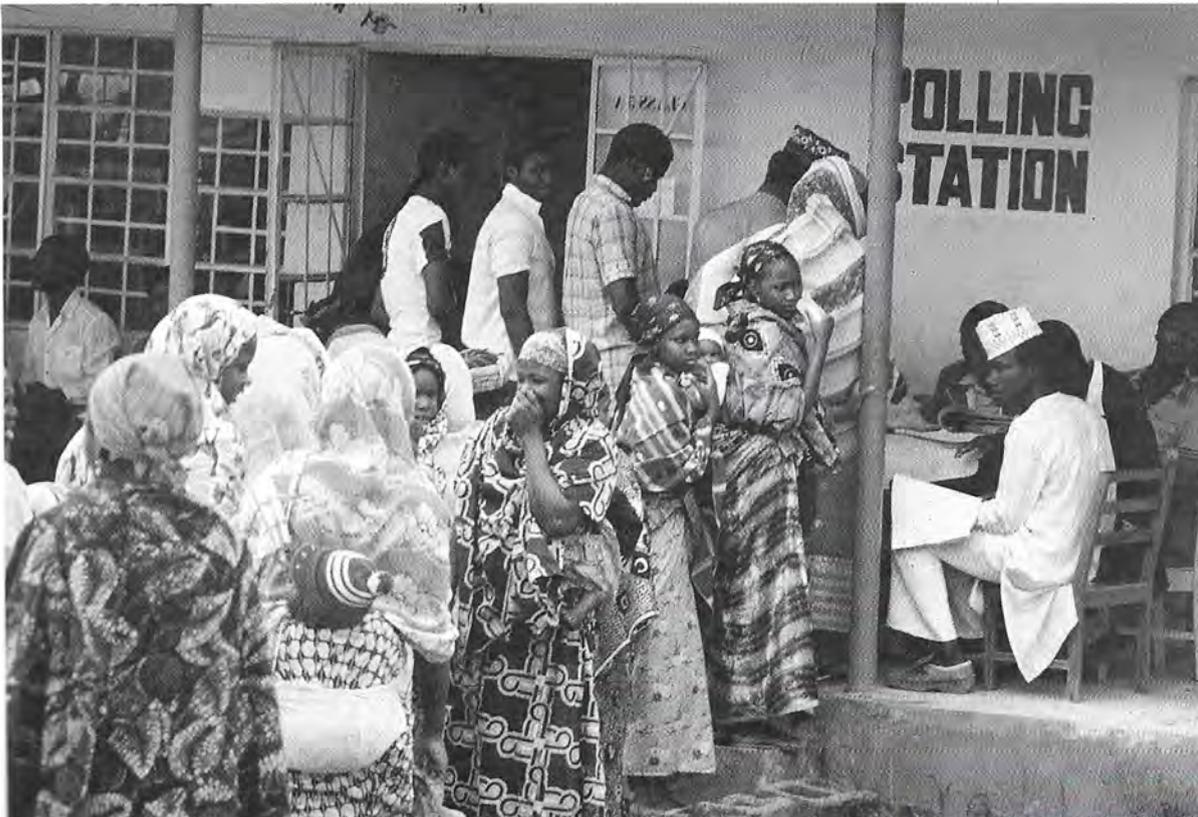
It is seen as very important today that our African societies become political spaces where freedom may flourish. In our countries, however, freedom is not the final end in view, but the point of departure in the process of achieving economic and social wellbeing. In Africa freedom must always be viewed in this context, given the general situation of the continent, which is characterised, as we all know, by serious underdevelopment.

There is a remarkable renewal of interest in democracy today all over the world. Whilst the West has enriched the concept of democracy by practical policies for furthering human progress and happiness, Africa too has a significant contribution to make, and democracy in our continent must draw on the concepts of consensus and solidarity which are so important to us.

Democracy, it seems to us, is a question for everyone. Therefore, just as with scientific advances, the experiments already carried out elsewhere will serve as a stimulus for our

Abdou Diouf, president of Senegal, considers the options for his continent.

Queuing to vote ...



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countries in their quest to establish reliable and appropriate democratic systems.

There are certain essential elements which must form part of our reflections on this subject. Firstly, we need to find a way to administer and to give due priority to the democratic transition in Africa. The debate is a new one and the circumstances are not the same everywhere, but agreement is possible on the essentials.

Secondly, we should be considering how the continent's economic development may be speeded up by the democratisation of our political institutions; we should be considering the nature of the underlying or determining elements of the relationship between development and democracy in Africa.

Finally, as social democrats, against the background of all the contradictory passions stirred up on this continent by the confusion of social democracy with communism and the attempt to predict the same end for it, we must formulate our intentions for Africa in the context of the next congress of the Socialist International.

That democracy is opening up a new horizon for Africa is now widely agreed. This is a political project destined to brighten our future. We are seeing the establishment of new forces both at the centre and at the periphery of our political systems, in the name of freedom, of the right to difference, and of majority rule.

There are many, many new political parties. The press and other media are diversifying and have more and more influence on government, power is increasingly decentralised to local level, civil society is breaking into politics, whilst today's crisis of values is reflected in what we could call the crisis of political activism.

In most of our countries, democracy is being deepened and consolidated. It is becoming something defined and irreversible, evolving in concert with the development of our knowledge, and with the specific characteristics and traditions of each country.

Increasingly, the collapse of communism as an alternative political model demands from all those who identify with social democracy an urgent effort of theorisation, conceptual clarification, and ideological repositioning in a world in thrall to the neo-liberal mystique and the model of development it proposes. The question arises: does today's great surge of enthusiasm for democracy necessarily imply a conscious popular choice in favour of neo-liberal policies? Must we believe that the triumph of political democracy means the triumph of out-and-out liberalism? What is at stake in this current debate is, of course, the response of the democratic socialist project to the crisis of the welfare state and to the inconsistencies inherent in the minimum-intervention state.

In order to navigate the situation progressively being established all over Africa, the most important thing, in my view, is to anchor pluralism irreversibly through an effective multi-party system, regular and transparent elections, a democratic interplay which is free from persecution and violence, complete freedom of the press, an independent judicial system, and real power for grass-roots organisations. Once the system is well and truly set in motion, it will be difficult to call it into question.

The political forces and the peoples of the African continent are coming out strongly in favour of such a political system, for Africa is determined to live in a democratic framework which will enable it to take charge of its own destiny.

Whilst democracy is a necessity, however, it is but a means to the end of development. Democracy can never be truly and lastingly consolidated as long as poverty persists. In the final analysis, in a situation of desperate poverty, democracy is always under threat. That is why, if we want to establish democracy in the developing countries, the rich countries must give aid.

In this light, development aid takes on a new significance. The target of 0.7 per cent of GNP has not been reached by the developed countries, some of which are not even aiming to reach it. We as social democrats must fight for the allocation of significant additional financial resources for Africa, well beyond the target set by the United Nations. The Dutchman Jan Tinbergen, winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics, recently demonstrated that even if the target of 0.7 per cent were attained it would take some 500 years to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries. His studies showed that the level of resources redirected from North to South would more realistically need to reach 1.6 per cent of the rich countries' GNP.

The platform of the Socialist International, which we shall be updating at our congress in September in Berlin, must clearly state our commitment to defeating poverty on this earth of ours, which is threatened with explosion and suffocation by the inequality which exists and the progressive destruction of our environment.

In any system of human thought and action, an ideology cannot survive unless it is capable of practically improving life. Communism paid the price of its unrealistic ideas. Capitalism, in its neo-liberal version, is on a slippery slope because it cannot deliver social justice and solidarity.



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... learning to choose.

The greatest danger we face is no longer the nuclear arms race, no longer only the degradation of our environment. Increasingly, it is the existence of two antagonistic worlds on one planet. This is the major challenge. Let us take it up while there is still time.

Social democracy has proved itself a political success. It has yet to demonstrate the more universal dimension inherent in its basic values by taking on the struggle against world poverty and by bringing effective answers to the economic problems which nations and industries are suffering. The promotion of a mixed economy, decentralisation, and a responsible attitude on the part of private producers, and the establishment of an effective circuit of supply and demand, must all form part of the society of freedom and solidarity which is our aim.

Our success today, where liberals and communists have suffered shattering reverses, will tomorrow guarantee a greater mastery of our common destiny.

One obvious reflection of the crisis of activism which I have already mentioned is the tendency to take refuge in certain values of perceived individual and collective fulfilment. The challenge this presents is also a pressing one, and in order to meet it we have to be aware of all the causes of this phenomenon, which must be seen as part of a more general crisis in all our societies. This should focus our attention on how hard it is for traditional political bodies to continue producing an accessible and hopeful discourse. The malaise is a real one. It calls into question finally whether we are really able to harness the pressing demands of the new social forces.

We are convinced that our continent has the will to leave the well-trodden paths, to be a partner in international exchange, and in the relationships between different systems. Africa will be self-reliant, relying on its own potential, its human resources and its project of political and economic integration, but also on the support of others in our 'global village', as we progressively do away with frontiers and protectionism.

Democracy everywhere, development everywhere - such is the new challenge which the Socialist International faces and which we mean to take up successfully in the century to come. This is the keystone of the social democratic platform which we offer to the world as a means of survival. Africa will not be excluded from this wonderful enterprise. Ours is a perspective which will allow us all to advance together towards an international society of greater justice and greater solidarity. ■

*Italy must not become a Disneyland,
says the country's new premier.*



GIULIANO AMATO

Giuliano Amato, Italy's new Socialist prime minister who was sworn in as head of Italy's 51st post-war government by President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro at the end of June, comes to the job at a very awkward time. The electorate is expressing no little frustration with a political system which has kept one party, the Christian Democrats, in power since the end of the Second World War. He therefore has to tackle a daunting and widespread crisis of confidence in the political system.

He has at the same time one particular advantage. He is known within and without Italy as 'Mr Clean'.

Son of a socialist civil servant, Amato entered the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, in 1958. But in doing so he did not thereby abandon his academic calling, as an academic student of the political scene. After post-graduate studies at Columbia University in New York he became a university lecturer. Having written a study of the end of the New Deal in the US, he went on to describe, in 'Economy, Politics and Institutions in Italy', the 'partyocracy' which was, and still is, seen as one of the curses of the Italian system. While he was pursuing an academic career he acted as legislative adviser to the planning ministry and in the late 1970s he ran the research department of the CGIL, one of the largest Italian trade union federations.

He got experience in the European Community, too, as a consultant on regional policy.

In 1983 he was voted into parliament for the constituency of Turin-Vercelli-Novara (he is a native of Turin). He was very soon invited into the first administration headed by Bettino Craxi, who appreciated his talents, and who was this year to announce his nomination as the Socialist Party's candidate for the prime ministership. First

he became under-secretary at the Palazzo Chigi, the office of the prime minister and secretary of the cabinet, later becoming treasury minister, deputy prime minister and head of the Socialist Group in parliament. As a minister he acquired the reputation of achieving the very difficult, maintaining good contacts with other Italian parties.

Earlier this year he was given the job of enquiring into the bribery scandals in Lombardy. It is to his credit that he was widely considered to have dealt with the enquiry with total rectitude.

Amato's cabinet is already notable. The number of ministers has been brought down from 32 to 24, in line with his desire to save money and streamline the administration. His combination of academic preparation and feel for practical politics has led him to be known as the *Dottore Sottile*, the Subtle Doctor. He is living up to his name.

One Christian Democratic politician, many times prime minister, who seemed to be a permanent fixture in Italian cabinets, Giulio Andreotti, disappeared from Amato's team. Commenting on his absence one newspaper announced, 'Eternity has ended'.

The new Italian leader has made it a priority for Italy to recover its position as a leading member of the European Community. He warned of the dangers if the economy was not made more efficient. 'What is round the corner for Italy', he said in his first major policy address, 'is not formal exclusion from Europe, but rather Italy becoming the continent's Disneyland, dependent on our climate, natural beauty and the vestiges of our artistic history'.

Under Amato Italy will certainly not be reduced to the status of Disneyland.

FROM GLOBAL JUNGLE TO GLOBAL VILLAGE

Most readers of Socialist Affairs will be familiar with the signs of the global crises now approaching. Global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, continued population growth, massive loss of species and biological diversity, acceleration of deforestation and desertification - these are all threats which will soon lead to breakdowns in vital support systems for life on Earth.

These trends must be reversed. No more scientific evidence is needed to reach that conclusion. Our foremost responsibility to future generations is to ensure that there will be a future world worth living in. The living conditions of our children and grandchildren will be determined now. Since they cannot take care of their own destiny, we must do so on their behalf.

The threats we face represent a major challenge to our ability to govern, nationally and internationally. Economic liberalism will not produce the necessary result. Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' can become a visible sledgehammer that can shatter the common good. We need a 'visible handshake' of joint efforts across national boundaries. We need effective international agreements, policy reform, and a global system of redistribution.

The main challenge will be to reinvigorate the way democracies work. Since the 1970s, three independent commissions have examined the inadequacies in the way the international community has dealt with international challenges. All three were chaired by people whose view of world affairs has influenced, and been influenced by, the work of the Socialist International.

The Brandt Commission dealt with the North-South crisis and how to break out of it. The Palme Commission dealt with security and disarmament. After Brandt's 'Programme for Survival' and 'Common Crisis', and Palme's 'Common Security', the World Commission on Environment and Development presented its report, 'Our Common Future', on how to achieve sustainable development.

'Our Common Future' focused on the technological and scientific advances which have created a world economy of staggering dimensions, but have left more than half of the world's people in poverty. Through over-exploitation of our natural resources, we have brought life on earth ever closer to the brink of disaster.

Present generations are the first to face the formidable moral challenge of responsibility not only to the needs and rights of others, but to the needs and rights of those not yet born, and the future life of nature itself.

At this point in our evolution, we cannot hope that the environmental and development crisis is a passing problem that will go away. Technological trends, patterns of production and consumption - and sheer human numbers - call for radical changes in order to reconcile human activities with the laws of nature.

The 1990s will be a decade of destiny, in which we must summon our human resources, our knowledge and our moral conviction in order to seriously face up to the real challenge of the future.

53 years of life experience and 18 years of political work in the government and parliament of my country have brought me to the following view of the most fundamental challenge of our time:

The forces of technology, of finance and of electronic communication have increasingly taken over the powers which were vested in democracy to shape our future.

What should be our global village is threatening to turn into a global jungle. We need

*Gro Harlem
Brundtland, prime
minister of Norway,
argues that the nation
state is too small an arena
for taking on today's
environmental and
political challenges.*

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to replace international anarchy by international governance.

The challenge of the 1990s is to deepen and widen the forces of democracy and to lift democratic decision-making to the international level.

We are brought up to believe that democracy allows us to govern on behalf of the people, and that people, through their participation in national democratic processes, can make decisions and choices about their own future.

We elect our leaders on the basis of their programmes. Our elected representatives in turn pursue the objectives of society by means of legislation, rules and taxation.

However, even the most powerful nation state is too small an arena for addressing regional and global challenges. It will become increasingly contradictory to promise a remedy through national measures alone to challenges which are of an international nature and origin.

If we maintain the illusion that nations can act in isolation, we not only risk postponing critical decisions which can only be made effective when states act in cooperation. We also risk an increase in the growing scepticism and lack of respect for democracy, politics and politicians who seemingly cannot do what is in reality beyond the reach of their present powers.

We are used to holding politicians accountable and to measuring their results and how they are able to improve our lives. If their results do not meet our expectations, we are quick to turn against both them and the political system.

If this alienation from political life is allowed to continue, we also risk a gradual disintegration of traditional political institutions. The new and dangerous anti-democratic trends in some countries, the calls for a 'strong man', are dangerous symptoms which we must take seriously.

We must not forget that it is we ourselves, not somebody else, who are responsible for how our democracies work. We cannot wait for someone else to do the job or put all our faith in an illusion of omnipotence at the highest political level. All sectors of our societies must become more deeply involved in the real issues of our time.

Democracy cannot be achieved by 'top-down' processes. It must have its base in our communities, in the minds and priorities of the individual citizen and voter, in our parties and in the network of interest groups and non-governmental organisations which are an essential part of our pluralistic societies.

This summer the future of humankind and our reconciliation with the biosphere was the subject of the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. Cynics are often quick to dismiss international conferences as futile, costly and substantively contrary to what they see as national privileges and vested interests. Such attitudes are dangerous. 'Cynics know the price of everything and the value of nothing', said Oscar Wilde.

At present, the vast majority of the poor make only a minimal claim on our natural resources, while the more voracious North is consuming in a few decades what it has taken the planet billions of years to accumulate.

These crops need tending ...



16

This growing difference between the fortunate few and the powerless, impoverished majority is a destabilising trend. It is dangerous as well as morally unacceptable.

Achieving sustainable development - which means meeting the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs - demands a profound understanding of the series of challenges facing societies between now and the year 2050. Can a world population double that of today be adequately fed in an environmentally sustainable way? How can they be educated and become our partners when today only 8 per cent, in some very poor countries only 2 per cent, have access to higher education?

How can we find the energy needed to fuel a world economy perhaps five times larger than today's without spoiling the environment and significantly disrupting the climate?

Unless we assist developing countries in by-passing the most polluting stages of development and in developing the potential of their people, we ourselves may be the victims. We cannot say to the developing world: 'Sorry, we have filled the waste bin, there is no room left for you.'

Developing countries require environmental space for their development. For them, the future is essentially about development and justice. For them, the environment is vital, as it is for us. But they will not accept the unfair burden of being the caretakers of our common responsibilities for future generations, while we who have been destroying nature and raising our standard of living through unsustainable patterns of growth are not ready to take our share of the repair bill.

The Rio Conference failed to make workable decisions on how to curb population growth. States which do not have a population problem - in one particular case even no births at all - did their utmost to prevent the world from making sensible decisions regarding family planning.

Family planning services must be made universally available. The status of women must be raised, and they must receive better education. Women have been patronised long enough.

If we signal that the task is almost hopeless, we will foster environmental nihilism, rather than stimulate a new global ethic. The World Commission on Environment and Development, which I had the honour to chair, concluded that the situation is far from hopeless. Instead, the Commission expressed the hope and the firm belief that humankind has the capacity to change the dangerous course we have been travelling.

We need new policies, at local, national and international level, based on sustainable patterns of development.

We do not have global institutions strong enough to determine new directions or to implement effective global policies. We must develop an international public sector based on the United Nations and existing institutions.

Countries have sovereignty over their national resources, but decisions leading to sustainable development will be illusionary if we can only move forward at a snail's pace set by the most reluctant.

... watering ...



The Environmental Picture Library

It is difficult to see how decision-making in international institutions can become effective unless we introduce new elements of supranational rule. We need elements of global governance that can serve our real interests, across national frontiers.

We have come to a watershed in human history. Political leaders will have to lead the way into uncharted land, where familiar concepts of purpose and interests fail to match reality. But democratically elected leaders cannot do the job alone. They need to be supported by increasing millions of responsible citizens, in particular when the necessary measures seem costly in a short-term perspective.

Trillions of dollars have been spent on arms in the past; now comparable gigantic efforts are needed for a new, common struggle.

We must build a truly global democracy which will also include those parts of the world where the seeds of democratic values are today growing on the thinnest soil.

We need a collective commitment which goes beyond building. We need a new era of internationalism where peace, environment and development are linked, and placed at the epicentre of national and international affairs.

In the two decades between the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment of 1972 and the Rio Conference of 1992, we have seen the evolution of the new movement of the radical right. But let us remember that, however good the markets are at allocating resources efficiently and effectively, they cannot build community of purpose or instill social responsibility, or assert a broader popular vision of a just and sustainable future.

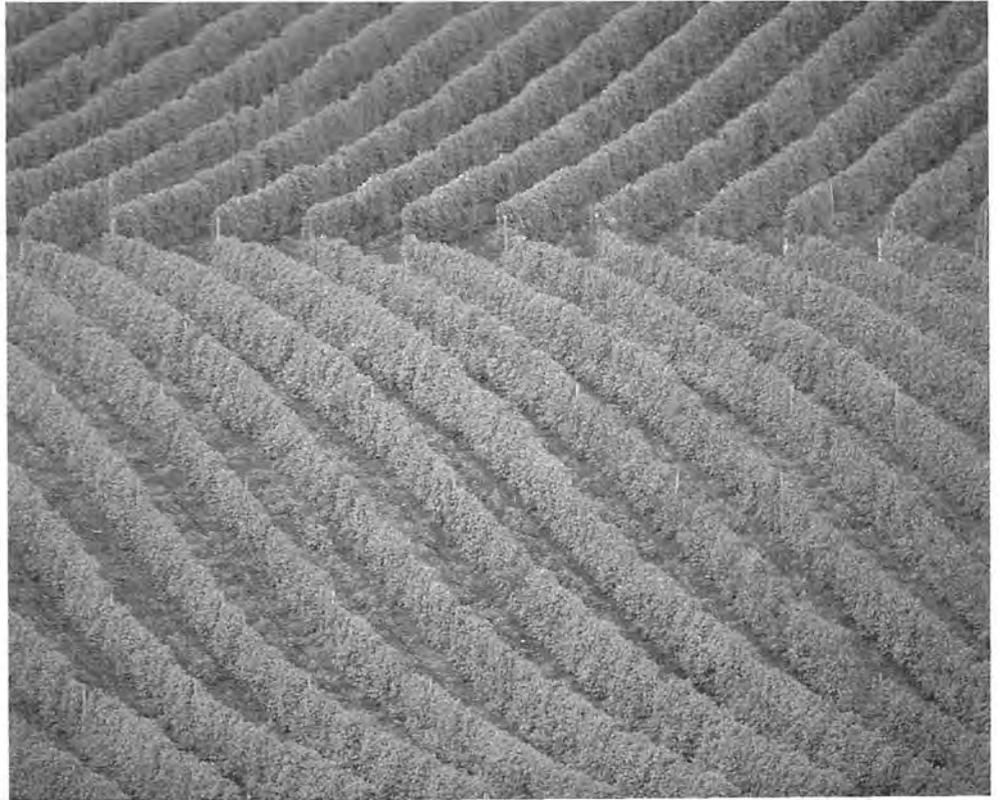
The truth is that governments depend upon securing popular support for even the most difficult decisions. Only then can truly effective change come about. We must not be blinded by the immediate. We must all take a longer-term view. We need to expand and share knowledge and we must get many more people engaged in the overriding issues of our time.

