

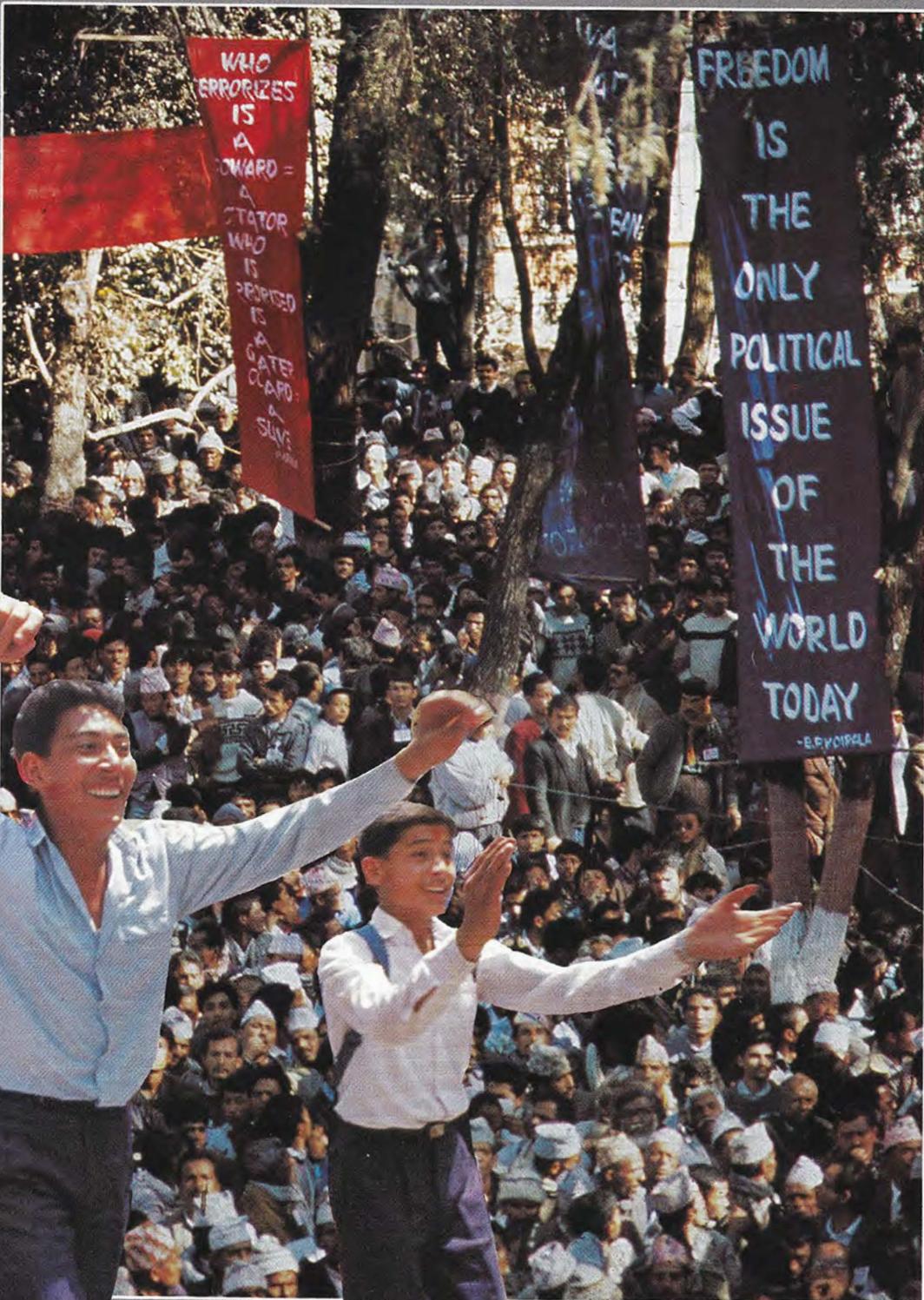


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66 THE LAST WORD

AN ACTIVE COMMITMENT TO PEACE

3

The Socialist International's permanent commitment to peace and disarmament has been reflected forcefully in two very different areas of the world this year.

In February, an SI mission was on hand in the jungles of Colombia at a unique moment of Colombia's political development. The M-19 guerrillas, foresaking the armed struggle for the electoral one, yielded up their weapons to the SI delegation, in accordance with the request of both the Colombian government and the guerrillas. The weapons were passed over to a foundry for melting down. Carlos Pizarro, the M-19 leader, was later assassinated during the presidential election campaign, but his movement's action - and the SI's part in it - was already part of Colombia's history. It was an event in which all who were involved could take a justifiable pride.

Less dramatic, but no less important, was the achievement of agreement at the Cairo meeting of the SI Council on a resolution about the Middle East. That resolution, whose full text is published in this number, is also part of the annals of the Middle Eastern peace process.

The continued violence in Colombia and the lack of a peace agreement in the Middle East are not blunting the SI initiatives. Quite the reverse.

BERLIN: IN THE CENTRE OF EUROPE, NOT IN THE EAST

I am a representative of a very young and, at the same time, a very old party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany. In November last year, as we were invited to the Socialist International Council in Geneva, we were less than eight weeks old. At that time we assumed the old and traditional name of our party, because the foundation of the party last year was the clear continuation of an old tradition.

The face of Europe has been changed very quickly by the developments in Central and Eastern Europe. I am an example of this development. One year ago, the SPD existed only in my mind and in the mind of my friend Martin Gutzeit. Today, after the illegal founding of the party in October 1989, I am the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new government which we form in coalition with other parties. Similar rapid developments took place in some countries of Eastern Europe. In others, progress is taking longer.

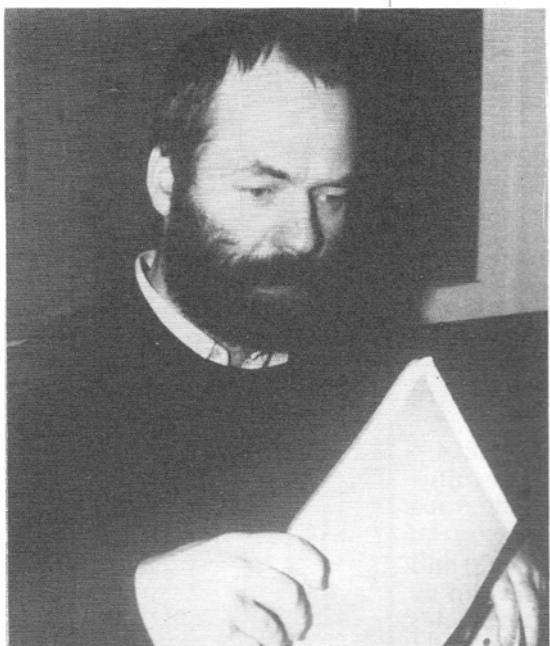
One year ago exactly, I had an experience at the European Ecumenical Meeting for Justice, Peace and the Conservation of Creation, in Basel, which deeply impressed me. The GDR delegation, to which I belonged, consulted with representatives of Eastern European churches. In our opinion, the draft of the final conference document was too strongly determined by Western European considerations. We wanted more Eastern European concerns voiced. But immediately the question arose about whether there were common Eastern European concerns. We eventually realised that what we had in common was the strait jacket of a system which we had been suffering under for forty years and a common history of liberation from it.

Today Eastern Europe breathes freely after a long tyranny. The peoples of the region recall their national and their religious identity, both of them very much suppressed in the past, both now won back after a hard fight. Today there is a common commitment to democracy in Eastern and Western Europe, to parliamentary democracy and guarantees of human rights. It is in such commitments that Europe finds its identity. The division of the continent into two hostile ideological camps is largely a thing of the past - though enough problems still remain for the journey to a united Europe to be a complicated and long one. Though we social democrats do not enjoy a majority position in Eastern Europe, we do have important tasks to carry out on this journey.

The peoples of Eastern Europe need international solidarity and the sensitivity of the outside world when it comes to consider their problems. They need renewed international contacts. It is just one more sign of the history of Eastern and Western Europe in recent decades that we were cut off from these contacts. In the past, many people were denied the opportunity of taking part in international life.

