

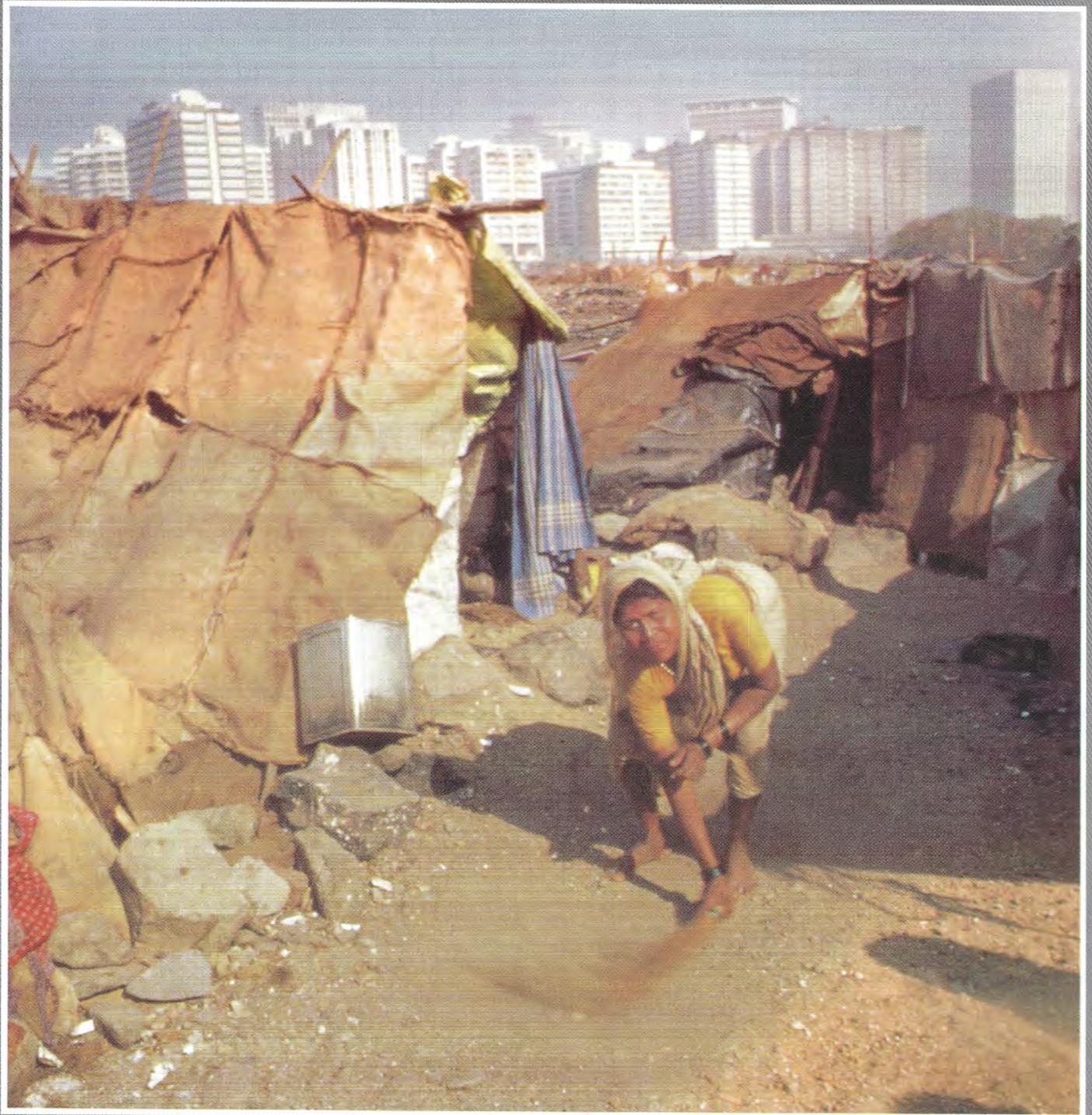


Issue 3/1990

The Journal of the  
Socialist International

# Socialist Affairs

AND WOMEN & POLITICS



***Leaving the shadows***  
*Development and the peace dividend*

2 Maritime House  
Old Town  
Clapham  
London SW4 0JW  
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 71) 627 4449  
Telex 261735 SISEC G  
Telefax (44 71) 720 4448  
or 498 1293  
Cables INTESOCON  
LONDON SW4

**Publisher and editor**  
Luis Ayala  
**Editorial consultant**  
Hugh O'Shaughnessy  
**Books editor**  
James Murphy

**WOMEN & POLITICS**  
**Publisher and editor**  
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

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

Telephone (44 442) 876661  
Telefax (44 442) 872279

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

**Design**  
Archetype Graphic Design Ltd  
**Colour origination**  
Reflex, London  
**Printing**  
Stanhope Press

**PRINTED ON RECYCLED AND  
ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY  
PAPER**

Signed articles represent the views  
of the authors only, not necessarily  
those of *Socialist Affairs*, the  
Socialist International or Socialist  
International Women

© 1990 Socialist International

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

ISSN 0049-0946

Cover picture: Ron Gilling/PANOS

## 3 EDITORIAL

4 **Development and the Peace Dividend**  
SI President *Willy Brandt* examines the opportunities

7 **Can Canadians stay together?**  
*Desmond Morton* looks at the constitutional strains after Meech Lake

11 **PROFILE**  
*Hugh O'Shaughnessy* on Petar Dertliev, leader of the  
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party

12 **'Not bending with the wind'**  
*John Hume* reflects on the first twenty years of the SDLP

14 **PARLIAMENTARY DIARY**  
*Senator Fernando Vera* writes about Paraguay

16 **Needed: a strategy for 'decommunisation'**  
*Svend Auken* calls for greater clarity in European cooperation

19 **BRUNO KREISKY:**  
*Willy Brandt* and *Franz Vranitzky* remember a great friend and leader

22 **José Figueres Ferrer:**  
an appreciation by *Rolando Araya*

24 **BOOKS**  
*Denis MacShane* reviews Jean Ziegler's latest book, an  
indictment of the Swiss banking system; *James Murphy* considers  
a new book of selected writings by Han Suyin; *Axel Queval* looks  
at a damning account of poverty in Thatcher's Britain.

## 28 LETTERS

29 **SI NEWS** • SI Council to meet in New York • South Africa Study Group  
meets in Lisbon • Party Leaders' Statement on the Gulf Crisis •  
SI investigators report on the murder of Héctor Oqueli •  
Disarmament Conference in Finland • SIDAC mission to Moscow  
• SI mission to the Baltic.

## 39 WOMEN AND POLITICS

### Demilitarisation

*Johanna Dohnal* (Austria) and *Sonya Schmidt* (Switzerland)  
question - from the socialist women's perspective - the need for  
armies

### Women in Chile

*Paula Orr* examines their expectations

### Real equality in Costa Rica

*Carmen Naranjo* evaluates legislation

53 **SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK** • Austria • Canada • Chile • Denmark •  
Dominican Republic • Ecuador • Egypt • El Salvador • Germany  
• Great Britain • Guatemala • Haiti • Israel • Luxembourg •  
Malaysia • New Zealand • Pakistan • Peru • Spain • Venezuela.

61 **Election Survey**  
*Alan J Day* looks at the recent electoral fortunes of SI member parties  
plus country-by-country table of election results

65 **About the SI**

66 **THE LAST WORD**

## **THE PEACE DIVIDEND**

3

One of the dangers created by the Gulf crisis is that the opportunity for disarmament which arises at the end of the Cold War might be diminished.

The advantages which détente can bring for ordinary citizens everywhere - and particularly for citizens of the poorer countries - could be decried by those who are more comfortable spending money on weapons than on welfare.

The Iraqi aggression must be resisted with determination. At the same time it must be made clear that the possibilities offered by the peace dividend should be advanced.

On this issue the opinion of the Socialist International has been expressed forcefully. At its conference in the Finnish city of Tampere in September our organisation called for new impetus in global disarmament. Elsewhere in this issue our president Willy Brandt points out with equal forcefulness that the freeing of military resources in the cause of human betterment cannot be postponed.

The new international order which is emerging after the end of the Cold War must certainly be based on respect for international law. At the same time it must take account of the urgent need of economic development faced by the majority of the population of the globe.

## **DEVELOPMENT AND THE PEACE DIVIDEND**

At the beginning of the nineties, more and more people understand that North and South have to act jointly to safeguard peace and achieve sustainable development. These paramount tasks require disarmament, resolution of conflicts on a global scale, a slowing of population growth and, last but not least, a new kind of economic growth that is sensitive to social problems and our natural environment. It is good to know that some steps in this direction are being taken.

Thanks to the end of East-West confrontation, the possibilities for international peace-keeping are indeed improving. For the first time in decades, the United Nations is being allowed to live up to its original task of preserving world peace. Hence, in the face of the Iraqi aggression in Kuwait, all permanent members of the Security Council have been supporting forceful sanctions. Small and large countries alike seem to agree that strengthening the United Nations is vital for the resolution of regional conflicts. And looking ahead, early warning is essential since there are still various trouble spots in the world.

At long last, arms exporters may have become aware that their arms trade is a major source of third world conflicts. Regulation of this bloody type of foreign trade is overdue. Therefore all future arms control agreements should include - as the INF Treaty did - the mandate to destroy and not redistribute sophisticated weapons. Furthermore the non-proliferation of know-how for ABC weapons has to be verified by the appropriate UN agencies.

A comprehensive approach to common security must also address economic, social and environmental challenges. People are confronted in all parts of the world with economic hardship, ecological stress, social tension or political turmoil.

Harmful disparities in living conditions have been growing along the North-South axis, but also within all regions of the world. While some countries have been able to achieve relatively healthy economic growth during the 1980s and have improved their social services, many other countries have fallen into deep and protracted socio-economic crisis. And in too many cases this has resulted in a weakening of political stability.

In view of the grave problems in eastern Europe, the cliché of the highly industrialised North is as outdated as the former and always misleading image of a uniform South. Large parts of Latin America and, in particular, of Africa face a continuous decline in income and social welfare. Even in Asia, whose economic performance has been impressive, the number of people living in absolute poverty has increased.

Mounting debt, worsening terms of trade, high interest rates and growing protectionism are major reasons for the poor or even retrogressive development. I do not hesitate to add mis-management, corruption and capital flight as aggravating factors.

But one should not forget to mention rapid technological change and selfish supply-side policies as main causes of the cut-throat competition in the world economy and its financial markets. All nations are under stress. Well-endowed countries may have the capacity to respond to these challenges; structurally

*As the SI meets in New York, its president **Willy Brandt** examines the opportunities.*



## **SOCIALIST AFFAIRS**

Issue 3/1990

weak countries, however, lack the flexibility and the resources for swift adjustment to adverse circumstances.

What is needed in the 1990s is real and long-term assistance for structural change. Developing countries must be enabled to participate in the world economy in a profitable manner. This implies, for instance, debt-reduction and enhanced financial flows; adjustment policies which are appropriate to social and political realities; international monetary stability; the opening of markets for agricultural producers and a safety net for countries which depend on commodity exports; access to modern technology and, last but not least, special attention to recovery in Africa. All these are long-standing demands of the Socialist International.

New insights, terrible shocks and frightening forecasts call for swift action to sustain our eco-system. No doubt deforestation and desertification, the high consumption of fossil fuels and the on-going use of CFCs are endangering the global climate. The real threats triggered by the artificial warming of the planet point to energy as the basic issue when we come to reconsider ways and means of economic growth.

There is no alternative but a change in attitudes. Western lifestyles and the conventional forms of energy provision, chemical production, road traffic, landscaping and agriculture are not sustainable. And who would question that

Manilla slum: Ron Gilling/Panos Pictures





**Willy Brandt**

high population growth is adding to the risks for the global environment? Since time is a scarce resource, decisive measures in North and South are urgently needed to alleviate the greenhouse effect and to protect the ozone layer.

Multilateral cooperation is the key to common security in a comprehensive way. North-South relations have to be re-shaped for a more even distribution of the costs and benefits of global interdependence. Indeed, there is a growing awareness that joint action is required to tackle shared problems that emanate from within or reach beyond national frontiers. What is more, East-West *détente* has provided new opportunities for cooperation in various fields of mutual interest, such as disarmament and organising peace, pollution control, migration and drug trafficking. And at least some progress has been achieved in policy coordination.

But regional and international cooperation is still hampered by divergent interests, lack of leadership and insistence on outmoded concepts of national sovereignty. Rather, multilateral

institutions should be strengthened and allowed to survey the performance of national governments - regardless of their power status.

These salient tasks in mind, I reiterate the plea I made at the last Congress of our International in Stockholm in June 1989, that a serious review of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions is indispensable. We need timely decisions from representative and functioning bodies - and, no doubt, an enhanced role for the International Court of Justice.

Although differing values in societies must be cherished, respect for human rights must be universal. Furthermore, democratic participation and worldwide solidarity are essential requirements for fruitful cooperation at the turn of this century.

Given the continuing conflicting arguments, I would like finally to recall our demand for the freeing of military resources in the cause of human betterment. A peace dividend may be in sight and should be shared out, not only at home, and not - in the European case - only for reconstruction in the East. At the same time, we should strongly reject the bad notion that the peace dividend must disappear before a conflict like the one in the Middle East. We know that constant efforts are required to commit the world community once again to the political objectives of common security and sustainable development for all.

*Desmond Morton of the University of Toronto looks at the constitutional strains in his country after the failure of the Meech Lake Accord.*

## **CAN CANADIANS STAY TOGETHER?**

On 23 June 1990, with brief notices from the world media, Canada passed into a crisis. A three-year effort to reconcile French-speaking Quebecers to Canadian federalism failed. Canadians, accustomed to happy endings, got a rude surprise. The world's second biggest country and one of its richest was in real trouble. The election last August of Gilles Duceppe, a Montreal labour leader, as Canada's first avowed separatist MP (to join a new Bloc Québécois) confirms that the trouble is not temporary.

When separatists won power in Quebec in 1976, left-wing cartoonist Terry Mosher urged people to 'take a valium'. Take another. Canada still exists. Quebec's non-separatist premier, Robert Bourassa, has months to develop a constitutional alternative. Until then, Canadians can worry about a developing recession, complain about taxes and wonder who dropped their country in the soup.

The Meech Lake Accord grew out of the 1976 separatist victory and from a 1980 referendum when René Lévesque, leader of the Parti Québécois, PQ, gave Quebec voters a choice between Canadian federalism and a vague 'sovereignty-association' option. During the campaign, federal prime minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau promised a 'renewed federalism' if Quebec voted no. Sixty per cent - a small majority of French-speakers, virtually all English-speakers and most 'allophones' (a Quebec term for speakers of other languages) - accepted the promise.

During the two ensuing years, Trudeau's promise was forgotten. In April 1982, when the Queen signed Canada's new Constitution Act, poor provinces had won guarantees of equalisation and western provinces gained control of natural resources. A new amending formula required provincial unanimity for significant changes. Women, ethnic minorities and the disabled achieved a wide-open equality clause in a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Native people had a guarantee of (admittedly undefined) aboriginal rights. Only Quebec's expectations were ignored. Worse, traditional guarantees vanished. The Charter, with its American-style concern for individual rights, undermined the group rights which Canada (and Quebec) traditionally favoured.

In 1984, Brian Mulroney, a native Quebecer of Irish-Catholic stock and the new leader of the Progressive Conservatives, pledged that he would 'bring Quebec into the Constitution with honour and enthusiasm'. In response, Quebec led the country in turfing out Trudeau's Liberals. In 1985, Robert Bourassa led the pro-federal Liberals back to power in Quebec City. Fellow premiers, unable to change the constitution without Quebec, promised a 'Quebec Round' of negotiations to end Quebec's constitutional exclusion. That led Mulroney and the premiers to the Meech Lake conference centre in May 1987.

Bourassa's demands included a role in naming senators and Supreme Court justices (hitherto part of the prime minister's patronage). He also insisted on financial compensation if Quebec did not go along with federal initiatives in provincial areas of jurisdiction, which in Canada range from health to highways. A share in federal immigration policy, already in effect, would allow Quebec to favour French-speaking newcomers to compensate for a plummeting birth-rate. Finally, Bourassa insisted that Canada's only predominantly French-speaking province be constitutionally recognised as a 'distinct society'. What

that meant would depend on the courts.

In two separate all-night sessions at Meech Lake in May and in Ottawa in June of 1987, Mulroney used his old labour-negotiator skills to get a deal. Given the unanimity required by the 1982 amending process, nothing less would work. Of course, unanimity allowed other premiers to insist on sharing Bourassa's demands and on a variety of regional favours, including a twice-yearly fisheries conference to please Newfoundland and unanimous consent from existing provinces before any new provinces were admitted - a blow to the under-populated, native-dominated northern territories coveted by British Columbia, Alberta and other southern provinces.

The resulting 'Meech Lake Accord' was a messy compromise. Understanding the circumstances, all three federal parties - Tories, Liberals and the New Democrats - endorsed it. So did eight of the ten provincial legislatures. Two others, Manitoba and New Brunswick, first went through elections in which, for largely unrelated reasons, the sitting governments were defeated. In New Brunswick, where Frank McKenna's Liberals swept every seat, French-speaking Acadians feared that Meech Lake reduced Ottawa's power to protect them. In Manitoba, where New Democrats were ousted by the Conservatives and Liberals, a sad local tradition of hostility to French-speaking rights made any compromise with Quebec a hard sell. In 1990, Newfoundland's new Liberal premier, Clyde Wells, rescinded an earlier endorsement by his Conservative predecessor.

Long before 1990, the Accord had attracted enemies. Quebec separatists and English-speaking critics of 'French Power' were equally angry. Civil rights advocates insisted that the 'distinct society' clause could undermine the new Charter. Natives complained that the unanimity rule would stop northern, native-dominated territories from reaching provincehood. Women's groups (at least outside Quebec) worried that Quebec's 'distinctiveness' could be used to force Quebec women to have babies. Critics blamed Mulroney (not his Liberal predecessors) for a process that left constitution-making to 'eleven middle-class white men'. When Bourassa and Mulroney refused to re-open the deal to please critics, the noise level rose. The phrase 'fundamentally flawed' became a mantra every Meech Lake opponent could recite.

The Accord's key enemy was always the former prime minister, Pierre Trudeau. The gnomish former prime minister emerged from retirement to denounce his successor for being a mere 'headwaiter' to the provinces and for giving in to Quebec's demands. As usual, Trudeau's motives were complex. Certainly he had always opposed any special status for North America's only French-speaking regime. Other features of the Accord, including changes to the Senate and Supreme Court, had been part of his own aborted constitutional reform in 1971. Trudeau's intervention rallied old political and academic allies in English Canada, gave respectability to more bigoted enemies of Quebec, and split his own party.

In 1987, the political parties had unanimously accepted the Accord; under tension, they split internally. Among Liberals, bitter divisions broke out between supporters of John Turner, a Meech supporter, and his opponent and ultimate successor, Jean Chrétien, a Trudeau loyalist and Meech opponent. The NDP leader Ed Broadbent was a supporter; his successor Audrey McLaughlin, MP for Yukon, complained that the Accord discriminated against native Canadians, particularly in her northern constituency. Only the Conservatives remained intact, but in 1989 anti-Meech feeling helped a new right-wing Reform Party win an Alberta by-election and threatened Conservatives in a former stronghold.

Though Mulroney could legitimately claim the Meech Lake Accord as a promise kept, he was, in fact, the Accord's major liability. In 1988, he had campaigned triumphantly for his Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and entered history as the first Conservative prime minister to win a consecutive majority in a Canadian parliament since 1891. Thereafter, his reputation went downhill. By 1989, the Canada-US trade deal was in its job-killing phase. High interest rates squeezed Canada into a recession and Mulroney's government proceeded with a brand new Goods and Services Tax, a version of VAT hitherto unknown to Canadian taxpayers. By 1990, Mr Mulroney's standing had dropped to 15 per cent in the polls.

New grievances emerged. In 1978, English Canada virtually ignored René Lévesque's law making French the sole official and visible language in Quebec.



Popperfoto

*Two braves in Canada*

In 1989 there was fury when Robert Bourassa used the 1982 constitution to overturn a 1988 court decision permitting English-language commercial signs. By yielding to rising Francophone nationalism in Quebec, Bourassa aroused a furious English-speaking backlash outside Quebec. In turn, 'English only' resolutions by a scattering of town and village councils from Ontario to British Columbia were widely publicised in Quebec.

With only a few weeks to go before the three-year ratification period expired on 24 June, Mulroney summoned provincial premiers to dinner on 9 June. This turned into a week-long, high-pressure bargaining session. In the end, he converted two out of three opponents: New Brunswick's Frank McKenna and Manitoba premier Gary Filmon (plus the Liberal and NDP provincial leaders who controlled his fate). Even Newfoundland's stubbornly defiant Clyde Wells consented to bring the issue back to his legislature.

Most experts then assumed that the deal would go through. Even Jean Chrétien, on the verge of winning the Liberal leadership, allowed it to be known that he had helped soften resistance. Unfortunately Brian Mulroney stiffened it again by a boastful newspaper interview, telling Canadians that alcohol had softened up their leaders and that recalcitrant premiers had been kept in the conference room by an ex-footballer, Premier Don Getty of Alberta. As the lone hold-out, Clyde Wells promptly became a popular hero to the majority of Canadians identified by pollsters as Meech opponents.

Even more popular was Elijah Harper, a Cree chief and NDP member of the Manitoba legislature who managed, with considerable discreet help, to stall Manitoba's ratification of the Accord until the deadline passed.

Desperate efforts by Ottawa to push Newfoundland to a decision and to allow Manitoba more time failed. Clyde Wells, who refused to proceed with the promised vote, became Ottawa's scapegoat. He, and most Canadians, preferred to give the honour to Chief Harper. Almost no one failed to observe that the First Nations, left out of the constitutional process, had played the ultimate role in the Accord's death. Loud among Harper's admirers was Canada's powerful right-wing lobby, the National Citizens' Coalition. Its leaders, at least, had noted that the aboriginal chiefs had also helped kill their own costly constitutional demands.

Understandably few (except Mr Harper) wanted to be blamed for the killing. The death of a major constitutional settlement delighted Quebec separatists - now a majority in Quebec, and Francophobes - about a quarter of the rest of the population. It also endangers a federal system that gave Canadians the scarce if unexciting benefits of peace, prosperity and freedom. The academics and politicians who insisted that Meech Lake would weaken Canada can now anticipate a country torn apart. Those who insisted that English Canada would find a new unity have now heard western Canadian premiers echoing Quebec's threats to go it alone. Those who claimed that the Accord would prevent new social programmes can figure out how to finance existing programmes as the country comes apart.

What next? Political discord joins the Free Trade Agreement, high interest rates, new taxes and a federal deficit proportionately larger than Washington's as arguments for Canadian and foreign capital to go elsewhere. With bankruptcies

and unemployment rising and investment falling, Canada's economy desperately needed good news. Instead, Canadians gave the world some needless bad news.

10 One immediate consequence, fostered by the aboriginal triumph in killing the Accord, has been a summer of roadblocks, angry meetings and violent confrontations, all to promote native land claims covering three-quarters of Canada's 9.9 million square kilometres. Mohawk blockades, guarded by masked, heavily armed members of the Warriors' Society, kept much of Quebec's provincial police busy last summer.

Some observers insist that federal-provincial dickering will resume after a decent interval. They are wrong. Bourassa emerged with puzzlement from the Accord's defeat - 'How could they turn down such a deal?' he asked his aides - and with the warning that the next decision would be up to English Canada. A blue-ribbon commission of Quebec politicians, business and union leaders and academics will come up with a constitution the rest of Canada will get as an ultimatum. While the details are vague, most insiders expect a version of an old *nationaliste* notion. Quebec will accept nothing less than 'perfect equality' with the rest of Canada. The two 'nations' could jointly operate such national institutions as the Bank of Canada, the armed forces and perhaps the department of external affairs, much like a two-member EC. Other responsibilities would be solely exercised by each respective nation. As a small reward, Canada might still appear on the map and Ottawa would still be the joint capital.

As often in Canada's national debate, there seems to be no agreed 'left' answer to the national crisis. Ed Broadbent, the former NDP leader, and almost all members of his federal caucus were quick to endorse both Pierre Trudeau's constitutional package in 1980 and the Meech Lake Accord in 1987. Both, after all, were congruent with established party policies. Since 1933 the Canadian left has called for an entrenched bill of rights; since 1965 the NDP had agreed to a 'special status' for Quebec. Put to the test of practice, not all New Democrats are quite so sure. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms has done much for the rights of individuals, often at the expense of 'collective rights', including those of unions. Judges, appointed by the party in power, bring an ideological bias to their new and sweeping powers. As for Meech Lake, NDPers had cooled to Quebec's demands when sympathetic policies did not pay off in votes. It took a by-election and an exceptionally strong candidate for the NDP to win its first ever seat in Quebec last year.