Luckily, at the beginning of the 1990s, when we need it so urgently, democracy is gaining ground world-wide. These changes could have been slower had it not been for the information revolution and the global media. We will have to rely on the gift of information technology for spreading knowledge and for developing those common perspectives and attitudes which our human predicament now requires.

We have to manage the most important global transition since the agricultural and industrial revolutions - the transition to sustainable development: how to reconcile human activities and human numbers with the long-term capacity of this finite earth.

We need a new kind of economic growth which takes account of the environmental and social impact of our actions and omissions. Material growth can never be a goal in itself. The quality of growth, the sustainability of growth, and the equitable distribution of the benefits of growth - such are the yardsticks by which the advances of our societies should be measured. ■

... and good government.



BERLIN: A CITY IN PROCESS OF CHANGE

We are now in the third year since the destruction of the Berlin Wall, and will soon be celebrating the second anniversary of the reunification of Berlin and of Germany. After the great historic moments of 1990 moods and emotions are calmer.

The economic, political, social and psychological consequences of German reunification have now to be tackled and solved by society as a whole. Today the whole of eastern Germany is in the midst of a severe crisis of adaptation.

After the financial union of 1 July 1990, the eastern German economy was forced to face the storms of competition with the potent Western economies. At the same time, it had to cope with the collapse and loss of its traditional markets in eastern Europe which was one of the consequences of the breakdown of Comecon. Following this severe reverse, the 'New Länder' - as the former East Germany is known - experienced a dramatic process of de-industrialisation, with the loss of almost 40 per cent of all jobs.

The change in economic structure is taking much longer than promised and predicted by Chancellor Kohl. The severe structural problems are rendered even worse by the still uncorrected errors of the federal government in the Reunification Treaty. Against all expert advice, the federal government insists on a housing and land policy which hinders investment. The federal government should enable the *Treuhandanstalt* (the federal institution for the privatisation of former East German state property) to implement a policy for the creation of a modern economic structure for the 'New Länder' and Berlin.

The federal government, however, piles up debts and loads the burden on future generations. The unkept promises of Chancellor Kohl are leading to disappointment in the East

**Walter
Momper**

and weakening the feelings of solidarity of people in the West.

Berlin, in the centre of the East-West controversy during the process of German reunification, has felt the consequences more intensely than anywhere else. East and West meet here, with all their differences. Here, reunification is happening all day every day, with all its problems and obstacles, as well as the slow steps of progress.

Like the 'New Länder', Berlin is suffering a dramatic deterioration and loss of industries which were built up over decades. The western part of the city is facing radical changes too. Now that the city has been freed after 40 years from its position as an island, the gap between Berlin and other major European cities - especially in economic terms - has to be closed. The sudden and drastic cut in the subsidies previously paid by the Federal Republic for the support of the city has left Berlin in a difficult position. Whilst in the East there is an enormous financial demand for investment, and the West is on the way to reform, the financial power of Berlin has been weakened enormously. Our task is now to integrate the new situation into the existing structures of Berlin. Today and in the future, life in Berlin must be affordable for everyone, including those with a small income, pensioners and the socially handicapped. Berlin must become a humane metropolis. Despite the immense dynamic for change in the city, we have to ensure that social peace is safeguarded.

The process of German reunification is reflected in the political parties, as in all sectors of society. Since 14 September 1990, the SPD in Berlin has been one party again. Of course



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there are still big differences between the eastern and western parts of the party. Whereas there are 25,000 party members in the western part of Berlin, there are only 2,500 members in the eastern part. This situation is far from satisfactory. But there is a good side to it. It proves that the SPD in eastern Berlin is a new party with no links to the old political power of the former one-party state. The SPD is a child of the peaceful revolution of 1989 and this is one of the reasons for the so far small number of party members.

In the present situation, it is difficult to persuade people in the 'New Länder' to join a political party. People who have spent their lives in a country where one party ruled and tried to control all aspects of life can have a justified scepticism with regard to political parties in general.

As with other problems related to German reunification, it will be some time before people are ready to come together or to join a democratic party. The process of building up a new SPD in the 'New Länder' is showing that the lines of tradition back to the great history of the SPD in the east of Germany have been

Walter Momper is the former mayor of Berlin.

cut. The new SPD is emerging from the civic movements of the autumn of 1989. The active members often come from a church background and there are a significant number of representatives of the so-called 'technical intelligentsia' - skilled and educated people who found their way to the SPD via the political consciousness generated by the events of 1989.

In the daily life of our party we still encounter differences in thinking, emotions and ways of acting, but in the day-to-day exchange these differences will slowly be resolved.

We do have good reason for cautious optimism. Our last local elections for the districts of Berlin, in May 1992, brought satisfying results. We reached a total of 32 per cent of the vote - which is not enough. However, the positive aspect was that the SPD was the only party in Berlin to gain exactly the same result in both parts of the city. That means the SPD is equally accepted as the Berlin party by a substantial number of voters in both eastern and western parts of our city. This will be the basis for a successful future for the SPD in Berlin.

LATIN AMERICA: THE VIEW FROM SPAIN

The New World has always been the land of liberty and imagination and with that same liberty and imagination today it is claiming its place in a new international order. As it does so the New World will share with Spain three new and important political realities, our common commitment to the democracy we enjoy, our commitment to regional integration and the progressive strengthening of our economies by means of all the schemes of modernisation that we are undertaking.

The countries of Ibero-America have never been as democratic as they are today. Together Latin Americans and Spaniards have learnt that democracy is the best system for the development of the individual and consequently for our peoples.

Nobody expects that democracy by itself will solve all problems, but without democracy there will be no internal solidarity within societies nor international solidarity among nations to enable the processes of economic development to go forward. Democracy is the legitimate and peaceful aspiration of peoples and we must all make sure that it thrives in regions which throughout their history have often given asylum to democrats.

Latin America has as well a long experience in regional integration. Today the enlargement of the Rio Group is a reality which is of interest beyond the frontiers of America and, as a result, a fruitful dialogue is in progress between the countries of America and Europe - though this dialogue is not yet sufficiently developed. The San José formula bears witness to the strengthening of ties between Latin America and the European Community in particular. Other good examples of the unstoppable dynamic of integration in Latin America are the creation of Mercosur, embracing Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, and the future consolidation of free trade areas including the Andean Pact and the countries of the Central American isthmus.

Lastly Latin America has started its struggle to overcome the dichotomy between democracy and stagnation, making use of strategies which imply vigorous political policies, good management, the will to eliminate tariff barriers and a common desire to explore new ways of trade and investment.

The pursuit of these three strategies is the right way to generate confidence inside and outside a country for those engaged in economic and political tasks alike.

The Spanish government wishes to contribute to this effort by maintaining its own commitment to democracy, to the regional integration schemes and to the programmes of economic recovery, so that the 1990s will be a time of peace and prosperity.

The wind of change that has blown through the world in recent years has blown, too, in Latin America. There are no

On the occasion of the Ibero-American summit in Madrid, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González examines the links between Latin America and Europe in the light of the experience of his own country.



longer two models with which countries have to be aligned. Language and method have changed to the extent that parliaments and peoples are now writing the history of their countries and are leaving the achievements of guerrillas to the imagination of the talented novelists of Latin America. The only weapons of political and economic development must be discussion and common effort.

At the same time the current of world history is flowing increasingly fast. In the year between the first meeting of Ibero-American Heads of State which took place in the Mexican city of Guadalajara in July 1991 and this year's gathering in Madrid in July, we saw the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the immense challenges that that great event brought on.

We see today the United Nations taking an important role in the limiting of a number of conflicts or in their solution, a development which renews and strengthens the UN and which we must support. At the same time however we see welling up again attitudes of hatred and confrontation in Europe that we had believed were a thing of the past. Madrid has served as host to the Conference on Peace in the Middle East, a development which gives hope for the solution of one of the most complex and knotty confrontations of the post-war era.

The economies of the industrialised countries are still stagnating or growing at rates so slow that they put off the hopes raised for the paying out of a peace dividend.

A dizzy change has kindled hopes and generated uncertainties. Meanwhile the European Community and the Ibero-American Community constitute two areas which are showing no little vitality. We in the European Community have taken a big step forward on the road to achieving in the course of this decade a political and economic monetary union, a fact which signals our acceptance of interdependence. We want to contribute to a consolidation of a shared space of welfare and security. The Ibero-American Community for its part is strengthening the movements started in Guadalajara

*Ibero-American leaders meet
in Madrid*



and is beginning to take on the form of a new political dialogue and a new kind of political cooperation. If we turn our eyes backward in history a moment it will help us to understand the magnitude of the process we are living through. For the past decade Spain, like Portugal, has been making a great effort in the liberalisation of its economy, adapting to integration with more developed European countries and opening up to the world.

But in Latin America ten years ago the clash of arms was heard in many parts of the region, democracy was the exception and Latin American economies were bogged down in sterile protectionism. Today, despite a number of ups and downs and problems specific to individual countries, peace is reigning; democracy is the norm and economies have opened their windows to regional integration and the greater world outside.

We are seeing an important sign of re-establishment of our own self-confidence and our faith in our own abilities. What is in play is the ability to modernise political, economic and social institutions, starting from the basis of our own cultural values. If we can feel more secure and hopeful it is because considerable steps have already been taken to consolidate democratic practice in our own countries, to solve conflicts through dialogue and negotiation and to make individual national economies viable by means of their full exposure to international competition.

We are conscious of our limitations and also of the dangers which may threaten the stability of some countries, but our citizens are calling on us to act with honesty and political courage. We must realise amongst ourselves that neither intolerance nor authoritarianism are acceptable political strategies on the threshold of the new millenium. We want neither political prisoners nor exiles in our community.

We have considered education to be a particularly bountiful field of activity, as no natural resource and no investment is comparable to human resources as a lever for development.

Economic integration is proceeding apace, pulling down the barriers and obstacles to trade and making our countries every day more interdependent and open to useful investment. A costly policy of adjustment is allowing the creation of an open market economy.

Latin America has therefore, on the basis of the re-establishment of democracy, a good opportunity to increase its financial cooperation with the rest of the world. It probably needs to accompany these measures with a taxation policy that would give the state the resources which would allow it to take steps of a social nature and make the distribution of income more equitable.

Spain for its part will continue day by day its task of building to the full within the European Community on a relationship which until five years ago was virtually non-existent. ■

*Israeli sociologist
Avraham Rozenkier
analyses the results of his
country's recent general
election.*

NEW POLICIES BREAK THROUGH IN ISRAEL

In the present volatile international climate, where zones of conflict constantly appear and disappear - the implosion of the USSR, the Gulf war, the wave of hyper-nationalism in the countries of the East, the violent confrontation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the fires of fundamentalism in Algeria - it is no surprise that the rules of the game have also changed in the Middle East.

Whilst the Arabs have lost the automatic support of the Soviet Union, Israel, especially since the Gulf war, no longer enjoys the unconditional support of the United States. In fact the new relationship between the US and the Arab world has limited Israel's room for manoeuvre.

The immobility and dogmatism of Mr Shamir, who was slowly turning Israel into a modern-day Sparta, took no account of these realities. In the Jewish trilogy of 'land, people and bible', the 'greater Israel' ideology preached by Likud led it to put all the emphasis on land and thus on the settlements. Thus 15 per cent of the national budget was devoted to the 2.5 per cent of the Jewish population living in the West Bank and Gaza. They were receiving 3 or 4 times more housing aid; the education of their children was costing 2 or 3 times more than that of other children, and the state was spending 10 or 15 times more on their security. Invoking the alliance of the Almighty and the chosen people and the sacredness of 'Eretz Israel', Likud ruled out any return of territory.

Armed with this belief, Mr Shamir sought above all to reach the point of no return, beyond which any territorial compromise would become impossible and any proposal for autonomy would be meaningless. As we know, he spoke in a recent press interview of his aim to spend 'a dozen years' on the peace negotiations begun in Madrid.

The election victory of Labour and its Meretz allies (the MAPAM, RATS and SHINUI parties) has allowed Israel to distance itself from the dogma and fanaticism of Likud. By giving 36.5 per cent of the vote to Mr Rabin (as against 25.2 per cent to Likud), 10 per cent to Meretz, and thus 300,000 more votes to the left than the right, the electors served Likud with a just reward for their inaction.

By reducing Likud members of the Knesset from 40 to 32, the Israeli electorate broke with the immobility of Mr Shamir in favour of a pragmatic and dynamic approach to the peace process. They gave their support to Mr Rabin, who had asked them to take account of the international situation, to take risks, to 'go beyond the feeling of isolation which has held us in thrall for half a century... not to remain alone on the railway station platform...'.

Conscious that the Palestinian problem has no military solution, he has rejected the spectre of perpetual and ever more brutal war, accepting a 'freeze' on settlements (which could in turn lead to a lifting of the Arab boycott) and the relaunching of negotiations. He has opted finally for new national priorities. Integrating the new immigrants, re-starting the economy, improving relations with Washington and relaunching the peace process will now be at the centre of the government's concerns.

The polls gave their verdict; a page in the history of Israel was turned. But the Arabs and the Palestinians are also facing a new situation. The renewal of the peace process will show how realistic they are, how much will there be to isolate the fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad and to make violent revenge a thing of the past.

If Mr Rabin has rendered Labour a credible alternative, that is because the changes in Israeli society have made him the right man for the time and he has found himself in tune with a country prepared for principled compromise.

The Israeli electorate has rejected the winds of pessimism and optimism which, like the *Hamsin*, regularly sweep through our region. They have opted for pragmatism on matters of security also. Defence remains the number one issue, but the Scud missiles and the Intifada have modified somewhat our idea of security. For many people, the territories now seem more of a burden than an asset. That explains why the first opinion poll ever carried out among several hundred senior officers of the reserve army and the secret services, whose results were published on the eve of the elections, had a certain impact on the electorate. 'Those who have been responsible for years for the security of the country know what they are talking about', it was said, 'we can trust them not to recommend a course that would endanger national security'.

The results of that opinion poll legitimised the option of territorial compromise. 70 per cent of superior officers felt that territory could be given up in return for security measures; 75 per cent judged it possible to put in place viable security measures even if the majority of the territories were returned to the Palestinians; 58 per cent were ready to accept a Palestinian state following a ten-year period of economic infrastructure-building'.

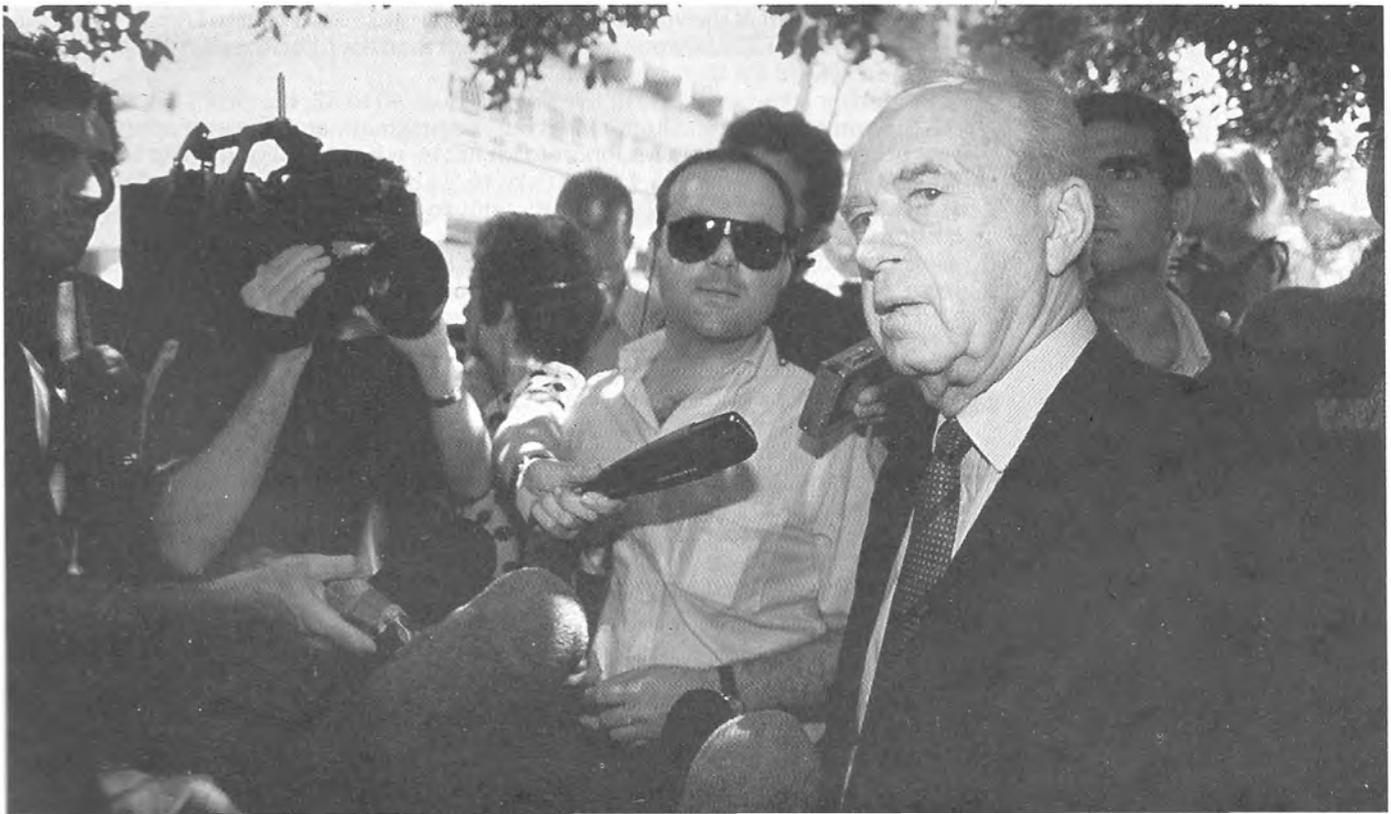
85 per cent of the officers thought that the annexation of the West Bank would mean grave danger of war and 83 per cent thought that prolonging the present situation risked leading to a new war, so when Rabin, who had built his whole political career on the idea of Israel's security, called for a renewal of the peace process, why not support him?

Labour's gain over Likud is a major one (10 per cent of the total votes), although it really represents only a small move to the left. We should not forget that the extreme right, with 11 seats, compared with 7 in 1988, has also continued to progress, and that the gap between the two major formations and their traditional allies is only two seats. Nevertheless this represents for Israel a real change in the political landscape and a movement of sociological terrain. How lasting it proves to be will depend on the action of the new government.

Contrary to Likud expectations, the first-time vote in Israel of the 240,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union was not favourable to them. The inability of the Likud government to absorb these people (40 per cent of them are unemployed) played a determining role. Having just escaped from one ethnic, political and economic earthquake, they were expecting a different situation in Israel. 48 per cent of them therefore voted for the Labour Party, about 12 per cent for Meretz, only 18 per cent for Likud and 4 per cent for the extreme right. Less than 4 per cent voted for the religious parties - one factor in the loss of influence of those parties. It is obvious that their brief support for the right (attributable to positive feelings towards the state bodies which took them in and to a profound antagonism to anything connected with socialism) has been overridden by a number of inherent characteristics of these new immigrants.

They are used to a secular way of life and do not appreciate religious regulations and the role of the Grand Rabin in civil society in Israel (birth, marriage and death are subject to religious jurisdiction in our country). They distrust Likud's allies among the

Rabin: new-style election campaign



SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Issue 2/1992

religious parties. They are pragmatic people who feel that politics should be based on realities rather than preconceived ideological positions. Having so recently escaped from a turbulent situation, they aspire to a haven of peace and tranquility - an aspiration which does not incline them to settle on the West Bank. Their sociological profile puts them on the centre-left: rational, quite highly educated - almost 50 per cent of them have a university education - and coming largely from the liberal professions (although temporarily less privileged, they are largely middle-class), they are the kind of people who, in Israel, tend to support the peace lobby.

Another significant factor was the vote of the young conscripts. Whereas in 1988 70 per cent of them voted for the right and 30 per cent for the left, in 1992 the picture was a different one: 48 per cent supported Labour (33 per cent) or Meretz (15 per cent), while 44 per cent supported the right or extreme right. Opinion polls carried out in recruitment offices, simulated votes in high schools, and university elections had already indicated a polarisation among young people as a whole. In the legislative vote 15 per cent supported Meretz while 15 per cent supported a party of the extreme right, Tsomet, which obtained 6.3 per cent of the vote nationally.

Also significantly, the Sephardic Jews who carried Likud to power in 1977 have begun to take their distance from the party. For the first time in 15 years the developing towns, essentially populated by Sephardic Jews, registered a net gain for Labour and a fall in support for Likud. Even Likud strongholds are not immune to this change in voting patterns. The severity of the economic crisis and the growth of the socio-economic differential has shifted the reference points of the classic Likud voters: 12 per cent unemployed, half a million citizens living below the poverty line. National trends hit the developing towns and the deprived areas of the big cities hardest, while the occupied territories, excepting East Jerusalem, take 3 billion Shekels of public funds every year.

Labour's accession to power gives hope of an economic recovery, thanks to the US loan guarantees needed for the absorption of the new immigrants. Washington is willing to unfreeze this aid insofar as Rabin freezes settlements. The present disaffection of part of the Sephardic electorate from Likud could therefore become even more marked if the Rabin government is successful in its socio-economic policies.

As for the Arab voters, they have paid the price for their internal quarrels. With just five seats, they have once again passed up the opportunity to influence government policy with regard to the Palestinians. The Democratic Front for Peace (ex-Communist) only just avoided a total rout. Having lost nearly half its electoral support, it took only a quarter of the Arab vote, whereas in 1988 it took half. The progressive List for Peace did not succeed in crossing the 1.5 per cent threshold (so their 23,000 votes are wasted) and so will not be represented in the Knesset, whilst the Arab Democratic Party of Abdel Darawshe gained 2 seats.