The task of building a new Europe is meanwhile a task still to be completed. The Europe of the future will not and must not be merely the quantitative extension of Western Europe. This is a challenge for all European institutions. The economic integration of Eastern Europe is a long- and medium-term task for the European Community. For its part, the Council of Europe can play an

Markus Meckel, the new Social Democratic foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, reflects on Eastern European realities.



Associated Press

Marcus Meckel: social democrat and foreign minister

important role in the common intellectual project of the Europe of the future, very important because of the role of its parliamentarians. At the same time, political integration in the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is increasingly important.

We need new all-European security structures. No doubt, there must be a continuation of existing structures, but there must, too, be a change in these structures. NATO and the Warsaw Pact have to be transformed into alliances with more political aspects which will dissolve in an all-European security system. But the new Europe which is developing has itself to fulfil important tasks. It cannot and must not be that Europe is only concerned with itself. The unification process in Europe must not be realised at the expense of the third world. This is the declared aim of the GDR's foreign policy.

The construction of a market economy by the peoples of Eastern Europe - necessitated by our common experience of a centrally controlled economy which does not work - does not at all mean that we adore the market economy. We know its problems. We do not want to live at others' expense, and we know at the same time that we do.

We will use our strength, for the moment very small, for the solution of the global and international economic problems. I think of unjust structures of world economy and trade, of the indigence and the hunger of the South, the debt problem and the world-wide ecological problems. All this is closely linked to the civilisation which Europe produced. It will be a central task of the new Europe to contribute to a new, transformed civilisation.

Meanwhile we Germans want to unite, and we are glad that this is recognised by the powers which were victorious in the Second World War as well as by Germany's neighbours. This is important for us. But at the same time the unification of Germany will be a step towards a united Europe. This step we intend to take.

As we look to the West, we do not want to turn our backs on the peoples in the East. Over the past forty years, we bore a common burden. And, as I have already said, it was a common experience to shake off the yoke of Stalinist power. We want to preserve this common ground.

Together we want to take part in erecting a new Europe. Berlin was once the symbol of the division of Europe. That wall has now gone. We want Berlin, as the capital of a unified Germany, to be at the same time a European and open city. Berlin is situated in the centre of Europe, not in the east. The Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow line will be of central importance for the Europe of the future. The Soviet Union, too, will be integrated into the new Europe in the fields of economy, politics and security. We consider attention to the interest of the Soviet Union a matter of interest to ourselves. There must never be a threat to other states arising from Germany. A significant reduction of the offensive capability is necessary, which takes into consideration the fears of the Soviet Union concerning Central Europe.

We know that we are facing difficult talks in the framework of 'Two-Plus-Four', the consultations between the two Germanies and the four allied powers. We also know that the solution will not be lasting if the interests of all parties are not taken into account. But we need such a solution, because it will determine the future. The unification of Germany must not result in instability in Europe. We want a democratic Germany whose internal structures and attitudes to the outside world will be determined by conscious self-determination of the people.

Respect for human rights and basic human liberties, democracy and freedom, will not only be fixed in the constitution, but will be a living reality. It will be a Germany which does not tolerate race hatred, hostility against foreigners, political terror and arbitrary suppression of people holding different opinions. We want a Germany which is a good partner to the other peoples, a partner in greater justice and solidarity, in human rights and in democracy. In the framework of the Socialist International, we social democrats are already experiencing such a partnership.

BIRTH AND REBIRTH: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The momentous political developments which have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe have reaffirmed social democratic ideals and values, as can be seen in the revitalisation of traditional and historical social democratic parties and forces, and the birth of new ones.

While social democratic ideas have played their part in those developments, social democrats have been convening and organising themselves throughout the region.

These forces have been looking to the parties of the Socialist International for friendship and support. Many have sought to revive their old affiliation in our global family of social democratic and labour parties, others have been seeking membership of the Socialist International for the first time.

While the political focus has moved away from the scenario familiar since the end of the Second World War, in most countries pluralism has become a reality and in this new democratic framework, social democratic forces are consolidating and advancing.

In what was one of the first elections in the Central and East European electoral timetable of this year, the Social Democratic Party, SPD, in the German Democratic Republic, which was formed only last October, gained 22 per cent of the vote in the elections which took place on March 18.

Subsequently, the SPD joined in the governing coalition in which it holds a number of cabinet posts, among them that of foreign minister which Markus Meckel occupies. The party also obtained good results in the municipal elections held later in May.

At the first congress of the party in February in Leipzig, SI president Willy Brandt was elected honorary president of the party, symbolising the close collaboration with the SPD in West Germany. The Council meeting of the Socialist International in Cairo, on May 22-23, warmly and unanimously welcomed the SPD of the German Democratic Republic as a full member party of the Socialist International, a decision which anticipates the merging of the two German parties.

Earlier, at the SI Council meeting in Geneva in November 1989, it was decided to revitalise the full SI membership of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, which had just held its reconstituting congress in Budapest. The party campaigned with vigour, in the face of great difficulties, in the general elections which took place on March 25 and laid the foundations of its future development.

In Czechoslovakia, events also moved quickly. Last November, different personalities in Prague associated with the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia were working within the Civic Forum, joining forces to open the way to democracy in that country. Once that objective was secured, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party moved to re-establish itself as a political party in its own right. The party held a constituent congress on March 24-25, where statutes and a party programme were adopted and a leadership elected. The Social Democrats campaigned with their own list of candidates in the

Luis Ayala, the SI secretary general, considers a fast-moving situation

7

elections on June 6, there having previously been a cooperation agreement between the Czech and the Slovak Social Democrats who had also been active within the framework of the Federative Republic. The Party's full membership of the Socialist International was revitalised at the SI Council meeting in Cairo, where it was represented by its leader Jiri Horak.

In January, 1990, the Romanian Social Democratic Party announced the resumption of its activities in Bucharest. Its leader Sergiu Cunescu, historically linked to the old Romanian Social Democratic Party, is well known to many in the Socialist International. The legacy of the Ceausescu regime has made the road to democracy in Romania particularly difficult. But members of the Social Democratic Party have made strides in assisting the process of democratisation. The Socialist International has maintained constant contact with them, sending a mission to Romania in April and then a delegation to observe the tumultuous elections in May, when the Social Democratic Party gained representation in parliament.

In Bulgaria, following initiatives throughout 1989 to reactivate the work of the Social Democratic Party, it resumed its activities in November 1989. Following an organisational session in early January 1990, the party held a conference on March 31. The conference was convened in the context of an upsurge in the democratic movement which had led to the establishment of the Union of Democratic Forces, UDF, of which the Social Democrats are one of the leading components.

The UDF campaigned in the first democratic elections to be held in Bulgaria. These took place on June 10. The Socialist International, having previously sent a mission to Bulgaria in March, also sent a delegation to observe the elections. With some reported irregularities, the results were nevertheless generally accepted. The UDF emerged from the elections as a prominent political force and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, headed by Peter Dertliev, gained 29 seats in the parliament which will now act as a constituent assembly during the next eighteen months.

At the Socialist International Council meeting in Cairo, the full SI membership of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, like that of the Czechoslovakian party, was revitalised.

In Yugoslavia, at federal level, the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia was re-launched at a constitutional assembly held on April 24 in Belgrade. The headquarters of the party have officially been transferred to Belgrade and from there it has resumed its activities. At present they are working to establish the party as a force organising social democrats from all parts of the country.

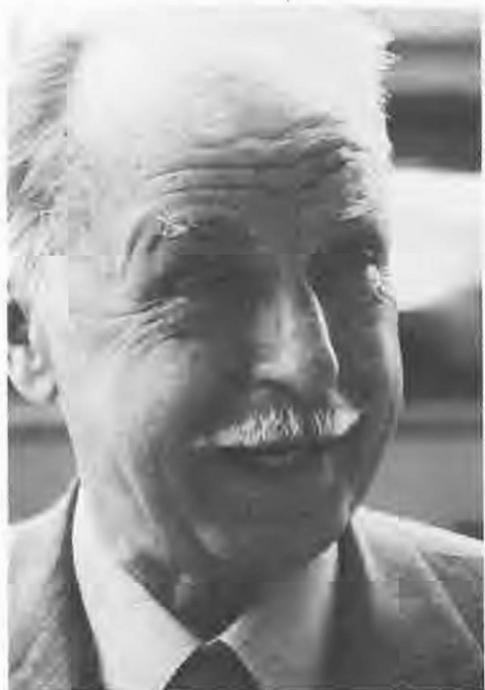
Also in Yugoslavia, the Social Democratic Party (formerly Union) of Slovenia was founded in February 1989, with around 20 regional organisations. Their first congress took place in February 24, 1990 when an election programme was adopted and a new leadership elected. They participated in coalition with other forces in the Slovenian elections in April 8, and now have a number of members in the government in Ljubljana. A Social Democratic Party is also in existence in Croatia where a first congress was held in Zagreb on June 2.