It did not happen this year. The NDP candidate was as much a 'sovereignist' as Duceppe, but the Quebecers were unimpressed by her party. After all, her leader Audrey McLaughlin wants a united Canada and a central government strong enough to stand up to the US and to distribute social justice to Canada's poorer regions. More than its CCF predecessor, the NDP accepted Canadian federalism and devolution of power. That leaves most provincial party leaders speaking with regional voices. Provincial New Democrats exploit local anger at the Mulroney government and Ottawa. The left may have strong reservations about nationalism, but it tends to be keen on 'self-determination'. Similar products can have different labels.

Regional anger is widespread in Canada. A western Canadian party with strong right-wing and regional views elected its first MP in 1989. A messy, complex and ill-defined federal system leaves responsibility unclear. Much native frustration is due to federal and provincial governments trying to shuffle off the costly burden of satisfying their demands for land and housing. Farmers, labour and the poor also get caught in the buck-passing. Quebec's insistence on running its own affairs is often understandable.

Unless they want Ottawa to send troops to repress Quebec and not merely to separate armed Mohawks from furious suburban commuters, English Canadians will have to take Quebec's terms seriously. The alternatives are frightening. Given the nasty national mood that scuppered the Meech Lake Accord, resolving issues ranging from minority language rights to a fair sharing of the 350 billion Canadian dollars national debt could be brutal. Instead of wrestling with the profound economic and social issues that face them, Canadians are renewing a bad-tempered discussion of their national marriage. The analogy of divorce fits only if you think of an estranged couple having to go on sharing the same bathroom with all their adolescent children. That is a recipe for mayhem in any language.

Come to think of it, make that two valiums.

**Desmond Morton** is an historian and principal of the Erindale campus of the University of Toronto in Mississauga. His books include 'A Short History of Canada' and 'Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement'.

*Hugh O'Shaughnessy writes  
about the career of the leader of the  
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party*



**PETAR  
DERTLIEV**

Dr Petar Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, used to weigh 38 kilos. That was during his second period of imprisonment.

Few politicians have had a more eventful life than Petar Dertliev, the SI member party's presidential candidate this year. He was born in 1916 into a political family. His social democratic father Anton was one of the founders of the Bulgarian teachers' union, so it was natural that the young Petar, studying for a medical degree in Sofia, should be politically active. This earned him his first period of detention, under Tsar Boris. In 1939, the year before he graduated as a doctor, he was sent to a labour camp because, as a leader of the social democratic youth, he had argued against the pro-Nazi policies of the monarch.

After the Second World War, during which Bulgaria fought on the Axis side, the country came under the increasing control of the communist party of Georgi Dimitrov. The time that Dertliev spent in prison from June 1948 to February 1957 was a good deal worse than anything he had suffered before; as a medical man and a lung specialist, he was all too conscious of his condition as a 'living skeleton'.

He was from the first a very special prisoner of Dimitrov. His offense was to have written and argued against many government policies, in particular the unfair demands that were placed on peasant cooperatives. He was kept in solitary confinement for months and never kept in the same prison for very long.

When he emerged as a 43-year-old Dertliev decided to quit the capital and for six years served in a hospital for tubercular children in the provinces. He returned to practice in Sofia in 1963, retiring from full-time medicine in 1980.

Dertliev has always been proud of his century-old party, a founding member of the Socialist International.

'The first labour laws in our country were the work of our leader Yanko Sakuzov, back in 1919,' he says, 'it was he who worked out the law for an 8-hour working day and the laws

defending the working conditions of women and children.'

The more recent history of the party, he says, can be split into three phases. The first, from 1944 to 1954, was the heroic phase, with assassinations and imprisonment of members. In the second phase the party was pushed underground. 'But we never broke faith with the principles of freedom, humanity and social democracy.' The third phase began with the removal of the old regime of Zhivkov on 10 November last year.

His daughter Anastasia, herself a doctor in Sofia, recalls her father's eagerness for the re-establishment of the party. 'Mitterrand came to Sofia in 1988 and that visit seemed to change the political atmosphere. My father was very keen to get the party re-started then. He was all for writing

to Brandt and sending the documents to the SI in London. We in the family argued against him. We didn't know then that the Berlin Wall was going to come down.'

This year the party, despite its rudimentary structures, did well in the general elections. Dertliev was a favourite candidate for the presidency, but missed it by a small margin. He was defeated by the combined forces of the Stalinist rump of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (the former Communist Party), and conservatives within the Union of Democratic Forces, an umbrella coalition of which the Social Democratic Party is a member.

Meanwhile, in addition to his parliamentary work, he is devoting his energies to helping to strengthen a party which has spawned working groups to produce detailed policies on the economy, education, health, agrarian issues and many other topics. The party newspaper, *Svoboden Narod*, for long published in exile in Vienna, is back on sale in the streets of Bulgaria in daily and weekly editions and the social democratic youth movement is growing quickly.

What free time this industrious retired doctor has is spent in a small house 30 kms from Sofia, where he reads, writes and entertains the younger generation. 'He is a very good grandfather', says Anastasia.

## **NOT BENDING WITH THE WIND**

The story is often told of a traveller in Ireland asking a farmer for directions to a particular town. The farmer's advice was 'well now, if I were going there I wouldn't start from here...!'

Such was the sentiment of many when the Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, was formed 20 years ago in Northern Ireland. 1970 in Northern Ireland was a time of polarisation and pessimism. Not a few were speculating on civil war, given that we had troops on our streets, paramilitaries from both communities launched on a spiral of violence, extremists opposing any talk of reform or political change, politicians under pressure to play to tribal instincts and a government unable or unwilling to analyse and address the issues which underlay these tensions.

This was hardly a propitious environment in which to establish a party wholly opposed to violence of any kind from any source, committed to achieving equality in a historically unjust society, hoping to establish a sense of partnership between the two communities in Northern Ireland and aiming to promote new relationships in Ireland as a whole and between Ireland and Britain. While Northern Ireland's prospects in 1970 hardly favoured such a party, for some of us they demanded it.

So six Stormont (Northern Ireland parliament) MPs and one Senator (later brutally murdered) with the prior labels of Republican Labour, Nationalist, Northern Ireland Labour and Independents came together to form the SDLP in August 1970. We were joined by people throughout Northern Ireland from these and other political parties and by people who had never been in a party before, uninspired by their limited or sectarian approaches. A properly organised and democratic non-unionist party was created for the first time.

The point about the party's democratic nature is not merely an aside. It is important to realise the political development which the formation of the SDLP represented. Also, in the political vicissitudes of Northern Ireland, only with internal democratic integrity could a party of the SDLP's ideals and purposes have survived and developed.

Much of our life has been spent in a political vacuum in which it is very difficult to maintain people's commitment and discipline. Many of our leading representatives have had to spend years working in a full-time political capacity, trying to cope with constituency work, maintain a spokesperson's output and endure threats and pressures without any political salary.

We operate in a very different context from most of our sister parties. We are neither in government nor opposition (in the usual meaning of that term). We are not in a position to seek a mandate to control state structures and implement our policies through them. Rather we are in a divided society where people have different identities and aspirations and there is no consensus around institutions of state.

The fundamental challenge which we face is to try to achieve political consensus around agreed political structures and processes.

To embrace this challenge is not a distraction from pursuing the social, economic, environmental and international concerns of the party. It is a recognition that if we are to truly advance democratic socialist programmes in our society, we need to have appropriate and stable processes through which to canvass and implement these.



Frank Fennell

**John Hume MP, MEP,**  
*leader of the Social  
Democratic and Labour  
Party of Northern  
Ireland, reflects on his  
party's first twenty years  
of life.*

In this our position is similar to that in which our Portuguese and Spanish comrades found themselves when faced with dictatorship and the post-dictatorship scenario. It would have been useless to talk about socialism in a vacuum and irresponsible to ignore the basic task of creating appropriate democratic political structures which would retain stability because they had consensus.

We are often referred to by the media as the 'mainly Catholic' or 'nationalist' SDLP. It is true that our membership mainly, but not exclusively, comes from the background of the nationalist tradition and would be Catholic. However, the facts of members' backgrounds do not make us a Catholic nationalist party. We have singularly rejected the sectarianism, sloganising and flagwaving of opponents and those who pre-dated us. While our membership reflects the fact that we are in a divided society, we have to start from where we are. Anyway you cannot build bridges from the middle of a river.

The SDLP has offered leadership which has persuaded people that the complex difficulties of a divided society cannot be resolved by revenge or conquest. We have rejected the fixation with territory, flags and exclusiveness which attaches to traditional nationalism.

The SDLP has analysed that the problem we face involves three sets of relationships: those between the two communities inside Northern Ireland; between both parts of Ireland; and between Ireland and Britain. It has been our position that the dimensions of the problem must be reflected by the dimensions of any process offering a solution.

This has distinguished us from those who argue 'Brits out' as a solution, those who say the problem is solely an internal UK affair or those who contend that a solution can be found purely within the six counties of Northern Ireland.

Consistent with this holistic approach, the SDLP supports the Anglo-Irish Agreement, not as a solution, but as a framework which matches the scope of the problem. It marked a fundamental departure from the insistence that the problem was an internal UK affair and also provided, in an international agreement, recognition by both Britain and Ireland of the rights and identities of both communities in Northern Ireland. We endorse such equality of respect. Only on the basis of equality can there be reconciliation.

It has not been easy to sustain such an approach when our various offers and attempts at partnership have been rejected or unreciprocated by Unionists. Repressive measures by the state, sacrificing civil liberties and with security forces breaking the rule of law, as well as being wrong in themselves, have entrenched prejudices. The violence of paramilitaries has cost innocent lives, generated repressive measures and deepened polarisation.

Through all this, we have refused to be distracted into dealing only with these symptoms of our problem because we know that only by tackling the underlying causes can we make progress.

The inspiration and solidarity of our sister parties has helped and encouraged us through difficult times. The work of creating a people's Europe, setting aside past animosities, ensuring peace and getting on with the task of social and economic development, has been a particular inspiration in our context.

We promote our social, economic, international and environmental policies where we can - in local government, parliament, Europe and notable platforms in the USA.

During our twenty years, we have stood up for the rights and needs of our people against all attacks whether from bombs or bullets, bigots or budgets, gunmen or government. In doing so we have sought to preserve not just their quality of life but also their dignity.

We have been tested by discrimination, bigotry and state violence, but we have not been tempted by revenge. We have been hurt, misrepresented and handicapped by the violence of others, but we have remained non-violent.

We cannot solve problems of difference by creating divisions. We cannot create peace by using violence; protect civil rights by attacking human rights; secure justice by abandoning the rule of law or achieve freedom by inflicting injustice.

We do not seek to mislead people by promises of instant solutions and we do not hide from our responsibilities behind unrealistic and uncompromising demands. We seek to allay fears, not to play on them and to ease tensions, not to exacerbate them.

'We have neither bent with the wind nor broken with the waves.'

## After Stroessner

It is an elating experience to be a member of a senate which is coming to life once again after seventy years submission to a dictatorial president. Before last year's elections, the upper house in Paraguay last had any effective autonomy and authority back in the 1920's under the presidency of Eligio Ayala. But, as the only representative of the Revolutionary Febrerista Party among the thirty-six senators, I have had to moderate my elation. Any legislative plans our party has must be put through by forging a consensus with the majority Colorados and the Liberals.

### Senator Fernando Vera

On 3 February 1989, the political scene in Paraguay changed drastically, when the thirty-five-year dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner was overthrown by a military coup led by General Andrés Rodríguez, commander of the Third Army and the second most powerful man in the Stroessner regime.

The proclaimed objectives and commitments of the new provisional government of General Rodríguez included only five points: respect for human rights, re-establishment of 'true democracy' and restoration of normal relations with the Catholic Church, together with recovery of the 'honour of the armed forces', apparently meaning that the armed forces would no longer function as supporters of an autocratic ruler, and lastly the 'reunification' of the Colorado Party, meaning that the party which had been the civilian mainstay of the Stroessner regime was not to be displaced, but rather strengthened by the re-admission to its ranks of its democratic branch, which had been expelled, and its leaders exiled, thirty years earlier.

This democratic branch, the Popular Colorado Movement (MOPOCO), had until then been integrated in the National Accord, a political pact which united four democratic opposition parties - the MOPOCO, the Authentic Liberal Party, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (the democratic socialist party affiliated to the Socialist International) and the Christian Democratic Party. However, the 'reunification' of the party did not prevent the dislodging of the 'militant stroessnerites' from the new government and from the leadership of the Colorado Party.

In accordance with the national constitution, elections had to be held within ninety days. The elections were called for 1 May 1989. The

opposition parties, while applauding the establishment of civil liberties and the declared intention of the provisional government to move toward a state of law, protested that the time-scale was too short for the organisation of the parties and for electoral campaigning, and also that the existing electoral rolls were outdated and fraudulently inflated.

The general elections were nonetheless held on the scheduled date and eight political parties took part. The elections were generally recognised as free but 'dirty' - in as much as they were held on the basis of the fraudulent electoral roll. General Rodríguez was elected president of the republic by over seventy per cent of the votes cast, with the Colorado Party gaining a majority of somewhat less in the parliamentary vote. Two-thirds of the seats in the two parliamentary chambers were assigned to the victorious Colorado Party and the remaining third distributed among the minority parties, in proportion to votes obtained. The Authentic Liberal Party captured more than ninety per cent of the remaining votes, thereby confirming the permanence of a two-party system in Paraguay. The Revolutionary Febrerista Party gained three per cent of the total vote and has only one senator in the thirty-six-member upper chamber and two representatives in the seventy-two-member lower chamber, whilst the Christian Democrats, the third minority party, failed by a slim margin to obtain any seats in parliament.

The first meeting of the senate at the beginning of May last year sticks in my mind. Waldino Llovera of the MOPOCO - who was later elected president of the senate - Domingo Laino, leader of the Liberal group, and I had all been in prison together five months previously, arrested by Stroessner's police as we organised a demonstration here in Asunción to commemorate the anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

With the new level of parliamentary activity, our nineteenth-century building is not up to the job. Only the president and two vice presidents of the senate have offices to themselves. There are not even rooms for the senate committees where most of our work is done.

However, despite the two-thirds majority of the government party, the new parliament is proving that it is no longer a rubber-stamping



*Fernando Vera is a senator of the Revolutionary Febrerista Party of Paraguay, and an honorary president of the SI.*

body. Public liberties have been re-established, including freedom of organisation and activity for political parties, trade unions, peasant associations and other social organisations. All exiles, whatever their political ideologies, have been able freely to return to the country. Freedom of the press has also been fully restored. Despite the scepticism as to whether real political change was possible with the same political party remaining in power, the rebirth of democratic conditions is evident.

With the newly acquired freedoms of assembly and petitioning, virtually no day passes without public rallies and demonstrations in front of the parliament building. Landless peasants, labourers, even public employees, including police officers, come to petition for justice and redress, and for the passing of legislative measures. The other day three or four hundred striking workers from the giant Itaipu hydro-electric complex on the Paraná River demonstrated in front of parliament. The people have come to re-value the parliament as their true representative and indeed to expect perhaps too much of what it can accomplish.

Parliament has repealed the laws of 'defence of the state' which, under the dictatorship, penalised actions and even ideas defined as subversive. We have ratified the treaties of the United Nations and of the Organisation of American States on human rights.

The legal framework of repression of political activities and systematic electoral fraud has also been dismantled. A new law regulates the functioning of the political parties. The old electoral rolls have been annulled and new voter registration is taking place. The new electoral law removed the prohibition on political parties forming electoral alliances, the restrictions on registration of parties, and the disproportionate allocation of seats in parliament. It also increased the role of local government, providing for direct election of authorities in all municipalities. Municipal elections have been called for March 1991.

One very positive new law prohibits the participation of members of the armed forces in

party politics and seeks to institutionalise the military establishment as a professional, non-partisan body. Under the old regime, all officers in the armed forces were required to become members of the Colorado Party. Now the commanders of the army, navy and air force emphasise that they are non-political. They invite us to

lunch and to visit their units and seek our support on various matters.

In the debate on the president's budget proposals for 1990, the parliament felt that too high a proportion of public expenditure was allocated to national defence and policing (one third of the total central government allocation) and too little to education, public health, housing and other social and economic development expenditure. The 1990 budget was approved with increased allocations for the latter purposes and the executive accepted and promulgated the amended law.

We have also rejected outright or amended other government initiatives. One case without precedent in Paraguay's political history was the refusal of the senate to consent to the appointment of an ambassador to a European country whose technical and political qualifications were found to be dubious. Another case was the denial of consent to the promotion of a high-ranking military officer who was known to have led the bloody repression of a strike.

Congressional relations with the executive have nevertheless been reasonably good. Only in one case has President Rodríguez vetoed a law enacted by parliament, concerning an aspect of the agrarian reform programme. And this veto was over-ruled by the chamber of representatives.

President Rodríguez has sought the support and participation of parliament in the conduct of international relations and efforts to improve the image of Paraguay in the community of nations as a new democracy, inviting members of parliament of both the official and the opposition parties to accompany him on his numerous visits to neighbouring countries, generally to attend ceremonies of inauguration of new governments, to the United States, to some Asian countries, and to the United Nations.



Cheryl Hatch

## **NEEDED: A STRATEGY FOR 'DECOMMUNISATION'**

The West is the self-proclaimed victor of the East-West contest. Didn't western capitalism triumph in the end while communist dictatorship crumbled and disappeared in the face of the popular uprisings of 1989?

Yes indeed. Communism is the big loser of the 1989 revolution. Discredited all over eastern and central Europe, even the former communist rulers have denounced Soviet-style marxism-leninism and converted to social democracy with more haste than piety. Their heritage is bitter: economies with low productivity and hence low standards of living, outdated technologies, a disastrous lack of environmental policies and a huge, ineffective and costly state bureaucracy dominated by the communist party organisation. No wonder the people of these communist dictatorships jumped at the first chance to get rid of their despotic and incompetent leaders.

But was it really the West that brought this about? Was it thanks to NATO hawkishness and capitalist superiority that the Warsaw Pact went into a spin and the communist way of life was utterly rejected by the people of east and central Europe?

The answer to these questions is hardly affirmative. It is not for us in the West to take credit for an indigenous revolt against the communist rulers brought about by decades of popular discontent and harsh suppression of freedom, and sparked by Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika reforms and his refusal to engage the Red Army in quelling any of the rebellions in the 'popular democracies'.

The undoing of communism was achieved by the communists themselves through their bankrupt and oppressive rule, by Gorbachev's reforms and by the bold action of the democratic forces.

The NATO strategy based on defence solidarity between western democracies was successful in preventing war and protecting democracy but it had, in my view, little to do with the 1989 demise of communism.

Nor was it the allure of unmitigated capitalism that spurred the democratic revolution. To be sure, everybody - even the communist planners - had lost faith in the state-run command system, but there is little evidence to show that the people were clamouring for exploitative capitalism to replace communism.

Not knowing the exact data, it seems a fair assertion that the ideals of the revolution - apart from nationalist aspirations - were three: freedom, prosperity and social justice. Nowhere did the new democratic parties demand Thatcherite capitalism. On the contrary, like the CDU in East Germany, they were adamant in insisting not just on reforms leading to a market economy, but that their proclaimed model was one of a social market economy - almost identical in vision with the modern welfare society / mixed economy model of social democracy.

*Svend Auken, leader of the Danish Social Democrats, calls for greater clarity in western socialists' attitudes towards eastern Europe.*

However, the new democracies are being forced into dismantling their social security systems and allowing for wild capitalist speculation and exploitation and crazy monetarist / supply-side / deregulation / anti-public sector / neo-conservative economic theories which even sensible conservative parties in the West have long abandoned. I read an article one day from the Heritage Foundation - or some other conservative think tank - about ultra-conservative economists returning from a seminar with the Moscow Academy of Science and speaking of their pleasure in being listened to in Moscow, after having been totally excluded from official Washington.

This development in the new democracies can be ascribed to several factors: - the lack of economic resources and political experience made the leaders of the new democracies open to any kind of external political or financial blackmail. In order to obtain western help they had to accept a host of outside demands from international organisations, foreign governments and transnational firms;

- secondly, they had to deal with the dynamism of the international market economy and the impatience of their own people for quick economic gains;

- thirdly, there exists absolutely no proven, or for that matter thorough, theory for 'decommunisation'. Neither non-socialist nor democratic socialist authors have, to my knowledge, produced a convincing strategy for going from a centrally directed, command economy with public ownership of the means of production, dominated by the elite of one party, to a market-oriented, mixed ownership economy operating in a pluralist democracy. We are literally groping in the dark.

- fourthly, social democracy and democratic socialism have been pushed onto the defensive. It is a fact that social democrats throughout their history have put up brave resistance to the communist dogma of the so-called leading role of the party, dictatorship of the proletariat, centrally directed economy, and state ownership of all means of production, and have paid the price in communist countries of death, imprisonment, banning from public life, and compulsory integration into so-called 'socialist unity' parties for upholding their faith in democracy. Despite this history of anti-communism, conservative propaganda has been most effective in equating the defeat of communism with proof of the uselessness of social democratic ideas. This has happened both in the West and in the East. This unfair innuendo against social democratic thought and parties has meant an electoral swing to the right in the new democracies at their first free elections and an uphill fight for the new and necessarily weak social democratic parties of the East.

The answers to these four challenges to western social democratic / socialist parties are not simple and I will indicate only some elements for further discussion and future action.

Western aid must be generous and on mutually agreed conditions. We must not repeat the huge mistakes committed by western democracies when dealing with the economic problems of the new democracies in Latin America in the early eighties.

At that time we made the mistake of making them repay or reschedule the dictators' debt burden to international banks, and imposing the condition of policies leading to negative economic growth, deterioration of public services and mass unemployment. Figures indicate that we are repeating the same mistakes. In Poland, since the overthrow of communism, production and real income have fallen staggeringly by some 40 per cent. Unemployment is rising dramatically in the GDR, and both the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian economies are beset by negative growth and threats of massive redundancies in the near future.

The West may risk some money in wasted aid and bad investments, but it is of paramount importance that the change to democracy is not associated in the minds of the people with poverty, insecurity and unemployment, but with prosperity and security.

A 'code of good behaviour' should be drawn up for investors in the former communist economies. These investors should be helped and guided with their investments, but certain ground rules should be formulated for them to observe. These could include cooperation with national and international authorities, observation of workers' rights and environmental concerns and provision of 'transparency' in dealings to allow for public scrutiny. Such a



Julio Etchart/Impact Photos

*A new role for Jacques Delors' European Commission?*

code, if flexibly written, could be a useful guide for bona fide investors and a necessary preventative measure against the many rip-off artists already on the scene.

The OECD, which together with the UN has had good experience with such codes when dealing with third world investors from transnational firms, is not, I understand, wholly unsympathetic to the idea of such a code to apply to investments in eastern and central Europe.

Such a code, however, would surely gain more clout if it were to be formulated and administered by the European Community. Although the code would not be legally binding, it would fulfil a useful role as a guide for decent investors and a curb on the bad elements.

Massive assistance should be given to training and development in the art of making democracies work. We in the West have much to teach them of our institutions and experience, but we have also valuable things to learn from the enthusiasm of these newcomers to democracy. Let us enable thousands of their cadres to come and study with us and let us exchange tens of thousands of young people between our countries.

Especially for social democratic and socialist parties, there is a lot to be done on top of the already considerable efforts being made in cooperating with parties and trade unions of the former communist countries. Maybe certain words dear to us as social democrats - like solidarity, planning, socialism, strong public sector - may be discredited by communist malpractice; and maybe social democrats did not do too well in the first free elections. Still I am convinced that, although social democrats may have lost a battle, the war is still there for us to win. But it requires cooperation and massive aid on all fronts and the encouragement of broad-based social democratic parties.

Theoretical work in terms of in-depth studies and discussions should be done to evolve a credible strategy for 'decommunisation'. It certainly would be an exciting task for existing institutions of party cooperation, like the Socialist International and the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the EC, and for social democratic research and study foundations like the Bonn-based Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung or the various trade union institutes. Also the need to create a truly international centre for the study and development of social democratic ideas has never been more urgent.

## **KREISKY – FAREWELL TO A LEADER**

*Bruno Kreisky, honorary president of the Socialist International, chancellor of Austria from 1970 to 1983, died in Vienna on 29 July at the age of 79.*

Born in the Austrian capital in 1911 to a prosperous family of merchants, Kreisky joined the Socialist Party in his teens. He studied law at the University of Vienna. In 1935 he was arrested by the Austrian police for being an official of the outlawed Socialist Youth and given a one year jail sentence for 'treason'. He was released a month later, but in March 1938, a few days after the Anschluss - the Nazi German takeover of Austria - the future chancellor was again imprisoned, this time by the Gestapo. He was freed on condition he left Austria.

After considering emigration to Bolivia, he accepted an invitation from the Swedish Young Socialists to go to their country. In Sweden he met and married a fellow-Austrian, Vera Furth, and began his long friendships with the late Olof Palme and with Willy Brandt who was also in exile from Nazi persecution. The Swedish political tradition was to have a strong influence on his political thought and practice.