More significant, however, is the fact that the Zionist formations took almost 60 per cent of the Arab vote (with Labour taking 20.4 per cent and Meretz 9.8 per cent). Only a minority of Israeli Arabs voted for Arab parties. This choice reflects their political pragmatism and refusal to stay on the margins of Israeli politics. 'The political game is like a football match', the Arab Meretz deputy Waalid Tzadek has said, 'the teams on the field are going to determine the result... It is time for us to enter the lists, to be in contact with the ball and no longer to be just spectators'. This process of integration can become more marked under a government of the left.

Despite the considerable stakes in this election, no campaign was ever so dreary. This was due without a doubt to the 'Americanisation' of public life, with the image of the candidates considered more important than their ideas. The new electoral structures due to be in place by 1996, and in particular the direct election of the prime minister, have already made their mark.

The Labour Party, by pushing the image of their leader more than their programme, deliberately waged an American-style campaign, as though this was already a direct election of the prime minister. The main emphasis was on attracting the 'floating' Likud voters who were estimated to make up 20 per cent of the electorate.

The great ideological duels, the contest of programmes, and the debates of ideas, relegated to the sidelines in 1992, will henceforth be a thing of the past. It is not certain that by avoiding controversy on fundamental choices Israeli democracy is winning its stripes. It is true, however, that the elections of 1992 saw certain structural changes which bear some comparison with the sociological fractures which brought Menachem Begin to power in 1977. ■

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MAPAM.

Pradip Bose reviews...

Pathfinders

by **B Vivekanandan**

Bombay, 1991, Somaiya Publications, ISBN 81 7039 198 9

Are Scandinavian social democrats the 'pathfinders' of socialism, as Dr Vivekanandan, an associate professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, claims? In the last decade of the turbulent twentieth century this description seems appropriate for a number of reasons.

The social democratic experiment in Scandinavia is of relevance not only for the rich, industrially advanced countries, but also for the rapidly disintegrating 'second world' - the erstwhile communist countries of Europe and the historically doomed regimes in China, North Korea and Vietnam. For the third world countries passing through the initial stages of industrialisation, its relevance, though it may seem remote, is no less.

The process of industrialisation, modernisation, and democratisation pioneered by western Europe is now spreading throughout the world. This process can be helped or hindered, but can no longer be halted. Therefore the experiences of all industrialised countries have relevance in one way or another for the newly industrialising countries. However, the fact that industrialisation in Scandinavia was not financed by colonial 'superprofits' gives it an additional psychological and intellectual advantage in the developing world, where the memories of imperialism are still fresh in the minds of the people.

The other major factor is ideological. When capitalism faced its deepest economic crisis in the late 1920s and early 1930s the totalitarian philosophies of fascism and communism received a considerable boost.

It was during the same period that the Swedish Social Democrats came to power. In an atmosphere of increasing polarisation, they offered an alternative path, not only to fascism and communism, but to classical capitalism as well. Their 'unheroic', piece-meal social reforms in a remote corner of Europe went almost unnoticed. Soon Europe plunged itself into a devastating war which obscured everything else. After the war the social democratic experiment was expanded and strengthened in other Scandinavian countries.

Nearly sixty years after the economic depression, what is the position of fascism now? Although some of its ingredients will continue to appeal to a section of the population around the world, it does not provide today, as it did in the thirties, an ideological alternative. The onward march of humanity seeking greater equality and justice has left it on the sidelines.

As for communism, its dramatic collapse in eastern Europe and its steady disintegration in the former Soviet Union marks the beginning of the end. Even in the third world countries with backward socio-economic conditions, the people have moved forward and are refusing to accept any form of dictatorship, including that of the communists, for whom dictatorship has been a cardinal principle.

However, where democracy has been established or restored, it is becoming obvious that democracy itself is not enough; there must be social dimensions (which means some form of social democracy) to make the democratic system work.

The Scandinavian social democratic experiment, untouched by imperialism and deeply rooted in the democratic spirit, with its unremitting efforts to provide greater justice and equality by peaceful means, provides a beacon of light to third world countries. Although at the moment the social democrats are not in power in Sweden and Denmark, over the years they have been able to create a broad social democratic ethos which cannot be undermined by non-social demo-

cratic administrations.

The wave of economic liberalisation policies which has swept through former communist countries and developing countries experiencing democratisation has been hailed as a triumph of capitalism. In eastern Europe, because of the popular abhorrence of the old system, the pendulum has quite understandably swung from one extreme to the other. Sooner rather than later, it will be realised in those countries and elsewhere that a policy of uncontrolled liberalisation is not a magic formula to solve the people's problems. This is now becoming very clear in the United States and Britain, which, after a decade of Reaganite and Thatcherite 'revolutions', have become the most troubled economies among the industrially rich countries. These experiments have run out of steam in the early 1990s. Even the World Bank and the IMF are now reconsidering these policies, especially in relation to the debt-ridden third world countries.

The Soviet experiment has proved that a change in the form of ownership, from private to public, has done nothing in itself to make work more meaningful, nor has power been more evenly dis-

Olof Palme:
*offering an
alternative
path*



tributed. The Scandinavian experience has proved that social democratic principles and values can be at least partially introduced even when the major portions of manufacturing industries remain in private hands. This has put the traditional 'private sector versus public sector' controversy on the back burner. Multiple forms of ownership are permissible in a social democratic society. This is now broadly accepted because of the relative success of Scandinavian social democracy.

When the world is getting smaller, when the old-style ideological confrontation is slowly receding into the background, following the end of the Cold War, and nobody can claim to have a monopoly of knowledge and wisdom, the successful, pragmatic Scandinavian experiment has assumed an ideological importance on a global scale. Under these circumstances, a study which is the result of two extensive visits to Scandinavia by a third world scholar is a welcome contribution. Dr Vivekanandan describes Scandinavian social democracy as an 'inspiring model', and takes the view that social democrats in the region have made 'an outstanding contribution towards human development'.

However, he concedes that the system has been over-organised and bureaucratised. Some of the human problems of highly-industrialised societies, such as people's feelings of alienation from being only a cog in a machine, the disintegration of family life, and over-consumption have not been given sufficient attention. But the bread and butter issues, social justice and security, freedom and equality, have been admirably tackled. These are what count for the overwhelming majority of people around the world, especially in poorer countries.

Pradip Bose is an author and journalist and the general secretary of the Indian Centre for Democratic Socialism, New Delhi.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy

International Labour and the Origins of the Cold War

by Denis MacShane

Oxford, 1992, Clarendon Press, ISBN 0 19 827366 5

Instruments of Statecraft: US Guerrilla Warfare, Counter-insurgency and Counter-terrorism, 1940-1990

by Michael McClintock

New York, 1992, Pantheon Books ISBN 0 394 55945 2

As the Berlin Wall came down and the Cold War came to an end those engaged in the continuing ideological and propaganda battle about apportioning blame for such a wasteful, destructive and exhausting confrontation came into their own.

For a conservative government in the United States, and for many outside that country, there was little room for nuance. The Evil Empire had been defeated by the forces of good, one of whose principal strategems had been a successful arms race. Moscow had not only been unable to match the military power of the West, it had bled itself dry in the economic and financial spheres by attempting to challenge the strategic aims of the bloc whose main pillar was that same United States.

For not a few in Europe, that very arms race was seen as one of the principal reasons for the continuance of the Cold War long after it could have been halted or wound down. Few in central Europe were happy to be living in a region destined to be the scene of total nuclear destruction if the Cold War were ever to hot up.

Now that the world is moving out of bi-polarity and the threat of a nuclear holocaust fought out between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has gone, it is time for the true scholars to make an objective assessment of the Cold War.

In these recent impressive works by MacShane and McClintock, greatly different in subject, but each written by a sensitive and humane master of geo-politics, such scholars will find much of great value to ponder on.

MacShane, a member of the British Labour Party and an international trade union official based in Geneva, considers the history of European trade unionism in post-war continental Europe and the contributions made to it by organised labour in Britain and the US and by the regime of Jozef Stalin and his followers. His conclusions are new and refreshing.

In his view the idea that US union confederations, in league with the US government, were manipulating European unions like so many puppets is untenable. There was a Western antipathy to Soviet models of organisation which antedated the Cold War - indeed it antedated the Second World War and went back to the first years of Leninism in Russia. The antipathy, which was to be found in the ranks of organised labour as it was in the ranks of organised capital, was enhanced by Stalin's social strategies. In his phrase, 'Harold Laski's anti-communism was more influential in Britain (and elsewhere) than George Meany's'.

MacShane concludes, 'As far as the labour movement is concerned, the underlying reason for the Cold War lies not in inter-government rivalries, territorial or economic differences, or domestic politics, though all played their part. It is simply and bleakly that the practice of Soviet communism was unacceptable to the working people of Europe, for it demanded a price in loss of freedom that they were not prepared to pay'.

MacShane's thesis on international labour, which minimises the role of the US abroad, is not sustained in the volume on military matters produced this year by

McClintock, one of the leading US experts in human rights alive today. His is a much more sombre and pessimistic appreciation.

It is that in the process of pursuing the war against Soviet influence - or what was seen or passed off in Washington as Soviet influence - the armed forces of his country and their political masters indulged in terrorism and atrocity in the cause of support-

ing the politically indefensible. That gave rise to what he calls 'an un-American way of war'. The result has been the loss by the US of that special ethical and moral superiority to which the founding fathers aspired two centuries ago.

The author's deep reading, his wide research in previously unpublished documents and his marshalling of the facts make his argument very compelling indeed.

It ranges from Vietnam to El Salvador, from Iran to Chile.

As the battle lines once drawn down the middle of Europe and in the trenches and tunnels of Vietnam are in danger of being redrawn definitively between the rich North and the poor South, the immediate consequences of the continuation of 'un-American ways of war' are grave indeed.

Jonathan Halliburton

Canadian Socialism - Essays on the CCF-NDP

by Alan Whitehorn

Toronto and Oxford, 1992, Oxford University Press, ISBN 0 19 540695 8

These nine analytical essays by Alan Whitehorn, a professor of political science at the Royal Military College of Canada, on the New Democratic Party and its predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, represent one of the first attempts to examine in depth the growth of the strongest movement for democratic socialism in North America. This book, immensely detailed and authoritative, is therefore heartily to be welcomed.

The story it tells is also encouraging for socialists, chronicling as it does the rise of socialist fortunes over the decades at the expense of the Liberals and Conservatives in Canada, to a point where today, under Audrey McLaughlin, the prospects have seldom been better. Professor Whitehorn characterises the recent NDP provincial victories in Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan as a 'new dawn' for the party.

The history of the NDP in recent times has been bound up with the careers of the leaders. He identifies two 'titans', Scots-born Tommy Douglas, raised in Saskatchewan in the Christian tradi-

tion, and Russian-born David Lewis, whose father was a local leader of the Jewish Labour Bund and supported the Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks in the Soviet civil war. An essay is devoted also to Ed Broadbent, whose leadership ensured the survival and growth of the party in the 1980s. Professor Whitehorn gives lucid insights into the evolution of the political thought of all three men.

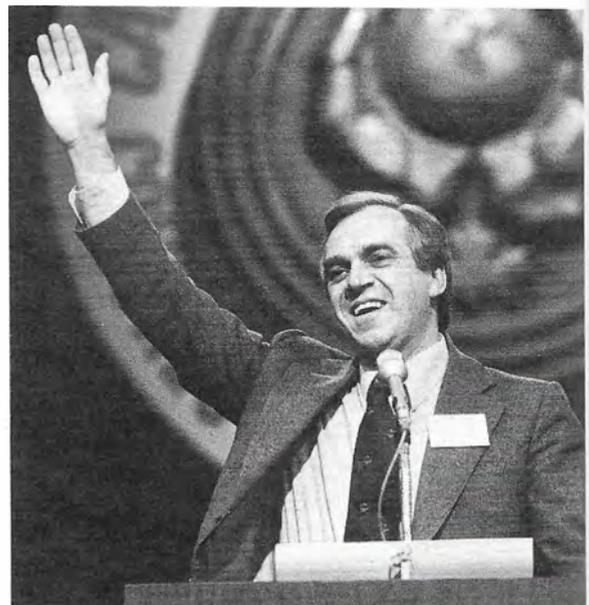
He also evaluates in detail NDP debate on the structure of the bicultural nature of their anglophone-francophone country. He looks at the relative failure of the party to make great headway in Quebec - a fact that he in some measure puts down to the vagaries of the electoral system, and in some measure, too, to the puzzling inability of many prominent NDPers to master the French language.

The last essay ends with an idealistic cri de coeur - or should one say a cry from the heart? - such as is often to be heard from Canada. 'On the eve of the new century, it is appropriate to ask anew what has happened to socialist internationalism. Surely we need to impose greater limits upon the nation state. Instead of contributing to the ongoing squabbling over federal versus provincial jurisdictions and constitutional powers, Canadian socialists should focus upon the desperately poor and militarily dangerous world that surrounds us... Canadians should be at the forefront of building a better world. We play a key role in UN peacekeeping, but we could do much more. The UN desperately needs better funding,

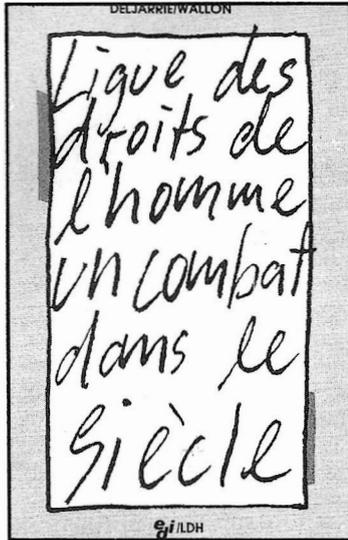
organisation and leadership. Canadian socialists could encourage greater support for our nascent world government. It would mean going beyond the preoccupations with provincial rights and Canadian sovereignty, and would require a more resolute commitment to internationalism'.

Quite so. But this admirer of Canadian society and of many of Canada's current international attitudes is happy to remind the author that in this imperfect world his country is already doing much more for the UN than other countries of America - certainly more than the US - and has a great deal to be proud of. Not least because of the strong strand of democratic socialism of the NDP, a strand unique in the Western Hemisphere.

Ed Broadbent

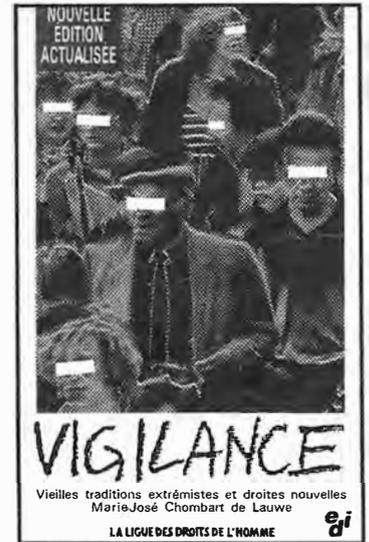


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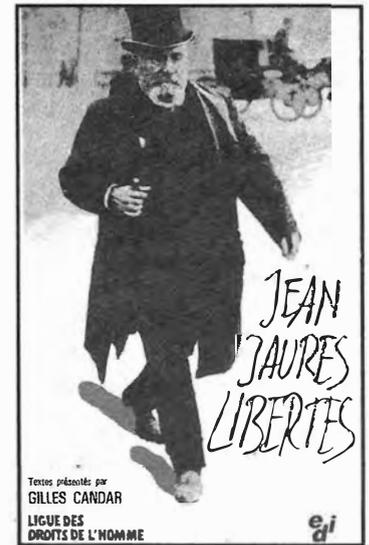


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LESSONS FOR LABOUR

There are no excuses for the British Labour Party's fourth successive election defeat on April 9 - only explanations. The result - a Tory overall majority of 21 in the House of Commons despite a Labour gain of 40 seats - was a bitter disappointment, not least to those of us who stood as candidates.

The disappointment though was perhaps the natural product of over expectation. We tried very hard (as hard as only political activists can) to ignore the historical fact that victory would have required a swing of opinion from Conservative to Labour well in excess of anything seen in Britain since 1945.

Winning was always going to be extremely difficult. When my daughter (born ten days after the election) comes to read her history books in 15 or 20 years time she is likely to find the 1992 election described as little more than a creditable step in the long process of British Labour's revival and renewal. An objective analysis will show where we did well, and what we did wrong. The same history book will, I hope, contain a rather longer chapter on Labour's triumphant return to power under John Smith in 1996 and the way in which that return fitted into a pattern of socialist renaissance across the industrialised world from Scandinavia and Germany to the USA.

It has become fashionable to despair and dig the garden. Rational analysis of the reasons for defeat does, however, provide the bedrock for a rather different view - an attitude of cautious optimism which puts the destiny of the British left back in the balance and most important of all in our own hands.

The Social Democratic Party has collapsed and the Liberal Democrats have begun to sink back towards their historical role as no more than a source of ideas, marginal in terms of electoral politics. After the 1987 election, the Liberals held second place in 230 of Britain's 650 constituencies. Now, despite a merger with the Social Democrats, they are second in only 145 (against Labour's 280). Around the country activists who dropped out or changed parties in the early 1980s are coming back home.

Two crucial factors are organisation and policy. In both cases the Labour Party has the power to determine its own destiny. There is now a wide consensus in support of reform of the trade union block vote in favour of one-member-one-vote democracy. This reorganisation will provide the most immediate evidence of the fact that Britain, in common with the rest of Europe, is no longer a country dominated by a heavy industrial base and mass organisations of workers. Nine million people are still union members, who deserve better rights at work, but union membership is no longer a primary identifying factor for many. The vast majority never attend union meetings. A measure of prosperity and the spread of home and car ownership to 85 or 90 per cent of the population mean that even relatively low paid people view themselves as individuals, not as part of any mass movement. Even in the most solid of working class areas, the uniting factor is consumption not production, and it is no accident that Britain's most successful firms are now retailers rather than manufacturers. The best trade unions have

already appreciated this shift and have begun to interpret the battle for collective rights in individual terms.

Updating means reviewing and then representing every policy in terms of a society made up of individuals and families, a society of people who see themselves as consumers rather than producers. That change of perspective alone could lead to major re-statements of Labour's approach to vital political issues such as education and health care. In both cases assertions of the principles of universality and equality of treatment have proved inadequate in the attempt to convince people that Labour has the best answers for the needs and fears of individual families.

Boldness, built on renewed intellectual confidence, could allow us to rediscover the fact that populism is not a dirty word for a political party. Mountains of policy documents which even fairly dedicated candidates never read are useless if we do not have a few simple sharp messages to offer to the mass of the electorate. In economic terms, populism means making Labour the party of tax cuts for the majority, even if some pay more. Tax will always be a problem for any party of the left. In 1992 we did better on the tax issue than at any election I can remember. I believe we can do better still, without sacrificing the redistributive principle.

Just as a touch of populism is necessary, so too is the identification of an enemy. In Britain that enemy is still privilege. One hopes that by the next election we will no longer appear to be blocking the aspirations of those who want their own home or the best for their children. We should instead be robustly and outspokenly attacking the privileges of those whose inherited wealth and status gives them education, jobs, incomes and opportunities denied to the rest. That will enable us to tap the rich vein of middle class resentment and to become the party of true meritocracy against a prime minister who has kicked away the ladders of social mobility which he himself climbed.

We have to realise that 1992 was a step forward not a step back. By 1996, or whenever the next election comes, we will be more realistic in watching the polls and aware that other parties of the left - in Germany before 1968, in Spain before 1976, and in France before 1981 - all had to go through the Long March of failure. They did not despair and in the end they won. So will we.

Nick Butler

London

British Labour Party candidate in Lincoln at this year's general election and treasurer of the Fabian Society

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

XIX CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

FREEDOM AND SOLIDARITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

*The congress of the Socialist International opens in
Berlin on 15 September.*

At its first congress since the momentous events of 1989, the International will be meeting, from 15 - 17 September, in the city which more than any other symbolises the great national and international changes of the recent period, and which is closely associated with Willy Brandt, who retires at this congress from the presidency of the Socialist International.

The congress will be hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, and will bring together representatives of the Socialist International's 88 member parties and organisations, as well as invited guests representing some 60 other parties and organisations from all parts of the world.

The congress agenda will be

headed by the theme, 'Social Democracy in a Changing World'. Discussion will focus on the challenges and opportunities for democratic socialism today and on significant developments at both global and regional level.

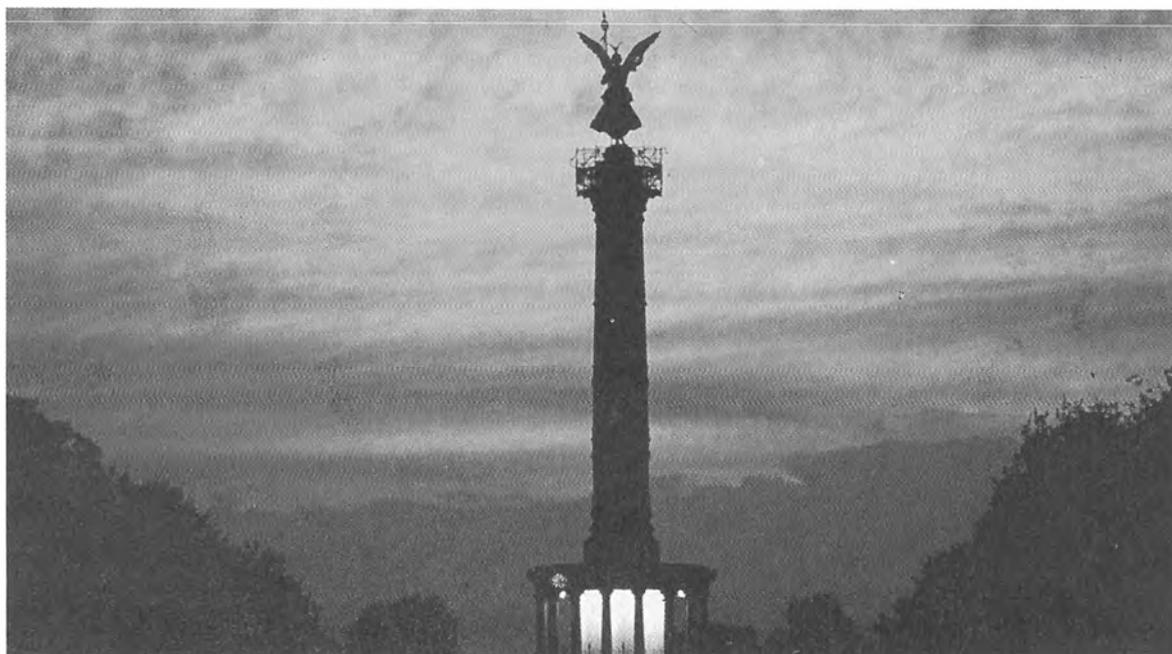
The congress will also discuss 'The World Economy: Interdependence, Efficiency, Social Justice'. 'The Environment and Sustainable Development' will be a further important subject of discussion, as will the question of 'Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Today - The Rights of Minorities'.