The Polish Socialist Party, PPS, active for some time within SUCCE (Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe) from its base outside the country, and increasingly important within Poland, has been building up its strength in the course of the renewed political activity of recent years.

Some of the PPS leaders have been working within the structures of Solidarity and other areas of political life in Poland. All have won a great degree of esteem from their compatriots. In the months to come Polish social democrats will further consolidate their work. A commission is at work to convene a congress in Warsaw to be held in the last quarter of this year.

In the Baltic republics, following a revival of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania at a first meeting in August 1989, the party held its XIV congress, re-establishing congress, in Vilnius on December 2-3. The congress elected Kazimieras Antanavicius as chairman of the party. On 24 February the party won parliamentary seats in the general elections.

**Peter Dertliev:
Bulgarian Social
Democrats
now in Parliament**



Cheryl Hatch

The Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party held its 20th congress in December 1989 in Latvia. That congress legally re-established the party, and adopted new statutes and a party programme. Since the congress, the exile wing of the party has been operating as a branch of the united party.

8 A first 'Forum of Estonian Social Democracy' was held in Tartu, Estonia, on January 12 this year. The guidelines for a social democratic programme were discussed and the goals for an Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party (ESDIP) were presented. The Party had its congress on May 19. The ESDIP sees itself as the continuation of the social democratic tradition which dates back to the first half of the century.

On January 13-14 1990, the Association of Social Democrats of the USSR held a meeting in Tallinn - considered to be their first congress - with the participation of delegates and a large number of guests and visitors from many parts of the Soviet Union, including Moscow, Leningrad, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, among others.

The meeting agreed to register the Association under the new Soviet laws for voluntary organisations. Membership of the Association is open to both individuals and affiliated organisations.

The Association has three elected co-chairs: Oleg Rumjancev of the newly constituted Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation, Vello Saatpalu of the Estonian Democratic Labour Party, and Nikolai Tutov, a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Other social democratic parties have been holding their meetings or congresses during the last few months, as has been the case in the Russian Federation or the Ukraine and among social democrats in Armenia.

The movement for reform and change has had its effects among communist parties which in many countries of the region have announced changes in their political outlook. These announcements have also embraced changes of name and slogans. In Poland, following the dissolution of the Polish United Workers' Party there came the announcement of the establishment of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, - and other groups. In Hungary, the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party became the Hungarian Socialist Party. In the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist Unity Party now calls itself the Party of Democratic Socialism and the Bulgarian Communist Party has changed its name to the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Some of these parties have sought contacts with Socialist International. Our President Willy Brandt wrote not long ago that truly reformed ex-communist parties should not be excluded from an exchange of views and practical cooperation, but that we should be restrictive in accepting their early membership of our established organisation. 'Credentials', he wrote, 'must entail more than just new labels or borrowed slogans'.

Within the distinctive circumstances of each country and the varying degrees of organisation and democratic development, it is clear that the Socialist International will continue to be occupied with party developments in Central and Eastern Europe and the evolution of social democracy in a region in which those values were once forced into the shadows.

*Hugh O'Shaughnessy writes
on the career of
the prime minister of Australia*

The Australian Labor Party has just won its fourth successive term in government and all sorts of Australian parliamentary records have been shattered. Labor's victory - albeit a very narrow victory - has confirmed the place of Robert James Lee Hawke in the Australian history books. It has fully justified his fruity comment last year that: 'the other mob have been so busy stabbing each other in the back that they have not found time to formulate policy'. 'The other mob', the conservative coalition, have seen their hopes of winning power in one of the world's largest and most lightly populated countries put off again.

Against the forecast of many prophets of gloom, Hawke has consolidated his reputation as a tough politician who has been able to command the loyalty of trade unionists while demonstrating to many of Australia's best known industrialists that they would be better off with Labor than with a much divided and vacillating opposition. Hawke has acknowledged, for instance, that Kerry Packer, one of Australia's leading entrepreneurs, is 'a very close friend and a very great Australian.'

Hawke was born on 9 December 1929 in Bordertown, South Australia, near the limit with the state of Victoria, but he grew up in Western Australia, going to school and university in Perth.

In 1953, his intellectual power was recognised and he went to Oxford as the Western Australian Rhodes Scholar of that year.

By the time he went to Britain as a 23 year-old, he had already been a member of the Labor Party for 6 years. On his return, he combined a research scholarship at the Australian National University in Canberra with advisory work for the Australian Confederation of Trade Unions. He joined the ACTU full-time in 1958, after more than a decade of acquiring an intimate knowledge of and popularity in the Australian labor movement. He was elected its president in September 1969 and held that post until September 1980.

He is a member of three unions, the Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union of Australia, the Federated Clerks' Union of Australia and



**BOB
HAWKE**

the Amalgamated Metals, Foundry and Shipwrights' Union.

But by 1980, having had 5 years as president of the Labor Party, he opted for a parliamentary career. In October 1980, he won the suburban Melbourne seat of Wills in the Canberra legislature. In February 1983, he succeeded Bill Hayden as party leader. Within a month, Labor had won the election and on 11 March Bob Hawke was appointed prime minister for the first time. He guided Labor to a second victory in 1984, a third in 1987 and a fourth this year.

His wooing of Australian industry has meanwhile caused him problems with the Australian far left who once idealised him. His political tactics, however, have been unmatched in Australia's history. His prime-ministerial aircraft is unofficially known as 'Charisma One'.

His devotion to the domestic concerns of the Australian trade union movement has not blinded him to international issues. He presided over the glittering Australian bicentennial celebration last year, as his country received the world's congratulations.

In 1986, he made sure that the residual powers of the Westminster parliament to make law for Australia were terminated. Yet he has remarked: 'since our bicentennial celebration, the relationship between Australia and Britain has been revitalised and modernised. The most remarkable thing about our relationship is not the extent of the change but the substance which endures.'

In 1987 he was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

He has made clear his strong difference of opinion with his New Zealand cousins about their opposition to nuclear weapons.

His time as a member of the governing board of the International Labour Organisation recognised his particular expertise in the trade union field.

His ascent to the top and his stay in power have not been effortless, but he has put behind him an often wild personal life, as he becomes one of the grand and still powerful old men of politics in the Southern Hemisphere.

CHILE STARTS RECOVERING FROM PINOCHET

The definition of a foreign policy cannot be achieved only in a cabinet room. It is the expression of the will and the style of a people as they relate to the community of nations. There is therefore an intimate relationship between their own social circumstances and the political and geographic circumstances that surround them. In establishing the international policies of Chile we wish to interpret the national consensus on this matter rooted in the mandate received by President Aylwin in the elections.

When the policies agreed by the parties which won the last elections prescribe that Chile should 'recover and increase the prestige and international influence that were the mark of the nation in democratic times' it alludes not to the country's physical attributes such as territory, population, economic capacity and military resources but to those 'intangible assets' such as the established democracy and an economic, cultural and educational development which stood out in Latin America.

The first task therefore has been to take up again that successful Chilean tradition.

The second was to formulate policies on an ethical and political basis and take account of the lessons of our recent past. The promotion of human rights and democracy appear therefore as fundamental and essential factors in our external relations.

The third is to take full account of Chilean and international factors; to adopt a satisfactory development strategy; to conduct a social market economy open to the rest of the world; to assume pragmatism and realism as the suitable styles for national and international relations; to accept the eclipse of dogmas in the world; to take into account the desire for understanding, cooperation and peace which is moving Chilean society; to assume the inter-dependence which is emerging at a time of international *détente* which has come about by the increasingly multi-polar nature of the world and by the collapse of dictatorships of all types; to come to terms with an era in which greater emphasis is put on people, morality, law and democracy.