For several years after the war he remained in Stockholm on the staff of the embassy of Austria. He returned to Vienna to start a political career, becoming political adviser to President Koerner. As secretary of state for foreign affairs, he took a prominent part in the negotiations of the treaty signed in 1955 which led to the withdrawal from Austria of the troops of the Soviet Union, the USA, France and Britain and his country's re-emergence as a sovereign state committed to permanent neutrality. He was foreign minister from 1959 and 1966.

Elected chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party in 1967, he became chancellor in 1970 and set about pushing forward a policy which foreshadowed Brandt's own *Ostpolitik* by strengthening relations with Austria's neighbours to the east.

He interested himself especially in the Middle East, supporting the Palestinian cause and often expressing opposition to Israeli policy - despite the fact that he himself came from a Jewish family. As chancellor, he received Yasser Arafat and also met Colonel Muammer Ghadaffi of Libya.

He was tireless, too, in championing the

cause of the developing world.

These two issues brought him, and his country, international attention and influence. The former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, commenting on the political weight he carried, said: 'He had a great sense of humour and far more geopolitical insight than many leaders of more powerful countries. One of the asymmetries of history is the lack of correspondence between the abilities of some leaders and the power of their countries.'

His international activities were at the same time always underpinned by close attention to the domestic scene in Austria. Kreisky's chancellorships were times when the country grew to a prosperity it had never before enjoyed, based on a low rate of inflation and a very low rate of unemployment. These were cemented by a policy which got labour and employers working in close association - the so-called Austrian Model.

His popularity and his 'common touch' were legendary. His address and telephone number figured in the telephone directory, his personal security arrangements as chancellor were minimal and he was always accessible to the media. He was widely nicknamed 'Kaiser Bruno'.

He retired from the chancellorship - though not from politics - after the Austrian Socialist Party failed to gain an outright majority in the elections of 1983. He underwent a successful kidney transplant in 1984. His illnesses and those of his wife, who died last year, did not stop his activities in foreign affairs. 1987 found him at a meeting of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers.

His funeral in Vienna on 7 August was attended by prominent people from around the world. The SI was represented by Willy Brandt and by SI secretary general Luis Ayala.

There follow words about him delivered at the funeral by Brandt and by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

## WILLY BRANDT:

'Is it any wonder that a great sadness hangs over this day? - a sadness mingled with the proud memories of those who were glad to have among them the man whom we now lay to rest. A man who was one of them. And yet a man who was often a step ahead of the others.

'He and I first met fifty years ago in exile in Scandinavia. He, a young, radical reformer, and at the same time the indestructible Austrian patriot, very consciously saw himself as the product of that enormous melting pot that was the old Austria.

'Out of the will to save what could be saved of that Austria came, in his own words, the greatest day of his political life - that 15 May, 35 years ago, founded on the tenet of "perpetual neutrality".

'But it is quite certain that his horizons extended beyond the confines of his own country, for he had no doubts concerning the connection between Austria's independence and its European and international role.

'Not only we in Germany, in Berlin, but also others outside the immediate neighbourhood, were bolstered by his advice - given without regard to party allegiance, I may add - in the days when it was not yet fashionable to talk of *Ostpolitik* and 'common security'. He was always eager for concrete talks, yet without ever letting himself be led into intellectual or moral neutralism.

'He was to be found in Brussels at a time when many still had difficulty in spelling the word "integration". He had foreseen the transformation to the wider European democracy - first in the South, now in the East. It occupied his thoughts to the very end, so terribly depressing had it become for him no longer to be able to read.

'In earlier days, when he telephoned, he had always begun not by enquiring about trade balances or election prospects, but would ask, for example: 'have you read any interesting books lately?'

'Friends from all parts of Europe and many parts of the world have good reason to say thank you to Bruno Kreisky: for friendly encouragement, for brotherly assistance, for fatherly admonishment, or simply for an occasional challenge to get out of a rut.

'He took great satisfaction in the fact that senseless divisions were coming to an end. Relapses, in the Balkans and elsewhere, caused him worry and pain.

'Certainly, the hard blows of fate of his last years had not made him any gentler, or more patient. Nor yet did he always become more just in his judgement of his contemporaries and compatriots.

'But did he - as was frequently said of him - make a fundamental error with respect to the Middle East? Should his Jewish origins, which he acknowledged, have pointed him in another direction? Nobody can be kept from taking his own decision regarding his cultural and ideological identity. But no one can in good conscience accuse Kreisky of not being serious in his concern for peace in the Middle East, or of keeping his concern to himself.

'No, let us rather draw a large question mark beside the statesmanlike wisdom of those who praise each other to the skies on their respective summits, let events take their course, and reveal themselves in all their unimpressive nakedness when conflict breaks out once more.

'He - and we with him - wanted no more outbreaks of conflict. He wanted fellow human beings no longer to be tortured and children, in Africa or elsewhere, no longer to fall victim to famine. These and other things were the subject of our discussions in Stockholm in 1942 - before the climax of the Second World War - when we and other like-minded people, from countries at



war with each other and from neutral countries, put down on paper our "peace aims".

'After the war, we were joined by Olof Palme. He, the youngest, was later the first of us to be taken. It was Bruno and Olof who persuaded me, 15 years ago, to take over the presidency of our family of parties, traditionally known as the Socialist International. With their help and that of others, we overcame its narrow Euro-centrism and faced up to the rapidly changing world, fostering a new understanding of socialism as the single-minded pursuit of democracy, and tackling now-familiar subjects of common interest: North-South, the environment and the new ground broken by the scientific and technical revolution.

'Dr Bruno Kreisky served the community and the well-being of the people in an outstanding fashion.

'Rest in peace, our dear, difficult and good friend.'

## FRANZ VRANITZKY:

'Bruno Kreisky's history is closely tied up with that of Austria itself. The recent history of our country is almost mirrored in him. More than this, he helped to mould it over a lengthy period of time. The arc that spans the collapse of the monarchic multi-nation state, the unbridgeable polarisations of the inter-war years, political persecution, exile, intensive engagement in the newly arisen Austria and the modernisation of society in the 1970s, is truly impressive. In 26 years as a member of government, 13 years as federal chancellor and 16 years as leader of the Socialist Party of Austria, he made his mark on this country in a way that few before him had.

'The experience of the 1930s, of Austro-fascism and Nazi rule, had a long-lasting effect on Bruno Kreisky - as they did on many of his political generation. "Life builds nothing without taking the stones from somewhere else to do so", wrote the great Austrian Robert Musil, much admired by Kreisky. And so post-war Austria was rebuilt from the rubble of destruction. This republic, the "second" as it is called, became a different Austria, more self-confident, more conciliatory and with a richer future. No longer did anyone doubt in its existence and collective efforts were put above the things that divided people. Many toiled towards it and Bruno Kreisky made a significant contribution.

'For the rest of his life this experience made him a man of cooperation, of balance and of discussion. What mattered to him was not the perception of boundaries, but the shared stretch of the way, not prejudice but serious argument. Openings and openness in political dealings were no longer just empty slogans but became political practice. The involvement of many, including outsiders, in a powerful process of reform got society moving - a society that was threatened with stagnation, that remained too static and was prone to following all too well-trodden paths. Bruno Kreisky, together with many who shared his views, appealed for a fresh start; they wanted to modernise Austria and let it pursue its own "Austrian way" with self-confidence.

'Bruno Kreisky is to be thanked for creating this climate of openness in Austria and for freeing it from its own post-war self-obsession which, whilst in many ways understandable, was also long outdated.

'The great French daily *Le Monde* was not exaggerating when it recently described Kreisky as the "the face of a new Austria."



## JOSE FIGUERES FERRER

*José Figueres Ferrer, 'Don Pepe', died on 8 June in Costa Rica. Figueres, born in September 1906, was educated at the University of Costa Rica and the University of Mexico. His first occupation was that of coffee-planter and rope-maker on his estate outside San José, 'La Lucha sin Fin' (The Endless Struggle). He first became prominent in politics in 1942, protesting against what he saw as communist influence in the government. He was exiled to Mexico between 1942 and 1944. He became president of the ruling junta in 1948, serving 18 months in government. He was elected president for a five-year term in 1953 and for four years in 1970. He was president of the Partido Liberación Nacional, which he founded. The following appreciation of Don Pepe is by **Rolando Araya**, president of the Latin American Institute for New Democracy and a leader of the PLN.*

From the beginning of its independent history, Costa Rica has been noted for its desire for peace, its civic sense, and its love of liberty. In 1869, before many European and American countries had come round to it, the Costa Ricans legislated for free, obligatory primary education. Since 1882, Costa Rica has had no death penalty. From 1948 there has been no standing army in Costa Rica. From 1948, too, the Costa Rican state has been investing around 30 per cent of tax revenues in education. Today Costa Rica has a very high rate of literacy, some 9 out of 10 of the population; 2.5 per cent of the population goes to university; more than 80 per cent of the rural and 99 per cent of the urban population has access to drinking water and electricity; infant mortality is 15 per thousand and life expectancy is some 75 years. Costa Rica has indices of public health similar to those of developed countries. Practically the whole population is covered by a modern social security system. In 1969 we completed a century of almost continuous functioning democracy. Costa Rica is small but has earned acknowledgement for its respect for human rights and democracy. Much of this is due to the efforts of José Figueres Ferrer, 'Don Pepe'.

The revolutionary and the political leader in Don Pepe came to the fore on 8 July 1942, when he delivered a denunciation of government misdeeds on the radio. The police interrupted the speech and arrested the young farmer and sent him into exile. These incidents put the name of this hitherto unknown farmer on the front pages of the newspapers. From exile, he proclaimed his adherence to liberty and social democracy, which he said were the consequences of an advance in human knowledge and intelligence. On his return to Costa Rica, he founded a social democratic party and called for a new political and social order.

After the fraudulent elections of 1948, Figueres raised the banner of revolt in the mountains in the south of the country and emerged victorious from a forty-day war. He called immediate elections to name a constituent assembly and after eighteen months in power, faithful to his democratic principles, he handed over power to a new government which was elected with women given the vote for the first time. This government nationalised the banks and hydro-electric production, established taxes on capital and started a policy of salary increases. Under the influence of Keynes, a start was made on the construction of a welfare state with powers to intervene in a mixed

economy. In a gesture never expected from a victorious general, Figueres abolished the army. From that time on, the barracks have been turned into museums and schools.

Challenging century-old prejudices, Figueres started to modernise the country, which from 1948 onwards underwent unprecedented social and economic development. He overtly took sides in favour of the poor and brought in measures to restrain the abuses of the oligarchy of traders still tied to the ideas of a nineteenth-century liberalism. He argued that a modern state should have as its aim the establishment of social justice and the search for collective prosperity. He championed the freedom of the judiciary and gave it financial autonomy. For him the correct administration of justice was as important as clean elections.

Inspired by the ideas of Simón Bolívar, Figueres fought strongly for the cause of democracy and integration in Latin America. He conspired against every dictatorship and made Costa Rica a refuge for Latin American democrats. In his fight against tyranny, he several times came into collision with Washington. He foreshadowed the North-South dialogue. 'Give us a good price for our products and Latin America will be in a position to ensure that Detroit works 36 hours a day', he said in the United States in one of many interventions aimed at a more just and rational international economic order.

Although he was a friend of the West, he complained that communism in a Cold War situation had become a pretext for the United States to impede the emergence of democracies which aimed at social justice.

Though the twentieth century has not yet ended, no one will deny that Figueres is the most outstanding figure of the century in Costa Rica. Farmer, economist, sociologist, writer, inventor, teacher of morals, philosopher, statesman and tireless reader, he was always drawn to the world of ideas.

Attacked for his mistakes and his utopianism, the passion with which he fought made his struggles into great struggles. He founded the Partido Liberación Nacional with other Costa Ricans of vision and set down the blueprint for the development of that political movement. With Figueres, Costa Rica took a great leap forward. The shadow of Figueres has allowed our democracy to flourish. He brought honour to the social democratic movement. He is the Costa Rican of the twentieth century.

Associated Press



*José Figueres*



**NUEVA  
SOCIEDAD**

JULIO-AGOSTO 1990

Nº 108

Director: Alberto Koschützke

Jefe de Redacción: Sergio Chejfec

COYUNTURA: Rogelio García Lupo. Doble vía argentina: del melodrama al drama. Francine Jácome. Grenada, ¿hacia la estabilidad política?

ANÁLISIS: Edelberto Torres-Rivas. Las ciencias sociales vistas de nuevo. María del Carmen Feljoo. La pobreza latinoamericana revisitada.

POSICIONES: Transformación productiva con equidad. Síntesis del documento económico de la Secretaría de la CEPAL.

LIBROS: Ricardo Cicerchia. Mujeres e historia: ¡Viva la diferencia!

TEMA CENTRAL: André Gunder Frank. La revolución de Europa oriental de 1989. Demetrio Polo Cheva. La crisis socialista: un reto democrático. Manuel Caballero ¿Existirá América Latina en el nuevo mundo de 1990? Andrés Serbin. Perestroika, eclosión de razas. Demetrio Boersner. Rumania, de la frustración a la esperanza. Rubén Berrios R. Lecciones de la crisis económica polaca. H.C.F. Manilla. Perspectivas para el movimiento socialista en América Latina. Viktor L. Sheinis. Problemas y dificultades de la perestroika económica en la URSS.

DOSSIER.

SUSCRIPCIONES  
(Incluido flete aéreo)

América Latina  
Resto del Mundo  
Venezuela

ANUAL  
(6 núms.)

US\$ 20  
US\$ 30  
Bs. 300

BIENAL  
(12 núms.)

US\$ 35  
US\$ 50  
Bs. 500

PAGOS: Cheque en dólares a nombre de NUEVA SOCIEDAD. Dirección: Apartado 61.712 - Chacao-Caracas 1060-A. Venezuela. Rogamos no efectuar transferencias bancarias para cancelar suscripciones.

Denis MacShane  
reviews ...

## ***La Suisse lave plus blanc***

by Jean Ziegler

Paris, Seuil, 1990  
ISBN 2-02-011597-2

This is a wonderful, fiercely-written polemic by the well-known Swiss socialist, Jean Ziegler. It was Graham Greene, in his script for 'The Third Man', who had Orson Welles declare: '500 years of civilisation and what have the Swiss ever produced - the cuckoo clock!' Jean Ziegler has made himself into such a one-man industry, lifting the carpet to see what dirty business the Swiss au-

chiefs, lawyers, magistrates and judges act to shield these malpractices rather than prevent or punish them.

Ziegler's thesis is not new. He first advanced it in detail in the seventies in his book, published in English as 'Switzerland Exposed'. His new book, in a fine pamphleteering tradition, picks up the story on the basis of recent scandals. Of these there are plenty. The most famous one involved Elizabeth Kopp, the first woman ever to become a Swiss cabinet minister. In charge of the justice department, she was on the point of becoming president, on the Swiss rotation system which changes the head of state on an annual basis, when she learned that her own police were about to prosecute for money-laundering a company whose leading Swiss director was her lawyer husband.

She telephoned him with the bad news and he promptly resigned. But the mixing up of marital and ministerial duties crept out to the press in French-speaking Switzerland, where some newspapers have less than grovelling respect for the antics of Zurich financiers. Frau Bundesrat Kopp tried to bluster, but was made to resign and even to face a court.

Ziegler whips up indignation, but misses one significant point. As with the Guinness scandal in Britain, the Boesky affair in the USA, the Recruit scandal in Japan, or other examples of share-padding and pocket-filling in various French privatisations, the world of banks and capital is now telling us: 'Look, we catch our thieves. We dismiss crooked ministers. We jail big-name financiers. We humble civil servants or politicians on the take.'

The structural crisis of modern banking brought about by its internationalisation and informatisation is more important than the individual opportunities for greed and ethical corner-cutting (though

banking ethics is surely the original oxymoron) which have been seized by some individuals.

Jean Ziegler is primarily a moralist, moved to great passion by the poverty and oppression he has encountered in his travels and committed to many third world, notably African causes. Although a Swiss member of parliament, he is a gadfly on the margin of Swiss politics rather than central to programmatic or policy development.

The Swiss corporatist model is also going through a period of crisis, the outcome of which is far from certain. Moral absolutism was, of course, a Swiss speciality under Calvin's rule of Ayatollah-style firmness during the reformation era in Geneva.

Ziegler would hate the comparison, but there is something of the Calvin or John Knox in his fire and brimstone denunciations of lax financial living and loose political life amongst his fellow citizens.

At the moment, he is a prophet in the wilderness, more honoured beyond the Alps than in his own land. Yet, in reaction to the horrors of greed, cynicism and exploitation he tells so well in his book, perhaps the time will come when he will be called not just to preach but to lay down the law.

Woe unto the Swiss banks when that day comes! In the meantime there are few more pressing projects for democratic socialism than finding mechanisms which make transparent, accountable and socially responsible the global, regional and national activities of banks without robbing them of the expertise, efficiency and motivation necessary to carry out their essential economic tasks.

*Denis MacShane, a member of the British Labour Party, is an international trade union official based in Geneva.*



Jean Ziegler

thorities have swept under it, that he too is regarded as a cuckoo who lays his nasty eggs (help - these Alpine metaphors are getting all mixed up!) in the pristine nest that the Swiss believe they occupy.

His latest book - 'Switzerland washes whiter' is the English translation of the title - caused shock-waves when published. It detailed with passionate scorn examples of Swiss banking, police and judicial complicity in laundering the money of drug runners and third world dictators.

Ziegler's thesis is simple. The Swiss banks turn a blind eye to the provenance of the cash that comes into their coffers, even if it arrives covered with cocaine or the blood of victims of repression. And because of the power of Swiss banks, the largest single employer in the confederation, the Swiss political authorities, police

James Murphy

**Tigers and Butterflies: Selected writings on politics, culture and society**

by Han Suyin

London, Earthscan, 1990, ISBN 1 85383 069 0

Han Suyin makes it difficult for critics. She is a gifted and compelling writer whose experience is genuinely global, whose wisdom is the wisdom of the superbly well-informed, truly a writer with the electric pulse of history pounding through her prose. And, as her recent interview with the Canadian intellectual Michael Ignatieff confirmed, she makes it most difficult of all for western critics since much of her work would destabilise their values and disturb their moral certainties. The ideas she has drawn from a frighteningly rich experience of life, partially distilled in this series of essays written over the period 1960 to 1989, are sharpened to provide a constant provocation. Han Suyin puts down no cushions.

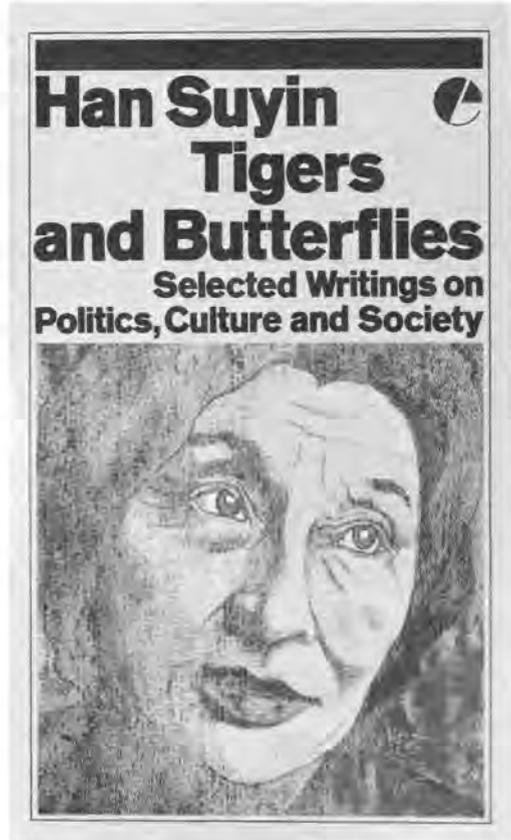
The essays, short and easily digested, cover a variety of issues and countries. Han moves from the repressed decency of Middle America to the petty tyrannies of family life to population control to the subjugation of women in Malaya - all with unbroken fluency and sureness of creative touch. A number of dominant themes take shape. She implores the western mind to understand China and indeed the whole of Asia's 'Long Revolution'. In the past five decades, China has given itself over to a process of spectacular and painful modernisation; an acceleration of progress; a compression of history. To understand China,

therefore, one must think in centuries and see the country built by Mao and Zhou Enlai - and all its shortcomings - in the context of a still fragile transition from the barbarities of the feudal world. To dismiss Mao's legacy as Leninist and totalitarian would be, Han implies, the most sterile moral complacency, for China has already been released from human misery at its most medieval. 'Anyone who has lived in old China and seen China today', she says, 'would naturally be an optimist'.

This is the heart of the matter. Western colonialism which so contaminated the development of China and the rest of the third world is always ready to find revived expression in smug criticism, bloated moral outrage at alleged disruption of civil liberties and even direct political intervention. The most absorbing aspect of 'Tigers and Butterflies' is the sense it conveys of Han's progressive frustration with western liberal values. As history rolls by, leaving the appalling human detritus of the Vietnam War in its wake, her mood seems to darken, her own nationalism seems to become more intense. While the worst excesses of western racialism, for example, attract a deserved lash of her tongue, Han at the same time and ever more keenly protects China with all the creative power of her intellect against criticism from elsewhere.

As this process takes hold, so - sadly - is the writing compromised. Moreover, a slight draining of the humanitarian juices which make the first half of this collection so memorable also becomes detectable. A portrait of Algeria where such a successful anti-colonial war was fought becomes a suspiciously hagiographical song to the people and their leadership ('All Algerians are frank about their failures or defects.' ... 'Algerians are a very vital, inventive, hard-working people.' ... 'The Algerian

people support the moves of the government to become master of its own resources - never has the government been more popular.'). On the strength of its anti-colonialism alone, Algeria has thus been plunged into a state of moral grace. Buckled by this distortion, Han's chapters on Algeria become a kind of ideological travelogue, a naïve litany of the country's anti-colonial beatitudes. The superior artist has become an inferior advocate.



There is worse to come. In one essay, written in 1977, about the downfall of the Gang of Four, Han's voice is brazenly used to amplify and to validate the prevailing orthodoxies of the Chinese leadership. Writing to please or to protect the Central Committee hardly makes for persuasive literature. As the slogans clog the prose and as the required myths are cloyingly

buttressed, one cannot avoid a sense of degeneration. '... but here, as so often during the Chinese revolution, Mao, though failing in health, intervened and neatly turned the tables on (the Gang of Four) ... the happy outcome is not only a popular administration, but a restored unity, willingness to work, and a new maturity and sophistication, coupled with outspokenness among the people'. Something going wrong here.

This leads us to Tiananmen Square. 'Tigers and Butterflies' - sometimes brilliant and sometimes bad - ends with 'Two weeks in Beijing', Han's personal review of the student protests, the killings and subsequent repression. You long for her to say what has to be said. But it is not to be. Interviewing Jiang Zeming, the Party Secretary, Han unaccountably allows him to promote the government line ('... But the students kept escalating their demands ... The slogans changed, finally becoming anti-government ... Jiang emphasises that the vast majority of the students did not know they were being used, of this the government was aware.'). She herself repeats the allegation that there were 'thousands of hooligans in Beijing', and that 'the army fired in self-protection'. An almost eerie moral emptiness, a crumbling of the virtues, characterises the whole chapter. It is all unspeakably sad.

'Tigers and Butterflies' is an erudite, passionate and disturbing work. Many of its images sing in the memory, but here, alas, a great mind too readily puts herself in the service of dead ideas. Noone vexed by China's uncertain future could read this book and not feel, at its close, a sharp spasm of pessimism.

**James Murphy is the editor of Socialist Affairs' Books Section**

Axel Queval

## ***Punishing the Poor***

By Kay Andrews and John Jacobs

London, Macmillan, 1990, ISBN 0333 487 214

Thatcherism and Reaganism are, with eastern communism, the three biggest hoaxes of the post-war years. The last is apparently being finally disposed of. George Bush and the US Congress seem to be very busy burying Reaganism; but then, dreamland America has perhaps always defied rational analysis. But how Thatcherism has been able to take such an ideological grip inside Britain and outside remains a mystery to many. In particular, considering her popularity among many present and former communist leaders in eastern Europe, one cannot help wondering at the reason behind this admiration. There must be something of the fascination psychologists say victims often feel towards their

worst enemy. But perhaps there is also a deeper, more political reason: Thatcher represents the type of leader they would all have liked to be, the type who does not flinch, and gets away with it; who governs in the best interest of a relatively narrow clan of nomenclaturists (the rich, as we would say in western Europe) and yet manages to win the elections.

Many British voters have obviously given Margaret Thatcher the benefit of the doubt for a very long time. But the truth about her is finally getting so blatant that she now seems to be in real danger. One of the most unpleasant - not to say cruel - aspects of her policies has been the relentless way in which she has fought against the poor, in the Victorian belief that the more you kick and trample them, the more likely they are to fight for themselves. And that is what they are doing: next time they might well win by finally getting rid of the most reactionary government Britain has known since the war.