The congress will adopt declarations on all these themes, as well as a resolution on other areas of the Socialist International's ongoing work and developments of concern to the

International in different regions, which will serve as important points of reference in the coming period, both within the Socialist International and its member parties and in the wider international community.

The International will also be electing a new president to succeed Willy Brandt, who has been SI president since 1976.

With the extraordinary world developments since the last SI congress in June 1989, and the unprecedented number of new and older-established parties which are today identifying themselves with the Socialist International, the XIX congress will be a very significant gathering.



*Berlin: symbolic
congress venue*

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE IN LONDON

The SI Committee on Human Rights met at the International's secretariat in London on 29 June. The meeting was chaired by Committee Chair Peter Jankowitsch, Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPOe, and attended by representatives of SI member parties in Africa, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and North America.

Discussions at the committee meeting focused on developments affecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in the new world situation; on a proposed SI platform on minorities and human rights, which was being prepared with a view to the forthcoming SI congress, and also on the committee's contribution to the congress on other human rights issues.

Peter Jankowitsch, introducing the discussion, recalled that the SI Platform on Human Rights, adopted at the last congress of the International in 1989, had provided the SI for the first time with such a platform on human rights and fundamental freedoms. The committee had now decided to enrich that platform with a further policy document on minorities and human rights, an issue which was at the root of many conflicts in the world today.

The ensuing discussions ranged over many areas within the remit of the committee and how the policies and actions put forward by the Socialist International might most effectively raise consciousness of human rights issues within the international community.

Representatives from African parties detailed abuses of human rights in many corners of the continent, and welcomed a suggestion from the chair that a future meeting of the Human Rights Committee should focus on human rights in Africa.

Turning to the question of minorities, the committee dealt at

length with the issue of the definition and rights of a minority in today's world. It was stressed that, although the issue was one of increasing significance in many parts of the world, the definition was a complex and varied one. It was also stressed that international law required stronger mechanisms for the specific protection of minority rights.

Members of the committee stressed that the Socialist International, as an organisation which defended the rights of all to a good standard of living and the benefits of modern society and which strongly supported regional and international cooperation, would, within that context, seek

to focus increased attention on the value and the rights of minority cultures. The committee agreed to continue working on a draft text to be presented to the International's congress, which would both elaborate the SI perspective on this issue and make proposals for how the Socialist International might take action in international fora in furtherance of its platform on minority rights.

At the close of the meeting, the chair of the SI Human Rights Committee issued a statement expressing shock and outrage at the assassination that day of Algerian President Mohammed Boudiaf.

SI MISSION OBSERVES ELECTIONS IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Following two previous Socialist International missions to the region in April 1991 and January 1992, a delegation travelled to northern Iraq to observe the elections held on 19 May for a Kurdish National Assembly.

The delegation included Axel Andersson MP, Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP; Maurice Lazare, Socialist Party, PS, France; and Ercan Karakas MP, Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey.

The SI group held talks with Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK; Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, and other Kurdish representatives.

In common with other international observers, they

concluded that despite the many practical difficulties the elections, which attracted a high voter turnout, were largely carried out in a peaceful and orderly way.

Following election results giving 50 seats in the 105-seat Assembly to the PUK and 50 to the KDP, whilst the remaining 5 seats were allocated to small Christian parties, the Assembly elected Fouad Maassuum, a PUK politburo member, as prime minister. In a joint statement on 25 May, the PUK and KDP leaders stressed that the Kurdish National Assembly, declared illegal by the Baghdad government, would be a local representative body and did not affect the territorial integrity of Iraq.

AFRICAN PARTIES AT SI WORKING MEETING IN DAKAR

At a Socialist International working meeting on Africa held in Dakar on 30-31 May and hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal, representatives of SI member parties in Africa and other parts of the world were joined by specially invited guests from 30 African political parties and organisations for discussions which focused on the development of multi-party democracy in Africa, on social democracy and the process of democratic change in the region, and on the search for peaceful solutions to old and new conflicts in the continent.

The meeting was addressed at its opening by President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, a vice-president of the Socialist International; by SI Vice-President Pierre Mauroy, Socialist

Party of France, and by SI Secretary General Luis Ayala.

President Diouf stressed in his remarks the clear majority support now existing throughout the African continent for a democratic system of government, and that democracy was the essential prerequisite for the economic and social development needed all over the continent. An effective multi-party structure, regular and transparent elections, freedom from persecution and violence in political life, complete freedom of the press, an independent judiciary, and real power for grass-roots organisations - such, President Diouf said, were the elements of a true democracy. He also stressed, however, that democracy could not flourish in

Africa if the present level of poverty persisted and that aid from the richer countries, attaining and surpassing the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP, was urgently needed. (President Abdou Diouf writes in this issue, page 10, on Democracy and Development in Africa.)

Pierre Mauroy spoke of the events which had shaken the world in the recent past: the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe and the great movement towards democracy all over the world, not least in Africa. He said that it was now acknowledged that economic growth went hand in hand with democracy. In this context, social democrats, who had long seen democracy as the keystone of



development, faced a great task, he said. Social democrats were in favour of a mixed economy, where a dynamic market could flourish and produce the growth essential to tackle the huge problem of unemployment; equally, they were aware that the market was not omnipotent and that solidarity and justice were needed to create a truly mixed economy, to combat unemployment and inequality, and to ensure quality of life for all and respect for the environment. He underlined the huge problems facing African nations in building democracy and tackling poverty, and the need, in the face of drought and hunger, for immediate financial aid and for

measures to alleviate the burden of international debt.

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala, who chaired the meeting, referred to the work of the International over many years for democracy and development in Africa and its longstanding involvement in the struggle against apartheid, dictatorship, economic oppression, injustice and hunger. He described the Dakar meeting as a continuation of the dialogue between the democratic socialist forces of Africa and of other continents, founded on shared ideals of freedom, democracy, social justice and solidarity. In line with the International's continuing commitment to bridging the North-South divide,

he said, developments in the African continent would certainly be a major subject of discussion at the forthcoming SI Congress, where the resolutions to be adopted would draw on the discussion of this working meeting. Also, in the coming months, the International would continue to intensify its contacts with African parties and its programme of activities in Africa.

The representatives from African parties addressed the meeting, introducing their national situations and their views on the development of multi-party systems. Many participants emphasised that the very nature of this SI meeting reflected the rapid change and transformation

**PARTIES REPRESENTED
IN DAKAR**

SI member parties

Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
 Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV,
 Burkina Faso
 Socialist Party, PS, France
 Israel Labour Party
 Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
 Italian Socialist Party, PSI
 Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar
 Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco
 Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
 Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
 Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
 Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD,
 Tunisia
 Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
 International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY
 Socialist International Women, SIW

Guests from Africa

Socialist Forces Front, FFS, Algeria
 Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola,
 MPLA
 Front for Democracy, FPD, Angola
 Democratic Union of Forces for Progress, UDFP,
 Benin

Popular Union of Cameroon, UPC
 Movement for Democracy, MPD, Cape Verde
 African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde,
 PAICV
 Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, Central African
 Republic
 Socialist Party of Gabon, PSG
 African Party of Independence, PAIGC,
 Guinea Bissau
 Democratic and Social Forum, FDS, Guinea Bissau
 Ivorian Popular Front, FPI, Ivory Coast
 Lesotho Labour Party, LP
 Liberian Labour Party, LP
 National Council of Dynamic Forces, CNFV,
 Madagascar
 Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance,
 ICDA, Malawi
 National Congress for Democratic Initiative,
 CNID, Mali
 FRELIMO, Mozambique
 Party for Democracy and Socialism, PNDS, Niger
 Democratic Unionist Party, DUP, Sudan
 Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM, Tanzania
 African People's Democratic Convention, CDPA,
 Togo
 Togolese Union for Democracy, UTD
 Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UDPS,
 Zaire
 Congolese National Movement/Lumumba,
 MCN-L, COHCOLICO, Zaire
 Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, MMD,
 Zambia
 Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU (PF)
 Polisario Front
 Socialist and Democratic Interafrican
 Mr Gali Gatta, Chad

taking place all over the African continent, where it was now acknowledged everywhere that single-party systems had not been successful and that the future lay with multi-party democracy.

The shared social democratic vision among many long-established and new political forces in Africa, and the significant role of social democracy in securing freedom, democratic change and economic progress was underlined by participants.

Many of those present represented recently founded political forces and were taking part for the first time in such an international forum. The meeting was thus an unprecedented opportunity for a large number of parties with shared commitments to meet and exchange information and views at a time of rapid change and democratic development in Africa.

The meeting heard contributions from representatives of parties and organisations from Morocco and Western Sahara, from Chad and from Sudan, and underlined the commitment of the Socialist International to support efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the continuing serious conflicts affecting these and other areas of Africa.

The current situation in South Africa was also discussed and the support of the Socialist International and of those participating in the meeting for the continuation of the process of peaceful transformation to a free, democratic and non-racial society in that country was reaffirmed.

Antonio Guterres, leader of the Socialist Party of Portugal, addressing the meeting at its close, spoke of all those who had suffered death, injury or exile in the struggle for democracy and peace in Africa, and the present victims of injustice, disease and hunger in many corners of the continent. International solidarity, both on questions of freedom and human rights and at the level of world economic structures were, he said, an important priority for social democrats everywhere.

COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC POLICY IN AMSTERDAM

A meeting of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP, was held in Amsterdam on 16 - 17 May, hosted by the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA.

The meeting discussed urgent matters affecting the world economy: the North-South dimension and the longstanding commitment of the Socialist International to the development of the economies of the South; the East-West dimension and the process of economic reform in eastern Europe, and the social democratic stance on the current economic challenges in the industrialised countries.

The committee is preparing a common platform on these issues to be adopted by the XIX congress of the Socialist International in September.

The opening session of the SI committee was held in conjunction with the 25th anniversary conference of the Evert Vermeer Foundation, EVS, the Dutch overseas development foundation. Among those who addressed the opening were Wim Kok, leader of the PvdA, deputy prime minister and finance minister of the Netherlands; Jan Pronk, Labour minister for development cooperation; Pitou van Dijk, president of the EVS; Glenys Kinnock, chair of the London-based 'One World Action'; Mamadou Faye, Socialist Party of Senegal, and SI Secretary General Luis Ayala.

Speakers focused on the social democratic perspective on North-South relations today, on international monetary policies, and on women's rights in the North-South debate.

The SI secretary general, stressing the commitment to democracy, solidarity and social and economic justice shared by all those present, introduced to the Dutch audience the work of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, which since its establishment in 1983 has provided a platform for

the practical analysis of macro-economic trends, the elaboration of Socialist responses and the formulation of policies for the International.

Reflecting the concern of SI President Willy Brandt and of the committee's chair, Michael Manley, with the effects of the present unjust North-South relationship, the SI committee had been prominent, he said, among those arguing the need for strengthening international cooperation, the relationship of economic development to human rights, employment and the international labour market, and the need to reconcile economic development with a proper concern for the environment. He referred to the publication in 1986 of the committee's report on the world economy, 'Global Challenge'. As well as its continuing North-South focus the committee had also over the last few years been examining the dynamic development of the European Community and the revolutionary changes in eastern Europe.

Meeting later in closed session, the SI committee, which was attended by representatives of member parties and guests from 18 countries, in eastern and western Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia, held a detailed exchange of views on developments in the world economy.

Participants felt that in the present international context, with the momentous movements of political and economic reform in eastern and central Europe, in Africa, and all around the world, together with the liberation of new resources for cooperation and development by the ending of the cold war threat, the platform on economic policy to be adopted by the SI congress would be a significant opportunity to move forward the International's agenda.

SI ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE MEETS IN RIO DURING EARTH SUMMIT

The Socialist International Committee on the Environment met from 8 to 11 June in Rio de Janeiro, the venue at that time of the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development. During its programme of meetings, the committee continued its focus on urgent national and international priorities for environment and development, and followed the progress of the United Nations Conference, whose outcome the Socialist International considered to be of vital importance.

The meetings of the SI committee, which is chaired by Birgitta Dahl, Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, were hosted by the Democratic Labour Party, PDT, of Brazil and opened by Leonel Brizola, leader of the PDT, governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, and a vice-president of the Socialist International. Representatives of SI member parties from around the world who attended the meetings included a number of ministers for the environment and experts who were also taking part in the United Nations summit.

Addressing the open meeting of the SI committee on 9 June, Leonel Brizola stressed the many responsibilities falling on his country and on the state and city of Rio de Janeiro as the UNCED summit was in progress. This was, he said, perhaps the largest international governmental conference ever held, but whether it would prove to be a significant event in human history only time would tell. If the conference reached, and governments subsequently carried out, the conclusions which humanity so sorely needed, human history might turn out to be written in two parts - before and after the Rio Conference! Brizola spoke also of the many representatives of non-governmental organisations from all over the world who were

meeting in Rio during the UN summit. In a way, he said, it was the presence in the city of all those thousands who had come to spontaneously contribute their ideas and proposals which gave legitimacy to the official conference. In the context of this great expression of global concern with environmental issues, he paid tribute to the SI committee on the Environment and its international work.

Birgitta Dahl spoke of the Rio Conference as taking place at a turning point in human civilisation. Would it be possible, she said, to take the necessary decisions to break the vicious circle of environmental degradation and unsustainable development and find a new road into the future? All members of the SI committee knew that this was not primarily a technical or economic problem, that other and better alternatives did exist. She appealed for a spirit of justice and solidarity, for political decisions, for responsible leadership, and for a change in individual lifestyles.

She pointed to the new opportunities for democratic socialism opened up by the fast-changing national and international situations of our times and the unique role and responsibility thus falling to the Socialist International and its member parties in the struggle against the threats to people and nature represented by war, injustice, poverty and the depletion of natural resources.

The efforts worldwide to strengthen the role of the United Nations system as a system of global security and governance, securing peace, sustainable development and democracy, were very much in the spirit of all the Socialist International's work, she went on. She outlined the work of the SI committee on the Environment over the last few years, during which meetings had been held in Africa, the



Mediterranean, Europe and Latin America, with the appropriate focus on the particular concerns of each region. The committee's main task at present, however, was to give guidance on how the Socialist International could contribute to the efforts to ensure that the Rio summit took the necessary decisions and that this would be followed by practical action to implement the goals and timetables set.

Statement on UNCED

At its first, closed session on 8 June, the SI committee issued a statement underlining the unique opportunity presented by the United Nations Earth Summit for improving the situation of individuals and nations and for reversing the trend towards increasing destruction of the environment. The statement stressed the new geo-political situation following the ending of

INTERNACIONAL
AMBIENTE
DE 1992



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF RIO DE JANEIRO

The Rio Summit has been an important meeting for humankind, and for us as democratic socialists, not only because of the decisions taken on the environmental state of the world, but also because it has focused attention once again on the plight of tens of millions of people in developing countries who suffer from the effects of unsustainable development and extreme poverty.

It has also highlighted the responsibilities of the richest 20 per cent of the world who consume 80 per cent of the world's resources.

Whether or not the Summit reaches agreement on a pattern of economic development that avoids future catastrophe, we as democratic socialists must continue to work for a framework for international, regional and local action to bring about sustainable development and equity in the world.

It is 20 years since the Stockholm Conference, 'Only One Earth'. The Rio Conference is a continuation of that process, albeit still insufficient. Increased aid flows, social and family planning policies for reducing debt and improved trade opportunities must still be important and essential goals.

A sustainable and equitable development is a major challenge of our time.

Increasing inequity in development between the South and the North; the excessive spending on arms; the uneven distribution of resources between the rich and the poor; the debt crisis; the climate change; ozone depletion; losses of species and desertification, and unbalanced growth of population are major threats to the Earth and humankind.

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

But there are opportunities for improving the situation for individuals and nations and for reversing the trend. The ending of the Cold War has created the possibility of transforming resources previously devoted to armaments into development. It also opens new avenues for democratic socialism. Our belief in the concepts of freedom, justice and democratic decision-making is essential in the struggle against the threat to man and nature.

The Rio Conference must be the starting point of concerted and vigorous action by governments and the United Nations. The global negotiations must continue in order to secure commitments at a level which corresponds to

the needs of human health and sustainable development.

The implementation of the results of the Rio Conference on the Environment and Development are a challenge to the entire world community. How well the recommendations adopted and the agreements entered into can be translated into practical action will depend partly on us, either because we are governing parties or because, as parties in opposition, we can motivate or implement that action.

We are convinced that the follow-up to Rio of those results must be kept under continuous scrutiny. The various commitments must be set through new patterns of regional cooperation on rivers, inland seas and heavily damaged regions, or within a variety of international associations. As parties we must act in concert within the fora to accelerate developments.

Democracy is a precondition for sustainable development. It must be voiced through public participation and regular consultation between governments, environmental organisations, trade unions and the public.

Preventive environmental protection and the management of natural resources on the basis of sustainable development have to constitute the foundations of social and economic progress. The principles of prevention and restoration are substantial for environmental protection. Clean and efficient solutions have to be chosen when designing products and infrastructures. The principle of 'the polluter pays' must be applied more vigorously as an instrument for internalisation of environmental costs.

We must enthuse men and women, our children, our countries, to meet the challenge. In order to protect the environment attitudes and behaviour must change. Education, initiatives and information are fundamental to achieving lasting changes of value standards in a society.

A woman's perspective and participation on the environment and development is also fundamental for achieving these goals. Women and children have, in particular, been victims of poverty and a degraded environment.

Crucial for the success or failure of the implementation of the results of the Rio Conference will be how the burden and the challenge of our common efforts to beat global threats is shared among the rich and the poor.

Poor countries must be assured of healthy development. Often this is frustrated by subsidies or trade barriers perverting the course of trade. We must help to abolish such impediments. World trade relations must be changed for the third world countries. Access to new and environmentally friendly technologies must be improved. Within the GATT,

the Cold War, and the urgent objective of finding a common means to link the combat against poverty, injustices, war and environmental damage with improved living conditions for the poor, a good environment and sustainable development. It also highlighted the active role played by member parties and leaders of the Socialist International like Willy Brandt, the late Olof Palme, and Gro Harlem Brundtland, in campaigning for more sustainable and equitable development.

At the conclusion of its four-day meeting, during which participants had attended the UN summit and Global Forum of non-governmental organisations, as well as carrying out an intensive programme of discussions, the SI committee issued the following Declaration on the crucial issues discussed by heads of state and government in Rio.

environmental questions have to be properly considered in a more efficient way. This could be by introducing different positions for sustainable and non-sustainable goods produced within the code of practice as a basis for different treatment by export and import regulations.

Financial and technical resources released in a global process of reductions of military expenditure must be allocated to active support for sustainable development, ie to increase the flow of new and additional financial resources in support of sustainable development in the developing countries and to facilitate global sharing of environmental data.

Work on international and coordinated actions for reducing or writing off the debts - both official and commercial - of the poor countries must continue. The fora already established must be activated, and the parties obstructing this kind of development must be prevailed upon to honour these aims.

The rich countries must adopt their own timetables for achieving, before the year 2000, the UN target of at least 0.7 per cent of the developed countries' GNP being devoted to development cooperation. In addition, these countries must contribute to an immediate and substantial replenishment of existing financial institutions like IDA and IFAD, the GEF and regional banks. A transparent and democratic management of these funds must also be assured.

We need ideas and institutions to handle the great challenges of a sustainable world, at the level of each country and at the international level. This includes the reform of the UN system and of the functioning of existing institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF, and building up transparent democratic financial institutions. This will also require a change in lifestyles and in the way we produce and consume goods.

As parties, we will give priority to programmes aimed at achieving permanently sustainable development. This will affect virtually all policy fields and departments of government. Programmes and plans must be analysed for their compatibility with sustainable development. Institutional barriers, taxes etc., standing in the way of such development must be systematically removed.

We have to establish an annual report in each country on environment and development concerning the commitments made in Rio. This should include specific targets and timetables.

Our national book-keeping should be performed by means of formulating sustainable national income so as to take environmental damage into account. Taxation systems have to include energy and environmental tax, without losing the idea of redistribution of wealth.

We have to immediately begin the implementation of the Climate Convention, and start work to strengthen commitments in countries, groups of countries and globally, so that per capita levels of 'greenhouse' gases that are

sustainable and equitable in the long term can be reached. It is not acceptable to have solutions whereby affluent countries buy themselves free of measures within their own borders, eg through promises of so-called carbon sinks.

A coordinated energy and traffic strategy will reduce local, regional and global pollutants at the same time.

Decisive changes are necessary in the traffic sector, including the reduction of transport where needed. All types of traffic and all vehicles have to bear their own costs. Investments in public transport and infrastructure, especially in urban areas, have to be increased. The role of active social planning must be increased in order to minimise transport work. New stricter requirements on cars and fuels must be introduced regionally and globally.

Energy saving should be at the top of the agenda. More efficient use of energy and use of renewables have to be promoted by large structural investments. To support this, a UN institution must be established with responsibility for conservation, renewables and clean infrastructure in the fields of transport and energy.

The industrial nations must not weaken their efforts to advance the development of sustainable technologies and to make them available worldwide. Environmentally sound techniques, implementing energy-saving and resource-reducing production in all fields of policies, must be developed and applied. Emissions from industrial processes must be reduced to harmless levels in the foreseeable future.