Taking all of this into account we will have a foreign policy which will be in tune with the demands of the present day and which will serve the permanent Chile which we must always keep in front of us.

The bases of policy of the group of democratic political parties in government fixed as their first aim that of putting Chile back into the concert of nations. These bases have since 11 March been backed by the overwhelming majority of Chileans.

Our country supports full respect for human rights and seeks the strengthening of democracy as a form of government. With an open economy, Chile defends freedom of trade, the shaping of an economic order based on social justice, financial cooperation and technological inter-dependence.

As we said, the active promotion of human rights and democracy does not respond just to tradition, but also to the collective experience of Chile in recent years.

I must emphasise that such an active policy is not at odds with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, since human rights constitute a prime legal concept backed by international law, which has a

*Enrique Silva Cimma,
leader of the Chilean
Radical Party, writes
about some of the tasks
facing him as foreign
minister in a democratic
government.*

higher status than that of the domestic law of states.

Chile will not seek to become a leader. Our country will abandon all ideological pre-conditions in the conduct of its foreign affairs, and will take account of pluralism in its relations with others.

The first area in which Chile will become active on the international scene once again is Latin America. Its political, economic and cultural interests link Chile to this continent.

The presence in Santiago of ten presidents, one vice-president and ten foreign ministers from Latin America when President Aylwin took office, taken with the official visit of the president of Mexico, showed the continuing friendship and respect for Chile that exists in our region.

The restoration of democracy in Chile was vital for the consolidation of democracy in the region and was enough to give Chile back the role that she had once played in Latin America.

In the context of regional organisations, our contribution to bodies such as the Organisation of American States, SELA (Latin American Economic System), ALADI (the Latin American Integration Association) and others reflects our commitment to their efficient operation. In our view, the strengthening of ALADI and SELA must, in so far as possible, be simultaneous operations because neither one must be weakened by the other.

I must lay emphasis on the fact that the government looks with favour on the sub-regional integration schemes, particularly the Treaty of Cartagena, of which we were co-founders with Colombia. I must recognise, as well, that our eventual re-entry to that organisation is an initiative which must demand the political and economic realism that will be our style. Our estrangement from the Andean Group has lasted nearly 15 years and we want to overcome this state of affairs. But we want to re-enter the Andean Group in a way which will be of benefit to all and with no damage of any sort.

The vital nature of our relations with our neighbours is a permanent factor of our foreign policy. A summary historical analysis of these relations in the 1970s and 80s shows that there was potential for conflict which we would have considered unthinkable in the 1960s. The first obligation of the foreign ministry is, as a consequence, to carry out a careful analysis of those potential situations, to determine their roots and put a definitive end to the possibility of conflict.

With Argentina, we are starting a frank dialogue on various themes of integration and bi-lateral collaboration foreseen in our Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

It is a diplomatic fact of the first importance that the president of Peru came to President Aylwin's inauguration. The gesture of President García is in line with the changes for the better that are seen on the international scene. The government of Chile will act in line with the positive attitude of Peru and will devote effort to the process of rapprochement. We will, in the next four years, try and resolve the questions relating to clauses in the Treaty of 1929 with Peru and we will do our best to increase to the maximum our fraternal relations.

As far as Bolivia is concerned, we have taken note of the positive expressions of the Bolivian government which fuel hopes for a rapprochement in the context of new and imaginative formula of bi-lateral cooperation. Chile is open to a dialogue based on international law and current treaties in whose context it is perfectly possible to find practical and efficient solutions to satisfy the fundamental objectives of both republics. A start has been made on this road in the last two months.

The cordial links established at presidential level with Brazil in the presidential inauguration ceremonies in Santiago and Brasilia have resulted in the official invitation extended by President Collor de Mello to the Chilean president to visit his country. That visit will be a good moment to strengthen relations and to share with Brazil the moderating role that we aspire to in Latin America.

The re-establishment of relations with Mexico after so many years of interruption points to an effort to fill the vacuum existing at the moment in our bi-lateral dealings. The recent visit of the Mexican president set out a long list of planned agreements and cooperation programmes which will be worked on over the coming months.

After a long process of consultation and in the light of the commitment made by President Endara to normalise the Panamanian constitutional process, the countries of the region, among them ours, have resolved to regularise diplomatic



Cheryl Hatch

*Enrique Silva Cimma:
rebuilding Chilean
foreign relations*

relations with Panama. Our country will be ready to offer diplomatic, technological and educational assistance to those countries of Central America who need it. An official invitation to visit Chile has been extended to the president of Honduras, Dr Rafael Callejas. At the same time our resident embassy in Nicaragua has been re-opened and we are working on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Belize.

I represented our country at the presidential handover ceremony in Managua on 25 April, while the minister of the interior and the under-secretary of foreign affairs were on hand in Costa Rica at a similar ceremony that same day.

The English-speaking Caribbean constitutes an area which Chilean foreign policy is on the point of entering with drive. Resident embassies are being opened in Jamaica and in Trinidad and Tobago, countries from which concurrent diplomatic relations will be established with other states in the area.

A symbol of the start of a new stage in Chilean-US relations was the presence of Vice-president Quayle of the United States in President Aylwin's inauguration. The re-establishment of democracy in Chile coincides with a renewed interest by the United States in Latin America. This will be further emphasised by the Latin American tour that President George Bush will undertake in September, and which will include Chile.

The government of Chile will cooperate in the investigation of the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt, in the context of domestic and international law. This is not a response to pressures but to the just requirements of foreign policy.

Our bi-lateral economic relationship with the United States has not been without its difficulties. We trust that the US will soon readmit Chile to its generalised system of preferences. Our exports would thereby take on the new dynamism specially needed for countries like ours which suffer the heavy weight of foreign debt. It is necessary to confront protectionist tendencies which are active in the United States.

In a recent speech to the Andrés Bello Diplomatic Academy, I said the following, which is worthy of repetition, 'It is therefore clear that we have the

best disposition towards the United States. We will go forward as far as possible in this direction without leaving on one side what are for us vital points of our foreign policy... But it will not be through opposition to the US that we will seek Latin American unity.'

The European nations celebrated with enthusiasm the rebirth of democracy in our country. The new European attitude has been translated into the re-establishment of relations at the level of resident ambassadors with Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Belgium. At the same time, in the first days of the present government, cooperation agreements were signed with Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Italy and France, which demonstrated Europe's will to cooperate actively with the re-establishment of democracy in Chile.

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The European Community is negotiating at present a framework agreement for economic cooperation with Chile which will be signed in the second half of 1990. At the same time, the idea of Chile acceding to the European Investment Fund so that it can operate in Latin America through our country has received strong support from the European Commission. Such an arrangement would constitute an unprecedented event, since the Bank has not extended its activities to any country of Latin America up to the present.

With Japan, our second most important trade partner, we will hope to increase activity based on the bi-national committee of businessmen. At the same time, we will try to start technical cooperation and investment in areas of importance for social progress in our country. In general, Chilean foreign policy will seek to take advantage of the geographic position of our country as a window for economic and political activity across the Pacific.

The drug trade has today become one of the plagues of humanity. The sequel of violence, corruption and perversion that the production and distribution of drugs give rise to and the damage to the physical and mental health of consumers is having a dramatic effect on the stability, politics, democratic institutions, healthy development and welfare of some Latin American societies.

Chile has evidence today that our territory is being used as a transit point for the international drug trade. There is also evidence of the increased use of drugs in the country.

For these reasons Chile - without prejudice to internal measures - will extend the external actions to fight drug trafficking. The government of Chile will give an express mandate to the Organisation of American States to negotiate an Inter-American Convention on Drug Trafficking and include the topic in all meetings of states; promote the negotiation of bi-lateral agreements on narcotics and psychotropic substances, and promote the rationalisation of the international organisations dealing with the drug traffic, supporting serious and well-established organisations through the financial and political undertakings of all countries of the Hemisphere.

The push for international cooperation to combat the drug scourge will be a fundamental priority of the government of Chile in the foreign field, which will involve its active intervention in the relevant international fora.

We are working on a programme of return for Chilean exiles. In that context, a bill is being prepared which will shortly be sent to Congress to create a National Office of Return, depending on the Justice Ministry. In parallel, a joint programme is being prepared with the International Migration Office and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for the return and reintegration of Chilean exiles.