This book is very valuable. It gives a complete analysis of the 'reforms' the Conservative governments have been imple-



Adam Hinton/Impact Photos

menting in the welfare sector. The cumulative effect is staggering.

For example, the government's official estimates of the effects of the 1986 Social Security Act, finally published in October 1987, showed that the net effect of all the changes would be to leave more people worse off than better off (3.65 million would be worse off, against 3.19 million who would be better off). Among the losers were over two million old-age pensioners, who bore the brunt of the cuts. In global terms the reforms meant cutting £650 million, over 12 per cent of the annual budget, from housing benefits; one million recipients lost all entitlement; and altogether 720,000 stood to gain while 5.69 million stood to lose.

The details of where the cuts fell gave the government no comfort. Of the 5.6 million losers, almost three million were pensioners, many because they fell foul of the new capital limit - penalised precisely because they had done what they had been urged to do many times by Tory politicians and saved for their retirement. A further one million losers were couples with children, both in and out of work, and over a million were lone parents with children.

As usual, the uproar brought some changes, the government trying to show how human it was, but - in the government's own estimate - only 300,000 people were to be given any protection at all. The meagreness of this protection was plainly visible from two simple facts; it cost only £70 million, which, taking into account the £30 million given back through raising the capital limit, still left cuts of £550 million.

The same thing happened with child benefits, which are now means-tested. The government has been very efficient in publicising their figures whenever they showed even minute increases, but very much less so when they led to cuts, the more usual result. It is the same sad - very sad - story for the young unem-

ployed, the board and lodgings payments, the poor, the disabled, sickness benefits, free school meals and pensions (in January 1984 the total state pension in Britain was worth 26 per cent of average earnings, compared with 60 per cent in France and Belgium and 50 per cent in West Germany; in November 1978, the basic single person's pension was worth 20.4 per cent of average male earnings; by November 1985 it had dropped to 19.2 per cent. It could then continue to fall to 12.5 per cent by 2000, and to 10 per cent by 2025. As the SSAC pointed out in its Sixth Report, it would then be 'significantly less than the relative value at any time since 1948'). The methods used to diminish, by all available means, the number of unemployed are beyond belief. In one incident related in the book, one woman was even told that her doctor had given her a false medical certificate, being a 'socialist Jew who reads the Guardian'.

To put it in a nutshell, in the March 1988 budget, the British Chancellor gave away over £2,000 million to 750,000 of the richest taxpayers; every one was an unequivocal gainer. This means that in the spring of 1988 the government had £2,500 million to give away. It gave 83 per cent to the 750,000 richest people in the country - an average gain of £54 a week each; it gave the remaining 17 per cent to the 4,770,000 poorest people in the country - an average gain of £1.70 a week each.

This book certainly helps to concentrate one's mind on the reality of Thatcherism. It says a lot for the profound democratic penchant of the British that they have put up with all this for such a long time. But revolt is gathering pace. It certainly looks as if, next time round, the voters will finally take the decision to 'see her off'.

*Axel Queval is a member of the international secretariat of the French Socialist Party*

**European Union and the Democratic Deficit**

by David Martin MEP

London, The John Wheatley Centre, 1990, ISBN 1 87311800

A passionate argument in favour of more powers for the European Parliament from one of Scotland's leading socialists. Almost too many ideas crammed into a very short pamphlet but, with further institutional change in Europe inevitable, it is heartening to see that it is the Left which is running hardest to shape the future.

**Women's Asia**

by Yayori Matsui

London, Zed Books, 1990, ISBN 0 86232 827 8

A harrowing inventory of the poverty and oppression endured by women all over Asia. Not an easy read, but plenty of good stories about how women are organising themselves to fight back against both old tradition and modern exploitation. Good photographs.

**Literacy and Power: the Latin American Battleground**

by David Archer and Patrick Costello

London, Earthscan, 1990, ISBN 1 85383 042 9

A learned review of the radicalising power of literacy among Latin America's poor. Clearly a labour of love for its two committed authors, this is a sociological as well as a political study. An unusual and welcome perspective on how the poor are equipping themselves to take control of their lives.

J.M.

How can you be up to date on international politics if you don't read *Socialist Affairs*?

The Socialist International represents 91 democratic socialist parties and organisations worldwide ...

those parties are supported by more than 200,000,000 voters ...

*Socialist Affairs*, the quarterly journal of the Socialist International, is read around the globe ...

contributors to *Socialist Affairs* range from Willy Brandt to Michael Manley.

## Socialist Affairs



AND WOMEN & POLITICS

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Annual subscription rates:  
United Kingdom £12  
Other countries £15 or US\$25

Please enter my subscription to **Socialist Affairs** for one year

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose a cheque or international money order made payable to The Socialist International for

£/US\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Please charge my Access/Mastercard/Visa account  
(Please note that all credit card payments will be charged at pounds sterling rate)

Number \_\_\_\_\_

Expiry date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Please return this form to:

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

## LETTERS

The collapse of the traditional political structure in the Soviet Union has released all the basic social forces: nationalism, religion, environmental preoccupations, which had until then been restricted or suppressed.

The absence of democracy had prevented any legal expression of social currents and aspirations, ruthlessly destroying any opposition, denying basic human rights.

Now these currents have emerged with a vengeance. Nationalism, which in the naive 1930s was described as about to vanish for ever, has appeared with renewed force. All over the world, national, ethnic and religious groups are aspiring to renew and redefine their specific identity. Many of the regional conflicts are partially rooted in this craving for specificity. Nationalism, if not dealt with rationally, may prove to be a destabilising factor, unless it can be integrated into the internationalisation of economic relations. As in Europe, the solution may lie in a dual situation: an economic community with a loose political framework, and a national, cultural, historical identity preserved by autonomy - a Europe of regions.

Religion has appeared again: 'Christ has risen!', a monk shouted to Gorbachev at the 1 May demonstration. In my opinion, this expresses a basic feeling of loneliness and fear at the end of the twentieth century, in the face of inscrutable social forces; a feeling of frustration and of having no real influence. The crisis of rationality appears here in its purest form.

When the heavy hand of Moscow was lifted, eastern Europe emerged again in all its complexity. Fear vanished, and the people took power in their hands. It was a nearly bloodless revolution, save in tragic Romania.

In all the diverse countries of eastern Europe we can discern two basic trends. One is a radical movement to the right, based on an upsurge of romantic - and ethnocentric - nationalism and a naive belief in the miraculous capacities of the free market economy. Looking at the shop windows in the West, many take this remedy for granted.

The other trend is based on the fear that this radical change will destroy the existing social security network, and bring unemployment and soaring prices, and a widening of economic and social differentials. This fear could bring about a backlash against change, a longing to retreat to the old, even totalitarian systems.

It is the task of the emerging social democratic and socialist forces to provide an answer to those two trends by linking democracy and freedom with social responsibility, with new, flexible economic measures, and with the preservation of the basic social network, thus gaining popular support.

It is also an urgent task of the democratic socialist parties linked with the Socialist International to build a new bridge between the emerging states, by tempering the legitimate search for national identity with an inherently internationalist approach, based on moral values, and on the necessities of international economic cooperation.

**Arie Jaffe**

MAPAM, Tel Aviv, Israel

It was good for the last number of *Socialist Affairs* to highlight Liberación's commitment to women's rights in Costa Rica. You omitted however to mention the name of the late President Figueres as an architect of that strategy.

**Flora Gomes R.**

San José, Costa Rica

(An appreciation of José Figueres appears on page 24)

## **SI COUNCIL TO MEET FOR FIRST TIME IN NEW YORK**

*For the first time in the history of the Socialist International, the Council is meeting in New York, as agreed by the International in Cairo in May. The Council will be in session on 8 and 9 October and will be chaired by Willy Brandt, president of the SI.*

The SI Council, which comes together twice a year, is the organisation's sovereign body during the period between triennial Congresses. It is attended by representatives of all SI member parties and fraternal organisations and by invited guests from parties and organisations with which the SI maintains a dialogue.

There will be two main themes for the meeting. The first, 'Bridging the North-South Divide: New Economic Relations for the 1990s', will be a chance for SI leaders to review what progress has been

made in North-South relations in recent years and examine the prospects for the rest of this decade.

The second main theme will be 'East-West: Common Security' which will allow SI leaders to examine the new possibilities for peace and security which are emerging now the Cold War is over. The meeting will be able to draw on the experience of Brandt, original author of the Ostpolitik of the Federal Republic and on the knowledge of leaders of social democratic and labour parties in western

Europe, other parts of the developed world and developing nations. The discussions will take place in the light of the rapidly developing political changes in eastern Europe. Contributions are expected from leaders of Socialist International member parties, including those which have recently resumed their political activities in eastern Europe.

There will, too, be opportunities to discuss regional problems and the crisis occasioned by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

## **SI STUDY GROUP ON AFRICA MEETS IN LISBON**

The Socialist International Study Group on Africa, SISGA, held a meeting in Lisbon on 12 July, hosted by the Portuguese Socialist Party and chaired by Jorge Sampaio, general secretary of the Portuguese party and mayor of Lisbon. The meeting was attended by the SI secretary general and by representatives of SI member parties in Brazil, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Madagascar, Portugal, Senegal and Sweden, and of Socialist International Women. The Democratic and Socialist Interafrican was also represented at the meeting.

Following the meeting, the SI Study Group issued a statement.

### **STATEMENT**

On July 12 in Lisbon, the SI Study Group on Africa met to review current developments in that continent and to agree on a programme of activities for the future.

The meeting, chaired by Jorge Sampaio, included representatives from a number of SI member parties in Europe, Africa and Latin America.

The meeting of the Study Group analysed current processes of democratisation and political changes taking place in several countries of the African continent.

In the context of the meeting, a number of representatives of parties from Africa were also available for informal exchanges of views and information with the members of the Committee.

In relation to future activities, the Study Group will continue the close cooperation developed by the SI during the last decades with different political parties and forces in Africa.

The Study Group will intensify and develop further this cooperation in the light of political changes taking place in Africa.

The Study Group agreed on a programme of action to be carried out in Africa in the next two years, including the visit of several SI missions to a number of countries and the holding of a special conference in 1991 to examine, with those political forces striving for peace, democracy and development in the continent, the crucial issues of today which concern us all.

The conference will be dedicated to the theme: 'The Africa of the Future'.

The meeting reiterated the commitment and solidarity of the Socialist International with all those mobilised today in Africa for those aims and goals.

## **STATEMENT ON THE GULF CRISIS**

*At the SI Party Leaders' Meeting held in Tampere on 5 September, immediately preceding the Disarmament Conference, the following statement was adopted:*

The Socialist International condemns the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and the refusal of Iraq to abide by the decisions of the United Nations Security Council. We call upon all parties concerned to comply strictly with these decisions, and urge the UN to step up its activities to solve this conflict.

There must be an immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwaiti territory so that Kuwait may have its legitimate government, and the release of all foreign nationals held hostage by the Iraqi regime.

We call for maximum support for action in the

framework of the United Nations, including effective international sanctions. This is the only way to ensure a peaceful solution of the conflict, and thereby to avoid unnecessary escalation and human suffering. In particular, recognising the financial and material consequences of compliance with economic sanctions for neighbouring states and those whose workers were formerly employed in Iraq and Kuwait, we call upon the UN to organise appropriate assistance and the necessary humanitarian aid for refugees in the area.

It is now vital that the international community

shows resolve in the face of Iraqi aggression and threats of violence.

In order to create favourable conditions for peace and stability, chemical arsenals must be dismantled, the development of biological and nuclear capabilities must be stopped, and new political initiatives should be taken to support freedom, self-determination and social justice in the Middle East.

It is also important that the Iraqi aggression is not used in other countries to inspire the development of permanent militarisation in the region.

## **SI INQUIRY INTO THE MURDER OF HECTOR OQUELI AND HILDA FLORES**

On 12 January this year, Héctor Oquelí and Hilda Flores were kidnapped and murdered in Guatemala. Oquelí was under-secretary general of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, the Salvadorean member party of the Socialist International and was secretary of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean. Flores was a Guatemalan lawyer and a member of the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, of Guatemala, also a member party of the SI.

The Guatemalan government issued an interim report on the crimes in February and a second report in May.

In April, Luis Ayala, the SI secretary general, on behalf of the organisation, asked Professor Tom Farer, former president of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organisation of American States to evaluate the character of the Guatemalan government's efforts. This he did in conjunction with his colleague at the American University in Wash-

ington DC, Professor Robert Kogod Goldman, who holds the chair of Law. Both are directors of the Americas Watch, the non-governmental human rights organisation based in the United States. Professor Farer is an independent Democrat and Professor Goldman is a member of the Republican Party.

The professors in their investigation had access to senior figures in the Guatemalan administration and conclude that the most plausible hypothesis is that the two assassinations were carried out on behalf of, if not by, elements of the Salvadorean Right. 'It is equally plausible', they add, 'that they achieved their ends with the assistance and support of Guatemalans, including persons associated with the nation's security forces'.

Among their final observations and conclusions, they say:

'1. The second (government) report, like its predecessor, is gravely flawed. So transparent are its contradictions, omissions and non-sequiturs, we are

moved to wonder whether President Vinicio Cerezo intends it to be taken seriously.

'2. If the report accurately reflects the character of the investigation conducted by the Guatemalan authorities in an announced effort to identify the authors and organisers of this vile crime, then the investigation is equally flawed. Those flaws are so evident that one could reasonably conclude that this was an investigation designed to fail.

'3. It is not clear whether the report does fully reflect the investigative efforts of the government. An impartial observer, the FBI agent Joseph Gannon, who was sent from the US in response to the Guatemalan government's expressed interest in securing technical assistance, has told us that the police officers directly responsible for the investigation were attempting to fulfil their responsibilities in a professional manner. Their effort appeared to be inhibited, frustrated or circumvented at higher levels.'



Pertti Paasio

## CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

*The third SI Conference on Disarmament was held in Tampere, Finland, on 5 - 6 September 1990, at the invitation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party.*

The conference was convened at a time of mingled optimism at the ending of the Cold War and crisis precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

In the words of SI president Willy Brandt, speaking at the Conference opening: 'The world has moved in the direction of common security - more than even optimists expected only a few years ago. But it was, of course, an illusion to expect that the end of the Cold War would mean an end to military threat and blatant violence.'

Brandt went on to speak with hope of the emerging greater role of the United Nations thanks to East-West détente, of the need for maximum support for the UN - as always advocated by the Socialist International, and of the equally important role of regional security systems. An all-European security system was at present a vision, he said, but one which could be realised within the next decade, perhaps through the transformation and

**The peace dividend is in sight - and should be shared jointly.**

*Willy Brandt*

institutionalisation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

He welcomed the slow but noticeable change in the stance of NATO, the acknowledgement of an end to the Cold War and the offer to Warsaw Pact countries of a joint declaration of non-aggression. However, of particular concern was the new basic NATO strategy currently under preparation. Information on early drafts

indicated a modification of the flexible response strategy from early "first use" of nuclear weapons to one at a later stage. But this would fall far short of the fundamental strategic change which had long been on the agenda of the Socialist International. In the light of the dramatic change in Europe, options on "keeping nuclear weapons up to date" or scenarios with (air-launched) "longer-ranged sub-strategic nuclear weapons" should be obsolete, he continued.

Turning to the dramatic developments in his own country, Brandt expressed the view that 'the foreign dimension of German unification can be mastered in a shorter period of time than the mounting domestic problems - contrary to what I expected.' NATO membership for the united Germany had not complicated, but rather eased the salient security issues. The 'Two-plus-Four' talks, and the positive attitude of the Soviet Union in

particular, had helped to influence NATO in a constructive manner. He looked forward to the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from outside the Soviet Union and the drastic reduction of US, French and British troops on German territory over the next few years, together with further reductions in German military forces, all this paving

environmental challenges that demand a comprehensive approach to common security.' For example, 'anyone who has recently had close contacts with any of the central and eastern European countries will know what the words economic breakdown, ecological stress, social tension and rising nationalism actually mean... Broad-based western assistance for reconstruction and development is urgently needed, otherwise the technological and socio-economic East-West gap will be widening, and unemployment and poverty will lead to large-scale migration - all in all serious threats to peace and stability in Europe.'

Whilst strongly advocating European cooperation, Brandt ended with a plea for a wider, world vision: 'In view of the fading East-West struggle for Southern influence and the good prospects for disarmament, the opportunities for global action should not be missed. The peace dividend is in sight - and should be shared jointly. Some people might comment, "forget about the peace dividend, it will disappear in regions like the Gulf and in naval armament". We should strongly reject this cynical notion and insist on the freeing of military resources for human betterment.'

Speaking on behalf of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council - whose chairman, SI vice president Kalevi Sorsa was prevented by illness from attending the Conference - Pertti Paasio, chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party and foreign minister of Finland, reviewed the long-stated aims of the Socialist International in the field of disarmament. Last year at the SI Congress in Stockholm, he recalled, 'we called for a 50 per cent cut in both conventional and nuclear weapons. These goals have not yet been achieved, but the negotiations in most fields of

**It should not be a question of disarming the North only to arm the South**

*Joseph Mathiam*

disarmament are proceeding well.' Current objectives which were certainly shared by SI member parties included 'an early conclusion of the START (Strategic Arms Reduction) treaty, a 50 per cent cut in strategic nuclear weapons, combined with meaningful measures relating to cruise missiles ... a commonly agreed halt to nuclear testing and decisive progress towards a comprehensive test ban... The first phase of the CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) treaty must be achieved quickly... A comprehensive convention on the total ban of chemical and bacteriological weapons should also be negotiated and further progress made in regional confidence- and security-building measures.'

He went on to stress that 'the current situation in the Persian Gulf has once more underlined the need for reduction of the international transfer of arms. All countries should show responsibility and not sell arms to the parties of conflict. Transparency should be accepted as a goal in international arms transfers.'

'It is a hard rule of logic that arms are made for use. Economies heavily based on arms production and trade can never provide a firm foundation for well-being.'

'Prospects for controlling the massive arms trade have now improved, with better super-power relations, and



*Takako Doi*

the way to an all-European security system.

In a broader context, he went on to speak of 'security dimensions that are gaining in importance on a global scale: the economic, social and

**We now recall the many missed appointments with history for consolidating peace**

*Paolo Vitorelli*

this is certainly welcome.'

He also expressed concern about the naval arms build-up in the northern seas. 'Negotiations on the reduction of naval armed forces must finally be accepted as a part of the international disarmament agenda... confidence- and security-building measures at sea and naval mechanisms of verification should be developed.'

Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, speaking at the Conference opening, had also stressed that 'it is not possible to build peace and security through disarmament only through some dimensions... Naval forces must also be included. Disarmament in this field has scarcely begun. This is serious because more than every fourth nuclear weapon is earmarked for maritime use.'

Whilst hailing the hopeful developments of recent months, with the new climate between East and West, Carlsson also spoke of the huge risks implicit in the present situation in the Middle East: risks of further polarisation between Islam and Christianity and Judaism, between rich and poor, between North and South; of a new period of confrontation, just as East-West détente was becoming a reality. However, he still saw some cause for hope: 'Imagine what could have happened if the old antagonism between the super-powers still existed... We could have had a 'red alert' for a nuclear war, with the Soviet Union and the United States opposing each other in this conflict.'

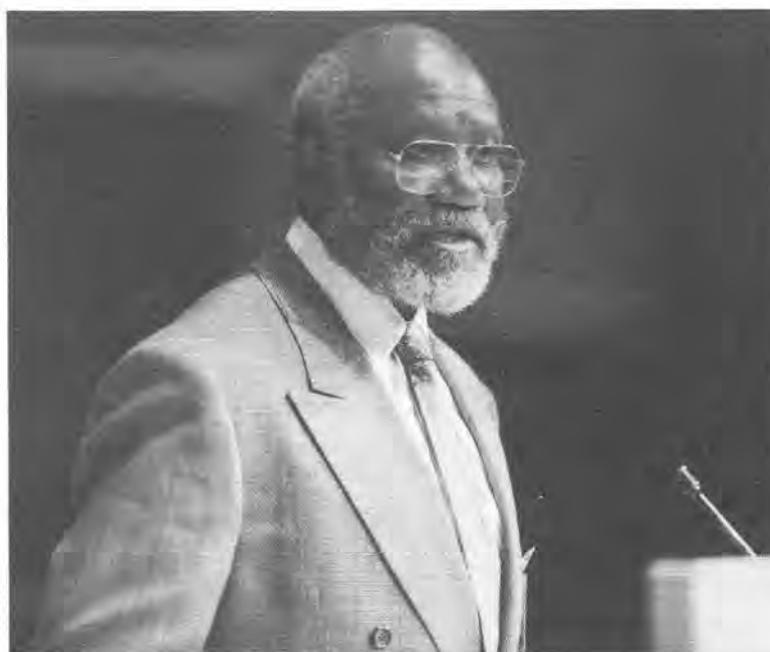
'Instead, we have a situation where the United States and the Soviet Union are cooperating in the United Nations. And the Security Council has unanimously adopted decisions on immediate and effective sanctions against Iraq.'

'This is positive not only for the solution of the present conflict, but also for the very

idea of common security ... which has been a cornerstone in the thinking of democratic socialists for generations. This is what we worked for in the League of Nations and when the United Nations was founded.

'And this is what Olof Palme talked about when he wanted to activate the United Nations during the eighties.'

year, 1975, the Vietnam war had ended. However, 'the end of one war was too weak to sustain peace.' Today, she went on, 'in the forefront of a changing world, stands Europe. And will Asia once again be left behind in the change? Comrades and friends, my answer is no. We, in Asia are also seeing many favourable developments. Not



*Andimba  
Toivo ja  
Toivo*

The Conference was also addressed by Takako Doi, leader of the Socialist Party of Japan. Recalling that 1990 marked the 15th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, she also recalled that in the same

only is the new Soviet thinking in diplomacy reaching this region, but also China has recently normalised relations with former foes, Indonesia and Singapore. The United States has started a dialogue with Vietnam, which implies progress toward the settlement of Cambodian disputes and the reconciliation of the Cambodian people. Mongolia is undergoing gradual democratisation. In the Korean Peninsula, serious efforts are being made for the reunification of the Korean people, as demonstrated by the meeting of the prime ministers of North and South Korea which began on 4 September.' Changes in Asia were limited, she

**The UN has  
become a  
much more  
vital  
organisation**

*Ingvar Carlsson*

## **TOWARDS GLOBAL SECURITY**

### **Statement of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council**

The peoples of Europe have torn down the walls separating them into hostile camps. The cold war between East and West has come to an end. Security can now be built on new foundations. Structures of peaceful cooperation and interaction are more essential than ever. Measures implementing the ideas of common security and shared responsibility can and must now be forged into a new system of security. The construction on more solid foundations of a system of international security permits greater respect for human beings and the environment, cultural identity and interaction, economic and technological cooperation.

The Socialist International and its member parties are working for a comprehensive, dynamic and continuous process of security-building to replace obsolete lines of confrontation. We strongly endorse the already concluded and the forthcoming results of the arms control and disarmament talks and call for further action in this field. Together with recent political developments they provide the opportunity to create a new system of security, more safe and less antagonistic than the previous one.

We welcome the positive changes in Europe, which could inspire similar developments to solve conflicts in other parts of the world. The central framework for building European security in common is the CSCE process. Until recently CSCE had been a series of conferences and meetings. Now it should be strengthened by institution-building including mechanisms for crisis management and mediation of conflicts. The SI supports the setting up of a permanent political body, in the framework of the CSCE, bringing together the existing alliances and other countries to coordinate all-European activities for the strengthening of security and mutual confidence. The political leadership, responsible for

strategic issues, should be assisted by a permanent expert body dealing with issues of inspection and verification.

There should be a speedy conclusion of the first phase of the CFE negotiations and an ensuing process of further drastic reductions of conventional forces, and the ultimate elimination of short-range nuclear forces. This process should include the development and extension of confidence- and security-building measures. The parties should consider sharing responsibility in the solution of social and economic problems created by disarmament and withdrawal of troops.

During the transitory period before the comprehensive security system has been instituted, also the existing military institutions should be open for mutual contacts. They should enter into agreements and arrangements bridging the time-lag to the all-European system of security. In this context, it is necessary to urgently deal with any remaining conflicts in this area.

While the end of the cold war in Europe will promote global peace, it does not necessarily produce immediate results everywhere.

In many areas of the world, tensions, crises, territorial problems and even armed conflicts are still part of everyday realities. Efforts for the solution of these problems are urgently needed for building confidence and peace. The SI welcomes the moves towards peaceful solutions in some conflict areas such as South-East Asia and Southern Africa, and conversations between South and North Korea in the Korean peninsula but deplores the continuing use of force in many parts of the world such as in the recent attempt at annexation of one member state of the United Nations by another.

In the gradual global dismantling of military forces, it is important to discuss the implementation of new security doctrines and the conversion from military to civil research and production; the reallocation of resources for peaceful purposes,

such as development and environmental projects in the developing countries; and environmental protection in general. Enhanced environmental protection requires not only new standards but also the development of international mechanisms of monitoring and control. Global security can only be achieved if economic and social conditions in the world are more equal.