The role of multinational or transnational companies in their policies towards developing countries must be reviewed. Too often exports of products which are considered harmful in industrialised countries are promoted within developing countries. Policies which protect people in industrialised countries must equally apply worldwide. An international commission or agency must monitor and arbitrate on these matters.

Far-reaching harmonisation of goods flowing across national borders, with strict environmental standards, is essential. Action plans for phasing out the use of hazardous substances have to be implemented nationally, regionally and globally. Separation of waste at source must be stimulated by local investment and activities.

Viewed within the North-South relationship, the export of waste, especially hazardous and toxic waste, to poor countries which are in urgent need of hard currency must be banned.

The handling of all fissile material from military and civilian use should be put under strict international control on a global level. This must include safe storage of nuclear waste.

The agreements now being entered into for the protection of biological diversity must be accompanied by concrete follow-ups at country and regional level, along with additional resources for conservation, research etc.

In most industrialised nations, agri-

cultural policy has been dependent on an extensive price subsidy system. This has increased surplus production and the threats to biological diversity. The variety of the cultivated landscape, virgin areas and biological diversity has to be maintained. Export subsidies must be significantly lowered and use of chemical pesticides and fertilisers must be reduced, ie by economic incentives. Such policies must be accompanied by measures to secure adequate rural incomes.

Extensive farming has to be made more attractive. Farmers should be involved in programmes for sustainable use of soils.

Human activity has radically reduced forests and wooded areas, replacing them with excessive pastoral zones. Increased animal husbandry and inadequate management of farming areas has led to soil erosion. The main consequences are soil erosion and desertification of large areas of the earth. One of the main issues in a strategy for sustainable development must be to protect the soil so that it can be used in a long-term perspective.

Long-term forestry policy implies that forestry must be carried out in ways compatible with natural prerequisites. This means using forestry methods that suit the natural conditions in a forest area. Forestry methods must be adjusted in order to protect biological diversity.

Scarcity of water is the main environmental and development problem for many areas on earth. The question of supply and management of water, within and across borders, must be based on discussions between water users, planners and those entrusted with decision-making at all levels.

Finally, we democratic socialists consider that one of the greatest priorities for the preservation of the environment is the improvement of living and working conditions for people, especially in the outskirts of big towns and in rural areas. Adequate measures have to be taken to eradicate poverty and to stimulate rural and urban development.

A more equitable relationship between rich countries and poor countries is urgently called for. The positive feelings that everyone has towards keeping the Earth healthy and sustainable for us now and for future generations must go together with the attitude that the huge gap between rich and poor must be shortened progressively, year by year. There is no hope for Earth if there is not an ending to inequality among people and between nations. Twenty years from now, we all want to share a new reality in which the Earth is preserved and the nations of people feel closer together.

11 June 1992

SI DISARMAMENT ADVISORY COUNCIL IN HELSINKI

A meeting of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, held in Helsinki on 24 June, was hosted by the Finnish Social Democratic Party and chaired by Committee Chair Kalevi Sorsa.

The meeting discussed the latest developments in the field of disarmament and security; the CSCE process in advance of the CSCE Summit which was due to take place in Helsinki in July; and proposals to be presented to the forthcoming congress of the Socialist International.

As well as representatives of 11 SI member parties, the meeting was attended by a number of special guests who were also taking part in the CSCE Helsinki Follow-up Meeting.

SIDAC Chair Kalevi Sorsa, opening the meeting, said that the CSCE process, initiated in Helsinki two decades ago, had undergone profound changes, as had Europe and the world. All those present knew of the tragic difficulties currently being experienced, but in the new Europe and under the new world order, he stressed, there should be no room for the use of force, which was incompatible with the Helsinki principles, with the Charter of Paris, and with the UN Charter. Although efforts to find adequate responses to the new challenges had not yet been successful, the clear political will to take effective action was, he said, a cause for optimism. The CSCE was gaining strength and the principles of democracy, freedom, justice and solidarity proclaimed by the organisation were those which had long been the cornerstones of the social democratic movement.

Reviewing progress on a range of issues of deep concern to SIDAC, Sorsa emphasised the value of the CFE Treaty as perhaps the most significant disarmament agreement affecting conventional weapons, expressing concern, however, at the transfer of armed forces and major weapons from central Europe to the Nordic

region which had been one consequence of the treaty's implementation, and stressing the importance of effecting a withdrawal of former Soviet troops from the Baltic countries as quickly as possible. He also welcomed the recent agreement between the United States and Russia on deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons, and the present efforts to ban all nuclear tests. Such developments, he concluded, allowed some hope of achieving the aim which lay at the heart of SIDAC's work - that with the ending of the Cold War the concomitant spirals of arms race and militarisation could also be overcome.

The SIDAC meeting was addressed by Ambassador Pertti Torstila, of the Finnish delegation to the CSCE Helsinki Follow-up Meeting, who underlined the crucial nature of the present CSCE meetings and the forthcoming Helsinki Summit which were charged with formulating effective instruments for crisis management in this period of historic change. The present meetings, he said, had been marked by agreement on the need for interaction and cooperation between the CSCE and other existing institutions and organisations, including NATO, the Western European Union, the European Community, and the Council of Europe, whilst there was also agreement that the CSCE offered an excellent overarching framework for fostering and managing change in the enlarged European region. The political consultation process of the CSCE would continue to be at the heart of the Helsinki process, he went on, whilst there was also an emerging consensus in favour of a stronger peacekeeping role for the CSCE. There was increasing emphasis on minority problems and fierce discussion on whether or not the CSCE should be based on an internationally binding treaty. He emphasised the

complementarity of the peacekeeping roles which could be played by the CSCE and the United Nations.

Ambassador Torstila also spoke of the new CSCE Security Forum to be established by the Helsinki Summit, which would mark a new phase in the European arms control process, uniting the CFE and CSBM negotiations within the same forum.

Finally, he stressed the breadth of the CSCE remit. Awareness of the fact that military security, economic wellbeing and basic human rights were indivisible was more important now than ever before, he concluded.

After an exchange of views on the current developments at the CSCE meetings, participants turned their attention to preparations for the congress of the Socialist International, discussing a draft text on disarmament and security questions to be presented to the congress for adoption.

The meeting also discussed the question of a new name and expanded mandate for the SI Disarmament Advisory Council. Since its establishment in 1980, the main task of this very active SI body had been to monitor developments in the so-called 'arms race' and to discuss and plan SI policies for disarmament. To this end, SIDAC had developed on behalf of the International important contacts with governments, especially those of the United States and the Soviet Union, and international organisations, in particular the United Nations. In today's somewhat different international situation the bi-polar emphasis had changed; regional issues, peace and security-building and conflict resolution would be of increasing importance. It was agreed that the SI congress would be asked to adopt a new name which would reflect those concerns.

MIDDLE EAST COMMITTEE MEETS TO ASSESS NEW SITUATION

At its meeting in Bonn on 23 July, the SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, which is chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, focused on the prospects for the Middle East peace process following the general election held in Israel earlier that month (see Socialist Notebook, page 61, for election results).

Participants at the meeting included representatives of Socialist International member parties from the Middle East, Europe and other regions, as well as specially invited guests from the Middle East.

The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Israel Labour Party and of MAPAM - both member parties of the Socialist International and members of the new coalition government formed by Labour leader Yitzhak Rabin following Labour's election victory.

Both representatives stressed that the left's election victory in Israel was a decisive one; that the votes, in particular, of recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union, of Sephardic Jews, and of young people had played a crucial role in that victory; and that the results bore witness to a new climate of popular opinion in the country and an important new opportunity for progress in the peace process.

The new government's first priority would be to relaunch the negotiations begun in Madrid in 1991 and to reach agreement on a transitional period of autonomy for the 'territories'.

The importance of support from the international community for the negotiating process, for the carrying out in due course of free and democratic elections to the autonomous administration, and for the development of the areas concerned, which were sorely in

need of economic investment, was also stressed.

The Palestinian representatives attending the meeting expressed renewed hopes for progress, following the recent elections, in the negotiations which they felt had so far yielded little result, underlining their commitment to a speedy and peaceful negotiated solution as the only way to end the continuing confrontation. They endorsed the appeal for cooperation and support to build the economy and infrastructure of the territories, pointing to the considerable potential of the future autonomous area, and the untapped abilities of the Palestinian population - as demonstrated by the contribution made by Palestinians to building the economies of other Arab countries.

All speakers from the Middle East region agreed that in the present situation, with, on the one hand, the new hopes arising from the change of government in Israel and, on the other hand, a degree of anxiety that US attention and efforts could be diverted from the Middle East peace process by the forthcoming presidential election, active support from European governments, from the international community as a whole, and from the Socialist International, was more important than ever.

Summing up the discussions, Committee Chair Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski told the meeting that, although no realistic observer and supporter of the Middle East peace process expected decisive developments overnight, the opportunity at last existed for promoting peace, as the SI committee had long been advocating, through dialogue with all parties concerned.

Wischniewski stressed that the

Socialist International was uniquely well placed to foster such dialogue, with both Israeli and Arab member parties in the International and a good ongoing relationship also with many outside the organisation.

He welcomed the presence at the meeting of a representative of the Syrian government and expressed the hope that the participation of both Syrian and Jordanian delegates in the SI committee would continue. In the new situation, he also hoped to see increased activity by the committee in those countries involved in the Middle East conflict, through future meetings in the region, delegations and other contacts.

Confidence building measures, he said, were important for progress in the peace process, as was economic assistance. He proposed that the SI could organise a conference on the regional economic situation, and that of the territories in particular.

The SI committee would be closely and actively following developments over the coming months and would meet again in Berlin, immediately prior to the congress of the International. At that time, a text reflecting the committee's discussions on the latest developments in the region would be finalised for presentation to the congress, which, he stressed, would be a large and significant event.

He concluded by underlining once again the importance of discussion and of seeking solutions through mutual understanding.

SICLAC TO MEET IN SANTO DOMINGO

The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, will meet in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, on 25-26 August.

At the meeting, to be hosted by the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, and chaired by José Francisco Peña Gómez, chair of

the committee and leader of the PRD, the SI committee will consider the democratic socialist platform with particular reference to today's challenges to democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, and to the economies of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean

in the regional and global context.

The committee's discussions in Santo Domingo will form the basis of contributions to the Congress Resolution and of the documents being prepared for adoption by the forthcoming congress of the Socialist International.

FROM THE ARCHIVE

Camille Huysmans (Belgium) said that some delegates expected from him the 'Apostolic benediction' for the reconstituted International, because he was one of the older generation. Yet he would willingly leave this task to others ...

It was true, he continued, that he was one of the five comrades present who had lived through the whole of the Socialist International's history since the 1908 Congress. He had seen the hopes and disappointments which had beset most of the socialist parties of Europe and witnessed their differences and conflicts. He was particularly glad that the present International was attracting to its ranks parties from outside Europe. In the old days, there had been occasional visitors from Asia and America - he remembered Chinese students preaching the gospel of Sun Yat Sen, and comrades from the Argentine and the United States - but there had been no permanent link.

The tragic days of July 1914 stood vividly before his eyes, when the French and German socialists met to declare their opposition to war. He remembered the conference in Stockholm in 1917 which tried to find a way to gain peace. But it proved harder to make peace than to make war - and this was as true today as it was then.

There was a bitter internal conflict between communism and socialism, between the adherents of violent revolution and those who saw in gradual democratic progress the solution. Many comrades had become the victims of their revolutionary ideology. This was already clear when, in 1923, the Socialist Congress took place in Hamburg, and it became more and more evident as the two totalitarian systems of fascism and communism developed, proving almost indistinguishable. Both of them had in fact brought about the triumph of reaction, and the world had to suffer accordingly.

Today the Socialist International was making a serious attempt to learn from past experience so as to be better able to continue the struggle which had never been abandoned. Thus he greeted the new International in the name of the old, as one who had never lost hope that the peoples would reach mutual understanding. There could be no democracy without liberty, but there could also be no democracy without the advance of socialism. Socialism held out the solution to war and poverty. Moreover, it was a great moral force. Whatever the sceptics might say, and however great the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, the creation of a world in which brotherhood had a place was impossible without the moral force of the socialist idea.

From the minutes of the First Congress of the refounded Socialist International, Frankfurt, 30 June - 3 July 19521. Camille Huysmans, former prime minister of Belgium, had also been secretary of the Second International and president of the Labour and Socialist International.

PEOPLE

Carlos Guarita/Reportage



John Smith was elected leader of the British Labour Party in July following the resignation of **Neil Kinnock**. Born in 1938 in Argyll, Scotland, he qualified as a lawyer before becoming a member of parliament in 1970. He joined the government of Harold Wilson in 1974 as junior energy minister, rising to trade minister under James Callaghan in 1978. He has pledged that Labour will 'build a fair society and a strong economy. Poverty, unemployment, low wages and low skills do not only deny opportunities to our fellow citizens; they are roadblocks on the way to economic success'.



Carlo Vizzini has been elected the new general secretary of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI, in succession to **Antonio Cariglia**, general secretary since

1988, who has been designated president of the party.

In taking on his new post, Vizzini commented on the common ground shared with the Italian Socialist Party, PSI. 'The PSI and the PSDI', he said, 'can represent a central point of reference on the Italian political scene'.

Yitzhak Rabin, the leader of the Israel Labour Party, was named prime minister in June at the head of a coalition government after general elections. Rabin, born in Jerusalem in 1922, first made his name as a soldier, as battalion commander of the Haganah fighting British rule, and at 26 he was a colonel in the newly-formed Israeli army. He became chief of staff in 1964. He gained further battle experience in the Six Day War of 1967. In 1968 he became ambassador in Washington where he stayed six years, cementing a strong Israeli relationship with the US. He succeeded Golda Meir as party leader and prime minister in 1974, resigning three years later. He won the party leadership from Shimon Peres in February and during this year's general election campaign said he would halt most Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, channelling funds into creating jobs for new immigrants and young Israelis.

Willy Claes was elected president of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community at a Bureau meeting



of the organisation held in Bordeaux on 11 July. Claes, of the Belgian Flemish-speaking Socialist Party, SP, is deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Belgium. He replaces **Guy Spitaels** at the head of the Confederation.



Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski celebrated his 70th birthday on 24 July. Wischniewski, chair of the Socialist International Middle East Committee, SIMEC, began his career as a trade unionist. A former vice-chair and treasurer of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, he was a member of parliament for more than 30 years and has been both Minister for Economic Cooperation and Minister of State in the Foreign Office.

Following the recent elections in Czechoslovakia, **Jiri Horak**, chair of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, became chair of the foreign affairs committee of the federal parliament.

Linards Deidulis has been elected by the Central Committee of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (LSDSP) to be its international secretary.

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PEOPLE
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Francisco Fernández Ordóñez, foreign minister of Spain until June of this year, died on 7 August at the age of 62. After graduating in law, Fernández Ordóñez studied at Harvard under John Kenneth Galbraith. He returned to Spain to pursue a career in administration, becoming head of the National Institute for Industry, INI. He was centrally involved in the transformation of Spanish society over the past two decades. As minister of finance for the Union of the Democratic Centre, UCD, he was responsible for a thoroughgoing reform of state finances in 1977, and as its justice minister he introduced divorce legislation in 1981. He joined the PSOE in 1982, after resigning from the UCD government, and became foreign minister in 1985.



Yaacov Hazan, who died at Kibbutz Mishmar Ha'emek, Israel, on 23 July at the age of 93, was a founder of MAPAM and of the Histadrut, a member of the first Israeli Knesset and, throughout his long political career, seen as a symbol of pioneering Zionist idealism.

Hazan was born in Brisk, Russia, in 1899, the son of a rabbi and veteran Zionist who was later forced by the ultra-orthodox Jews of Brisk to leave for Warsaw. He emigrated to the then Palestine in 1923, after serving in the Polish army, and after a

series of manual jobs joined the Kibbutz which was to remain his home for the rest of his life and became a leader of the left-wing 'Hashomer Hatzair'.

After the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948, he was elected to the Knesset as a representative of the newly formed MAPAM and served in parliament for 25 years, playing an influential role in the Israeli labour and kibbutz movements.

Hundreds of people, led by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, attended Hazan's funeral and paid tribute to him as one of the country's leading socialist politicians and intellectuals.

Abílio Mendes, 81, founder with Mário Soares and others of the Portuguese Socialist Party, died in June in Lisbon. A qualified paediatrician, he was prevented by the dictatorship of Antonio Salazar from practicing his profession. A lifelong anti-fascist, he took to writing medical articles of great authority in such journals as República, Diário de Lisboa and Diário Popular.

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Vilem Bernard, 80, a founder of the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE, whose secretary he was for 40 years, died at his

home in England in May. Born in Bohemia, he was active as a Social Democrat while studying law at the Charles University in Prague.

When the Nazis occupied his country in 1939 he fled to Poland, where he assisted refugees to escape to Britain. After the German invasion of Poland he fled again to Russia where, after some time working as a farm labourer, in 1942 he joined the Czech army. His experiences in Russia bolstered his distrust of Stalinism and after his return to his native land in 1948 he fought successfully for the replacement of the pro-Communist prime minister, Zdenek Fierlinger, as leader of the Social Democrats.

After the pro-Communist putsch in Prague in 1948 he settled in Britain, Denis Healey, at the time international secretary of the Labour Party, helping him to gain political asylum. After the creation in 1949 of SUCEE he ensured that it was admitted to the Socialist International. He made a career in radio, contributing to BBC and Radio Free

Pauline Jewett, who died in July aged 69 after a long battle with cancer, was for many years a leading figure of the Canadian New Democratic Party.

An NDP member of parliament from 1979 to 1988, and for much of that time NDP 'critic' on external affairs and defence, Jewett was also an expert on the Canadian constitutional question and a strong advocate of Canadian unity. She campaigned for women's equality and was mentor to a generation of women who followed her as leaders of the NDP.

She was a vice-president of the NDP in the 1980s and for most of that decade chaired

the Party's international committee.

At the time of her death she was chancellor of Carleton

University and was one of 22 distinguished Canadians appointed this year to the country's Privy Council.





WOMEN & POLITICS

Journal of
Socialist International Women

**Publisher and Editor
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas**

XV CONFERENCE OF SIW

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

by Maria Rodríguez-Jonas

When looking back over the inter-conference period, it can be said that the Action Programme adopted at our XIV Conference in Stockholm has been largely accomplished. We have been able to discuss the four themes outlined there and to take up some of the other issues also mentioned. All our Bureau meetings have been prepared in close cooperation with the respective host organisations. Media interest in our meetings varied from country to country and depended also on the preparatory work undertaken by the local women's organisation.

We gave more time to reports from delegates at Bureau meetings and opened up a larger part of our discussions to observers and press.

Once again, the Secretariat has increased and widened its mailing list so that more and more women (and men) now receive reports and resolutions from SIW. And again, it must be stressed how welcome and useful this network of information is for those receiving it.

*The General Secretary and
SIW Vice-President Floridalma
Téllez (on her right)
participate in a meeting with
women of the Popular
Socialist Party (PSP) of
Argentina.
Buenos Aires, March 1991.*



WOMEN & POLITICS

XV Conference of SIW



We continued with the idea of organising two Executive meetings each year in a new way, trying to reach as many women as possible not only in the host country but also in the region.

We did this in Tokyo (September 1989); in Vienna (February 1990) when we had the opportunity to meet women from Eastern European countries; in Windhoek (November 1990) where we were joined by women from South Africa and from some Front-Line States; in Santiago, Chile (March 1991) where we were able to integrate ourselves in a regional meeting of Latin American women's organisations; in Helsinki (September 1991) when we met women from the Baltic Republics, and in Brussels (February 1992) where we had exchanges of views and information with women from both Belgian member parties, officers of the Women's Bureau of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and, of course, socialist women members of the European Parliament.

Throughout this period, I have tried to visit as many women's organisations - members and others - as possible. I was received and welcomed by women in Thailand, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Tunisia, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Argentina, Nepal, Malaysia, the Philippines, Jamaica, Barbados, Curaçao, Venezuela and Senegal.

Reports on all these visits have been circulated to member organisations and others on our general mailing list.

I have been invited to speak at women's meetings, giving me a chance to spread not only information about SIW but also the ideas we embrace.

Members of the SIW Executive tried to obtain visas for Myanmar/Burma in the hope of travelling there to visit San Suu Kyi who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Only our Japanese Vice President, Manae Kubota, was granted a visa for Rangoon. She was, however, not allowed to meet the winner of the Nobel Prize. SIW will continue to call for the release of San Suu Kyi from house arrest and the right of her family to see her.

We have received invitations to more party congresses than ever before and we shared the pleasure of being with members of the SI family. I attended those in Great Britain, Austria, France, Switzerland, Germany, Greece and Ireland. I also joined my sisters at their conferences in Austria, Sweden, Great Britain, that of the Italian Socialist Party women and in Germany.

We have increased our cooperation with the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), attending and speaking at a Youth Rally in Paris in 1989, the most recent Congress and Bureau meeting, as well as events of their Feminist Working Group.

Once again, I participated in SI observer delegations at elections (Chile and Haiti) and other sisters represented SIW on similar delegations to Nicaragua and Guatemala, as well as joining in the SI fact-finding mission to Cyprus.

We strengthened our cooperation with the International Falcon Movement/Socialist Education International (IFM/SEI) and were represented at three of their seminars.

Our good relationship with women in the ICFTU continued. We were represented at an Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (ORIT) Conference and at the Women's Conference in Canada. I attended, for the second time, the ICFTU Congress held this year in Caracas.

Our representatives at the United Nations and its agencies in Vienna and Geneva were

In August 1991, the General Secretary visited rural women in the Philippines (left), together with Beth Angsioco, the PDSP Women's Secretary, and the President of the Republic of Ireland, Mary Robinson (right) in January 1991.

WOMEN & POLITICS

XV Conference of SIW

active and SIW was elected to the Board of the Conference of NGOs with ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council) status.

Recently we accepted an invitation to attend the Silver Jubilee Conference of the National Organisation for Women of the United States, where four members of our Executive actively participated in working groups. We also held two panel discussions during the Conference.