As far as Antarctica is concerned, the government of Chile has a special interest in maintaining an active presence there to guarantee our participation in its riches, the securing of sources of supply, and the protection of its ecology. In this sense, we will seek to maintain the present regime of the Antarctic Treaty and seek the increasing collaboration of countries which share our aims.

The government of Chile reaffirms its political will for the protection of the environment.

A steely mood in Scotland

Scotland's decision to agree to the Act of Union in 1707, one which still compels our presence in the United Kingdom parliament, was decidedly controversial at the time. It should come as no surprise to socialists anywhere, with similar historical experiences, that the wisdom of that decision is still questioned from time to time.

This was certainly the case in the British parliament recently when we debated the decision by the now privatised British Steel management to run down investment at the Ravenscraig steel plant near Glasgow, to make 770 workers redundant, and to leave nobody in any doubt that the plant itself, employing 4,000 in all, would go by 1994. Moreover, the fact that the 'spin-off' job losses in Lanarkshire would lead to a loss of somewhere near 20,000 was seen as irrelevant to a 'commercial' decision. Given that Ravenscraig has smashed all productivity records, is profit-making, and has good labour relations, the announcement came as a bombshell, as our imports from Europe and elsewhere grow. Meanwhile, the European Community steel quota system hasn't helped matters.

The Scottish National Party has had much to say about a London-based Tory government having this amount of influence in a country where at the last general election the Tories were nearly wiped out (collecting only 10 seats out of 72 in Scotland and yet forming a UK government). Recent opinion polls, however, have shown the Scots have a steady nerve: immediately after these events, Labour surged to claim 56 per cent of the popular vote, with the Conservatives and Nationalists fighting for a bad second place.

I visited Hong Kong shortly before the agreement under which the territory reverts to China in 1997 was signed. At the time people were decidedly edgy, but there was still a confident feeling around. The latter has now, I'm afraid, evaporated after recent events in China and this inherent nervousness was reflected in our House of Commons debate a few weeks ago. The solution to the problem of Hong Kong's future is by no means an easy one to find, and Gerald Kaufman's speech was a model introduction to the limited options available.

The Hong Kong citizens who crowded the public gallery did not seem to me to be

**Tom Clarke
MP**

wholly representative of Hong Kong itself. Indeed, as I sat listening to the debate, I was reminded of my visit to the legislative council which did seem to me to be a somewhat elitist body. I have therefore been a little surprised about their recent cries for democracy this side of 1997. I do not recall hearing this during my mid-eighties visit. Sadly too, I do not remember much talk from the legislative council in the territory about the appalling plight of the 'boat people'. Hong Kong's version of *perestroika* does seem a bit selective to me.

Speaking of Hong Kong, I am reminded of the debate which took place shortly after the agreement was signed, when, as a relative newcomer, I was brash enough to intervene on a speech by the Right Honourable Edward Heath. The former prime minister was having a go at Denis Healey because Denis had said that the Westminster style of legislature was unlikely to work in Asian countries. When Heath then suggested Singapore as a country which he thought was happily fitting in to such a form of government, I found myself on my feet straight away. 'How can the Rt. Hon. gentleman praise a parliament where, when I was there recently, I was shown that only one seat was made available to the opposition and I was not allowed to see the chap because he was in jail?' Heath's reply was: 'What a novel way to run a prison system!' For myself, I saw this response as much too favourable to Lee Kwan Yew.

There is now much speculation about the date of the next British general election. Thatcher (or her successor as Tory leader) can stay in power, in theory, until June 1992. Some are sticking their necks out and saying it will come in June 1991. They think this will happen mainly for internal Tory Party reasons. Thatcher's position in her own party is weak and she is being pursued for the top job by Michael Heseltine, among others. Kenneth Baker, chairman of the Tory Party, is anxious to inherit the crown himself. Baker, it is thought, will have a big influence in election timing for that very reason. Many would bet that Thatcher will contrive a pre-election boom, reducing interest rates and presenting a seemingly pros-

perous budget, and then make a run for it. Personally, I do not believe she will succeed if she does. It is a pleasure to watch Neil Kinnock's confidence grow and his performances in parliament improve in leaps and bounds. Kinnock also had an excellent response to the Labour Party document 'Looking to the Future', which he launched in May. One of his biggest successes - captured by television for millions of viewers who can now see the British parliament at work - was when he scored heavily on tax issues, which had previously been seen as areas where the Tories had the advantage.

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I was invited on a small parliamentary delegation, which included Denis Healey, which visited the Soviet Union and heard Mikhail Gorbachev's plans to introduce *perestroika*. At this year's May Day marches all over Eastern Europe, Gorbachev's own reforms were seen to have led to a result few would have predicted. There were not many cheers for him from the proletariat on International Workers' Day. As May ended, we then saw the election of Boris Yeltsin as president of the Russian Federation. I suspect, though, Gorbachev will survive, if only because I recall - on that same visit - a fascinating meeting with Gromyko in the twilight of his career. As we sat there in the Kremlin, Gromyko, who had seen a lot in his time, turned to the issue of nationalism and human rights in the Soviet Union. Our own questions about the USSR were countered by his criticisms of the Thatcher government's handling of the British miners' strike and Britain's role in Northern Ireland. But the tone seemed to me to be that of a man who knew that although trouble was brewing,



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change was irresistible. Nationalism in the USSR would, he suggested, lead to considerable problems, but from it would come a reassertion of individual identities and cultures; and this would give rise to much good. I hope he was right.

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The recent release of another US hostage in the Lebanon has led to speculation about relations between Britain and Iran. Diplomatic links, which were fragile in any case, were broken off after the Salman Rushdie affair. In the meantime little progress has been made over British hostages Terry Waite, John McCarthy, Brian Keenan and Jack Mann, who

are held in Beirut, and Roger Cooper, who is in Evin prison, Tehran. It seems remarkable that only two years ago things looked much more optimistic. A British all-party delegation, of which I was a member, set the scene for the restoration of diplomatic relations. There then followed the appalling incident of the shooting down of the Iranian Airbus over the Gulf and the Rushdie affair itself. Since then, after the death of the Ayatollah, Rafsanjani has climbed to power. It seems to me he is very much a realist. Iran's economy can only be strengthened if links with the West are vastly improved. I cannot think that it is in either side's interest to let the present impasse continue. I should imagine there will be positive developments before very long. And then we can all turn to the most serious question of all - the escalation of chemical weapons in the Middle East. One of the most appalling scenes I have ever witnessed was that of the soldiers and civilians in Tehran lying in agony in hospital following contact with these awful substances.

DEMOCRATISING A KINGDOM

Centuries ago the poet John Donne observed that no man is an island. Today it is equally true that no nation can exist apart from the world community. Modern communications are breaking down the walls of repression and ignorance, and ideas have become more powerful than even the most sophisticated weaponry. Simply put, it is no longer feasible for governments to present their citizens with an unchallenged version of reality. Nepal's own recent history bears ample testimony to this.

From the beginning of our nation more than 200 years ago, Nepalese were ruled by a succession of prime ministers and kings who exercised absolute political power. Their legitimacy was seen to be rooted in the preservation of national unity, fears of colonisation, and religious traditionalism. Social and economic relations were feudalistic, and illiteracy among the population was deliberately maintained to prevent the infiltration of progressive ideas.

In 1951, forces under the leadership of B. P. Koirala and the Nepali Congress, and with the encouragement of a newly independent India, succeeded in overthrowing the *ancien régime* and reinstalled the king of Nepal on his throne. The ruler they put back in power was King Tribhuvan, the present king's grandfather. A long and difficult process was instituted that finally culminated in the election of the nation's first parliamentary government in 1959. Scarcely 18 months later, however, the late King Mahendra, the present king's father, in what amounted to a royal *coup d'état*, dismissed the newly elected government, forcibly disbanded the parliament and threw our leaders in jail. With that Nepal's first experiment in democracy came to an abrupt and dismal end.

What followed was called a 'partyless democracy' which was but a thinly disguised euphemism for renewed dictatorial rule. Political parties were outlawed, the absolute power of the king was reinstated, and a new constitution was written that placed him above all law and public judgement. Sycophantic government media worshipped his every word and deed, and zealously maintained the illusion of national progress.