Disrespect for human rights, including minority rights, poses serious threats to security. There should be a comprehensive and effective system of protecting human rights including the protection of ethnic, religious and other minorities.

The Socialist International emphasises the new situation which occurs for the United Nations due to the ending of the cold war, and the possibility to play effectively the role assigned to it by the UN Charter. The SI strongly supports the UN in its efforts to find a solution to regional and global conflicts. This should include a system of early warning of crises and conflicts, activities of mediation and fact-finding, peace-keeping operations and, if need be, sanctions and procedures envisaged by Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Recent developments have shown that there is an urgent need for increased openness and restraint in the international transfer of arms, military technology and military know-how. For this purpose the UN must set up an information system on international arms transfers.

In the final analysis, peace and prosperity can only be guaranteed in a framework of internationally recognised human rights and humanitarian principles. Despotic regimes in different parts of the world not basing their authority on the free will of the people invariably cause underdevelopment, suffering and crises. The international community, in particular the United Nations, must resolutely take action to guarantee the right to self-determination, and to have a legitimate government conforming to the will of the people and respecting human and minor-

acknowledged, compared with in Europe, but were steady and firm. In this context, Australia and Canada had proposed, at the last foreign ministers' meeting of ASEAN (Japan, the USA, Canada and Australia), the holding of a conference on security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

'The Asia-Pacific region',

she continued, '... includes socialist and capitalist countries, advanced and developing economies. It is a region where peace and development issues are intertwined. Therefore we might start with setting up sub-regional security and cooperation conferences, then we should combine them into one conference covering the

whole Asia-Pacific region at the final stage. To this end, the establishment of a security system in the North-West Pacific region, where the USA and USSR maritime nuclear forces are concentrated, is most crucial.'

Speaking on the Gulf crisis, Doi stressed that the priority was to force Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait by peaceful, non-

ity rights.

In the building of global peace and security, it is important to conclude as early as possible the on-going disarmament negotiations and to set new agendas for the future. The SI reiterates its call for a speedy conclusion of a START treaty, and the continuation and strengthening of the ABM treaty. The SI welcomes the US-Soviet agreement on chemical weapons, but reiterates its call for a total worldwide ban. The SI calls for urgent and effective measures to prevent the circumvention of the existing treaties banning biological weapons. The SI reiterates its demand for a halt to nuclear testing and for positive results at the NPT review conference this year to reaffirm and strengthen the non-proliferation regime beyond 1995. Effective measures are necessary to prevent the proliferation of missiles and other sophisticated military technology.

A comprehensive disarmament agenda should include studies and negotiations on naval arms control, both globally and regionally, confidence- and security-building measures at sea, the development of verification of naval arms control and the reduction and ultimate elimination of tactical nuclear weapons based at sea.

In some parts of the world, particular attention should also be paid to the balance of sea and land based forces.

With the end of the cold war the time has come to turn all our energies to the construction of a new global order. The SI appeals to all governments, social movements and individuals everywhere to work together to achieve peace and justice for all humanity.

Tampere, 7 September 1990

military means. 'The real force to make Iraq withdraw is more than military strength. The real force is the united will of the international community... Conspicuous demonstration of military strength sometimes produces unnecessary provocation, and multiplies hatred. Therefore, together with military demonstration, dialogue and

negotiations should be pursued to a maximum extent. In this regard, the initiative taken by the UN secretary general and the Arab countries must be respected, so that western nations should refrain from unilateral actions.

'While we seek the solution of such urgent issues as release of hostages, withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government', she concluded, 'we must approach the long-term issues underlying the whole Middle East crisis: Palestine-Israel disputes, prohibition of chemical weapons, denuclearisation of the region, and the establishment of an international consultative institution where both producers and consumers are represented.'

Among the guests attending the Conference was Valentin Falin, secretary of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party and director of its international department. He paid tribute to the work of the Socialist International and many of its leaders over recent years: 'during all those years of political stagnation, Europe's democratic forces continued to lay the basis for another detente. Special mention in this context should be made of the Palme Commission and of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council.' Assessing the situation today, he said that 'the CPSU welcomes the positive trends in Europe ...', whilst also warning: 'The revolutionary changes are not only multiplying the potential of renewal and helping to resolve the prevailing contradictions and abolish Europe's spiritual division. They also carry a negative charge and consequently a certain instability. Differences and contradictions of a national, ethnic and territorial nature that have been smouldering beneath the surface, are coming into the open ...

'New challenges to European

security are also springing up outside the continent. While countries that took part in the CSCE have made relatively good headway in acknowledging that methods of military violence are unacceptable in resolving European disputes, main force is still being actively used as a political instrument in other regions.

'The latest tragic example is the events in the Persian Gulf. The main objective today is to prevent further bloodshed and do everything that can be done to untie the knot by political means under United Nations auspices.'

Another guest at the Conference was Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, general secretary of SWAPO of Namibia. Speaking poignantly of the recent experience of his own people, he recalled 'the hundreds of heroic sons and daughters, friends and comrades lost in the colonial war imposed upon our people'.

'Today, as an independent nation', he continued, 'we can tell what is the price of freedom and peace, an asset which we dare not lose again.'

He went on to applaud the decision of the ANC to suspend the armed struggle in South Africa in order to facilitate the negotiation process, and to appeal for the redirection of resources from military expenditure to development: 'In the "third world" countries, millions are starving from disease, hunger and poverty. How many more schools, hospitals and research institutes could be built if only a substantial portion of the astronomical expenditure for military purposes could be spent on socially beneficial projects?'

Kari Tapiola, representing the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, spoke of the importance of planning, negotiation and involving all concerned, including the workers, in conversion of the

**Continues on page 37**

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Socialist International

Willy Brandt  
Luis Ayala

### MEMBER PARTIES

#### AUSTRIA

Socialist Party of Austria, SPOe  
Werner Brandtner

#### CHILE

Radical Party, PR  
Carlos Parra

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party  
Jan Hendrych

#### DENMARK

Social Democratic Party  
Lasse Budtz

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD  
José Francisco Peña Gómez

#### ECUADOR

Democratic Left Party, PID  
Byron Morejón Almeida

#### EGYPT

National Democratic Party, NDP  
Hosny Saad El Din El Agizy

#### FINLAND

Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Pertti Paasio  
Ulpu Iivari  
Jouko Elo  
Tuula Haatainen  
Markku Hyvärinen  
Tarja Kantola  
Unto Vesa  
Pentti Väänänen

#### FRANCE

Socialist Party, PS  
Gérard Fuchs  
Jean-Pierre Maulny  
Jean-Yves Le Drian

#### GERMANY

Social Democratic Party, SPD - Federal  
Republic of Germany  
Hans-Ulrich Klose  
Veronika Isenberg  
Wolfgang Biermann

Social Democratic Party, SPD - German

Democratic Republic  
Markus Meckel  
Stefan Finger

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The Labour Party  
Martin O'Neill  
Mike Gapes

#### GREECE

Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK  
Pericles Nearchou  
Nicos Kouris

#### HUNGARY

Social Democratic Party of Hungary  
Mihály Berki

#### ICELAND

Social Democratic Party of Iceland  
Gunnar Gunnarsson

#### ISRAEL

Israel Labour Party  
Israel Gat

#### ITALY

Italian Socialist Party, PSI  
Paolo Vittorelli

#### JAPAN

Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP  
Sachiko Taguchi

#### JAPAN

Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ  
Takako Doi  
Issei Inoue  
Sukio Iwatara  
Minoru Mizuta  
Tadatoshi Akiba  
Mitsuhiro Uezumi  
Hisao Ikeuchi

#### LEBANON

Progressive Socialist Party, PSP  
Walid Jumblatt

#### MALTA

Malta Labour Party  
Joe Brincat

#### NETHERLANDS

Labour Party, PvdA  
Marjanne Sint  
Bram Stemerding

#### NORWAY

Norwegian Labour Party, DNA  
Helen Bøsterud  
Ingrid Norstein

#### SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal  
Joseph Mathiam

#### SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE  
Barbara Dührkop

#### SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP  
Ingvar Carlsson  
Gunnar Lassinantti

#### SWITZERLAND

Social Democratic Party of Switzerland  
Heinrich Buchbinder

#### TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD  
Tahar Sioud

### CONSULTATIVE PARTIES

#### CYPRUS

EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus  
Panos Hadjiyannis  
Marios Christofines

#### TUNISIA

Popular Unity Movement, MUP  
Tijani Harcha

### SOCIALIST UNION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, SUCEE

#### ESTONIA

Estonian Socialist Party  
Vello Saatpalu

#### LATVIA

Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP  
Andrei Garianis  
Ivars Streipa

#### LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSPUD  
Kazimieras Antanavicius  
Voldemaras Katkus

### FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS

International Falcon Movement/  
Socialist Educational International,  
IFM/SEI  
Saara Maria Paakinen

### International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY

Ricard Torrell  
Martina Naujoks  
Anette Berentzen  
Juha Eskelinen  
Tarja Filatov

### Socialist International Women, SIW

Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

### ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

Socialist Group, European Parliament  
Vagelis Lepouras

### GUESTS

Non-Aligned Movement  
Vladislav Jovanovic  
Olga Sukovic

#### COLOMBIA, PL

Luis Carlos Villegas

#### NAMIBIA

SWAPO  
Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo

#### USSR

Valentin Falin  
Viktor Starodubov  
Viktor Rikin  
Yevgenij Lagutshin  
Igor Makietshev  
Valery Dmitriev

#### ZAMBIA

UNIP  
J. V. B. Mukupa

#### ICFTU

Kari Tapiola

Social Democratic Association  
of the USSR  
Oleg Abolin

**Continued from page 35**

armaments industry to alternative, non-military production, and of the important role which the International Labour Office could play here. He also raised the question of trade union involvement in the verification of compliance with disarmament treaties: 'Who is better placed than the workers in the production itself to verify, for example, compliance with a convention outlawing the production of chemical weapons?'

A further aspect of the debate was raised by IUSY vice president Martina Naujoks. She evoked the personal experience of young socialists and others in many countries who were refusing military service, and appealed to all democratic socialist parties

and governments to support conscientious objectors and their right to offer peaceful service useful to their own or to developing societies.

Special words of appreciation for the Socialist International came from Luis Carlos Villegas, of the governing Liberal Party of Colombia. He recalled the role of a mission of the Socialist International in March of this year in the handover of arms by the M-19 guerrilla movement. The leadership of M-19 had signed a peace treaty with the Colombian government, witnessed by the Socialist International, and had subsequently taken part in general elections. One of their leaders was now a member of the cabinet - a hopeful and concrete example of the peaceful resolution of an

armed conflict.

He went on to strongly support what had earlier been said by Martina Naujoks and by SIW general secretary Maria Rodriguez-Jonas, on the subject of demilitarising and humanising our societies - an important, long-term basis for future peace and disarmament.

Following two days of wide-ranging discussions on disarmament issues, which had centred in particular on the three stated themes of this Conference: a new security system; disarmament for development - redirecting resources; and naval arms control, the SI Disarmament Advisory Council met in closed session on 7 September and adopted a statement entitled 'Towards Global Security' (see p.34).

## **SIDAC: TALKS IN MOSCOW**

Following a visit to Washington in May (*see SA 2/90, page 52*), a delegation of the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, visited Moscow on 30 - 31 August for talks on current arms control and disarmament negotiations, and on European and other security issues. The delegation was led by SI secretary general Luis Ayala and also included Unto Vesa, Markku Hyvärinen and Jouko Elo, Finnish Social Democratic Party, SPD; Uwe Stehr, Social Democratic Party, SPD, Federal Republic of Germany; Israel Gat, Labour Party, Israel; Sachiko Taguchi, Democratic

Socialist Party, DSP, Japan; Issei Inoue, Minoru Uezumi and Yoshihiro Sato, Socialist Party, SPJ, Japan; Gunnar Lassinantti, Social Democratic Party, SAP, Sweden, and Heinrich Buchbinder, Social Democratic Party, PSS, Switzerland.

The delegation held talks with a group of experts from the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Communist Party Central Committee and the Academy of Sciences, and in particular with Valentin Falin, Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and Director of its international department, who subsequently attended the SI Disarmament Conference in Tampere.

Discussions ranged over the

START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) negotiations, the Vienna talks, the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process, bilateral negotiations, chemical weapons, test ban treaties and reconversion of the armaments industry, with particular emphasis on future institutionalisation of the CSCE process and on the need for negotiations on naval disarmament.

On the crisis in the Gulf, both SI and Soviet representatives expressed strong support for the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Whilst in Moscow, members of the SI delegation also took the opportunity to meet officials of the Russian Social Democratic organisation.

## **FIRST SI MISSION TO THE BALTIC REPUBLICS**

The Socialist International sent a mission to the Baltic republics from 8 to 12 September, the first time this had been done since the International was re-founded in 1951.

The mission was headed by Luis Ayala, the SI secretary general, and included Ralf Pittelkow of the Danish Social Democratic Party, Jouko Elo of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, Hans-Eberhard Dingels of the Social Democratic Party of the German Federal Republic, Mike Gapes of the British Labour Party, Siri Bjerke of the Norwegian Labour Party, Barbara Dührkop of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and Conny Fredriksson of the Swedish Social Democratic Party.

The members of the mission met leaders of the parties represented in the parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Extensive talks were held with representatives and leaders of the re-established social democratic parties in the three republics.

In Vilnius, the mission held a meeting with the council of the re-established Social Democratic Party of Lithuania and was received by the leaders of the main political parties represented in the Supreme Council of the Republic and by President Vytautas Landsbergis.

The programme in Riga, the Latvian capital, included meetings with the social democratic leaders and discussions with A. Gorbunovs,

the president of the country's Supreme Council, with Janis Jurkans, the Latvian foreign minister, and with leaders of the Popular Front.

In Tallinn, the mission held meetings with the newly elected leadership of the Estonian social democrats, following a conference at which social democrats were united in forming a new single party. The mission was also received by Edgar Savisaar, prime minister of the Estonian republic and by deputies of the principal political forces in the Estonian Supreme Council.

A full report on the mission will be submitted to the SI Council meeting in New York in October.

### **HANS-EBERHARD DINGELS**



Hans-Eberhard Dingels of the German Social Democratic Party, SPD, one of the longest serving international secretaries in any Socialist International member party, celebrates his sixtieth birthday on 22 October. Born in Bonn many years before it became the capital of the Federal Republic, he is a committed Rheinlander, having gone to school in the town and studied law and political science at its university.

He joined the party at twenty-one, in the year he went to Bonn University. That same year he started his international career, becoming international secretary of the German branch of the Falcon

Movement. After graduating in 1957 he was appointed assistant in the foreign department of the SPD National Executive Committee, becoming its head and SPD representative to the bureau meetings of the SI four years later. He continued in the foreign department till 1980, when he was named to the newly-created post of international secretary of the party.

Thus, he has served his party as its senior international officer for the last 29 years.



**AUSTRIA AND THE MILITARY**

**GATEWAY TO THE FREE WEST?**

by **Johanna Dohnal**

When our European world was still in order, our country was often characterised as the gateway to the free west. To the north we have a border with Czechoslovakia, to the east with Hungary, and to the south with Yugoslavia. The order consisted of the so-called 'iron curtain', memories of the occupation after the Second World War until 1955 by the victorious powers (the USA, Great Britain, France and the USSR), the 1956 crisis in Hungary when 280,000 Hungarians fled to our country, the Prague Spring quashed in 1968 when tens of thousands of

Czechoslovaks also fled from the Red Army into our country (according to the Federal Ministry for Internal Affairs, between 21 August and 23 October 1968, 96,000 Czech citizens entered Austria from the CSSR and a further 66,000 Czechs entered Austria via Yugoslavia. Approximately 129,000 returned to their homeland).

Another part of this order was to describe NATO's gigantic stockpiling of weapons as modernisation. Those who did not see it that way, the peace movement for example, were described as one-sided. This meant blind to the threats from the East, that is the USSR. Measures aimed at building trust, unilateral advances on disarmament, demilitarised zones or even a Europe free of nuclear weapons were considered unrealistically utopian.

Another feature of our order was our neutrality status. In 1955 our country professed perpetual neutrality. What we professed was armed neutrality based on the Swiss model.

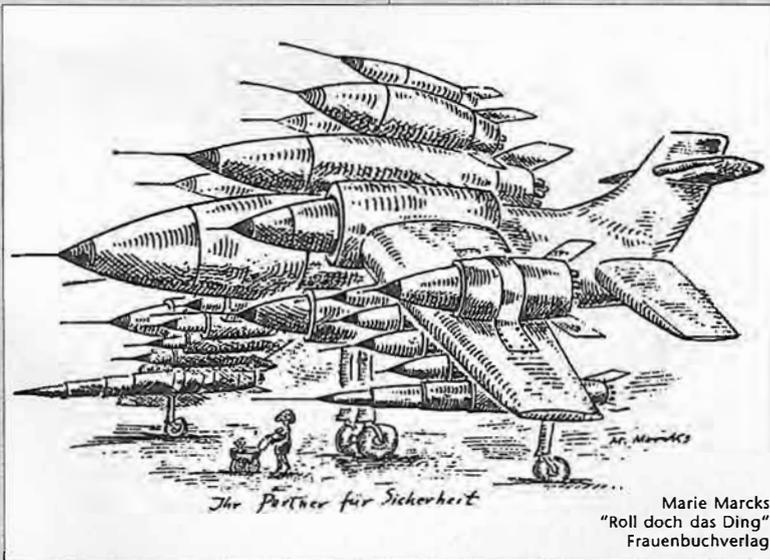
This had the following effect on our country: the establishment of an army (the Austrian Federal Armed Forces).

In consequence, it was claimed that a country that has its own army must also have its own arms production. But, as Austria is a very small country, weapons produced here must also for economic reasons be exported.

So, the export of weapons also took place, e.g. tanks to Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia; guns to Iran and Iraq, etc.

The peace movement protested. A spectacular hunger strike in Linz, Upper Austria, in which representatives of every political and religious grouping took part, was the stimulus for a major discussion of Austria's arms production and export industry. The plan at the time (1980) to export tanks to Chile was halted and the law on exporting weapons was tightened up.

In Austria at the moment, legal action is being taken against managers of the state-owned arms industry because of exports that break the law on neutrality.



Marie Marcks  
"Roll doch das Ding"  
Frauenbuchverlag

**Your partner for security**

**Publisher and Editor  
María Rodríguez-Jonas**

## WOMEN & POLITICS

### Austria and the military

40



*Don't they see anything  
or do they not want to  
see anything?*

But the ordered image has shifted in other ways too.

Rapid changes are taking place in the countries of our eastern neighbours. It can be assumed that a fundamental shift is taking place in these countries. Moving away from the previous form of society to a political, economic and social system that is essentially geared to the conditions of western Europe. And also, of course, to the politics of the western European nations.

The former dividing line between the varying social systems throughout Europe - a decisive factor in the political reality of the past - will become less and less significant. It will probably disappear entirely in the foreseeable future.

Put succinctly in Austrian terms, we have lost our enemy.

There are also some inner-Austrian aspects:

We have a sabre-rattling defence minister who wants to see more drilling and more military in the armed forces. He is also demanding a sinfully expensive rearmament programme for the army while at the same time the audit office has established that the ministry of defence has wasted large sums of money. This at a time when the country is considering and discussing the financial viability of state pensions. Today, the Austrian people view increased military spending as a waste.

80 percent of young men who leave the army after their military service have a negative view of the armed forces. Surveys also show that people are much more afraid of the war against nature than of scenarios of military threat. The ecological crisis is seen as a threat to our existence that transcends national borders.

At the autumn 1989 Austrian Socialist Party Conference, the Austrian Socialist Women put forward the following resolution:

*The National Party Conference calls for a comprehensive discussion on questions of Austrian peace and defence policy to take place before the next party conference. The National Party Conference also calls for the formulation of proposals for an active Austrian peace policy without a Federal Army...*

This resolution was unanimously approved.

## WOMEN & POLITICS

### Austria and the military

The Austrian Socialist Women have the following motives for doing this:

1. It is in keeping with military logic to think militarily rather than to act on the principle of a peace policy. However, military thinking cripples the imagination essential for a peace policy designed to avoid war.

The waste of public money on senseless weapons and a so-called defence system is nothing more than a socially untenable and socio-politically irresponsible male sandpit game.

2. Armies are in a state of distress in times of peace. This means nothing other than that continued peace and the fading of any external threat creates the problem of a sense of futility within the army and problems of self-legitimation in terms of the people in it.

This leads to scurrilous military considerations, some of which I would like to describe here.

Now that fewer and fewer men are willing to sign up long-term for the army, women are to be encouraged to. For emancipatory reasons, they say. Naturally, not to do armed service but as support system. This means nothing other than reproduction work under a military, masculine high command.

They are even considering the possibility of national service for women - though giving birth would naturally be grounds for exemption. Birth service versus military service?

A further example is that of environmental protection. Our army is now to have green berets. That is, in the absence of any obvious military threat the prime role of national defence is to protect the environment and prevent disaster. As if the hole in the ozone layer is going to get any smaller when faced with a general in full uniform or as if radar systems could be used against the poisoned air and dying forests. A new concept of border defence is being increasingly developed.

The federal army could secure the borders against the army of would-be immigrants and transit-travellers.

3. The army's education process is diametrically opposed to our understanding of democracy, equality, and equal rights.

It is unbelievable how it is possible for institutions such as armies to remain so unaltered through all the ages, all systems and all other possible changes. Always the same hero's puffed-out chest, the manly honour, image of the enemy, the concepts such as courage and cowardice:

*Militarism is the most purely preserved, the most hierarchical and patriarchal instrument in the male world. In every quarter it obeys the most outdated laws. It returns the men who join up to an infantile stage, never letting them come of age.*

*All the things that make up a personality are repressed. Instead, they are trained to blind obedience. And afterwards the young men are released into civil life.* (Hermin Hirsch in AUF N<sup>o</sup> 22).

I believe that militarism is not open to reform. The existence of armies and the existence of militarism are inextricably linked.

Militarism is the belief that wars can be waged, that war can be survived, that it is possible to achieve security through an army and civil defence. If life is to have a future then militarism must be abolished.

I believe the future lies in fundamentally anti-militarist positions. By this I mean an awareness, founded on the politics of peace, that wars and violent conflicts between nations and social groups are not a law of nature but are socio-historical phenomena.

The future is more than the mere continuation of the past. We must ask ourselves in the present what we still consider sensible from the stock of the past - and then only continue to do that which is sensible.

I do not believe that there is a single army that would pass this test of compatibility with the future. And that includes the Austrian Federal Armed Forces. ■

*Johanna Dohnal, born 1939 in Vienna. Industrial clerk. Vice-Chair of the Austrian Socialist Party. President of the Austrian Socialist Women since 1987. In 1979, Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky invited her to join the government - of which she is still a member - as Secretary of State for Women's Affairs.*

## **SWITZERLAND WITHOUT AN ARMY?**

by **Sonya Schmidt-Brugger**

### **HOW THE REFERENDUM CAME ABOUT**

The Switzerland Without an Army group (SWA) - the core made up of Young Socialists - launched its Campaign for a Switzerland without an army and for a comprehensive peace policy in March 1985. In September 1986, on the deadline, the campaign petition was handed in bearing 113,000 signatures (100,000 were required). Collecting the signatures demanded a great deal of moral courage as the collectors were insulted, stigmatised as traitors and hindered whilst canvassing. The fact that the initiators were doing no more than exercising a constitutional right was unbearable to leading figures in the military, business and politics. Banks refused to open a simple account for the SWA as an account for opponents of the army was not in keeping with the style and customs of the banks. By now we are all aware that Duvalier, Marcos and other dictators had no problems investing their money in Swiss banks.

The campaign had no chance at all in parliament; the vote there recommended that the Swiss people reject it, with 172 votes cast in favour, 13 against and 7 abstentions. No wonder. At the time the SWA petition was being dealt with, there were 1 brigadier, 10 colonels, 5 lieutenant colonels, 11 majors, 16 captains and 15 lieutenants in parliament, a total of 58 military officers out of 200 parliamentarians. Switzerland not only has an army militia but also a parliamentary militia.

### **THE CAMPAIGN TEXT**

Proposed new formulation of Articles 17 and 18 of the Federal Constitution:  
'Article 17. Switzerland does not have an army. The federation, cantons, communities and private individuals are forbidden to train or maintain military armed forces.'

Switzerland is developing a comprehensive peace policy which will strengthen the self-determination of the people and promote solidarity amongst nations.

The enactment of this clause of the constitution is a matter for the legislature.  
'Article 18. No clause of this constitution may be so interpreted as to presume or justify the existence of an army.'

### **THE RESULT OF THE REFERENDUM**

1,052,218 or 35.6 percent in favour, i.e. for the abolition of the army; 1,903,797 or 64.4 percent against, i.e. for maintaining the army.