Cooperation with the Socialist International is developing well. We note an increase in women participating in SI meetings and committees and in missions undertaken by the Socialist International.

Following-up on the declaration of a 'Socialist Decade for Women' in Lima in 1986, we devoted one Bureau meeting to the theme 'Organising and Educating Women in Politics'. The resolution of this meeting was circulated to the leaders of all SI member parties.

We noted with satisfaction that more parties are covering the women's travel expenses to our meetings. For the first time we have welcomed to our meetings sisters from Greece, Barbados, Uruguay, Bolivia, Lithuania, Morocco, Paraguay and Tunisia.

More and more SI member parties have introduced a quota for women and thus complied with SI resolutions of 1986, 1988 and 1989: in Great Britain 40 per cent; Ireland 20 per cent; Turkey 25 per cent; Chile 20 per cent; and in Greece proportional to the female membership.

We changed the name of our magazine from 'SIW Bulletin' to 'Women and Politics'. This seemed a much more appropriate name, since SIW is an organisation for women in politics. Voluntary contributions and information from member organisations have not been flooding in, which is regrettable. However, I have tried to make the magazine as informative as possible.

Our Gabriele Proft Fund is growing and more member organisations have been contributing. This, of course, is a most welcome development and a sign of active solidarity. We have produced a leaflet on the Fund which is used for fundraising. In the inter-conference period we supported twelve projects: five in Asia, three in Africa and four in Latin America.

At our XV Conference in Berlin, we will discuss 'The Family - women's responsibility?'. We note with concern a conservative backlash, particularly in Europe, where women are forced out of the labour force, where women are again told that their place is only at home with their families. SIW will look into the new family structures, into the situation of one-parent families and elderly women and will give special attention to the effects of migration on families.

85 years after its founding Conference in Stuttgart on 17 August 1907, SIW will be showing the strength we have gained, the progress we have made and the struggles that still lie ahead.

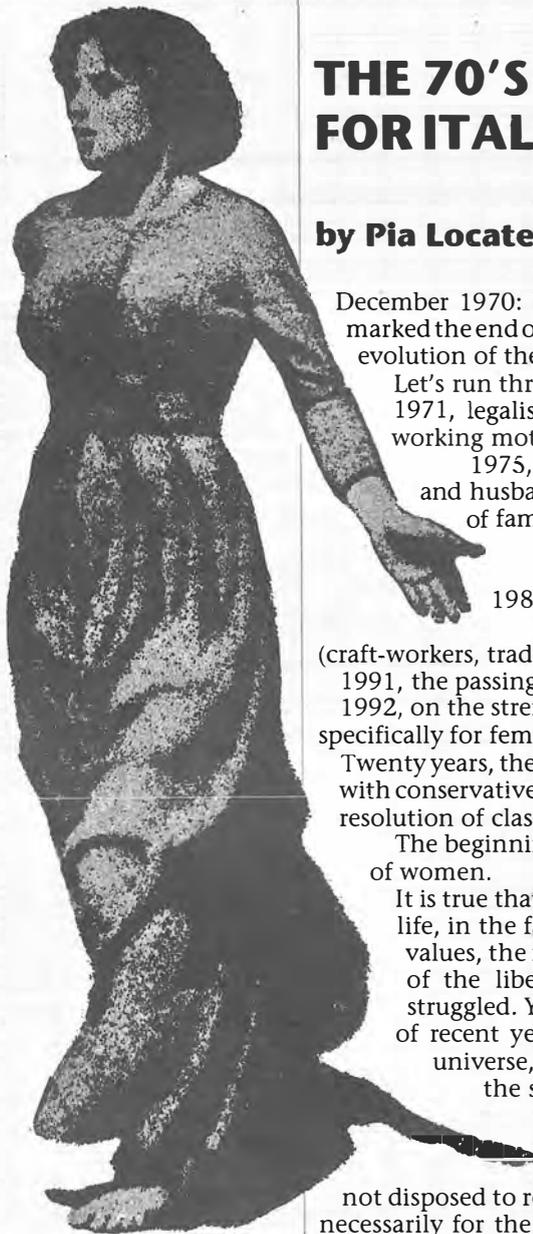
*International Women's Day
celebration in Jamaica,
organised by the People's
National Party's Women's
League.
Jamaica, 8 March 1992*



**MEETINGS AND ACTIVITIES OF
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN
1989-1992**

(Annex to the General Secretary's Report)

June 1989	Stockholm	Executive meeting Bureau meeting XIV Conference "The future we want is possible"
September 1989	Tokyo	Executive meeting
November 1989	Geneva	Executive meeting Bureau meeting "Prevention of sexual exploitation - A challenge for action"
February 1990	Vienna	Executive meeting
May 1990	Cairo	Executive meeting Bureau meeting "Discrimination against women in legislation"
October 1990	New York	Executive meeting Bureau meeting "Foreign Debt - How can women break the cycles of affluence and poverty?"
November 1990	Windhoek	Executive meeting
March 1991	Santiago	Executive meeting Regional meeting "The New Right"
June 1991	Istanbul	Executive meeting Bureau meeting "Organising and Educating women in politics"
September 1991	Helsinki	Executive meeting
November 1991	Santiago	Executive meeting Bureau meeting "Women and Health"
February 1992	Brussels	Executive meeting
September 1992	Berlin	Executive meeting Bureau meeting XV Conference "The Family - Women's Responsibility?"



THE 70'S AND 80'S; GREAT CHANGES FOR ITALIAN WOMEN

by Pia Locatelli

December 1970: Divorce, a historical about-turn for Italy. The passage of this law marked the end of an era, or rather the beginning of 20 very important years in the civic evolution of the country. The 70's and 80's changed the lives of Italian women.

Let's run through the stages:

1971, legalisation of the contraceptive pill and passing of the law to protect working mothers;

1975, new family legislation enacting the principle of parity between wife and husband in every area of family life; and in the same year, the institution of family life and marriage counselling centres;

1977, Law 903 ratifies work parity between men and women;

1978, the legalisation of abortion which a public referendum in 1981 failed to overturn;

1987, the extension of maternity benefit to self-employed women (craft-workers, traders, small-holders, etc);

1991, the passing of the law on positive action and equal work opportunities;

1992, on the strength of the last year's law, the passage of another on positive action specifically for female entrepreneurial activity.

Twenty years, the early part of which evokes memories of fervent feminism, unpopular with conservative parties and also with that part of the Left which still believed that the resolution of class conflict would also resolve the 'battle of the sexes'.

The beginning of the '90's, on the other hand, presents a more complex picture of women.

It is true that many victories have been won in the field of work-parity, in public life, in the family, however, we cannot honestly claim that the aspirations, the values, the models of the Italian woman of the '90's point us back to the picture of the liberated-emancipated woman for which the feminists of the '70's struggled. Yet it is precisely to their commitment that we owe the great changes of recent years. Changes that have made the female world into a composite universe, which may seem confused, uncertain, full of contradictions, but is at

the same time full of potential, richness, great values; a universe where

women seem set on conquering new ground, without, however, losing their traditional characteristics and strengths. A universe divided between tradition and innovation, stretching outwards, yet

not disposed to renounce offspring and family, ready to reject life in couples, but not necessarily for the sake of work outside the home. It is no accident that in a survey conducted by the SWG (*Servizii Integrati di Ricerca, Trieste*) on behalf of an Italian magazine, at the end of February this year, the three women most admired and loved by Italian women are, in order, the Nobel Prize winner Rita Levi Montalcini, Mother Teresa of Calcutta, and Ornella Muti. The first two are elderly women who have never married, have no sons or daughters, live alone, and work, each in her own way, twelve hours a day.

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The third is a successful actress, married, mother of three, young, beautiful and smart. They are women belonging to opposing worlds, yet they all constitute a model, and they are all working women.

In the same survey, 65 per cent of those interviewed deny the claim that women can only find fulfilment by working outside the home. How can we reconcile those votes (60 per cent) for Levi Montalcini and Mother Teresa with the 65 per cent of women who hold that outside work is not at all necessary for self-fulfilment?

I wonder if this is an example of the quirks of surveys and statistics, or isn't it rather a manifestation of the inevitable contradictions present in the female universe, subject as it is to demands and tensions often in conflict with each other. It could simply be a sign of reaching maturity and liberation that allows women not only to consider their diversity from men as a strength but also to feel free enough at last to accept the great diversity that exists within the female universe, and also within ourselves, without being paralysed by the contradictions and the incompleteness, and retaining an awareness of their rich complexity.

It is a difficult answer to give, precisely because of this mixture of traditions and innovations, of public and private, of heart and brain. It used to be said that 'women reason with the womb', but I am wondering whether this intended insult isn't a eulogy, ie a recognition of the global nature of female knowledge which involves the whole being.

The World of Work

Although 65 per cent of women maintain that it is not necessary to work outside the home to achieve self-fulfilment, it does seem that this is the environment in which women have made progress in the recent years.

If we go back more than a century, when there was little talk of female emancipation, we discover that in 1861, according to the first census of the newborn nation of Italy, the women who worked in the big textile mills or were employed in the hard work of the fields made up almost a half of the female population. A century later they were less than 20 per cent; now this percentage is almost doubled.

So over more than a century the female workforce has dropped noticeably, but in the last thirty years the curve has turned upwards again, ever more sharply. But it is not only the employment curve that has turned upwards; female unemployment also has increased, a clear sign that more and more women want, perhaps must, work outside the home as well as within its walls.

So from the analysis of the figures it can be said that the world of work is looking up for women: in the last few months of 1991 women in the labour market reached 7,490,000 with an increase of 137,000 compared to 1990. Some might not see any great significance in these figures but if you think that in the last twenty years, for every man entering the world of work, as many as fourteen women have done so, you get an idea of the extent of the change.

Forecasts are moving in the same direction: according to predictions of the Agnelli Foundation, in 1997 there will be well above eight million female workers, an increase more than double the forecast increase in male workers of 300,000. This data is certainly encouraging, but it would leave us with a false picture of the reality of women's position if we did not compare it with other data.

In 1990 the Italian population was calculated at nearly 57 million inhabitants, of whom more than half (51.4 per cent) were female. Of these, three quarters are of working age, but only 37 per cent of women of working age are part of the labour force, ie work or would like to work but are unemployed.

Figures on unemployment across the whole population by geographical area vary from 6.5 per cent of the people in the Centre-North to 20 per cent of those in the South which, having about 36 per cent of the whole population, thus registers an unemployment rate of 60 per cent.

The differences are even more pronounced if the analysis is repeated on the basis of



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gender: in the Centre-North male unemployment is at 3.8 per cent while female is at 10.6 per cent; in the South unemployment is at 13.6 per cent and 31.8 per cent respectively. Moreover, there are amazing differences in the distribution of unemployment in the South, varying from 15.8 per cent in the Abruzzo region to 40.4 per cent in the region of Sicily.

Europeans of a Kind

Available information indicates that the situation of Italian women does not differ much from that of other EC countries; however Italian women are less typical of the EC when we look at the labour market from another point of view, that of the type of work that women perform, ie when we turn from how many women work to what they want to do.

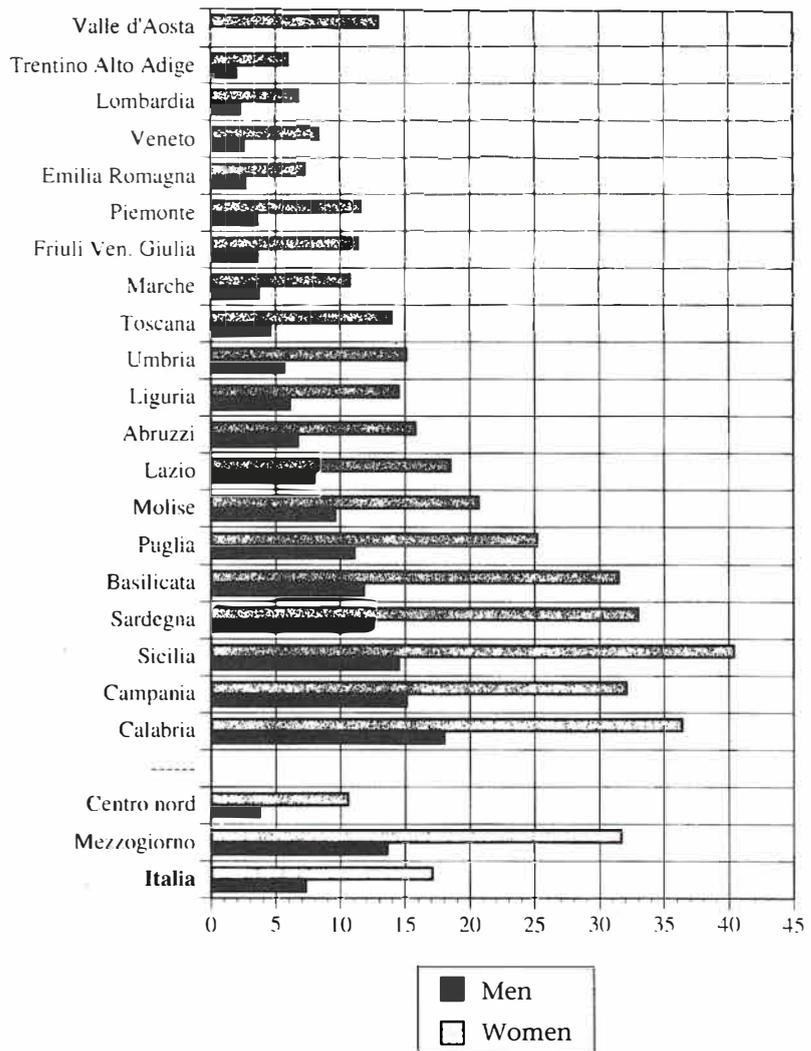
The elite groups of female workers are made up of business women and professionals, directors and craft workers. On the Italian scene there are about 5,000 women directors, ie 3.3 per cent. In banks and insurance companies they constitute 1 per cent, in industry



Women tram-drivers celebrate Labour Day in Bergamo in 1918. With the men at the Front, the women take to the drivers' seats.

Table 1

Rate of Unemployment by regions, 1990



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Women in Italy

2 per cent. In the public sector, they account for 9.8 per cent, but if we add private sector firms (with the state as shareholder), the average drops to 1.65 per cent.

Sixty-three per cent of all female workers are employees, and the distribution of them is 26.5 per cent in industry, 5.7 per cent in agriculture, 67.8 per cent in the service sector.

The distribution of self-employed female workers is 11.6 per cent in the industrial sector, 20.3 per cent in agriculture, 68.1 per cent in service industries.

Furthermore, the information from employees declared to the Italian tax department in 1990 revealed that the average income of the women was equal to 76 per cent of the men's. Clearly, women earn less than men insofar as they are highly represented in low-paid areas of work. In Italy, female employment has increased especially in the middle band of white-collar work, rising from 15 per cent in 1961 to 42 per cent in 1986. Whereas blue-collar workers and directors are almost exclusively men.

But who are the working women?

Most of them have families, and of these almost all seek work which allows them to reconcile home and work commitments, with the almost automatic consequence that they are excluded from decision-making roles and functions.

There are not many career women, and a recent survey by ISFOL (*Istituto Sviluppo Formazione Professionale Lavoratori, Roma*) carried out in conjunction with the Cooperative 'Le Nove', revealed that women who have achieved power and prestige are the ones less interested in promoting the development of high-level female employment, as if they had absorbed the male characteristics of the manager's role.

The fact is that despite so much effort and undeniable progress, women's conditions of work still differ from those of their male colleagues.

There are many causes of this disparity, besides such obvious ones as cultural conditioning and, sadly, still widespread prejudice; I would like to underline two aspects.

School Choices

Firstly, the type of scholastic, academic or professional qualification that women are likely to have.

In institutions of higher education, for example primary teacher training colleges, art, language and secretarial colleges, most of the students are women. In addition, while it is true that the last thirty years have seen the number of women enrolling at university double, it is also true that too few women take courses of the technical or engineering



Students registered at University				
	MF		F	F over Total
1970-71 (1)	560.605	62%	210.833	38%
1975-76 (1)	736.303	60%	291.363	40%
1980-81 (1)	764.043	55%	336.446	45%
1986-87 (1)	783.635	53%	376.773	47%
1988-89 (2)	833.081	51%	407.889	49%

Fonti: 1) ISTAT
2) Ministry of Education

Students registered at University						
	Increase		Increase by Gender			
	MF	%	M	%	F	%
1970-71	460.605		359.972		210.833	
1988-89	833.081	+49%	425.192	+18%	407.889	+94%
Percentage of Women in:			1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1986-87
			F	F	F	F
Engineering			5,4%	11%	15%	21%
Medicine			18%	28%	36%	43%
Economics			23%	29%	32%	38%
Law			22%	34%	43%	49%



Young women at work in a spinning-mill in Oslo Sopra, Bergamo in the '20s

kind. It is illuminating to learn that women make up more than 80 per cent of the students reading literary subjects, compared with 30 per cent of the agricultural group and 21 per cent of the engineering group.

These facts may not seem very encouraging, but we should bear in mind that up until just a few years ago, women engineers were such a rarity as to be called 'white flies'; also that in 1990 for the first time more women obtained degrees than men, although they made up only 49 per cent of university students.

Shortage of Social Services

There is another point that needs underlining, as it is a good example of the contradictions in the Italian situation. Italy is one of the leaders in Europe in respect of laws which protect equal opportunities at work. The legislation on maternity rights, for example, is the envy of most European women. Law 125 on 'positive action' has the double purpose of overcoming discrimination at work, and of promoting career advancement for women. But although the Italian legislation is extremely protective, Italian women are barred from benefitting from it because of the lack of a comprehensive and integrated strategy which makes possible the reconciliation of her needs as a worker with her needs as a mother and as a wife. In Italy there is no structure of services to support the laws on women at work; there is no network of creches, the school day is incompatible with the work day, there are few clubs for children or teenagers. In other words, despite strong guarantees on paper, if women want to work, they usually have to run to mothers, grandmothers, mothers-in-law. The State does not give that fundamental help that would allow her to work with an easy mind.

Until laws are integrated with development plans for social services for single people and for families, and until we get a strategy aimed at facilitating the dual role of worker and mother, we must not be surprised if the number of Italian women at work is below average and if, too, the choice of university course is governed by the prospect of a job, such as teaching, which allows the reconciliation of work and family.

New Families

Asserting the necessity of reconciling work outside the home with domestic work might lead people to think that Italian women are still tied to a model of social organisation which accepts different roles for males and females. This is partly true: it is a fact that for many people the idea persists that the man is the bread-winner and the woman looks after the family. However, most Italian women now want to find fulfilment at work as in the family, in public life as in private life.

And if it is true, as is shown by the most recent Italian census (last October) that Italian women are having fewer children, it must be said that fewer children are being born today because women have rediscovered the value of motherhood, so that they no longer see it as an unquestionable duty, but as a choice to make in harmony with their own aspirations. They are no longer becoming mothers through fatalism or compulsion, nor are they any longer totally dependent on the marriage and family bond. Motherhood is a piece of the new female identity, and is no longer the only destiny possible.

The family itself is no longer seen by most people as a monolithic entity facing society, but as a dynamic group of individuals bound by habit and affection; and seemingly it has been just this capacity of the family to adapt and change in line with social transformations that has enabled it to survive intact down the ages.

In some recent research commissioned from Makno (*Makno Ricerca SRL, Milano*) by the Department of Female Politics of the Italian Socialist Party, two things stand out clearly: on the one hand the taking root of a model of woman determined not to backtrack on victories of the last twenty years: a working woman who wants to be independent in her way of thinking and also economically, keen to have a better social life, determined to progress at work.

On the other, the total commitment to feelings, to the relationship with a partner, to children, to all that the family means. A family, however, where she expects fairness, equality, responsibility and mutuality. In fact, the same Makno survey testifies to gradual

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changes in behaviour inside families. For example, it seems very common that couples take together those decisions traditionally seen as 'male', such as investing money, buying a car or a house, etc.

54 Although separate roles persist in the management of the home, with 85 per cent of women from the North of Italy and 88 per cent of women from the South still doing all the domestic work alone, at least roles relating to the care of children are changing, gradually but in the right direction.

Among the structural changes which have struck the family, the most salient fact is the contraction of its size; in particular, we note the progressive increase of units consisting of one person only, the majority here being women (68.4 per cent), and similarly of one-parent families.

Another emerging phenomenon is that of the de facto family. Obviously it is a phenomenon which is not easily surveyed, yet from the most recent Istat (*Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Roma*) statistics, there are more than two hundred thousand co-habiting couples, and within them, the women tend to be more highly educated than their partners and are the more active in pressing for social recognition of cohabitation, without thereby wanting to equate that experience to the legalised family. The plurality of forms that existing families take, often interpreted as the decline of the family, can instead be seen as a sign of the vitality of the family: marriages are on the increase, with in 1990 58.8 per cent in the Centre-North and 84.2 per cent in the South being celebrated with a religious ceremony; separations are on the increase; and finally divorces, with women being the ones most prepared to take action, the ones who most often take the initiative in seeking the dissolution of their marriage.

The simultaneous increase of marriages, separations and divorces heralds not so much a crisis of the family as its dynamic nature, and a search for satisfying solutions.

Family Policy

Unfortunately, alongside these clear signs of change in Italian society, there has been no parallel evolution of an integrated policy for families in their diverse forms. No well-considered, supportive, concrete policy. We need policies which allow families to make choices, whether through economic support, through preparation in educational, social and cultural institutions, or through other provisions that answer the needs of each individual making up those families.

Sadly, the welfare state is today in crisis, not only because the principle of solidarity has crumbled but also because what little welfare state has remained has become bureaucratic, whereas today the plurality of choices, behaviour-patterns, needs and desires requires more flexible tools, less prescriptive and better focussed intervention.

So we need a new social state that provides a wide range of concrete initiatives, in which a well-balanced policy can evolve, with harmony between public and private sectors, between family life and work life, between time for individual needs and time for collective needs; a policy which allows us to resolve the conflicts among our aspirations.