The reality was clearly otherwise. Nepal's economic growth in the past 25 years was the lowest in South Asia. Officially tolerated corruption defeated the efforts of foreign aid to help the nation develop a productive base. Poverty and illiteracy continued to plague the vast majority of the Nepalese. During this period, the Nepali Congress never ceased to organise and exert pressure for change, despite the exile and imprisonment of many of its leaders.

In 1979 the monarchy faced another challenge, when students, inspired by the ideals of the leaders of the Nepali Congress during the independence movement of 1951, led widespread demonstrations and protests. The student unrest forced King Birendra to call for a national referendum ostensibly to determine the form of government desired by the people. The monarchy and its 'partyless democracy' declared itself the winner in a referendum still widely considered as fraudulent and massively rigged. Within ten years, however, the system faced another crisis, worsened by an impasse with India over trade and transit which created severe shortages of essential goods and commodities and forced the growth in Nepalese GNP down from 5.7 per cent to only 2 per cent, according to some sources even less.

Although the people of Nepal attained democracy by their own efforts, the events that sparked this year's successful drive for multi-party democracy

*Shail Upadhyaya of the
Nepali Congress Party
recounts the recent
successful struggle for
freedom in Nepal*

occurred not in Nepal, but thousands of miles away. Without doubt, it was the example of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which provided the inspiration for hundreds of thousands of Nepalese to go into the streets and demand their right to representative government. The moment was finally ripe, and victory was soon ours. In this regard it is incumbent to mention the crucial role played by President Mikhail Gorbachev. He obviously was instrumental in creating the opportunity for Eastern Europe to explore new political avenues; but just as importantly, the flexibility which he introduced into Communist orthodoxy enabled the Nepali Congress to find common political ground with our allies in the United Leftist Front. Only with the coming of *perestroika* were we able to agree on the first principles of democracy as the basis for an alliance. Only by means of this alliance did we muster the combined strength to change the system. And our alliance will continue until a new national constitution has been approved that irrevocably enshrines multi-party democracy as the national form of government. We hope that our king will heed the admirable examples of Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and, most recently, Spain, in easing Nepal's transition to a constitutional monarchy.

Furthermore, living as the Nepalese do in the lofty realm of the Himalayas, perhaps our experience will shine as a beacon to other nations that are still struggling to achieve multi-party democracy, especially in Africa and other parts of the third world. Nepalese speak nearly three dozen languages, practice four major religions, and are divided into two major ethnic groups. Illiteracy still afflicts nearly seventy percent of the people. Yet we have overcome these obstacles and are now poised to enter a new era of democracy.

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We are at a turning point in the history of socialism. The strong movement towards political democracy and freer markets in Eastern Europe, and the winds of reform blowing through the Soviet Union have inspired the life-long critics of socialism in the West to announce that socialism is dead, and that capitalism has achieved its final triumph. We in Nepal believe that this is as wrong a prediction as the one made by an earlier generation of socialists of the inevitable defeat of capitalism at the hands of socialism.

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Socialism in its wider sense of a concern with the well-being of the whole of a society, and not that of the chosen few within it, can never die. What has been disproved by the experience of the last forty years is the viability



Rex Features

Protests produce change in Nepal

of a command economy in which a few planners take decisions, purporting to know better what is good for the people than the people themselves. Eastern Europe has turned away from its command economy precisely because after forty years the rulers could no longer hide from their people that they had been spectacularly less successful in meeting the needs of their people than the capitalist economies of the West.

But capitalism has not banished poverty, or eradicated gross inequality between man and man. Wealth has not eradicated homelessness and vagrancy. Nor has it a remedy for the growing sense of *anomie*, of utter irrelevance, that afflicts an increasing proportion of the new technocratic society. Development has polluted the air we breathe and the oceans and rivers on which we depend for survival. Commerce has destroyed our forests and our wildlife. Even progress in medicine, unaccompanied by economic development, has turned into threat, for it has saddled the third world with populations that it can neither feed nor employ.

The world needs more cooperation between rich and poor nations, not less; more sympathy and generosity, not less; more caring for the weak, not less. These are the new challenges before socialism today. Socialists must work together to halt the tide of unfeeling and uncaring that is threatening to sweep the capitalist world. That is the task to which we must now address ourselves.

SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

On Friday 9 March 1990 a unique event took place in Colombia. The guerrilla group M-19 signed a peace treaty with the Colombian government, witnessed by the Socialist International, to end the armed struggle and to allow its members to join in the political and civilian life of their country. The event was relevant not just to that South American country but worldwide.

Men of violence murdered Carlos Pizarro, the leader of M-19 who was contesting the presidential elections in the M-19 cause, on 27 April. Shot in an airliner which had just taken off and was cruising at 16,000 feet, Pizarro came to a cruel end for one who had shown so much moral courage in turning away from violence.

Despite his tragic death, M-19's action stands as a milestone in the modern history of action for peace and the Socialist International can rightly be proud of the part it took in the guerrillas' action in disarming themselves.

M-19 became known for such actions as the invasion and occupation of the Dominican Embassy in Bogotá, capital of Colombia, and particularly for its battle with the Colombian army in the Palace of Justice in Bogotá in November, 1985. M-19 captured the Palace of Justice in Bogotá in a spectacular operation. The army recaptured the building, destroying it in the process. During the fighting at least eighty people were killed, including some fifty M-19 guerrillas. The dead included Alfonso Reyes, president of the supreme court.

The peace treaty included the demobilisation and disarmament of M-19. To emphasise the fact that M-19 was not surrendering to the government but was giving up the armed struggle voluntarily, the group's weapons, ammunition, and war materials were handed over, on 8 and 9 March 1990, to an international commission nominated by the Socialist International. The SI secretary general signed this peace agreement as a witness. The handover took place at two M-19 bases - at Santo Domingo and near Pitalito, in the department of Huila. The weapons were transported by air to a foundry in Cali and melted down, under the supervision of the commission.

The commission consisted of Heinrich Buchbinder (Switzerland), General (retired) Ernesto Uzcátegui Sandoval (Venezuela), General (retired) Ermie Kaaninen (Finland), and myself (U.K.).

All the members of the international commission were impressed by the way in which both sides implemented the peace settlement. The operation was logistically difficult, mainly because the guerrilla bases were deep in mountainous country. Crates of weapons had to be transported from the bases to the foundry. Also on 9 March, the day the peace settlement was signed, several hundred guerrillas had to be registered, issued with papers and transported from the two main bases to celebrations in local towns. In spite of the difficulties staff of the president's office organised the event faultlessly.

The M-19 fighters too were extremely helpful and clearly anxious to fulfill the agreement without any hitches. Giving up their weapons and turning over their bases to the army was an emotional time for them. But discipline and morale were maintained to the end.

The rank and file guerrillas face a very uncertain future. They have to settle back into civilian life, often in poor rural areas, after years of guerrilla activity. Life after demobilisation will not be easy for them.

All M-19 leaders now face many threats - from right-wing death squads, from

Frank Barnaby, a world authority on disarmament, tells of the encounter in Colombia in February when guerrillas surrendered their arms to a Socialist International delegation.



Socialist International

Carlos Pizarro: making peace in the Andes

ordinated action called the Simon Bolívar Guerrilla Co-ordination. Altogether the number of active fighting guerrillas in the four groups amounted to about 70,000. In addition, many support the guerrilla groups, particularly in the areas where they operate. The vast majority of the active fighters, about 6,000, are in FARC.

M-19 contained some 700 active fighters. It was founded in 1970 because of accounts of fraud in the elections of April 19 of that year (M-19 stands for April 19 Movement). It operated in rural areas, mainly in the South of Colombia, as well as in urban areas, particularly in Bogotá and Medellín.

Its ideology is hard to classify, but is perhaps best described as nationalist. Although headed by middle class intellectuals, M-19 initially perceived a need to unite populist movements in Colombia. It had relations with similar movements in Mexico, Peru and Ecuador. Early M-19 guerrillas were trained in Cuba and learnt their tactics from the PLO in the Lebanon and fighting in Vietnam.