Bern University's Research Centre for Swiss Politics analysed this result (VOX Analysis N° 38):

Starting from the assumption that the people were behind the army 'to a man', the authorities, politicians, pundits and probably a wide section of the population were expecting the referendum to be massively rejected.

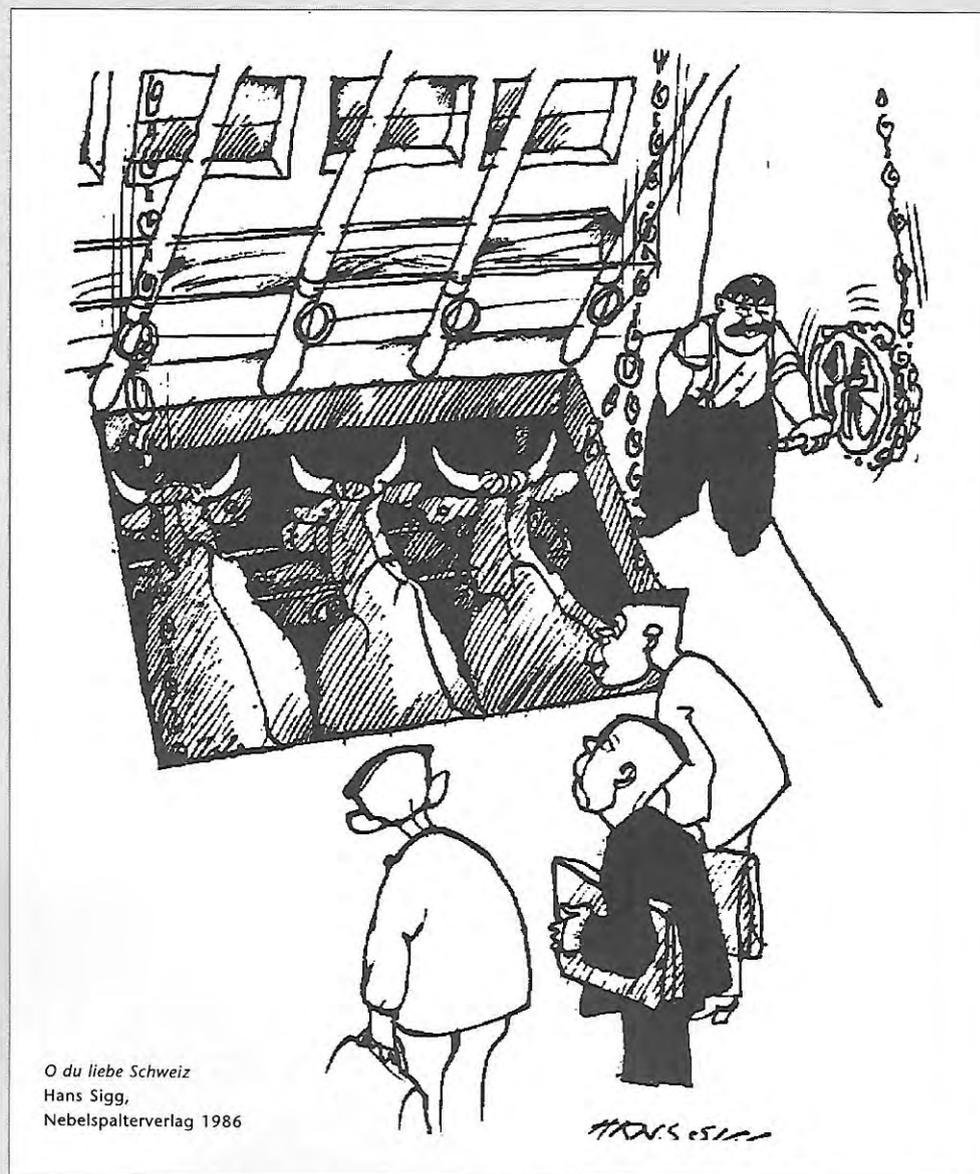
Accordingly, Switzerland appeared surprised, rattled or delighted on the

*On 26 November 1989 Swiss citizens went to the polls in a referendum on Switzerland Without an Army. This vote attracted a great deal of attention; what country can actually abolish its army by means of a referendum?*

## WOMEN & POLITICS

Switzerland

43



O du liebe Schweiz  
Hans Sigg,  
Nebelspalterverlag 1986

*"We have a total defence system, in an emergency even our farming industry can be hidden underground"*

evening of 26 November 1989. In the vote of the century, 64.4 percent had rejected the most radical demand since the founding of the Federal State; 35.6 percent had voted in favour of the second most important event in Europe this year after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The authorities rejected the campaign, because to abolish the army would be not only to ignore the lessons of history but would also have serious consequences for our country. Our State would be irresponsibly weakened in vital areas. It would no longer be able to execute its duties as an armed neutral force. Peace and freedom must be secured with both an effective army and an active peace policy. It is a mistake to play off these two complementary safeguards of our defence policy against each other.

Against this, the campaign's initiators argued:

- A war in Europe would be total and not survivable.
- The army destroys the aims of the State: peace, freedom, independence and self-reliance, in times of peace.

## WOMEN & POLITICS Switzerland

44

-Switzerland should make its own contribution to worldwide disarmament.

-The real threats to the country are of its own making or global in nature. The military is powerless in face of them. (VOX Analysis N° 38, pp 18-19).

This vote reflected the contradictions in Switzerland's political landscape, contradictions such as right/left, traditional values/new values, and government/opposition. Those of the extreme right - members of military organisations, supporters of the bourgeois parties - voted against. Those of the far left - Greens, supporters of the Socialist Party, sympathisers in the women's and peace movements - voted in favour. However, social contradictions also emerged: farmers, the over-60s, house-owners, rural inhabitants, residents of more than 5 years standing, those without higher education, voted against. Students, agnostics, 20-30 year-olds, residents of less than five years, those with higher education, voted in favour. Analysis of entire groups reveals correlations which are statistically relevant and generalisable:

**Age:** The most significant sociological contrast occurs along the age dimension. The majority of those under 40 are in favour of abolishing the army. Those of pensionable age utterly reject the referendum.

**Integration:** The higher the level of social integration (long term residency and home-ownership), the more likely a positive attitude to the army.

**Education:** The higher the level of education, the stronger the support for the abolition of the army. (VOX, p 23).

### MOTIVES OF THOSE VOTING IN FAVOUR MILITARY EXPENDITURE

31 per cent of those voting in favour considered military expenditure too high (VOX, p 25).

On 5 December 1989, 10 days after the referendum, the 1990 budget was discussed in parliament. Social Democrats, Greens and individuals called without success for a reduction in the military budget, the motion was defeated by 126 votes to 66. This means that in 1990 Switzerland will devote 19.3 per cent of the federal budget on military expenditure (5,761 million francs), an increase of 12 per cent on the previous year. The handling of the military budget is an expression of the self-assuredness and power of bourgeois Switzerland.

### MILITARY DENSITY PER 100 KM2

	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Federal Republic of Germany</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Italy</i>
	1513	439 <sup>1</sup> 576*	59 205 <sup>2</sup>	90 164 <sup>3</sup>	331 335 <sup>3</sup>
	2.0	1.5 3.2*	0.2	0.4	0.5
	0.7	0.2 0.5*	0.04	0.1	0.1

## WOMEN & POLITICS

### Switzerland

All over the world, countries are disarming; in Europe the walls and frontier fortifications are coming down; and the Swiss parliament votes for an increase of over 10 per cent on its military budget.

45

### ARMY REFORMS

15 per cent of those voting in favour were primarily seeking reforms in the army (VOX, p. 36).

Switzerland is almost the only remaining country whose sole response to conscientious objectors is to prosecute them. Those refusing to do national service are put before military courts and tried by judges in uniform. The Swiss have already rejected two campaigns to introduce a non-military alternative to national service (1977 and 1984). The criminalisation of young conscientious objectors is scandalous. That the sentences, generally of several months imprisonment, are handed down by military courts acting in their own interests makes the whole procedure even more scandalous.

The Swiss Social Democratic Party's programme has long contained the demand for the abolition of military courts in times of peace, so far without success.

### PEACE POLICY

15 per cent of those in favour also regarded the peace policy as a central point of reference (VOX, p. 36):

For official Switzerland, the peace policy is not a central issue as the army, of course, guarantees peace.

-The demand for a Peace Research Institute has been on the table for years but still shows not the slightest glimmer of being set up.

-In cases of conflict, the Federal Council offers its 'good offices' as, for example, in representing the USA in Iran. Or it sends in the Swiss Disaster Relief Corps as, for example, in Namibia.

-A peace policy must imply just dealings with the developing world.

-A peace policy must mean not living in fear of environmental and nuclear catastrophes.

-A peace policy must include a just distribution of labour.

-A peace policy without social security is no more than empty words.

Such perceptions as these have yet to penetrate the minds of the powerful.

### POINTLESSNESS

The senselessness of the army was the deciding criterion for 13 per cent of those in favour (VOX, p.36).

What do we Swiss need an army equipped with advanced technology for? Switzerland is not threatened by any European country. The enemy in the East has also disappeared.

The army has been involved in only one war since modern Switzerland came into being, the Separatist War of 1847 under the leadership of General Dufour. The Separatist War was a religious war, a battle of cultures, a war of secession and a civil war. It lasted 26 days and cost 100 lives.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, troops have only been deployed domestically against striking and demonstrating workers, e.g. 1907 in Lausanne, 1912 and 1918 in Zürich, and 1919 in Basle.

The army was deployed in 1932 in Geneva during a political demonstration following provocation from right-wing extremists. The result, after orders were given to recruits to open fire, was: 13 dead and 60 wounded.

The maintenance of order within a country does not require the presence of an armed military.

### WOMEN IN THE SWISS ARMY FEMALE MILITARY SERVICE

The former Female Auxiliary Service (FAS) has been upgraded to Female Military Service (FMS), with limited success, however, if the annual recruiting figures are any measure. 1981: 644 women; 1982: 436 women; 1985: 234

\* Inc. NATO

<sup>0</sup> after 2 days

<sup>1</sup> after 2-7 days

<sup>2</sup> after 2-5 days

<sup>3</sup> after several days

Source:  
Gustav Däniker,  
Dissuasion,  
Frauenfeld 1987, S. 138

## WOMEN & POLITICS Switzerland

women; 1988: 171 women (Riesen, Abschaffung der Armee [Abolishing the Army], p.153).

46 On 5 December 1989, Angelina Frankhauser, a Social Democratic Party member of parliament, put forward a motion to cancel the advertising budget for the FMS. In 1983 it cost 423 francs to enlist a woman. In 1989, 4,500 francs were spent per each woman recruited. It is not only the amount which is disturbing but also the image of women it projects which is enormously disturbing. Result: a clear minority in favour of Frankhauser's motion.

A great deal of inventiveness has gone into winning women over to Female Military Service. Women are allowed to choose their jobs, the FMS now offers women the chance to be: army chaplains, helicopter pilots, chemical defence officers, and tracker-dog handlers. Minister Villiger is seeking to expand women's involvement to meet the demands of equal rights and equality of opportunity (Berner Zeitung, 26-5-89).

### WOMEN AS PART OF THE TOTAL DEFENCE

The concept of total defence is an attempt to forge an identity between military and peace structures (Armeeleitbild 1982). This conjunction of military and civilian life is suspect to the average citizen. Even so, our first bourgeois female Minister also wanted to see obligatory service for women and for years bourgeois women's associations have called for an obligatory service for women with equal rights. The relevant questionnaire issued by the Federation of Swiss Women's Associations in 1979 was thus entitled: 'Serve the country and learn a thousand things'. However, when the so-called Meyer Report, containing eight models for women's service, some voluntary and some obligatory, was put out for consultation, 90 per cent of the 3,900 individuals questioned rejected any involvement of women in the total defence scheme.

### WOMEN AS PART OF CIVIL DEFENCE

Whilst civil defence is not part of the army, it is part of the total defence plan and led by ex-military officers. Although it is called civil defence it is intended for times of war. Switzerland has 6.2 million ventilated shelters. Half a million men and 15,000 women are actively involved in civil defence. We spend 1,000 francs a minute and over 500 million francs a year on civil defence (Wolfgang Lauterburg in Schutzraum Schweiz).

Civil defence suggests that even a nuclear war is survivable in a bunker. It assumes an advance warning period of 2-3 days to allow the shelters to be equipped. However, there is no advance warning of civilian catastrophes such as Chernobyl. Civil defence, removed from the defence arena and seen solely as a civil service to protect the population in the event of disasters, could be useful - a civil service functioning as a concrete form of aid in the event of storms or avalanches or for preventive purposes such as re-forestation, building avalanche barriers, offering agricultural assistance in mountain regions, etc.

Women in the Swiss Social Democratic Party have spoken out clearly against any involvement of women in the military, including as part of any total defence concept. We have also contributed our part to the 35.6 per cent of those in favour of a Switzerland without an army. ■

*Sonya Schmidt-Brugger was born 1934 in Turgi, Switzerland. She is a social worker and teacher. Since 1989 she has been the chairperson of the Swiss Socialist Women. She was also a Member of the canton parliament between 1973 and 1981 and chair of that parliamentary socialist group from 1979 to 1981.*



47  
WHO/L. Taylor

## THE CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN CHILE

# "WE HAVE BEEN LEFT ON THE SIDELINES IN TERMS OF WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT"

by Paula Orr

After 16 years of military dictatorship, women in Chile have multiple and highly reasonable demands to make of the new government. The right to housing, improved living standards ('Couldn't they raise child benefit just enough to cover the cost of milk?', one working class woman commented), access to education and health, and the possibility of enjoying family life with a degree of security and intimacy: these are some of the demands that come pouring out when you ask women what changes they would like to see.

And as regards women's rights? 'We want to be valued for the role we play. When women feel that they are as important as men, it is easier for them to organise and fight for their rights', says a woman who has just joined a community group.

The truth is that for years the vital role that women were playing in Chile went unrecognised or was denied. The fact that women were having to maintain their families, or hold together whole communities that were being undermined by mass unemployment and hunger, or defend the basic concepts of human dignity through their untiring search for the victims of human rights abuses: all this was a clear condemnation of military rule, and was therefore swept under the carpet. Today these women feel that they have the right to make their voices heard.

The *Concertación* (the alliance of democratic parties that opposed the continuation of the Pinochet regime in the 1989 elections) recognised the importance of women's participation and provided conditions for the consultations between women throughout the country, which culminated in

the presentation of a proposal for a Democratic Policy on Women which was incorporated into the *Concertación's* platform.

48 Today, after the election of the candidate of the *Concertación* as president, and the euphoria surrounding the return to democracy, it is time to ask what has become of the promises made to women.

Soledad Alvear, the director of the fledgling National Women's Service (SERNAM), faces a challenging task. Her role is to pilot through Congress the legislation that will make SERNAM a government institution, to begin to make changes in the law, and to develop a service that will enable women, and their organisations, to develop their potential independently.

'The role of the previous regime's National Women's Secretariat basically consisted of political proselytism. There was a national structure of volunteers (known as the 'ladies in blue', because of their blue uniforms) whose main activity was to organise demonstrations in support of the military regime. The Secretariat did not respect women's right to organise independently, nor did it offer any kind of training to promote women's development.

'In Chile today we have a large number of women's organisations. It will be SERNAM's job to combat the political utilisation of women's groups by any government, through support for women's autonomous development.'

Soledad Alvear continues: 'When the Government first announced that it intended to set up a National Women's Service, there was an immediate hostile response from the right wing opposition. However, with the publication of the details of the proposal, a lot of the criticism has evaporated, and today we find that the opposition to SERNAM is not homogeneous. Right wing women members of Congress are proposing certain modifications to the project, but do not oppose the legislation as such, while some of the men are firmly opposed to crucial aspects of our proposal.' The new legislation will give SERNAM's director ministerial rank, and this is anathema to the more conservative sectors, who have claimed that the campaign for women's rights is orchestrated by the left and radical feminists.

'One has to recognise that Chile is a fairly traditional and conservative country as far as women are concerned, explains Alvear. For example, Chile is one of the few countries that still gives the father more rights than the mother over their children (*patria potestad*), while in other parts of Latin America this was abolished as much as thirty years ago. The subject of women's rights tends to arouse fear and suspicion. This has been exacerbated by 16 years of military rule, which left Chile on the sidelines in relation to many developments in the world, one of which is the struggle for women's rights and the progress achieved in this sphere.'

Given this situation, SERNAM sees its role as being to bring Chilean legislation into line with international norms on women's rights and to ensure that there is a women's dimension in all policies and programmes implemented by the government. Alvear emphasises: 'It is important that all the Government's plans and policies should include a women's perspective. For example, in the field of health, this women's perspective, or focus on women, implies introducing programmes whose scope is wider than mother and child welfare: there are many aspects of women's health that are not related to motherhood.' The Service has already set up technical teams to study specific issues such as women and the family, women and health, women and education, and violence against women.

At the same time SERNAM is co-ordinating with the different government ministries, to find out about the programmes they are introducing and how women's interests could be incorporated into these. Thus, if the Ministry of Agriculture, for example, is proposing a programme for rural sectors, SERNAM's task will be to see that peasant women are taken into account, that there are provisions for credit and training for women farmers, etc.

Soledad Alvear believes that the support of President Aylwin for the creation of SERNAM puts the Service in a strong position to ensure that its proposals are accepted by the rest of the Government. 'So far our relations with the ministries have been very good. In a sense, the ministries need the Service, because they are being required to formulate programmes involving women, without having any experience in this field. Of course, at a personal level one does find different degrees of receptivity, but this seems to bear no relation to the political party to which the person belongs.'

## WOMEN & POLITICS

### Chile

49

The support of the ministries is crucial to SERNAM's strategy. In order to avoid the attacks that might be levelled at programmes targeting women specifically, SERNAM has prioritised the incorporation of particularly disadvantaged groups of women into the programmes of the different ministries. 'One such group are women heads of household. It is estimated that there are 625,000 women in this situation in Chile, the majority living in conditions of poverty. Although these women should be prioritised in Government programmes, this is actually a highly sensitive issue, as conservative interests argue that giving help to women in this situation is tantamount to encouraging couples to separate and promoting the disintegration of the family.'

Underlying SERNAM's position is the conviction that it is better not to touch issues that divide men and women. When asked whether SERNAM would consider legislating to oblige men to do a share of domestic work, Alvear replies: 'A change in men's attitude to participation in the home will not be the result of legislation but of cultural change. Of course, there are areas in which legislation can encourage or hinder women's incorporation. We need, for example, to change the law whereby mothers can take sick leave when their children under 1 year old are ill, but fathers cannot.'

For many working class women, education is the key to this change: 'We need to get education, because without education you can't go very far,' they say. One of SERNAM's main tasks will be to provide education and training to allow women to play a role in production and in public life.

For Alvear: 'The problem faced by girls in the education system is not that they are excluded: studies show that equal proportions of girls and boys go on to secondary school, but that the girls are less likely to complete their secondary education. We are therefore working with the Ministry of Education on proposals that will give girls greater access to training for employment.'

'We also want to encourage civil rights training in school. Girls do not generally receive training in this sphere, while boys have more social encouragement to participate: boys are much more likely to be encouraged to read the newspaper, for example. We want to break down these differences which in later life put women at a disadvantage when participating in public activities.'

'In relation to adult women, SERNAM is planning to create a network of Women's Information Centres, where women will be able to find information on their rights and on how to participate and obtain the benefits and services to which they are entitled. These Centres will also provide training in civil and women's rights.'

For Soledad Alvear, the main task today is to bring Chilean legislation up to date with the changes that have occurred in women's position. Here the example of other countries will evidently be extremely valuable.

However, the Director of SERNAM also feels that Chilean women, despite the discrimination they face, have something to contribute: 'Throughout the past years, women have been a testimony to the power of life. Chilean women have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to survive and continue. For me, this is a contribution to the struggle of women throughout the world.'

### OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SERVICE (SERNAM)

1. To promote women's employment.
2. To promote women's incorporation into the development process.
3. To end the paternalistic and assistential attitudes towards women often found in governments' programmes and policies.
4. To ensure that Chilean legislation complies with the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which was ratified by Chile at the end of 1989.
5. To design and structure policies for the promotion of women to be introduced by the Government.
6. To ensure respect for the political position of all women and provide support for women's organisation in all its forms.
7. To mobilise and co-ordinate a national network of support for women's groups and organisations. ■

*Paula Orr is a British journalist who has been living in Chile for the past five years. Throughout this period she has maintained contacts with grassroots women's organisations and the women's movement in general.*

## **REAL EQUALITY IN COSTA RICA**

**by Carmen Naranjo**

Some twenty years ago when three women, Elizabeth Odio, Sonia Picado and Carmen Naranjo, questioned a presidential candidate in Costa Rica about the need to find room for women in the political life of the country, his answer was that quotas were unconstitutional, since the constitution grants equal rights to men and women. He also wondered why we were concerned about the situation, since we were in a position to aspire to public life in politics.

It was the framework of the constitution, granting equal rights, that prevented women for a long time from taking part in the political decision-making process in the country and in government. Unwittingly, those women who were appointed to a public position were held as proof that public life was open to women who were educated and capable.

President Oscar Arias who came to office in 1986 and served until 1990 promised in his electoral campaign that he would promote women, and he kept his word. A woman was appointed to the second vice-presidency, and a woman was also made speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

At the request of the president's wife and able assistant in all his political projects, Señora Margarita Peñón de Arias, a group of women started work on a Bill on Real Equality.

After two years of deliberation, the proposed law was put to the legislature. However, it triggered off a debate in the nation at large, provoking ill-informed criticism. It was therefore decided to consult all sections of society. Constitutional lawyers were approached; peasant women, women workers, professionals, teachers, nurses, trade unionists, university students, housewives and women in cooperatives. Women had a chance to express their opinion. The project was re-thought and re-drafted in the most democratic way possible. The path that was followed was one where everyone was consulted, as in an open and united family.

Thus enriched, the bill was put before the legislative assembly again.

The Bill on Real Equality dealt with the political rights of women and aimed to increase their participation in public life quickly and effectively. It considered social and economic rights and guaranteed equality of access to credit and property. It sought to lighten the workload of women and proposed to establish creches for the use of workers. It protected the privacy of women in penal cases and proscribed pardons for rape offences. The proposed law also dealt with sex stereotypes in education, seeking to replace them with a sense of shared responsibility within the family as well as in the community. Lastly, it proposed the establishment of a Department for the Protection of Women to ensure that any legislation passed for the promotion of sexual equality was wholly implemented and did not remain a mere piece of paper.

It must be realised that favourable legislation is a good step forward and constitutes an excellent tool to achieve equality. To make it a reality, however, what is needed is a change of attitude in everyone. Equality as an aim must be made to pervade every sphere, and in particular it must be made to enter men's and women's consciousness.

The law has already achieved something in changing traditionally prejudiced

## WOMEN & POLITICS

Costa Rica

*¡ YA VEO QUE  
EN EL FUTURO SERÁ UNA GRAN  
HAZAÑA VER UN HOMBRE  
EN LA ASAMBLEA !*

*It will be quite an  
achievement to get to see a  
man in the National Assembly  
in the future*



Arcadio in La Nación

mentality and culture, since already thousands of women, men and children have expressed their support

### REAL INEQUALITY

In 1949, the women of Costa Rica won the right to vote, to elect and be elected. That right was exercised in 1953.

Women account for 45 percent of the electorate. Their presence in the legislative assembly, however, has since then amounted to an average of 6 per cent. In local government 11 per cent of councillors are women, but of these 64 percent are deputy councillors.

The figures for the active working population, in which housework is unfairly not included, show that 47 percent of the jobs that are done by women, such as cooks, domestic servants, clothes manufacturers, agricultural workers, shop assistants and caretakers, require a poor educational level and are also the lowest paid.

20 percent of the working female population belong to the professions or do skilled work. The majority of these female workers hold traditionally female jobs such as school teachers and nurses, which are also very badly paid.

Comparing pay for the same kind of job, it is clear that domestic staff, if female, are paid on average half of what the men get. A professional woman earns 70 percent of a man's salary.

These figures correspond only to cases that are open to quantification and can be checked. But there are thousands of unquantifiable ways of underrating women, whether in the shops or in the house, in the classroom or in domestic service, in the workplace or in the political arena, in the family or in the community, and their creativity goes unacknowledged. Cases of sexual violence appear nearly every day in the press, as do cases of physical or mental cruelty.

## **THE BILL FOR THE PROMOTION OF REAL EQUALITY**

52

All legislation which is intended to strengthen women's rights and protect them from discrimination is to be welcome, but we know that in practice it is not implemented because old habits of subordination die hard and it is difficult to overcome the prevalent cultural prejudices that undermine the worth of women as persons.

In order to achieve in practice the equality that Article 33 of the Constitution of Costa Rica confers on women, their right to elect and be elected needs to be strengthened by temporary measures. In order to make progress along this route there is no alternative but to impose statutory protections. Without this kind of measures, which will effectively put Costa Rica in a very prominent position in the world as far as the true practice of democracy is concerned, Article 33 will remain merely in the realm of good intentions and the number of women put forward for popular election will be greater or lesser, depending on the prevalent political mood of each electoral period.