Today, Italian women are at a cultural watershed: they have moved a long way along a path on which the rest of society has been left behind, stuck in the old male-dominated model.

It is said that there is a correlation between female representation in Parliament and on local and regional councils, and the probability of initiatives, measures, policies favourable to women.

So it is not unreasonable to wonder whether, among the main causes of the shortage of policies favourable to women, we shouldn't number the fact that Italian institutions are still male-oriented, even almost half a century after women obtained the vote.

Pia Locatelli is responsible for foreign affairs of the Dipartimento Politiche Femminili of the Socialist Party of Italy and leader of the Socialist Group of the Town Council of Bergamo.

Apology

Due to a technical error in our last issue 1/92, the author-box for our article entitled 'Letter from Denmark' was omitted. We apologise to her and our readers. The author is Doctor Inge Bødker who has been involved in the Social Democratic Youth Organisation of Denmark for a long time and is also a member of its Executive Committee.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

AUSTRIA

Presidential election disappointment

The Social Democratic, SPOe, candidate, Rudolf Streicher, sustained an unexpected defeat in the second round of the Austrian presidential elections on 24 May. The victor was Thomas Klestil, a career diplomat who stood as an independent with the backing of the conservative People's Party, OeVP.

A former public economy and transport minister, Streicher (53) headed the first round of voting on 26 April, winning 40.7 per cent of the poll. In that round Klestil (59) took 37.2 per cent, Heide Schmidt of the right-wing Freedom Party, FPÖe, 16.4 per cent, and Robert Jungk of the Green Alternative 5.7 per cent. The federal government currently consists of a coalition between the SPOe and the OeVP.

Schmidt and Jungk were eliminated for the second round, in which the FPÖe switched its support to the OeVP-backed candidate. Klestil emerged with 56.8 per cent of the vote, against 43.2 per cent for Streicher. The turnout in the second round was about 80 per cent of the registered electorate, compared with 84 per

cent in the first round.

Sworn in for a six-year term on 8 July, Klestil pledged himself to conducting a non-partisan presidency based on 'honesty, decency, dialogue and cooperation'. His particular aim would be to restore Austria's international standing, following the difficulties which had arisen because of the bitter controversy surrounding the wartime record of the previous presidential incumbent, Kurt Waldheim.

South Tyrol accord

Austria's longrunning dispute with Italy over the status of South Tyrol moved towards a final resolution in June, when the Austrian lower house authorised the federal government to join with Italy in notifying the United Nations that the issue had been settled on the basis of substantial autonomy for the German-speaking inhabitants of the province.

Ceded to Italy by Austria after World War I, South Tyrol contains a substantial majority of German speakers, who have shown unease at being under Italian rule. After World War II the province was confirmed as being under Italian sovereignty, on the understanding that its population would be granted wide-ranging autonomy. Italy took the view that the creation in 1948 of the broader

autonomous region of Trentino-Alto Adige, including South Tyrol but containing an Italian majority, met the autonomy requirement. But Austrian dissatisfaction with this arrangement led to the conclusion of a new agreement in 1969 under which South Tyrol itself was to obtain autonomous powers, notably in respect of use of the German language.

Slow progress in the implementation of the 1969 agreement caused friction in relations between Italy and Austria in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1988 a South Tyrol autonomy package was agreed by the Italian government, which early in 1992 took steps to ensure its implementation. This enabled the Austrian lower house, on 5 June, to approve ratification, under the 1969 agreement, of International Court of Justice guarantees for South Tyrol's autonomy, and also to empower the federal government to notify the United Nations that the dispute was finally resolved.

BRAZIL

PDT front bench reshuffled

The parliamentary leadership of the Democratic Labour Party, PDT, was reshuffled earlier this year.

Eden Pedrosa, 48, serving his first term as a federal deputy, was elected leader of the 41-strong PDT bloc in the Chamber in succession to Vivaldo Barbosa. The election was virtually unanimous, with the only other nominee, Rio mayoral candidate Miro Teixeira, declining to allow his name to go forward. Pedrosa described his priorities as continued resistance to the Collor government's privatisation programme and its adherence to neo-liberal economics.

The PDT's national president, Leonel Brizola, congratulating the new leader, called for party unity in the run-up to the 1992 local elections.

South Tyrol:
agreement
concluded



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

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BULGARIA

Caution and pragmatism needed

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP, held its 39th congress in mid-June. The event marked the return of annual congresses, last year's (see 2/91, page 54) having followed a 43-year period of illegality and clandestinity.

The congress provided an opportunity for the party to reflect on strategies for revitalising the democratic socialist movement after the setback in the 1991 elections (see 3/91, page 55) which deprived it of parliamentary representation. The party resolved to maintain its commitment to the development of a third force, between the conservative-dominated Union of Democratic Forces, UDF, and the former Communist Party, now reconstituted as the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

The backdrop to the congress was a deepening of the crisis in the ruling UDF coalition. The unproductive struggle between the UDF's right and moderate wings had led the BSDP to leave the coalition in 1991. The 19 parties remaining in the coalition are divided over various issues, including the pace of the transition from a planned to a market economy, and the right has engaged in a campaign against officials formerly identified with the communist apparatus.

The BSDP has meanwhile warned of the need for a cautious and pragmatic, rather than ideologically-driven, approach to the next phase of economic reform, involving the privatisation of the massive state-owned sector in all branches of industry and commerce. It has criticised the right for its simplistic and self-interested approach in seeking a wholesale restitution of property to former owners and their descendants, risking a reversion to the socio-economic inequalities of the 1930s. While the debate on reform continues, the party says, production in the demoralised and underfunded public sector is grinding to a halt.

BURKINA FASO

Legislative elections

In legislative elections held on 24 May, the formation headed by President Blaise Compaoré scored an unexpected victory. The result was dismissed as a 'giant fraud' by the opposition National Convention of Progressive Patriots-Social Democratic Party, CNPP-PSD, which includes the Progressive Front, FPV, an SI member party.

The elections came six months after a presidential contest in which ex-Captain Compaoré had scored a hollow victory by being returned amid a massive popular boycott of the polls (see 4/91, page 56). This exercise had been billed as the country's first multi-party elections since the military coup of 1980.

In a low turnout of 34 per cent in the legislative elections, Compaoré's Organisation for Popular Democracy-Movement of Labour, ODP-MT, took 78 of the 107 parliamentary seats. Among the opposition formations, the CNPP-PSD, led by Pierre Tapsoba, won 12 seats.

In a surprise development, the new 29-member government formed under the premiership of Youssouf Ouedraogo on 20 June included five ministers drawn

from the opposition. Those appointed included three representatives of the CNPP-PSD, which had been the most outspoken of the formations criticising the Compaoré regime during the election campaign.

CHILE

Vote of confidence

Parties belonging to the governing *Concertación* coalition, which includes the Radical Party of Chile, PR, a member party of the Socialist International, as well as the Christian Democratic Party, PDC, the Socialist Party, PS, the Party for Democracy, PPD, and smaller formations, won strong support from the electorate in voting on 28 June for 334 mayors and municipal councils.

In the first municipal elections to be held in 21 years, candidates of the *Concertación* won a total of 53.3 per cent of the vote, while the combined vote of the two parties forming the right-wing opposition bloc, the National Renewal and the Independent Democratic Union, was 29.3 per cent. Outside the two main blocs, the Communist Party obtained 6.6 per cent and the populist Centre-Centre Union 8 per cent.



Left: FPV
Leader Joseph
Ki-Zerbo

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

Right:
Czech Social
Democrat
leader Jiri
Horak...

Stressing that the result, the absence of violence and the high turnout were an affirmation of public confidence in democracy and consensus government, and a definitive rejection of the right-wing military rule which ended in March 1990, President Patricio Aylwin said that the results increased the coalition's confidence in the approach to presidential and legislative elections in 1993.

The right, stung by its defeat, made attempts in July to use its self-imposed majority in the senate, consisting largely of appointments made by the military regime, to block a package of constitutional reforms introduced by the Aylwin government.

CYPRUS

Controversy over 'non-map'

The emerging shape of a possible UN-sponsored solution to the 18-year-old partition of Cyprus generated controversy in both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot sectors in July, following the publication of a map showing the new lines of administrative division in the island proposed by the UN under a federal structure.

The latest round of talks under UN auspices had commenced following the diplomatic initiative of President Bush in August 1991 aimed at bringing the various parties to the Cyprus issue to an international conference (see 3/91, page 56). To this end, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders, President Vassiliou and Dr Denktash, had a series of meetings with the UN Secretary-General in late 1991 and in the first half of 1992.

It was clear at the June 1992 talks that the two sides remained far apart on basic questions such as territorial adjustment and the return of displaced persons. To assist the parties, UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali put forward his own ideas as to the demarcation of Greek and Turkish areas of administration. In view of the sensitivity of the subject matter, his proposals were officially described as a 'non-map'.

Although all sides undertook to

observe a news blackout on the talks, the UN 'non-map' was published by the Turkish Cypriot press on 30 June. It showed that the area of Turkish administration would be reduced from the present 38 per cent of the island's area to about 30 per cent, with the Greek Cypriots recovering the towns of Morphou and Varosha and a total of 34 villages. Under the UN plan some 60,000 Greek Cypriot refugees would be able to return to their pre-1974 homes and remain under Greek Cypriot administration.

Dr Denktash used the opportunity of its publication to declare that its proposals were totally unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot government. Greek Cypriot opinion was divided. The communist AKEL and the centre-right Democratic Rally, DISY, continued to express broad support for President Vassiliou's conduct of the negotiations. In contrast, the Democratic Party, DIKO, and the EDEK Socialist Party (an SI member party) maintained that the UN plan would entrench an unacceptable partition of the island.

In its opposition to the emerging agreement terms, EDEK laid particular stress on the apparent absence of any provision for the removal of post-1974 Turkish settlers from Cyprus. It also urged that the Cypriot people should be consulted by referendum on the main negotiating issues before an agreement was initialled, rather than after.

One effect of the uncertainty over the talks process was that declarations for the Greek Cypriot presidential elections in February 1993 were delayed.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Elections hasten Czech-Slovak split

Federal and national parliamentary elections held on 5-6 June produced results which deepened the divide between the Czech and Slovak components of the 74-year-old federation. By the end of June the two sides had agreed to proceed to a formal



separation into two sovereign states later this year, although possibly under some sort of loose confederal structure.

The elections were the second such contest since the overthrow of communism in the 'velvet revolution' of 1989-90. At federal level they involved polling for the 150-seat Chamber of the People (lower house), in which the Czechs had 99 seats and Slovaks 51, and the 150-seat Chamber of Nations (upper house), in which seats were equally divided between the two nations. Also elected were national parliaments for the Czech Lands (200 seats) and for Slovakia (150 seats).

The results showed a division on national and ideological lines. Among the Czech parties the main victor was the Civic Democratic Party, ODS/KDS, led by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, which won 33 per cent of the federal vote, giving it 48 seats in the lower house and 37 in the upper house. Among the Slovaks the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, led by Vladimir Meciar, also took 33 per cent of the federal vote, giving it 24 and 33 seats respectively. The ODS/KDS won 30 per cent and 76 seats in the Czech parliament elections, while the HZDS took 37 per cent and 73 seats in the Slovak poll.



... and Slovak
Social
Democrat
leader
Alexander
Dubcek

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38 The runners-up in both the Czech Lands and Slovakia were the former Communists, called the Left Block, LB, in the former and the Democratic Left Party, SDL, in the latter. Winning 14 per cent of the vote, the LB took 19 seats in the Chamber of the People and 15 in the Chamber of the Nations. The SDL also won 14 per cent of the vote and secured 10 and 13 seats respectively. In the national parliaments, the LB took 35 seats and the SDL 28.

The Social Democratic Party (an SI member party) made a creditable showing in both regions. The Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD, took 7.7 per cent of the vote for the lower house and won 10 seats; it also took 6 seats in the upper house, with 6.8 per cent of the vote. In Slovakia, the Social Democrats, SDSS, narrowly failed to surmount the 5 per cent threshold for representation in the lower house, but in the Chamber of the Nations they won 5 seats, with 6.1 per cent of the vote. Heading the SDSS list was Alexander Dubcek, who had been elected leader of the party in March (see 1/92, pages 11, 56).

In the national parliament elections the CSSD secured 16 seats with 6.5 per cent of the vote, while the SDSS took 4 per cent and thus failed to qualify for representation.

The other Czech parties which secured federal representation were the right-wing Republicans (6 per cent, 8 lower house seats and 6 in the upper house), the People's Party (6 per cent, 7 and 6 seats respectively) and the Liberal Union (6 per cent, 7 and 5 seats respectively). In Slovakia federal seats were also won by the Slovak National Party (9 per cent, 6 and 9 seats respectively), the Christian Democrats (9 per cent, 6 and 8 seats respectively) and an ethnic Hungarian alliance (7 per cent, 5 and 7 seats respectively).

The outcome meant that Klaus had no prospect of forming a new government commanding the three-fifths majority required to pass constitutional amendments. In subsequent talks with the Slovaks, the Czech side argued that there should be either a functioning federation or a speedy separation. When the Slovak side rejected the Czech concept of a continued federation, agreement

was reached on 21 June that decisions on a formal parting of the ways would be taken by the end of September.

On 3 July Vaclav Havel failed to secure re-election as federal president when Slovak deputies declined to support him. The existing constitution specified that separate majorities of both federal houses were required to elect a presidential candidate.

DENMARK

No to Maastricht

In the first referendum to be held in a European Community state on the Maastricht proposals, a majority No vote was recorded by the Danish electorate on 2 June to a proposal that Denmark should ratify the 1991 treaty providing for enhanced economic and political union in the EC. Ratification of the Maastricht treaty was urged both by the ruling coalition of Conservatives and Liberals and by the Social Democrats, who form the largest opposition party, as well as by both sides of industry.

Ratification was opposed by a broad coalition ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left and including powerful environmentalist groups.

The result was close. In a turnout of 83 per cent the No votes totalled 1,652,999 (50.7 per cent), while the Yes side obtained 1,606,730 votes (49.3 per cent). But it was regarded as decisive by the government, which stated subsequently that there could be no question of the Danish parliament being asked to ratify the treaty as it stood.

While expressing disappointment at the Danish vote, EC foreign ministers decided on 4 June that the other 11 member states would press ahead with their ratification procedures. One possible course suggested was that, assuming the other 11 members ratified the treaty, Denmark should hold a second referendum, either on the whole treaty or on the less sensitive parts of it amending the Treaty of Rome.

ECUADOR

Borja bows out

The Democratic Left Party, PID, relinquished power on 10 August at the end of Rodrigo Borja's four-year term as president. Run-off elections on 5 July between two right-wing candidates resulted in a narrow victory for Sixto Durán Ballén of the Republican Unity Party, PUR, over Jaime Nebot Saadi of the Social Christian Party, PSC, from a faction of which the PUR had emerged in 1991.

Ten other candidates, including Raúl Baca Carbo of the PID, had been eliminated in a first round on 17 May. Congressional, provincial and municipal elections also took place on 17 May, with similarly disappointing results for the left.

The PUR would depend on the support of partners in a coalition government, having won only 12 of the 77 seats in the unicameral congress. The PID emerged as the fourth-largest party with seven seats, down from 11 (of 71) in the 1990 mid-term elections; other seats were distributed as follows: PSC 21 (1990: 17), the populist Ecuadorian Roldosist Party 13 (9), Conservative Party 6 (2), and the centre-left People's Democracy 5 (3). Seven minor parties won the remaining 13 seats.

The election was likely to result in a rapid move away from the social democratic policies of the PID. Durán was expected to delegate much of the day-to-day running of the government to his vice-president, Alberto Dahik, who favours a market-driven economy, cuts in public-sector employment, privatisation and increased foreign investment.

EL SALVADOR

FMLN demobs

After a setback caused by the shooting in May of a leading member of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN, a new timetable was agreed in mid-June and the implementation of the peace formula set out in the

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New York accord of December 1991 (see 4/91, page 57) resumed.

The five-month process of demobilisation of the FMLN's 8,000-strong fighting units began on 30 June when 1,681 guerrillas surrendered their weapons under the supervision of United Nations observers, following a government pledge that the attack would be investigated. There had been no other significant violations of the ceasefire which took effect in February (see 1/92, pages 56-57). The FMLN, which had accused the army of recommencing the 'dirty' war, lifted its threat to halt the demobilisation and reaffirmed its support for the transition programme agreed with the conservative government and overseen by the National Committee for the Consolidation of Peace, COPAZ. The government meanwhile agreed to the dissolution of two of its security forces particularly associated with the repression of the past decade, abandoning plans to incorporate them in a new command, and moved towards the creation of a new civilian police service.

The FMLN had earlier unilaterally declared its reconstitution as a political party, a move rejected by the government which repeated its insistence that the programme of disarmament had to be completed before the movement was free to participate in the democratic process. The National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, an SI member party, offered recognition to the FMLN as a party in a statement issued on 16 May, and reiterated its call for the former guerrillas to join it and the Christian Democratic Party, PDC, as the key elements in a new progressive alliance. The June accord committed the government to legalise the FMLN party.

If the peace process can maintain the momentum created by the supplementary accord in June, the guerrillas will have completely disarmed and their military hardware will have been destroyed by the end of October. The FMLN has proposed that scrapped weapons be used to build monuments dedicated to peace.

Right: Laurent Fabius

FRANCE

PS congress in Bordeaux

The ruling French Socialist Party, PS, held an extraordinary congress in Bordeaux on 10-12 July, amid signs that the party's fortunes were reviving after its defeat in regional elections in March (see 1/92, page 58).

In the run-up to the congress Socialist morale received a boost from the surprise visit paid to beleaguered Sarajevo by President Mitterrand on 28 June, acclaimed in France and internationally as a brave gesture of solidarity with the Bosnian people.

The main purpose of the Bordeaux gathering was to prepare the PS for the crucial legislative elections due to be held in March 1993. Also on the agenda was the French referendum on the EC's Maastricht treaty due to be held in September, when most PS sections would be urging a Yes vote.

In a pre-congress press interview, the PS first secretary, Laurent Fabius, said that the party was now much more united than it had been when he took over the reins at the beginning of 1992. Although the regional elections had been a setback, the party was coming to grips with three major tasks, namely the securing of a Yes vote in the Maastricht referendum, the elaboration of a political strategy for the legislative elections, and the longer-term renewal of the party within the framework of the broader left.

Although no formal decision was taken at the congress, it was apparent that the former PS prime minister, Michel Rocard, had emerged as the party's most favoured candidate for the 1995 presidential elections.

Addressing the congress, Rocard received an enthusiastic reaction to his assertion that the PS should seek alliances with other parties on a clear government programme. The most desirable partners, he said, were realistic environmentalists, social democrats outside the PS and former communists who had abandoned Marxism-Leninism. Three central points of Socialist action, he added, should be a

commitment to Europe, promotion of domestic solidarity and belief in the role of the state.

EC president Jacques Delors also addressed the Bordeaux delegates, appealing for a strong Yes campaign in the Maastricht treaty referendum and asserting that a French vote against would not only throw the EC into crisis but would also represent a dangerous



step backwards for Europe.

Following the congress, the direction of the PS endorsed a modest reorganisation of the Party's national secretariat proposed by Fabius. The secretariat was reduced from 26 to 18 national officers, and was joined by Alain Richard, with responsibility for elections, and by Jean-Pierre Balligand, municipal affairs.

GERMANY

No SPD-CDU rapprochement

Persistent labour and social unrest, deepening economic recession and the ever-rising costs of unification formed the backdrop of political talks at the end of May between the ruling Christian Democrats, CDU/CSU, and the opposition Social Democrats, SPD. Speaking afterwards, however, the SPD chair, Björn Engholm, said that in all the central problems addressed, there was no coming together.

The contacts were initiated by

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Chancellor Kohl's coalition parties with the aim of finding an agreed way forward on certain matters regarded as pressing by the CDU/CSU. These included the spiralling costs of unification and a huge increase in the number of foreigners seeking political asylum in Germany.

Because of the SPD's dominance in the Land governments and its majority in the federal upper house, the Kohl government had little alternative but to seek some measure of compromise on necessary financial and economic measures. It also required SPD backing for any constitutional reform designed to tighten up on asylum seekers.

The failure of the talks derived in part from the SPD's commitment to its basic policy requirements, and the ruling coalition's refusal to accept these. In particular, the SPD favours a far-reaching programme for financing unification, including higher taxes for the well-off, and lower priority for returning property in the east to its pre-communist owners.

Although the next federal contest is not theoretically due until 1994, the SPD chair made it clear that he saw early elections as a distinct possibility given the extent of the country's problems.

Opposition-government strains intensified in July when the SPD resisted the federal coalition's plan to make a German destroyer available to the international naval operation off the coast of the former Yugoslavia. SPD spokesmen said that the party would appeal to the federal supreme court for a ruling that the planned operation was in contravention of the constitutional ban on German military deployment outside NATO.

GREAT BRITAIN

New Labour leadership

Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer John Smith achieved a widely-predicted victory in elections for the leadership of the opposition Labour Party on 18 July (see People, page 42). He succeeded Neil Kinnock, who had resigned following Labour's defeat in the April general elections (see 1/92, page 59). Also elected was a new deputy leader, in place of Roy Hattersley, namely Margaret Beckett, who became the first woman to hold one of the top two Labour posts.

The succession took place at a special conference held in London, when the final stages of the party's leadership election procedure were accomplished. Under the voting arrangements affiliated trade unions had 40 per cent of the electoral college vote, constituency parties 30 per cent and Labour MPs 30 per cent.

The other candidate for the party leadership was Bryan Gould (shadow environment secretary), who also stood for the deputy leadership. The deputy leadership was also contested by John Prescott (shadow transport secretary).

Smith (53) registered a landslide victory, winning 91 per cent of the aggregate electoral college vote, against 8.9 per cent for Gould. Beckett also enjoyed a comfortable winning margin, achieving 57 per cent of the vote, against 28.1 per cent for Prescott and 14.6 per cent for Gould.

GUYANA

WPA demands fair play

After conceding in November (see 4/91, pages 35 and 59) that it could not proceed with general elections on the basis of a faulty voter register, the government led by President Desmond Hoyte moved in April to reform the electoral law without consulting opposition representatives.