Colombian politics and economics are complicated by the drug trade to an extent that is difficult to fathom from outside. The trade brings into the economy billions of dollars a year. But the government has for some time realised that this money is not a bonus but, untaxed and inflationary, it

members of other guerrilla groups who object to M-19 giving up its arms, and perhaps even from the more extreme M-19 members who do not trust the government to keep their part of the peace bargain. And there are always the drug gangs, who may settle old scores. The assassination of Pizarro dramatically brings home the dangers.

M-19 was well armed. Their arsenal included Uzi machine guns; heavy machine guns; M-16, FAL, Galil and G03 assault rifles; M-1 carbines; shotguns; pistols; revolvers; some grenades; and relatively small amounts of explosives, including plastic explosive. The group had modern military communications systems. And their records were kept on computer.

Did M-19 hand over to the International all its weapons, or has it hidden some away? The government believes that all, or the bulk, of the weapons were handed over. This belief, based on intelligence information, is probably well founded.

The Republic of Colombia is a paradox. It is one of the most stable political democracies in South America, with one of the strongest economies - economic growth was 5 per cent in 1986, 5.5 per cent in 1987, and about 3.5 percent in 1988. But violence has been endemic in Colombia since it became independent in 1819, after more than 300 years of Spanish rule. In 1879, for example, some 80,000 died in massacres of revolutionaries. Civil war between 1899 and 1903 killed about 150,000, half military, half civilian. And the civil war between 1949 and 1957, 'la violencia', ended with the National Front agreement, under which Liberals and Conservatives alternated in power. This lasted until 1978 when Liberal Julio César Turbay Ayala was elected president.

M-19 was one of four Colombian guerrilla groups. The others are the Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (EPL) and the People's Liberation Army (EPL). In September 1987 the four groups formed a loose alliance for co-

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND M-19.

original: Spanish

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The political pact for peace and democracy signed 2 November 1989 enumerates fundamental aspects for the attainment of national reconciliation.

The questions which today most preoccupy the country were touched on in the talks which led to the conclusions arrived at by consensus in that pact, viz. the administration of justice, drug trafficking, electoral reform, public investments in zones of conflict and, of course, peace, public order and the normalisation of the life of the citizen.

With the aim of bringing to a successful conclusion the process of peace and reconciliation that is being promoted with the M-19, it is necessary to revise these agreements and incorporate new elements which take the place of those which form part of the Constitutional Reform which was not passed into law in 1989.

As a consequence, the signatories of the present document assume the following commitments which all stem from consensuses which have already been reached and from the will to arrive at a successful conclusion of the pacification process:

1) We agree on the need for the strengthening of constitutional legitimacy through the ordinary mechanisms of Constitutional Reform or through the convening of a primary constituent process, a plebiscite, a referendum or a constitutional assembly, and the approval of questions of vital importance for the attainment of peace.

We commit ourselves to promote the political agreements needed to carry through this enterprise aimed at widening the options for democracy.

In any case, whatever decision is taken in this sense should be preceded by a full accord involving the agreement of those who exercise the presidency of the Republic.

2) In order to promote the incorporation into civilian life of the guerrillas, and their passage from the armed struggle to political life, they undertake to back the establishment for one time only of a Special Peace Constituency for those political parties which arose from armed Insurgent movements which have been demobilised and reincorporated into civilian life. Such a constituency for the Senate of the Republic and the Chamber of Representatives will come into force, at the latest, with the elections of 1992 and its characteristics will be defined by the signatories in a subsequent agreement.

3) With reference to the National Fund for Peace foreseen in the Political Pact, designed to push forward actions and programmes for the benefit of the community in the zones where demobilised guerrilla groups may have had influence, this may receive further funds from the government, private enterprise and those international funds moved to offer their support to this initiative.

A high level Board will be created for the Administration and Promotion of this fund which furthers these objectives.

4) The signatories of this agreement will support an Electoral Reform which will have the following basic features:

- with the aim of broadening the electoral opportunities and modernising the voting procedures, an Electoral Card will be created and secret voting for mayoral elections from 1992 onwards and the possibilities will be studied of putting them into effect in the general elections from 1994 onwards.

- In like manner, with the aim of widening political participation, measures will be adopted with the aim of widening parliamentary representation of minorities through formulas such as the National Constituency and the Constituency of Special National Territories.

5) As far as the administration of justice is concerned, the national government will issue the decree covering the creation of the Consultative Committee for the Full Reform of the Administration of Justice in the terms set out in the Political Pact. Such a committee, in conformity with those guidelines, will function for a period of three years and its members will be drawn from the highest level. Its principal concern will be to propose strategies for the reform of justice in the substantive areas of administration, budget, staffing and procedures.

6) As far as the questions of production, trafficking and consumption of narcotics is concerned, the Ministry of Government acting in the name of the national government, will set up a Non Governmental Academic Commission with full autonomy and independence to investigate the national and International dimension of the problem. The Commission will be drawn from researchers from public and private universities and from research centres of recognised competence.

7) As far as the other questions of a political, socio-economic nature or dealing with the normalisation of daily life, justice and public order, referred to in the political pact, the government will commence its application and execution from the date of the laying down of arms.

8) The M-19 reaffirms its commitment to demobilise its armed formations in order to enter the institutional life of the country and aims to realise a laying down of arms, munitions and war matériel in the presence of the Socialist International on the 8 March 1990.

For the coordination of the whole Demobilisation Plan agreed with the M-19, the national government created a National Normalisation Council

through Decree 314 of the current year.

On the day of the laying down of arms the government will grant an amnesty to the members of M-19 and will commence agreed programmes of social and productive resettlement.

The 19 April Movement repeats that all its members are party to this agreement and that it ceases to exist as an armed group.

9) The signatories of this agreement undertake to set up a Monitoring Commission (one member for each signatory) with the aim of making effective and viable the undertakings here assumed.

10) The Security Plan will be put into effect on the terms agreed by the National Government and the M-19 in December 1989. Such a plan will be in force until 7 August 1990 with whatever pertinent amendments are decided on by common consent of the National Government and M-19.

The need is manifest that after the 7 August 1990 an appropriate level of security and protection will be maintained for the principle leaders of the M-19

With the signing of this agreement, there concludes a decisive stage in the promotion of peace and the re-establishment of that harmony which has been the desire of various generations of Colombians. Today we may harbour certain hopes that common sense and generosity will overcome intransigence and radical attitudes and that in the near future political ideas will not be a cause of death among Colombians. The national government, the political parties and M-19 are mindful of the importance that the celebration of this agreement has for the country. It clears a way for reconciliation. It strengthens some conditions for advance in the pacification enterprise. It offers some procedures and instruments to bring about political solutions. Lastly, it shows how, with a firm wish for peace by the parties involved, which has been translated into concrete facts, results may be obtained for the promotion of peaceful coexistence.

Murcia

signatories: Virgilio Barco
Carlos Pizarro
Julio César Turbay
Alvaro Fandliño (for the
Catholic church)
Luis Ayala (witness)
Rafael Pardo

seriously destabilises the economy. And the huge amount of violence and crime associated with the drug business is socially and politically destabilising. For these reasons, the administrations of Presidents Betancur and Barco have tried to suppress the drug trade. Given past and present entanglements between guerrilla groups and the drug gangs, the government links its war on drugs with its efforts to reach peace settlements with guerrilla groups.

The peace settlement between M-19 and the Colombian government, verified by an international commission, is the first of its kind. This new way of resolving a conflict and achieving disarmament is important because it brings to an end an armed conflict and strengthens democracy in a South American country. The Colombian government is delighted with its peace settlement with M-19. It will be even more pleased if other guerrilla groups follow M-19's example.

But the disarmament initiative also has a significance wider than the domestic one. It provides a blueprint for future bilateral peace processes involving a government and a guerrilla group (or part of a guerrilla group) in any country in the world. Its success should encourage other parties to adopt it.

This new method of conflict resolution fits well into general efforts to settle disputes peacefully. Just how well can be seen by considering the rapidly changing global context in which the peaceful settlement of disputes is taking place.

The growing détente between the USA and the USSR is a crucial element in improving the international climate and creating a global framework in which disputes can be settled peacefully. One approach to conflict resolution is the bilateral one between the USA and USSR. Presidents Gorbachev and Bush are having regular dialogues about regional tensions and conflicts in the Middle East, Latin America, South Africa, and South Asia as part of their summit activities.