The need for such measures is well attested by the act passed on the 2nd of October, 1984, ratifying the *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*, approved by the United Nations on the 18th of December, 1979. The Convention states:

*The 30 legally binding articles of this Convention promulgate universally accepted principles and measures designed to ensure that all over the world women enjoy equal rights. Their sanction marked the culmination of five years of consultation by various working groups, the Commission for the Social and Legal Condition of Women, and the General Assembly. This General Convention echoes the call to put an end to the widespread exclusion and restrictions that women have had to suffer by virtue of their sex and demands equal rights for women, regardless of marital status, in all political, economic, cultural, civic, and other fields of life. It calls on governments to promulgate national legislation proscribing discrimination, recommends the adoption of temporary special measures in order to accelerate de facto equality between men and women, and suggests ways to alter socio-cultural patterns that perpetuate sexual discrimination.*

The Bill on True Equality was imbued with this spirit and sought to banish discrimination, especially in politics and public life.

It also covered other areas where there is sexual discrimination and where men's interests only are advanced, as if women had no rights or worth or as if their contribution in the fields of the economy, education and family life, were of no consequence.

The contents of this proposed law were inspired by the *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*.

In accordance with the above, acknowledging a reality that is unjust and seeking to achieve democracy and social peace, this bill was submitted to Parliament so that the equality between men and women that Article 33 of the Constitution proclaims might be implemented wholly and effectively.

The work involved in this project meant leaving aside making speeches and criticisms in favour of assuming an active role in doing something positive, in pointing a way to a widening of the frontiers of the state where women are concerned.

## **PASSING OF THE LAW FOR THE PROMOTION OF EQUALITY FOR WOMEN**

Following a long debate, the draft law entitled *Law for the Promotion of Social Equality for Women* was approved by the Legislative Assembly on the 1st of March, 1990. This law is commonly known in the country as *Real Equality*.

True enough, the law toned down some of the dispositions on the original Bill, but nevertheless, it does provide a space for women and it works for their benefit. ■

*Carmen Naranjo is a Lecturer at the University of Costa Rica. She has represented her country as Ambassador to Israel (1972-74) and Ambassador to UNICEF in Mexico (1978-82). She was Director of EDUCA (Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana) as well as of the Arts Museum of Costa Rica. Carmen Naranjo was awarded the National Prize for Culture in 1986.*

# SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

## AUSTRIA

### *Conference on eastern Europe*

The Renner Institute and the Austrian Socialist Party organised a two-day conference in Vienna on 3 and 4 September on the topic of The Democratic Revolutions in central and eastern Europe. The event brought together leading figures of member parties of the Socialist International and of other political organisations.

Discussions centred on three main questions: the democratic, the national and the social. Rejecting neo-conservative arguments that the political options for the countries of central and eastern Europe were few in number, Franz Vranitzky, the Austrian federal chancellor, emphasised that social justice and economic efficiency were not contradictory. He added that the accusation that social democracy had helped the spread of communism was 'perfidious'.

SI President Willy Brandt, introduced to the conference by Peter Jankowitsch, foreign affairs spokesman of the Austrian party, said 'Everywhere you can feel that the world has become smaller.'

Presenting the conclusions, Heinz Fischer, deputy chairman of the party said 'It is possible to combine a market economy with social justice and social security, with a sense of ecological responsibility and with freedom of the individual person and personal responsibility'.

The themes discussed at the gathering will be the subject of further coverage in the next issue of Socialist Affairs.

## CANADA

### *NDP wins Ontario*

The New Democratic Party, the SI member in Canada, achieved a major victory in September, capturing control of Ontario, the country's richest province. The NDP won 74 of the 130 seats in the legislature, whilst Liberal Party representation fell from 93 to 36 seats, a result which commentators called 'one of the greatest upsets in Canadian political history.'

The new premier of Ontario is Bob Rae, 42, a lawyer. The NDP has said it will ignore the US-Canadian free trade agreement.

In a federal by-election on 13 August, in the industrial city of Oshawa, near Toronto, the NDP had secured 51 per cent of the poll, retaining the seat vacated by the retirement earlier this year of party leader Ed Broadbent, who had represented the constituency for 22 years. The NDP's strength in the House of Commons in Ottawa remains at 43 (out of 295).

An earlier by-election victory in February had given the NDP a previously Conservative seat, the first won by the party in Quebec.



**Bob Rae**

## CHILE

### *State burial for Allende*



**Salvador Allende**

On 4 September the body of the late President Salvador Allende, who was buried by soldiers in a secret ceremony at Viña del Mar after his death in the 1973 coup, was reinterred in Santiago in the presence of President Patricio Aylwin and other members of his government, including Radical foreign minister Enrique Silva Cimma. Many other prominent guests also attended the ceremony in tribute to Allende.

## DENMARK

### *Social Democratic voters favour EC*

A poll among Social Democratic voters in Denmark has revealed a strong swing in favour of the country's membership of the European Community. In 1989, 34 per cent were in favour and 53 per cent against. This year the proportions were 52 per cent in favour and 42 per cent against. In a comment on the poll, Ritt Bjerregaard MP, a party expert in foreign affairs, said: we now have an opportunity together with other countries to obtain influence in a Europe in which Germany will have a completely different position. In relation to Germany we can

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

54

either choose to arrange relations bilaterally, with the size and economic strength that we happen to possess, or we can do it together with other countries'.

### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

#### Strikes and protests

José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, called the recent record of President Joaquín Balaguer 'a total failure in the economic sense'. Balaguer took office on 19 August for a sixth term, after he was finally declared elected in the polls on 16 May which the opposition strongly condemned as fraudulent. As Balaguer returned to office, a score of people died and thousands were arrested as strikes and protests gripped the country.

### ECUADOR

#### Election setback



President Rodrigo Borja

Mid-term elections were held on 17 June for the 60 constituency-based seats in the National Congress (the other 12 members were

elected on national lists in 1988 for a four-year term) and for 50 seats in provincial and 528 in municipal assemblies. The results proved disappointing for the ruling Democratic Left, ID, which lost ground to both the right-wing Social Christian Party, PSC, and the Socialist Party, PSE.

When parliament resumed on 10 August, ID had 11 of the 72 seats, as against 30 at dissolution, and its ally, the christian democratic People's Democracy movement, DP, had 3 (7). The PSC had 17 (6) and the PSE 7 (4), while the populist Ecuadorian Roldosista Party, PRE, held its nine seats; the balance was shared by six minor formations. President Rodrigo Borja attributed the slide in the social democratic vote to the policies of economic restraint forced on his government by declining oil revenues and foreign debt, but derived some satisfaction from the fact that the polling took place freely, fairly and without violence, reaffirming Ecuador's commitment to democracy a decade after the return of civilian government.

### EGYPT

#### Mubarak condemns Iraq, seeks Arab solution

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt led the majority of Arab states in their condemnation of the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August, while at the same time making strenuous diplomatic efforts to find an Arab solution to the resultant Gulf crisis. Mubarak heads the ruling National Democratic Party, NDP, of Egypt, which is a full member of the Socialist International. Other SI parties in the Arab world, in Tunisia and Lebanon, though not in Morocco, have also lent their political weight to the Egyptian line.

Immediately after the Iraqi



President Hosni Mubarak

invasion Mubarak asserted Egypt's traditional leadership of the Arab world by convening an emergency session of the Arab League in Cairo on 9-10 August. The outcome was a majority vote condemning the Iraqi action, calling for the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government and backing the deployment of Arab military forces in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to defend them against potential aggression. Detachments of Egyptian and other Arab troops were subsequently deployed on Saudi territory.

Only Iraq, Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, opposed the League decision, although Algeria and Yemen abstained while Jordan, Sudan and Mauritania expressed reservations. Those backing the majority position included Tunisia and Lebanon.

### EL SALVADOR

#### Peace talks

The UN-backed peace talks between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN, and political representatives including those of Alfredo Cristiani's right-wing Nationalist

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

Republican Alliance, ARENA, government opened in Venezuela in May (see SA 2/90, page 57) with subsequent monthly sessions in Mexico and Costa Rica. The negotiations, conducted in private, resumed in August in Costa Rica, but that session ended without agreement on the necessary conditions for the ceasefire which had been scheduled for 15 September.

The sticking points appear to be, on the one hand, the FMLN demand for far-reaching reforms of the armed forces and the judiciary, the need for which has been emphasised by the constant obstruction of death-squad prosecutions, and on the other, the army's insistence that the FMLN disarm and demobilise before any such reforms. Although there was broad agreement on a three-stage peace process, moving from ceasefire to institutional reforms and then to the opening up of political participation, the main achievement to date has been an agreement on 26 July, at the conclusion of the previous round of talks, to install an UN-sponsored human rights commission after the establishment of a ceasefire; both sides gave a commitment to minimise civilian casualties in the interim.

Recent FMLN activity has accordingly concentrated on economic sabotage, especially of power lines, and on attacks on military personnel. However the government acknowledged that there has been an increase in killings and 'disappearances' attributable to the army-backed death-squads, reckoned to be responsible for some 40,000 murders in the past decade.

### GERMANY

#### **Unity treaty signed**

The treaty providing for the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to become formally united on 3 October 1990 -

less than a year after the opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 - was duly signed in East Berlin on 31 August. The first all-German general elections are scheduled to take place on 2 December, when the Social Democrats, SPD, currently in opposition on both sides of the border, will challenge for government power in the unified state.

Signature of the political unity instrument followed the advent of monetary and economic union between the two German states on 1 July and the introduction of the West German Deutschmark in the East on a one-for-one basis against the discontinued Ostmark. The remaining international diplomatic obstacle to unification was overcome in mid-July when the USSR accepted that united Germany would assume West Germany's NATO membership, subject to Soviet forces remaining in East Germany for a transitional period.

The 1,100-page unity treaty finally secured the endorsement of all major parties in East and West, although only after much wrangling on both sides of the border. In the Federal Republic the SPD successfully resisted attempts by Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats, CDU, to steamroller through proposals that general elections should precede formal unification and that the 5 per cent barrier to representation applicable in the West should not operate in the East.

The CDU's proposal that parties in the East should not have to surmount the 5 per cent hurdle was attacked by the SPD as naked gerrymandering for purposes of electoral gain. The GDR prime minister, Lothar de Maizière (CDU), wanted eastern Germany to be treated as a separate electoral constituency, with a 3 per cent barrier to representation. But as the SPD pointed out, this would allow small parties of the anti-SPD left, such as the Party of Democratic



Rex Features

#### **Oskar Lafontaine**

Socialism (the reincarnation of the former ruling communist Socialist Unity Party), to take seats from the SPD. Under such a system, moreover, small CDU-allied parties, such as the German Social Union, would probably survive in parliament and thus increase centre-right strength.

In the GDR the row over electoral procedure caused the departure from the coalition of the small Free Democratic Party on 24 July and a threat by the SPD to follow suit. However, the SPD withdrew its threat when, two days later, pressure from the West German SPD obliged the government to accept that the 5 per cent rule would be applied on an all-German basis, subject to the possibility that a party obtaining over 5 per cent of the vote in a particular state could be allocated seats in the new parliament. Political controversy then focused on the actual target dates for unification and all-German elections. In a surprise initiative, taken without consulting his SPD government partners, de Maizière proposed in early August that unification and elections should be brought forward to mid-October. This was immediately taken up by

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

56

Chancellor Kohl.

While accepting the earliest possible unification, the SPD dismissed the early elections proposal as reflecting the CDU's fear that a December poll would allow more time for the chronic weakness of the GDR economy to become apparent and thus confirm SPD warnings about the massive likely cost of unification to German taxpayers. In the event, the Christian Democrats backed down on the date of elections (which remained set for 2 December) and a compromise agreement eventually established the target date for unification as 3 October.

Such was the acrimony generated in East Berlin by this and other disputes about the unification process that the CDU/SPD coalition did not survive. On 15 August de Maizière sacked the SPD finance minister, Walter Romberg, as well as the agriculture minister, Peter Pollack, a close SPD ally, accusing them of incompetence. The SPD responded by pulling all of its ministers out of the coalition a few days later. The finance spokesperson of the SPD in the Federal Republic, Ingrid Matthias-Maier, said that Romberg had been sacked for telling the truth about the cost of unification. She also called for defence spending cuts of DM6,000 million to be made in 1991 to provide additional resources for restructuring in eastern Germany.

In late June the West German SPD executive decided that Hans-Jochen Vogel would retain the party chairmanship. The formal merger of the West and East SPDs is due to be accomplished at a special Berlin congress in late September. Under an earlier decision, the SPD's candidate for the chancellorship in the December all-German elections will be Oskar Lafontaine, currently premier of Saarland (see 2/90, page 58).

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### **Labour presents new policy programme**

The major transformation in the British Labour Party's attitude to the European Community, nuclear defence issues and the market economy was confirmed in its policy review document published in definitive form in the summer. Entitled 'Looking to the Future', the document is the fruit of a lengthy reassessment of all aspects of policy in the wake of the party's 1987 election defeat and will form the basis of the next Labour election manifesto.

On the European Community, the document asserts that Britain's economic future is inseparable from the economic future of the EC as a whole, adding that Britain must play a positive role in shaping the Community - for example, by accepting and endorsing the European Social Charter. A Labour government would negotiate Britain's entry into the exchange rate mechanism of the European monetary system 'at the earliest possible opportunity on the basis of prudent and reasonable conditions'. At the same time Labour would oppose the creation of 'an all-powerful but unaccountable' European central bank.

Labour supports the extension of majority voting in EC bodies where it would help to improve social policy and raise environmental standards. The European Parliament should be given the powers it needs to complement - not to replace - national parliaments and should be able to initiate proposals for legislation. Labour favours enlargement of the EC to include the majority of European countries, starting with Austria and Norway, whose membership would facilitate applications from Switzerland and Sweden. Eventually a Labour government would welcome applications from the new



Martin Black/Impact Photos

democracies of central and eastern Europe.

On defence and security issues, the policy review resulted in the abandonment of the unilateralist stance on renunciation of nuclear weapons. A future Labour government will have flexibility in pursuing through international negotiation the goal of a non-nuclear defence policy, without deadlines or rigid commitments to unilateral action. Within Europe, Labour seeks a new security framework in which NATO continues to play a constructive role and where security is achieved at a far lower level of armaments. The effective collapse of the Warsaw Pact and planned reduction in Soviet force levels would make possible, through international negotiation, substantial cuts in British defence spending. A Labour government will strongly oppose any attempt to give the European Community a military role.

As regards economic policy, accepting that the operation of market forces is essential in many areas, a Labour government will at the same time tackle the shortcomings of the market and regulate its activities to prevent abuses and to ensure the fullest possible employment. Priorities will be to ensure appropriate education and training, environmental protection measures, scientific, technological and infrastructural investment,

**Labour says  
House of  
Lords must go**

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

and regional development. In a section on constitutional matters, the Labour Party commits itself to creating an elected second chamber in place of the largely hereditary House of Lords. Scotland will be given its own parliament, while elected assemblies will be created for Wales and the English regions. On the Northern Ireland question, Labour sees the long-term solution as being a united Ireland achieved with the consent of a majority in the North.

On electoral procedure, Labour sees no good reason to change the established first-past-the-post constituency system for House of Commons elections. However, it proposes further study of possible different methods for elections to the proposed new second chamber and regional assemblies and also to the European Parliament.

### GUATEMALA

#### *Violence continues as elections approach*

The Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, the SI member party in Guatemala, has adopted René León Schlotter as its presidential candidate and Aracely Conde de Paíz as vice-presidential candidate for the elections to be held on 11 November.

General Efraín Ríos Montt, who seized power in a putsch in 1982 and inaugurated one of the bloodiest regimes of recent years, has appealed against a court ruling to the effect that he was constitutionally barred from standing in the election because of his participation in a coup. The former dictator argues that it is unfair to apply the 1985 constitution retrospectively.

General Leonel Bolanoz, the defence minister, meanwhile announced that the army would not permit instability at election time and told politicians 'they must

understand the will of the people is going to come out at the polls.'

Christian Democratic President Vinicio Cerezo's human rights office recently reported that 225 people had been murdered by death squads since the beginning of the year.

### HAITI

#### *Democratisation in doubt*

The slow pace of reforms since the installation in March of an interim government under President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot has given rise to fears that national, provincial and municipal elections planned for 4 November may not be held under free and fair conditions.

Louis Roy, chairman of the 19-member council of state which shares power with Pascal-Trouillot, announced on 15 August that because of political violence and the president's failure to reorganise the army, police and judiciary, the council would use its hitherto untested veto on future presidential decisions in order to increase pressure for democratisation. The first serious confrontation arose on 24 August when Pascal-Trouillot, ignoring the council, nominated replacements for five ministers who had resigned en bloc to protest at the lack of progress. There have been many reports of continuing human rights abuses.

The social democratic National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA, an SI member party, and other parties in the Concertation Assembly front backed a general strike and other popular protests at the unhindered return on 7 July of notorious Duvalier henchmen Roger Lafontant, and Williams Regala, number two in the Namphy regime which fell in March. However the PANPRA, along with the

Christian Democrats and the Democratic Renewal Movement, MIDH, condemned the 'adventurist' strategy of seven other parties which on 11 July issued an ultimatum demanding the imprisonment of both men or the resignation of Pascal-Trouillot.

### ISRAEL

#### *Peres wards off Rabin challenge*

At a session of the Israel Labour Party's central committee in Tel Aviv on 22 July, former prime minister Shimon Peres easily repulsed a challenge by Itzhak Rabin for the party leadership. Rabin made his bid following Peres's withdrawal from the longstanding national unity coalition with the right-wing Likud in March and subsequent failure to form a Labour-led government committed to Arab-Israeli peace negotiations (see 2/90, page 61).

Peres (67) replaced Rabin (68) as party leader in 1977 shortly before Labour went into opposition to Likud for the first time since the creation of Israel. Both men served in post-1984 national unity coalitions, Peres latterly as foreign minister and Rabin as defence minister. While the Labour leader has in recent years headed the party's dovish wing, Rabin has achieved considerable public acclaim beyond the ranks of Labour supporters for his stern handling of the Palestinian intifada in the occupied territories.

Rabin's challenge was backed by a majority of Labour Knesset members, including some leading doves, by the party's executive bureau and by the trade union leadership. However, the decision rested in the party's central committee of some 1,300 members. A fighting speech by Peres consolidated his support in the central

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

58

committee, which voted by 54 to 46 per cent against an immediate election, thus backing his continued leadership. There were a significant number of abstentions, and after the vote two prominent members of the party's younger generation, Ora Namir and Moshe Shahal, both declared their intention to run for the leadership when an election came.

After his victory Peres pledged himself to lead Labour in militant opposition to the Likud-led government, adding that 'the struggle is now for a credible peace process'.

### LUXEMBOURG

#### Robert Krieps

Robert Krieps, former chair of the Luxemburg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL, former minister, and member of the European Parliament, died on 11 August at the age of 67.



### MALAYSIA

#### Repressive measures opposed by DAP

The opposition Democratic Action Party, DAP, has mounted strenuous parliamentary opposition to a government measure strengthening executive control over the operation of the already repressive Internal Security Act, ISA. The DAP campaign followed the unconditional release in April of the party's parliamentary leader, Lim Kit Siang, after 30 months in detention. Also released was Lim's son, Lim Guan Eng. They were the last of the 106 detainees, mainly DAP members, arrested in October 1987 in a security clampdown under the ISA (see 4/87, page 71). The arrests had been justified by the National Front government on the grounds that the detainees had stirred up racial tensions between the dominant Malay community and the Chinese minority. These claims were rejected then and since by the DAP, which although drawing its main support from Malaysian Chinese is strongly committed to multiracialism. The government's proposal on the ISA removed from the courts the power of judicial review of security cases, meaning that the executive would make the final decisions on appeals. The measure was condemned not only by the DAP but also by the Malaysian Bar Council and Amnesty International as undermining the powers of the judiciary and thus basic human rights. In the event, however, the government used its large parliamentary majority to secure adoption of the measure on 26 June by 93 votes to 26.

### NEW ZEALAND



#### Prime minister resigns in election run-up

Labour Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer resigned on 3 September, just 8 weeks before general elections. He had been prime minister since the resignation of David Lange in August last year. Palmer was succeeded by Foreign Minister Mike Moore, 41, a popular figure whose appointment was thought likely to boost Labour's election chances after opinion polls over the summer showed Labour trailing the opposition National Party by a considerable margin.

Mike Moore

### PAKISTAN

#### Bhutto ejected at military's behest

The Pakistan People's Party, PPP, government of Benazir Bhutto was unceremoniously ejected from power on 6 August in what the deposed prime minister described as a 'constitutional coup' carried out at the behest of the country's powerful military leadership. A consultative member of the Socialist

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

Piers Cavendish/Impact Photos

International, the PPP had been in power since its victory in the November 1988 elections which brought an end to 11 years of military dictatorship imposed in the 1977 coup which deposed Benazir Bhutto's father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was executed in April 1979.

Announcing his decision, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan accused the Bhutto government of corruption and ineptitude and of undermining the country's constitution. He declared a state of emergency, dissolved the National Assembly and announced that new elections would be held on 24 October. For the interim he appointed a caretaker administration under Ghulam Mustafa Jattoi, a former PPP member who had led the parliamentary opposition to the Bhutto government.

Calling on her supporters not to take to the streets in protest, Bhutto declared after her dismissal that the PPP intended to contest and win the October elections. However, the speedy action of the new regime in placing restrictions on the former prime minister and her close colleagues (of whom eight were arrested on 12 August) raised a major question mark over the future of the democratic process. Also ominous was Jattoi's announcement that prominent members of the Bhutto government would be tried on corruption charges before special tribunals.

A meeting of the PPP executive on 11-12 August decided that the party would appeal to the country's Supreme Court against the dismissal of the Bhutto government. It also rejected the validity of special tribunals for corruption allegations, asserting that if the new government had any relevant evidence proceedings should be conducted in ordinary courts.

After the meeting Benazir Bhutto said that the long-term aim of the Pakistan military establishment was to break the popular power of the PPP



**Benazir Bhutto**

and to establish a non-party presidential system of government dependent on military support. Subsequently the deposed prime minister publicly rejected any deals with the interim government involving her standing down from politics and going into exile.

## PERU

### 'Betrayal' verdict

The run-off presidential election in June (see SA 2/90, page 63) between right-winger Mario Vargas Llosa and political newcomer Alberto Fujimori presented voters with a choice between a savage austerity package and vague promises of a brighter future. They voted for the latter, giving Fujimori a record 23-point margin of victory, and got the former.

President Fujimori's programme for government was unclear even as he took over from Alan García of the social democratic Peruvian

Aprista Party, APRA, on 28 July, still proclaiming his abhorrence of economic 'shock therapy'. To the chagrin of the Change 90 movement which ran his electoral campaign, he installed a mainly non-party cabinet, dominated by conservative technocrats under Juan Carlos Hurtado Miller (a former Popular Action agriculture minister) as prime minister and finance minister, but including three former left-wing activists.

Just 12 days after taking office, Hurtado imposed an IMF-approved reform programme which quadrupled the price of basic foodstuffs and increased fuel prices 30-fold. The inti was floated, tariffs and import quotas were abandoned, the cost of public services was increased and new taxes were imposed. There was an immediate explosion of popular protest: shops were looted or were closed by their owners, bus operators refused to work and several people were killed in riots. Demonstrations and strikes continued through August, forcing the government to concede a 300 per cent increase in the minimum salary.

It remains to be seen whether this strong medicine will have the desired impact on the hyperinflation which the García government had been battling: certainly the Hurtado cabinet has shown itself willing to place the poorest in the front line in a way that APRA was not. APRA, which reluctantly endorsed Fujimori in the run-off election and has no seats in his cabinet although it remains the largest single party in Congress, has been fiercely critical of Hurtado's strategy, which it classed as 'a betrayal of the people's trust in Fujimori', while suspending judgement on the president himself. The party's trade union affiliate, the CTP, has been to the fore in street protests against the austerity plan.

## SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

### SPAIN

#### Andalusia steadfast

In elections to the Andalusian parliament on 23 June, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, won its third successive absolute majority, with 62 of the 109 seats (as against 60 at dissolution). The party achieved nearly 50 per cent of the popular vote, more than 27 points ahead of its nearest rival and a modest advance on its 1986 score. Manuel Chaves, who had resigned as national minister of labour in April to lead the Andalusian campaign (see SA 2/90, page 64) was sworn in as regional premier in mid-July.

The victory, contrary to opposition predictions and despite a low turnout and an ongoing media campaign against his deputy, was a useful boost for Prime Minister Felipe González - himself an Andalusian - and reflected the esteem in which the party is held in Andalusia, which has benefitted from extraordinary economic development under two consecutive four-year terms of Socialist management. At the

national level, it reinforces the optimistic mood in the PSOE in the context of its impending 32nd congress, which will centre on the results of a three-year programme of discussion and debate on the revision of the party's manifesto.