The SI's consultative member

party, the Working People's Alliance, WPA, protested that so fundamental a matter as the electoral system of a country should not be determined by rushing legislation through the parliament dominated by Hoyte's People's National Congress. WPA co-leader Rupert Roopnaraine called for a reasonable delay to allow the involvement of all parties in discussions before a new bill based on consensus should be placed before the national assembly.

Earlier this year, the WPA's other co-leader, Eusi Kwayana, was attacked while walking alone in Georgetown. The manner in which the assault was carried out suggested that this was not a random attack. The party protested at the failure of the police to mount a proper investigation, and called for UN monitoring of acts of violence before, during and after the impending elections.

HAITI

Bazin takes over

Haiti remained in a state of internal crisis and international isolation following the installation on 19 June of conservative economist Marc Bazin as prime minister of a new army-backed government.

The establishment of the new regime followed the collapse earlier in the year of a democratisation formula backed by the Organisation of American States, OAS (see 1/92, page 61), the negotiation of a new interim settlement in May, and the approval by parliament on 10 June of Bazin as a compromise candidate for the premiership. However the fact that no successor was appointed for the departing *de facto* president, Joseph Nerette, left open the possibility of an eventual restoration of the exiled legitimate president, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The SI's consultative member party, the Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party, PANPRA, has been prominently involved in efforts to help resolve the crisis. In the internal talks

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which preceded the establishment of the Bazin cabinet, PANPRA had successfully proposed that Nerette be obliged to resign. It also pressed for an early resumption of negotiations with the OAS concerning a return to constitutional rule. For his part, Aristide refused to deal with the Bazin government on the grounds that it was 'chosen by criminals'. Aristide's supporters did not participate in the parliamentary vote which, although falling short of the majority stipulated by the constitution, ratified Bazin's appointment.

Both Bazin and Aristide have come under pressure from the US administration which is keen to see the restoration of democratic rule and an end to the need for the recently-tightened OAS sanctions. Bazin has appealed for talks with Aristide, and announced the return of press freedom and an end to the repression which, according to human rights groups, had cost the lives of about 2,000 people since the military coup in September.

ICELAND

Hannibalsson warns of economic crisis

The leader of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, and foreign minister, Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, told the party's conference in June that growing unemployment placed Iceland at an important crossroads in its economic history. 'There is no concealing the fact that this is a serious matter', he said. The SDP is currently the junior partner in a government coalition with the conservative Independence Party.

Pointing out that the number of available jobs had fallen from 140,000 to 126,000 over the past five years, Hannibalsson said that Iceland's 1992 GNP would be only 87 per cent of the 1987 level in real terms. He asked: 'Are we going to satisfy ourselves with the Icelandic nation's lot as a producer of raw materials for the fisheries industries of the European Community countries, while increasing numbers of people are unemployed?'

ISRAEL

Rabin leads Labour back to power

Yitzhak Rabin led the Israel Labour Party to a decisive victory in general elections held on 23 June, ending 15 years of political dominance by the right-wing Likud. Rabin had resumed the Labour leadership only four months before the elections (see 1/92, page 61), in which Labour campaigned on a 'land for peace and security' platform.

In the context of Israel's strictly proportional electoral system, the Labour advance was almost a landslide. The party won 44 of the 120 Knesset seats, a gain of five over its 1988 showing, while Yitzhak Shamir's Likud slumped from 40 seats to 33. The outcome was described by Labour as 'not only a national expression of discontent at the way Likud had been running the government, but also an unquestionable approval of Labour's policies ... and a national mandate to enact change'.

Rabin said that his immediate goal would be 'advancing the peace process, first and foremost with the Palestinian delegation from the territories'. A Labour-led government would be committed in the first stage to 'autonomy and the five-year interim period' envisaged at Camp David. He also pledged an end to 'political' settlements, although there would be no freeze where settlements, as in the Golan Heights and Jordan Valley, were 'security-related'.

Crucial to the formation of a Labour coalition was the success of the new Meretz list in winning 12 seats, a gain of two as compared with its pre-election strength. Meretz (meaning 'vitality') had been formed in February as an alliance of the United Workers' Party, MAPAM, the Civil Rights Movement led by Shulamit Aloni and the Shinui party. Both the Israel Labour Party and MAPAM are SI member parties.

In addition to Labour's 44 seats and Meretz's 12, Rabin could also count on the external support of the five deputies returned by Israeli Arab lists. The remaining 26

seats went to six small lists, three of them defined as religious formations and three as right-wing secular parties.

Although already commanding a majority, Rabin preferred to broaden the Labour-Meretz coalition by extending it to the right. Talks with several of the smaller conservative formations resulted, on 9 July, in the signature of an agreement with the Shas religious party (six seats). Although ultra-orthodox in orientation, Shas did not totally exclude the possibility of territorial concessions by Israel.

The Rabin government includes former Labour Party Leader Shimon Peres as foreign minister. Rabin himself took the defence portfolio and made it clear that he would have primary responsibility for peace negotiations. Other key appointments included Avraham Shochat as finance minister, Benyamin Ben-Eliezer as housing and construction minister and Shulamit Aloni as education minister. Of the 17 ministers in the initial line-up, 13 were from Labour, three from Meretz and one from Shas.

ITALY

New leader for Italy ...

A three-month deadlock following the April general elections (see 1/92, page 62) ended on 28 June with the formation of a new government. Prime Minister Giuliano Amato (see Profile, page 13) of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, heads a coalition dominated by the Christian Democrats, DC, and the PSI. The PSI's sister party in the International, the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI, remained in the government bloc along with the Liberal Party, PLI, but the other 12 parties represented in parliament failed to respond to efforts to widen the coalition. On 4 July, however, the government won a vote of confidence by a 24-vote margin, more than the 16-seat PSI-DC-PSDI-PLI majority in the 630-member chamber of deputies.

The appointment of a Socialist prime minister was expected following the left's cooperation in the election on 25 May of a

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Christian Democrat, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, as president a month after Francesco Cossiga's resignation. Scalfaro's eventual successor as speaker of the chamber of deputies was Giorgio Napolitano, a leader of the Democratic Party of the Left, PDS, seen as a moderate, who was elected with Socialist and DC support.

The streamlined 25-member cabinet has six other PSI ministers: Claudio Martelli, who continues as justice minister; former EC Commissioner Carlo Ripa di Meana at environment; Salvo Andó at defence; Franco Reviglio at budget and planning; Margherita Boniver at tourism, and Carmelo Conte responsible for inner cities. The PSDI has two posts, with Maurizio Pagani at post and telecommunications and Ferdinando Facchiano at civil defence; the DC has 13 and the PLI two, with one independent Republican.

Major issues facing the Amato government include institutional reform; an enormous budget deficit, addressed by an emergency package of fiscal reforms announced in early July; the pervasive influence of organised crime, which was an important factor in the protest vote which hit all major parties in April and again in June's local elections; the abortion issue, and the repercussions of a corruption scandal in Milan.

...new leader for PSDI

The Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI, nominated a new leader on 7 May to replace Antonio Cariglia, who resigned on completing the maximum 2 terms permitted by the party statutes. Cariglia, first elected in March 1988, was succeeded by Carlo Vizzini (see People, page 42).

The new party secretary was voted in by the national council of the PSDI, but the choice is subject to ratification by the party congress due in January 1993. The new leadership had its first trial in the local elections on 8 June. In Naples the party bucked the national trend of voting against the established parties to double its score to almost 6 per cent.

The PSDI, renewed and strengthened under Cariglia's leadership, demonstrated its

gratitude by appointing him to the position of party president, a post which had been left vacant since the death of PSDI founder Giuseppe Saragat.

JAPAN

SDPJ opposes overseas military role

Despite strenuous opposition from the Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ, a government bill authorising the deployment of Japanese forces abroad in UN-approved military operations passed into law in June. The measure had been introduced in the light of international criticism of Japan for its non-participation in the 1990-91 Gulf War.

Strategems adopted by the SDPJ to block the bill included the threatened resignation of all of the party's lower house members and the use of so-called 'ox walk' go-slow tactics in the upper house. In the latter chamber, where the



ruling Liberal Democrats, LDP, were in a minority, the bill was eventually adopted with backing from the Komeito ('clean government') party and the Democratic Socialist Party, DSP.

SDPJ chair Makoto Tanabe said that the deployment measure would leave 'a deep scar' on Japanese politics, even though it had been considerably watered down in order to attract wider support. As adopted, the bill specified that each overseas deployment would require parliamentary approval and that

Japanese troops would be under orders to avoid conflict. Conscious of the measure's unpopularity with the Japanese public, the government later sought to boost its image by changing its name from 'UN Peacekeeping Operations Law' to 'International Peace Cooperation Law'.

37th DSP congress

The DSP held its 37th national congress in Tokyo on 21-23 April, when a new party platform and other policies were discussed and approved. The congress re-elected Keigo Ouchi as party chair and Takashi Yonezawa as secretary general.

The DSP's policy line for 1992, as endorsed by the delegates, is geared towards 'establishing a better world which preserves the earth while creating a country with an advanced lifestyle'.

Upper house elections

In elections held on 26 July for half the seats in the upper house of parliament, the SDPJ won 22 seats, a disappointing result after the last similar elections in 1989, when they took more than twice that number of seats, depriving the ruling LPD of control of the upper house. The LDP took 68 of the 127 seats contested, a large increase on the 39 seats they won in 1989 - although the party still has no majority without the support of smaller formations. The DSP meanwhile took 4 seats (3 in 1989), Komeito took 14 seats (10) and the Japan New Party, formed just prior to the election, took 4 seats in its debut contest.

The SDPJ had campaigned largely on the issue of opposition to the 'peacekeeping bill'. Although candidates who opposed the bill did well in Hiroshima and Okinawa, the overall result was seen as indicative of greater concern amongst voters with the country's current economic problems.

Left: Makoto Tanabe

Popperfoto

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LITHUANIA

LSDP sees danger of 'constitutional coup'

The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP, took a key role in successful moves by progressive political forces to prevent the 14 June referendum on withdrawal of Russian troops being used by right-wing elements to promote a 'constitutional coup'. This followed the referendum defeat on 23 May of a proposal by the incumbent government of Vytautas Landsbergis to create an executive presidency and to downgrade the organs of parliamentary democracy.

The referendum question as put asked Lithuanian voters to approve a demand for the immediate withdrawal of ex-Soviet troops from the republic's territory and for the payment of compensation for the damage done to the country since its forcible incorporation into the USSR in 1940. In a turnout of about 75 per cent, those in favour amounted to 91 per cent.

While it supported the troop withdrawal demand, the LSDP had previously joined with other parliamentary opposition parties to prevent a second proposition being included on the ballot paper, namely that the country should have a strong executive presidency, as favoured by Landsbergis and right-wing supporters.

In opposing any move to an executive presidency, the LSDP asserted that the nationalist Sajudis movement had been taken over by ultra-rightists who threatened to resort to 'extreme measures' against the organs of parliamentary democracy.

On 14 July the LSDP joined with other parties of the progressive left in the Lithuanian parliament to oust the prime minister, Gediminas Vagnorius, who was accused of bungling the country's economic reform programme and of dictatorial tendencies.

Right: Alfred Sant

MALTA

Inter-party talks

A meeting between the Nationalist prime minister and the Labour opposition leader in April was seen as heralding an era of more constructive inter-party relations in Malta, after years of bitter non-cooperation. The Malta Labour Party (an SI member) has been in opposition since 1987 and suffered a further disappointing defeat in the February 1992 general election (see 1/92, page 62).

Elected after the February general elections, Labour leader Alfred Sant said that his talks with Dr Eddie Fenech Adami indicated the party's readiness to work together with the government in the interests of the Maltese people, although Labour would maintain strong and clear opposition.

As the new parliamentary session got under way, the new cooperative spirit was in evidence in inter-party deliberations on how to achieve a simplification of Malta's complex electoral system.

However, early in July the Nationalists survived a Labour motion of no confidence. Labour asserted that the government had misled the Maltese people about the prospects of the island achieving full membership of the European Community. At their Lisbon summit the previous month, EC leaders had declined to include Malta in a list of prospective future member states.



MOROCCO

New Democratic Block

The Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, an SI member party, was one of five opposition parties which on 18 May formed the Democratic Block, BD, to promote Morocco's progression to 'a new era in which essential and genuine democratic transformations must take place in the framework of a democratic and social constitutional monarchy'.

The other four participants were the Istiqlal (Independence) Party, the National Union of Popular Forces, UNFP, the Organisation of Democratic and Popular Action, OADP, and the Party of Progress and Socialism, PPS. All five hold seats in the unicameral Chamber of Representatives, which was last elected in 1984.

In a 'national charter' issued later in May, the new Block demanded the democratisation of political life, limitation of royal powers through a government responsible to the Chamber, free and open elections, an end to official corruption and the release of all political detainees.

The creation of the alliance was seen as the opposition's immediate response to the imprisonment in April of a prominent USFP member and trade union leader, Noubir Amaoui, on charges of 'insulting and slandering' the government (see 1/92, page 63).

King Hassan II declined to discuss any curtailment of his prerogatives with the new Block. However he agreed on 9 June to set up a central commission charged with supervising the legislative elections promised for late 1992.

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NORWAY

Labour remains firm on EC membership

Norway's minority Labour government maintained its belief in the desirability of European Community membership notwithstanding the 2 June Danish referendum vote against the Maastricht treaty on European union (see above).

'Denmark's rejection of the EC union will not affect Norway's wish to be where the political decisions will be made which will influence the future of Europe', said the Labour prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland. She added: 'Norway's interests are closely connected to those of the rest of Europe and the EC, and this situation has not been changed by the result of the referendum in Denmark'.

On 9 June the Norwegian Labour Party's executive committee gave full backing to the prime minister for the pursuance of established policy under which a definitive decision on the EC membership question will be taken by a party congress in November (see 1/92, page 64). The committee rejected a proposal that a referendum should be held on whether Norway should apply for EC membership, while maintaining the existing intention that the outcome of any membership negotiations would be submitted to the people.

PAKISTAN

Pressure for elections

The Pakistan People's Party, PPP, an SI member party, is giving qualified backing to action by the military to stamp out terrorism and violence by government supporters, notably in the PPP's heartland Sind province. The PPP has been in opposition since the controversial ousting of its leader, Benazir Bhutto, from the premiership in August 1990.

The cautious alignment between the PPP and the armed forces has resulted from the

growing lawlessness and corruption associated with the incumbent regime. Amid deepening economic crisis, the PPP is pressing for early general elections, even though the government is only half-way through its five-year term.

PERU

García in exile

Former President Alan García, recently elected general secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP (see 1/92, pages 38 and 64), left Peru on 1 June for asylum in Colombia.

In the aftermath of the coup on 5 April by President Alberto Fujimori, García and other PAP leaders were forced into hiding. García, in power from 1985 to 1990, was authorised by the PAP's executive to leave the country and on 31 May took refuge in the Colombian ambassador's residence before obtaining guarantees of safe conduct to the airport. The circumstances recalled the five-year asylum in the Colombian embassy of the founder of the PAP, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, after General Odría became dictator in 1949.

Democratically elected deputies of all parties have rejected Fujimori's purported dissolution of congress and met in secret on 21 April to elect Máximo San Román, first vice-president and a senator for Fujimori's own party, as 'constitutional president'. However the backing given to Fujimori by the army, and apparently also by a section of the population, has to date prevented any effective challenge to the *de facto* regime.

Under considerable pressure from the Organisation of American States, Fujimori announced in June that elections would be held on 18 October to a constituent assembly.

The PAP, a consultative member party of the Socialist International, has attempted to maintain its activities within Peru, but its offices have been raided by the army and a number of leading members have been held for periods under house arrest, and others harassed or threatened. The

leadership has continued to condemn Fujimori's assumption of dictatorial powers and to demand an immediate return to constitutional rule, and announced on 15 May that the party would boycott municipal elections due in November.

PORTUGAL

Socialist convention

The task of further developing a constructive opposition role for the Socialist Party, PS, and reforming its statutes in line with the decentralisation strategy of new leader António Guterres (see 1/92, pages 39 and 65), was addressed at the party's national convention on 27-28 June.

The convention approved a series of structural changes in the



António Guterres

PS and adopted policies on national electoral reform and local government, along with a new party logo incorporating a rose as the central symbol. The spirit of unity and determination in the PS was clearly demonstrated when Guterres' predecessor, Jorge Sampaio, withdrew his alternative proposals for restructuring the party and voted in favour of the new leadership's motion.

The government of the centre-right Social Democratic Party,

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PDS, meanwhile, had become embroiled in a constitutional dispute with Portugal's president, Mário Soares, an honorary president of the SI, over Soares' right to an independent political role. The most serious of several recent confrontations followed Soares' veto in May of a decree drastically reducing defence spending, contrary to the president's belief that Portugal should extend its participation in European defence arrangements. Although the PDS prime minister, Aníbal Cavaco Silva, was able to use his absolute parliamentary majority to override the president, relations between the two leaders remained strained. In his address to the PS convention, António Guterres expressed solidarity with the president in the face of personal attacks by ministers.

SPAIN

Ministerial changes

Cabinet changes on 22-24 June saw Francisco Fernández Ordóñez, Spain's foreign minister for almost seven years, relinquish his post to Javier Solana Madariaga. The new appointment did not signify any alteration in the foreign policy of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, government. Solana was replaced as education minister by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, since 1988 the junior minister in that department.

Javier Solana



Popperfoto

The moves were necessitated by the recurrent ill health of Fernández Ordóñez, who died a few weeks later (see People, page 43).

ST VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

Labour decries one-party rule

The St Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party, SVGLP, a consultative member party of the Socialist International, has accused Prime Minister James Mitchell of the New Democratic Party, NDP, of rigging elections and governing as a virtual dictator.

In a strongly-worded statement SVGLP Leader Vincent Beache had questioned the legitimacy of the 1989 general elections when the NDP won all 15 elected seats in the unicameral National Assembly. Although the constitution provides for the appointment of six senators, four nominated by the government and two by the opposition, the governor-general was removed from office by the NDP government when he sought to exercise his powers to appoint opposition senators.

The SVGLP had refused to contest an October 1991 by-election in the Southern Grenadines because of defects in the electoral system and the threat

of violence. The absence of an opposition voice in parliament has meant that there has been no effective oversight of public accounts, and this, together with increasing evidence of drug-trafficking activity, has created the conditions for corruption and abuse of public funds.

Beache called for international assistance to ensure the proper conduct of future elections and an end to what he described as an 'untenable and disgraceful situation'.

VENEZUELA

Unity cabinet ended

Efforts by President Carlos Andrés Pérez to resolve Venezuela's persistent economic and political difficulties by consensus were jeopardised by the decision in mid-June of the opposition Social Christian Party, Copei, to withdraw its two ministers from the 'national unity' cabinet created by Pérez in the aftermath of the failed coup in February (see 1/92, pages 29 and 66).

The withdrawal of Copei appointees and of an independent economic minister was ostensibly in protest at Pérez's decision (subsequently reversed) to leave Venezuela in June for the first time since the coup attempt, to attend the Earth Summit in Brazil. A more plausible explanation lay in the internal politics of Copei, with an open challenge to the leadership from a faction opposed to any cooperation with the ruling Democratic Action Party, AD, an SI member party.

A subsequent meeting of the executive committee of AD rejected suggestions that Pérez leave office ahead of schedule. The party regarded the proposal as a diversion from the need to consolidate democracy, reform state institutions and see through urgent economic reforms necessitated by falling oil revenues. The Copei leadership also rejected the notion of shortening the presidential mandate on the grounds that premature elections could deepen the crisis and provoke another coup.



About the SI

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The Socialist International

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Willy Brandt

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Luis Ayala

Members

Full member parties

Australian Labor Party, ALP
 Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ
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 Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
 Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
 Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
 Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP
 Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
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 Radical Party of Chile, PR
 National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica
 Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao
 Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
 Social Democratic Party, Denmark
 Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic
 Democratic Left Party, PID, Ecuador
 National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt
 National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador
 Estonian Social Democratic Party, ESDP
 Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP
 Socialist Party, PS, France
 Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
 The Labour Party, Great Britain
 Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, Greece
 Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
 Social Democratic Party, Iceland
 The Labour Party, Ireland
 Israel Labour Party
 United Workers' Party of Israel, MAPAM
 Italian Social Democratic Party, PSDI
 Italian Socialist Party, PSI
 Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica
 Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
 Social Democratic Party of Japan, SPDJ
 Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP
 Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon
 Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP
 Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL
 Democratic Action Party, DAP, Malaysia
 Malta Labour Party
 Mauritius Labour Party
 Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
 New Zealand Labour Party
 Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP,
 Northern Ireland
 Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
 Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay
 Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
 San Marino Socialist Party, PSS
 Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
 Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
 Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia
 Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey

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

Consultative parties

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

* members of SUCEE

Fraternal organisations

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

Associated organisations

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



'It is not socially acceptable to be conservative.'

Lionel Chetwynd,
US film critic

'The world must learn to live in sophisticated modesty.'

Maurice Strong,
secretary general of the
United Nations Earth
Summit

'Jesus was the first socialist, the first to seek a better life for mankind.'

Mikhail Gorbachev

'Sleeping on the ground with something under my head, I've done it often. It keeps me young.'

President François Mitterrand
in Sarajevo

'I am proud of having protested. That is my role.'

Laurent Gbagbo, general
secretary of the Ivorian
Popular Front

'Lord Acton was wrong. It is failure, not power that corrupts. Continuous power convinces politicians that they have an invincible right to impose their beliefs on the misguided minorities which failed to support them. In politics, arrogance and integrity often go hand in hand. But repeated failure breeds the fear that only apostasy will bring success.'

Roy Hattersley,
British Labour politician and writer



Um Rio de escolas

*Toda criança tem condições de aprender.
Cabe à escola assegurar-lhe o melhor ensino possível.*



Governo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
Secretaria Extraordinária de Programas Especiais
2º Programa Especial de Educação

Academia

Poster from the Rio de Janeiro state government of the Democratic Labour Party, PDT.
Every child deserves the best possible education.