### VENEZUELA

#### Cabinet changes

President Carlos Andrés Pérez named eight new ministers and created two new ministries in July. The appointees are: Armando Durán, secretary to the presidency; Roberto Smith, transport and communications; Jesús Moreno Guacarán, justice; Vladimir Gessen, tourism; Jonathon Coles, agriculture and cattle-rearing; Jesús Ramón Carmona, relations with congress (new ministry); Herber Torres, investment fund, and Regulo Villegas, fight against drugs (new ministry). In addition, new directors were appointed to



President  
Carlos  
Andrés Pérez

eight state concerns.

Humberto Celli, general secretary of Acción Democrática, denied reports of preparations for a military coup against the government of President Pérez. 'Even though there might be an explosive social situation, we do not believe it has anything to do with the stability of the democratic system', he said.

### FROM THE ARCHIVE

'From the western hemisphere, two countries - the USA and the Argentine - were represented at the Paris Congress\*. Argentina had two Socialist groups, one of them French-speaking, formed by refugees from the Paris Commune, the other formed by a group of German exiles driven from their country by Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws. The French group published the paper *L'Avenir*, and the Germans the *Vorwärts*. A great public demonstration on May Day 1890 provided the impetus which united both groups together with the trade unions, into the *Federación Obrera de la República Argentina*. A year later, a Socialist Union emerged from the

efforts of the Federation and in the middle of 1893 Juan B Justo (1865-1925), who had translated *Das Kapital* into Spanish, founded the paper *Vanguardia*, which paved the way for the founding of the party at a congress in Buenos Aires in June 1886. The *Partido Socialista Argentino* was from the very beginning a federation of trade union and political organisations.'

\*the founding congress of the Second International in 1889

From *The History of the International* (Volume 1: 1864-1914) by Julius Braunthal

# 1990 Election Survey

Recent election results of SI member parties

*Alan J Day looks at the recent electoral fortunes of SI member parties.*

The most important point about recent electoral history worldwide is not the voting trends which it reveals. It is the simple fact, in many cases, that democratic elections have been held at all. The rapid transformation of most of eastern Europe into fledgling multi-party democracies has been the political miracle of the late twentieth century: only a year or so ago the countries in question seemed permanently set in the concrete of authoritarian communist rule. And although its impact has so far been less pervasive beyond Europe, the contagion of democracy is also spreading in the third world. All democrats, whatever their ideological leanings, can rejoice at this new flowering of their basic creed.

## **Transformation in eastern Europe**

At first sight the sequence of recent multi-party elections in eastern Europe has not revealed a deep seam of support for democratic socialism. Except in the case of the German Democratic Republic, parties affiliated to the Socialist International have not so far figured prominently in the lists of election results. This has led some commentators to conclude that in ejecting their communist rulers and rejecting one-party, dictatorial socialism, the peoples of the former Soviet bloc have turned their back on all left-wing prescriptions. The truth is almost certainly quite different. Although 'socialism' may now be something of a tarnished word in the east European political vocabulary, the aspirations of modern democratic socialism are strongly present in the programmes of the new ruling alliances.

It is worth noting that the historic east European parties of democratic socialism are faced with particular difficulties in re-establishing themselves in their own right. Alone among the major pre-war political forces, democratic socialism was totally suppressed by the communists, who saw it as the main threat to their legitimacy. Other political currents usually maintained some sort of existence, albeit within communist-dominated fronts. Democratic socialists had to choose between forcible merger with

communists and exile. Over the decades the popular roots of democratic socialism inevitably withered. The result was that the great pro-democracy movements of the late 1980s, while essentially democratic socialist in orientation, had little direct connection with the historic parties.

## **Trends in western and southern Europe**

It is too early to discern what impact the 1989 east European revolutions will have on the fortunes of western and southern European democratic socialist parties at the polls. As the accompanying table shows, only one post-1989 general election has so far been held - in Greece, where the SI member party, PASOK, lost its hold on power.

The table shows that democratic socialism retains a strong electoral base in western Europe. Within the 12-nation European Community, eight of the SI's 15 member parties (Belgium, Italy and the United Kingdom each providing two parties) gained ground in their most recent general election. Six of the 12 countries are governed by democratic socialist parties, either alone or in coalition, and these include three of the most populous countries, France, Italy and Spain. Of the other two, there is every prospect that the British Labour Party will at last put an end to the so-called 'Thatcher revolution' in the next UK election, while the German Social Democrats face an earlier test in the post-unification elections due in December this year. They have the disadvantage of seeking to oust a government enjoying the benefits of incumbency during the historic achievement of German unity. But if united Germany does elect an SPD government, its impact on the political evolution of countries further east is likely to be considerable.

In non-EC western Europe, the recent electoral performance of democratic socialist parties has been less impressive. In the non-EC Nordic countries (ie excluding Denmark), only the Icelandic party advanced in its last election.

**Continued on page 64**

# 1990 Election Survey

## Recent election results of SI member parties

62 Country	Party	Date of last election	Percentage of vote	Seats/total*	Previous election % seats/total*
Aruba	*People's Electoral Movement (MEP)	6.01.89	41.5	10/21	37.6 8/21
Australia	Australian Labor Party (ALP)	24.03.90	40.0	78/148	45.8 86/148
Austria	Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ)	23.10.86	43.1	80/183	47.8 90/183
Barbados	Barbados Labour Party (BLP)	28.05.86	40.4	3/27	52.2 17/27
Belgium	Socialist Party (PS)	13.12.87	15.7	40/212	13.8 35/212
	Socialist Party (SP)	13.12.87	14.9	32/212	14.5 32/212
Bolivia	*Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR)	7.05.89	19.6	30/130	8.8 16/130
Brazil	Democratic Labour Party (PDT)	15.11.86	n.a.	24/487	n.a. 24/479
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Social Democratic Party	10/17.06.90	n.a.	29/200	- -
Burkina Faso	Progressive Front of Upper Volta (FVP)		no recent electoral participation		
Canada	New Democratic Party (NDP)	21.11.88	20.4	43/295	18.8 30/282
Chile	Radical Party (PR)	14.12.89	n.a.	4/38 <sup>1</sup>	- -
Costa Rica	National Liberation Party (PLN)	4.02.90	47.2	25/57	52.3 29/57
Curaçao	Movement for a New Antilles (MAN)	16.03.90	n.a.	2/22	27.7 4/22
Czechoslovakia	Social Democratic Party	8/9.06.90	n.a.	0/150	- -
Cyprus	*EDEK Socialist Party	8.12.85	11.1	6/56	8.2 3/35
Denmark	Social Democratic Party	10.05.88	29.9	55/175	29.3 54/175
Dominican Republic	Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)	16.05.90	23.0	33/120	39.2 48/120
Ecuador	Democratic Left (ID)	31.01.88	20.2	29/71	28.7 25/71
Egypt	National Democratic Party (NDP)	6.04.87	n.a.	346/448	n.a. 390/448
El Salvador	National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)		no recent electoral participation		
Estonia	*Estonian Socialist Party		no national electoral participation as yet		
Finland	Social Democratic Party of Finland	15/16.03.87	24.1	56/200	26.7 57/200
France	Socialist Party (PS)	5/12.06.88	34.8 <sup>2</sup>	260/575	31.0 207/577
Germany (West)	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	25.01.87	37.0	186/497	38.2 193/496
Germany (East)	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	18.03.90	21.9	88/400	- -
Great Britain	Labour Party	11.06.87	30.8	229/650	27.6 209/650
Greece	Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	8.04.90	38.6	123/300	40.7 127/300
Greenland	*Siumut	26.05.87	39.8	11/27	44.2 11/25
Guatemala	Democratic Socialist Party (PSD)	3.11.85	3.4	2/100	- -
Guyana	Working People's Alliance (WPA)	9.12.85	1.4	1/53	- -
Haiti	National Progressive Revolutionary Party (PANPRA)		no electoral participation as yet		
Hungary	Social Democratic Party	25.3-8.04.90	3.6	0/394	- -
Iceland	Social Democratic Party	25.04.87	15.2	10/63	11.7 6/60
Ireland	Labour Party	12.02.87	6.5	12/166	9.4 16/166
Israel	Israel Labour Party	1.11.88	30.0	39/120	34.9 <sup>3</sup> 39/120
	United Workers' Party (MAPAM)	1.11.88	2.5	3/120	
Italy	Italian Socialist Party (PSI)	14/15.06.87	14.3	94/630	11.4 73/630
	Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI)	14/15.06.87	3.0	17/630	4.1 23/630
Jamaica	Peoples' National Party (PNP)	9.02.89	55.8	45/60	- -
Japan	Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ)	18.02.90	24.4	136/512	17.2 86/512
	Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)	18.02.90	4.8	14/512	6.4 26/512
Latvia	*Social Democratic Workers' Party		no national electoral participation as yet		

Country	Party	Date of last election	Percentage of vote	Seats/total*	Previous election % seats/total*
Lebanon	Progressive Socialist Party (PSP)	no recent electoral participation			
Lithuania	†Social Democratic Party	4/10.03.90	n.a.	9/90	-
Luxembourg	Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP/POSL)	18.06.89	27.2	18/60	33.6 21/64
Madagascar	Party for National Unity (VITM)	no recent electoral participation			
Malaysia	Democratic Action Party (DAP)	2/3.08.86	20.1	24/177	19.6 9/154
Malta	Malta Labour Party (MLP)	9.05.87	48.9	34/69	49.1 34/65
Mauritius	Mauritius Labour Party	30.08.87	n.a.	9/62	n.a. 7/62
Morocco	†Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP)	14.09.84	n.a.	36/306	n.a. 16/264
Nepal	†Nepali Congress Party (NCP)	no recent electoral participation			
Netherlands	Labour Party (PvdA)	6.09.89	31.9	49/150	33.3 52/150
New Zealand	New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP)	13.08.87	47.0	58/97	43.0 56/95
Northern Ireland	Social Democratic and Labour Party(SDLP)	11.06.87	21.63	3/17	17.9 <sup>4</sup> 1/17
Norway	Norwegian Labour Party (DNA)	11.09.89	34.3	63/165	40.8 71/157
Pakistan	†Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	16/19.11.88	n.a.	95/217	-
Paraguay	Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF)	1.05.89	2.1	2/72	-
Peru	†Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP)	8.04.90	2.6	45/180	45.7 107/180
Poland	†Polish Socialist Party	no recent electoral participation			
Portugal	Socialist Party (PS)	19.07.87	22.2	60/250	20.8 57/250
Puerto Rico	†Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP)	8.11.88	7.0	1/51	7.6 1/51
Romania	†Romanian Social Democratic Party	20.05.90	0.5	2/400	-
St Lucia	†Progressive Labour Party (PLP)	30.04.87	6.1	0/17	9.2 0/17
St Vincent	†St Vincent Labour Party (SVLP)	16.05.89	n.a.	0/15	41.4 4/13
San Marino	San Marino Socialist Party (PSS)	29.05.88	n.a.	15/60 <sup>5</sup>	n.a. 17/60 <sup>4</sup>
Senegal	Socialist Party of Senegal (PS)	28.02.88	71.3	103/120	79.9 111/120
Spain	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)	29.10.89	39.6	175/350	44.3 184/350
Sweden	Social Democratic Party (SAP)	18.09.88	43.7	156/349	44.7 159/349
Switzerland	Swiss Social Democratic Party (SSP)	18.10.87	18.4	41/200	22.8 47/200
Tunisia	Constitutional Democratic Assembly (RCD)	2.04.89	80.5	141/141	n.a. 125/125
	†Popular Unity Movement (MUP)	no recent electoral participation			
Turkey	Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP)	29.11.87	24.8	99/450	-
	†Democratic Left Party (DSP)	29.11.87	8.5	0/450	-
United States	Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)	operates within Democratic Party			
	Social Democrats USA (SDUSA)	operates within Democratic Party			
Venezuela	Democratic Action (AD)	4.12.88	52.9	97/201	43.3 109/196
	†People's Electoral Movement (MEP)	4.12.88	n.a.	0/201	2.0 0/196
Yugoslavia	†Socialist Party of Yugoslavia	no national electoral participation as yet			

#### Notes

\* Data relates to lower house elections in cases of bicameral parliament.

† Consultative member party.

n.a. = Not available or voting system not susceptible to percentage analysis.

<sup>1</sup> Elected senators.

<sup>2</sup> First round of voting.

<sup>3</sup> Labour-MAPAM joint list in 1984.

<sup>4</sup> Percentage of votes cast in Northern Ireland at UK general elections.

<sup>5</sup> Aggregate of Socialist and Socialist Unity parties, now merged as PSS.

Previous elections surveys have appeared in SA 1/87, 1/85, 1/83 and 2/80.

Nevertheless, SI parties remain by far the strongest single political force in most of these countries, as indicated by their continued hold on governmental power. No less than five of the six countries referred to have SI parties in office. Nor should it be overlooked that SI parties form the principal opposition in both Malta and Turkey.

### **Latin America**

Beyond its historic European heartland, democratic socialism inevitably obtains much patchier results in electoral terms. But the recent expansion of the Socialist International indicates that there are many bright spots. Notably in Latin America, the departure of military dictatorships has enabled parties of the democratic left to re-emerge and contest elections. As the table shows, SI parties in Latin America have generally polled strongly in recent contests, and several currently form or participate in the governments of their countries. The continuing conflict and repression of the left in Central America is a blot on this picture. On the other hand, labour and democratic socialist parties command a powerful vote in the Caribbean.

### **The Arab world**

In the Arab world, the recent decision of the ruling parties of Egypt and Tunisia to take up SI membership has boosted democratic socialism's credentials as a world movement. But any meaningful assessment of the popular appeal of democratic socialism in that region must await other Arab states opting for the path of political pluralism. The same is true of sub-Saharan Africa, although here a new democratic wind of change is already beginning to make itself felt. With the notable exception of Senegal, where an SI member party is in government, the one-party or non-party state is still the norm, but several promising multi-party experiments have been initiated.

### **Asia and the Pacific**

In Pakistan, the People's Party led the restoration of parliamentary rule in 1988 under the banner of democratic socialism,

but that new dawn has proved to be false. The SI parties in Mauritius and Malaysia have both prospered in recent elections, in countries handicapped by racial and religious divisions. By contrast, democratic socialist parties are electorally and organisationally powerful in developed countries in the Pacific region. The Socialist Party of Japan polled strongly in this year's election and, if the Japanese economic miracle begins to falter, could at last lead a centre-left coalition into power next time round. In Australia and New Zealand Labour parties have been in power since 1983 and 1984 respectively.

### **Challenges and Prospects**

Worldwide, SI parties are currently represented in the governments of 28 countries (alone or in coalition) and command the support of over 200 million voters, despite the fact that a dozen of the 79 SI member parties have been unable to contest recent elections. Taking account of those formations, and also the numerous other parties of the left with which the SI has close relations, it is clear that democratic socialism has a world reach which no other political movement can rival.

As the tables on pages 62-3 indicate, not a few parties of the democratic left suffered electoral setbacks in the late 1980s, and the spread of democratic socialism in the third world, while indisputable, is still very uneven. But the evidence does suggest that, if the movement can apply its basic principles to a number of key challenges in the 1990s, there is every reason to expect the coming decade to be one of electoral and political advance for democratic socialism on many fronts.



# About the SI

## The Socialist International

Maritime House  
Old Town  
Clapham  
London SW4 OJW  
United Kingdom

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

The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 91 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, who was elected at the Congress in 1989.

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

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

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

### President

Willy Brandt

### Honorary presidents

Gonzalo Barrios  
Rodrigo Borja  
Jos van Eynde  
Michael Foot  
Anker Jørgensen  
Lionel Jospin  
Sicco Mansholt  
Ian Mikardo  
Irène Pétry

Ramón Rubial  
Léopold Senghor  
Mário Soares  
Fernando Vera  
Gough Whitlam

### Vice-presidents

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

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

**Ex-officio**  
Anita Gradin (SIW)  
Alfred Gusenbauer  
(IUSY/IFM)  
José Francisco Peña  
Gómez (SICLAC)  
Guy Spitaels (CSPEC)

### Secretary General

Luis Ayala

### Members

#### Full member parties

Australian Labor Party, ALP  
Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ  
Barbados Labour Party  
Socialist Party, PS, Belgium  
Socialist Party, SP, Belgium  
Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil  
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party  
Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso  
New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada  
Radical Party of Chile, PR  
National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica  
Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao  
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party  
Social Democratic Party, Denmark  
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic  
Democratic Left, ID, Ecuador  
National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt  
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador  
Social Democratic Party, SDP, Finland  
Socialist Party, PS, France  
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Republic of Germany  
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, German Democratic Republic  
The Labour Party, Great Britain  
Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, Greece  
Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD  
Social Democratic Party of Hungary  
Social Democratic Party, Iceland  
The Labour Party, Ireland  
Israel Labour Party  
United Workers' Party, MAPAM, Israel  
Italian Social Democratic Party, PSDI  
Italian Socialist Party, PSI  
Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica  
Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP  
Socialist Party of Japan, SPI  
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon  
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSIL  
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  
National Progressive Revolutionary 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  
Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP  
Progressive Labour Party of St. Lucia, PLP  
St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party, SVGLP  
Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia  
Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey  
People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

#### Consultative parties - members of SUCEE

Estonian Socialist Party  
Social Democratic Workers' Party of Latvia  
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party  
Polish Socialist Party  
Romanian Social Democratic Party  
Socialist Party of Yugoslavia

#### Fraternal organisations

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

#### Associated organisations

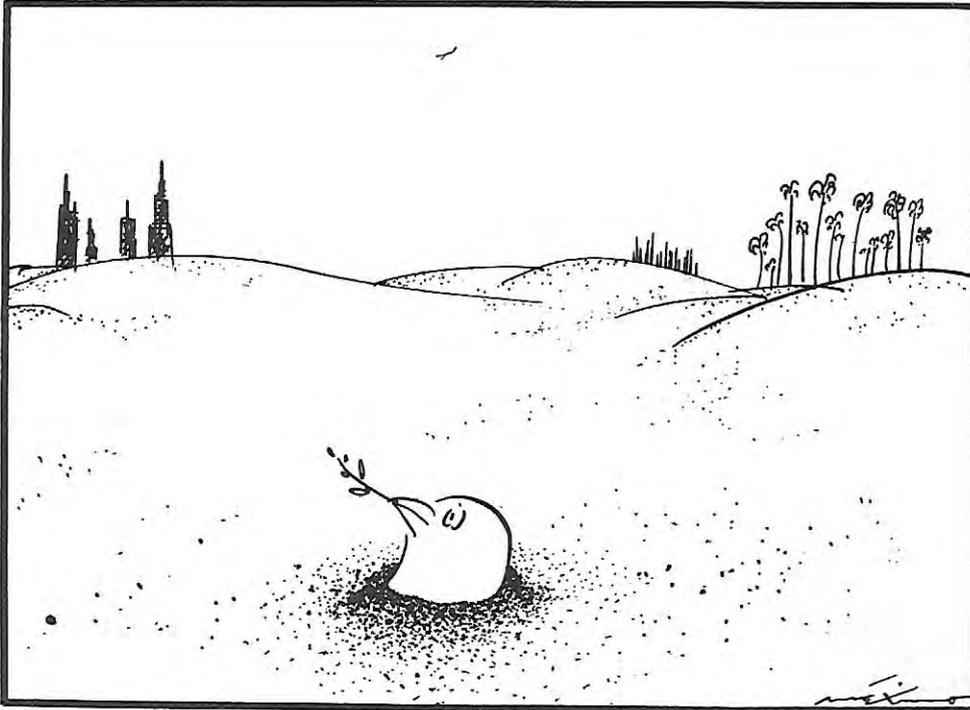
Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO  
Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community  
International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP  
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers, IUSDT  
Jewish Labour Bund, JLB  
Labour Sports International, CSIT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

## LAST WORD

66

*'It is not hard to imagine a nineteenth-century Michael Howard arguing that banning children from climbing chimneys would cost jobs.'*

Ada Maddocks, president of the British Trades Union Congress, sums up the character of the Secretary of State for Employment.



Cartoon by Máximo, from El País, 10 September 1990

*'As we watched the staring eyes of the oppressors and the torturers, year in and year out, and felt the pain of their cruelty, year in and year out, we understood that we could not end the nightmare by surrendering ourselves to the passion of hatred and the spirit of vengeance and retribution.'*

Nelson Mandela, addressing the European Parliament

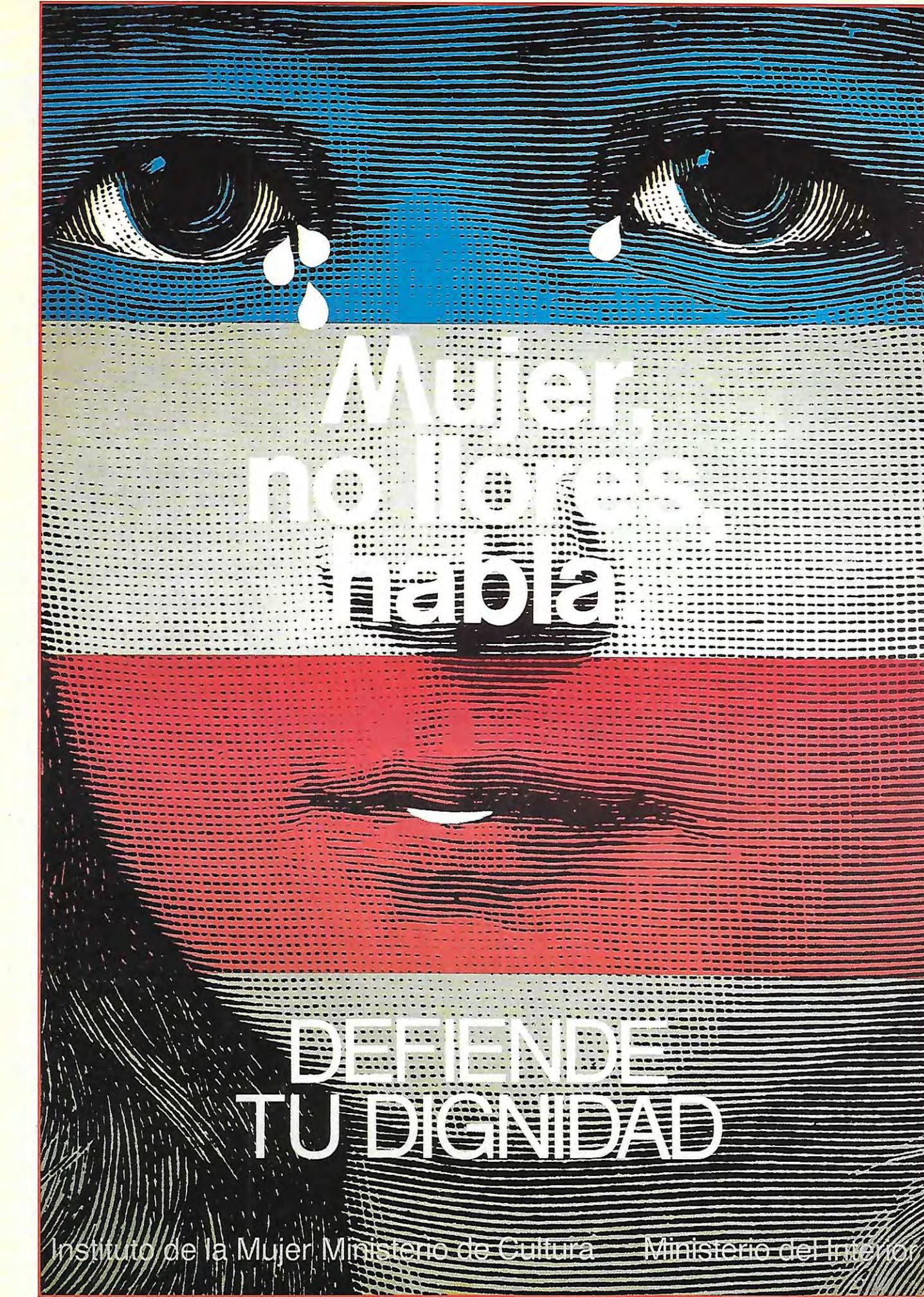
**'Any international organisation, any church group that works in the countryside, that works with the poorest of the poor, is automatically suspect. I see it as indicative of the way all humanitarian organisations are treated here.'**

Jody Williams, associate director of Medical Aid for El Salvador, whose million dollar shipment of medical equipment has been delayed for seven months by Salvadorean customs.

*'I think we should give you our coffee. I don't see why we bother to sell it at all'.*

Julius Nyerere commenting on the effects of world market fluctuations on the Tanzanian economy.





Mujer,  
no llores,  
habla

DEFIENDE  
TU DIGNIDAD

Instituto de la Mujer Ministerio de Cultura Ministerio del Interior

*Woman, don't cry. Speak out. Stand up for your rights.  
The official Spanish Institute for Women*