Just how much the attitudes of the superpowers to the international system has changed is indicated by President Gorbachev's suggestion that the permanent Security Council members should accept the binding jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in mutually agreed areas of international law. The American Administration has also shown interest in a larger role for the International Court of Justice. These are significant, though small, steps towards establishing respect for the rule of law on which a peaceful international system depends.

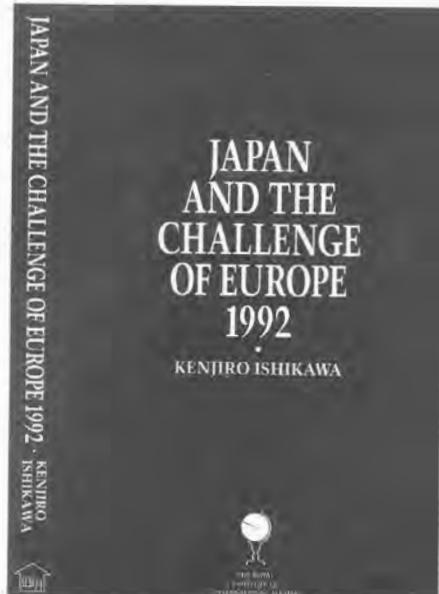
Superpower détente is crucial to the renewed efforts of the United Nations to play an effective role in resolving conflicts. In particular, détente creates a climate in which the United Nations Security Council can work effectively. The successful treatment of international disputes by the United Nations has been demonstrated in the cases of Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, Namibia, and Cambodia.

Although the United Nations can play a key role in several types of conflict, regional organisations, such as the Organisation of African Unity or the Organisation of American States, can also be important. But superpower, United Nations, or regional actions are not the most effective ways of resolving all conflicts. They have most potential for solving conflicts involving border disputes, religious or regional issues. They are, however, considerably less effective for resolving a conflict between an armed sub-national group and a government about control over the central government. Of the thirty or so major conflicts in the world today, about half are of this type. These conflicts may best be resolved by the bilateral negotiation of a peace settlement between the armed group and the government, and having the agreement verified by an independent international commission, as was done between M-19 and the Colombian government.

Examples of conflicts which could be resolved in this way include, among others, the armed conflicts between the Burmese government and groups including the communists, the Karen National Liberation Army, and other ethnic opposition groups; between the Indonesian government and the Free Papua Movement and Fretelin of Timor; between the Peruvian government and Sendero Luminoso and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement; and so on.

Superpower détente may have reduced the risk of war between the industrialised countries. But 'low-intensity' conflict is likely to flourish and expand as we move towards the 21st Century. There will clearly be much scope for the new method of conflict-resolution pioneered by M-19 and the Colombian government.

Stuart Holland reviews...



Japan and the Challenge of Europe 1992

by Kenjiro Ishikawa

London, Royal Institute of International Affairs and Pinter Publishers, 1990,
ISBN 0 86187 838 8

It has been commonplace for some time to claim that those who lost the war have since won the peace. While the US and the UK for decades have suffered relative economic decline, Japan's economic sun has risen with a vengeance.

The military metaphor was struck by the Commission of the European Communities twenty one years ago when it wrote that: '*it is difficult to accept massive Japanese surpluses, if Japanese exporters, like soldiers sallying forth from a fortress, create chaos in concentrated industrial sectors of the Community which have major regional and employment problems.*'

The metaphor also is apt in other respects. It is no accident that the famed Japanese

Ministry of International Trade and Industry, MITI, is the successor to the wartime Ministry of Munitions. While Anglo-American universities still teach micro-economics in which there are alleged limits to the growth of firms under competitive conditions, Japanese universities and business schools stress business strategy and consign most neo-classical economic theory to courses on the history of economic thought.

Strategy is a key to understanding the success of the post-war Japanese economy. In contrast with the western conventional wisdom that you cannot back winners, the Japanese have backed them time and time again with stunning success. In the seventies, when the OECD countries could have reacted to OPEC price increases by touching the steering and changing down a gear, most of them slammed on the brakes and abandoned intervention at the level of leading firms. The Japanese, by contrast, changed up a gear, accelerating technical progress into actual innovation at leading firm level, and today are scooping world markets.

Cooperation also is a key to understanding Japanese success. In the rest of the OECD no worker knows for sure that he or she will be employed after the end of the month. In the leading Japanese firms - the *keiretsu* - workers are guaranteed employment for life. In the rest of the OECD few workers are offered profit-sharing. In the *keiretsu* they are. In the rest of the OECD few workers are consulted about the labour process or offered control over the speed of production line. In Japan, in total contrast with the principles of Henry Ford, they are.

None of this means that Japan is a panacea. Japan is run by an incestuous liaison between big business and the state, in a neo-feudal context in which independent trades unions are virtually unknown, and in which labour is co-opted by management at company level. The Japanese coopera-

tive project is corporatist. It offers little to workers in terms of a role in negotiating new options for the Japanese economy and society as a whole.

The social costs of the Japanese model of economic organisation are enormous. This not only includes unliveable areas of downtown Tokyo where triple decker motorways dominate the urban environment. Nor does it only extend to a failed public sewage system in which chemical loos predominate. It also means that many personal assets are outside the reach of the Japanese consumer, such as housing. In asset-rich Tokyo, consumers currently are offered two-generation mortgages, since many buyers cannot afford a new house or apartment in their own lifetime.

One of the troubles with Kenjiro Ishikawa's book is that it analyses none of these issues, other than citing the quotation from the European Commission's study of 1969 on the implications of Japanese penetration of European markets.

Both Mr Ishikawa and the EC Commission continue to argue as if the issue is one of competitive conditions between equally structured systems in equal competition under GATT rules. The author pays much attention to the niceties of who may or may not have breached specific trade provisions, and ends with the judgement that 'there now is no truth in the claim that barriers against imports of manufactures are lower in the United States and the Community than in Japan.'

The judgement probably is true on formal or informal trade provisions. But it hardly addresses the degree to which the vertical integration of Japanese companies through to exclusive retail outlets blocks access to Japan by foreign firms.

Hence a paradox. If anything is likely to reduce the structural surplus on Japanese trade over the coming decade it will be continued foreign direct investment in the US and Eu-

rope which, overall, tends to substitute for export trade. Much of the incentive for such investment comes from fears of 'Fortress Europe' or 'Fortress America'. Further liberalisation could aggravate rather than reduce the problem.

But thence the question: should Europe rely either on 'fortress' solutions or free trade to respond to the Japanese challenge? Or should it emulate some of the better Japanese practice and its own earlier experience and seek to evolve a Common Industrial Strategy at the Community level?

A 'fortress' solution tends to hurt the small and weak rather than stop the strong. For instance, while Japanese companies can circumvent tariffs, quotas or voluntary export agreements by direct investment, firms from developing

countries rarely can.

Inversely, unrestrained free trade could be fatal for key sectors of European industry which may congratulate themselves on 1992 but fail to see the 21st century as independent producers. A negotiated framework for managing trade balances, such as the short-lived post-war proposal for an International Trade Organisation, may need to be re-invented during the 1990s if a broad balance between production, employment and income is to be achieved between the OECD countries.

But, meantime, the European Community must address the issue of a Common Industrial Strategy as a matter of urgency. Its means could differ from sector to sector. It also could have more chance of success if its method was confederal rather than federal. Countries and companies could 'opt in'

to such a policy as it suited them rather than compromise on some lowest common denominator.

Not least, its method could be cooperative rather than confrontational. Instead of a restructuring imposed by management on labour, and without going so far as guaranteeing lifetime employment on the Japanese model, the Community could encourage leading firms to offer longer employment contracts and profit sharing as an incentive to greater flexibility in production.

Who knows? The main lesson from recent trade between Europe and Japan may be that it pays to cooperate.

Stuart Holland, a former British Labour Member of Parliament, is Director of the European University Institute in Florence.

Maria Elena Hurtado

Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth

by Jenny Pearce

London, Latin America Bureau, 1990, 311 pp., ISBN 0 906156 44 0 paperback; ISBN 0 9061546 45 hardback

As with García Márquez's magic realism, not everything is what it seems in Colombia. Colombia gets high marks for its prudent and successful economic management, but many Colombians live and work in the so-called 'informal economy'.

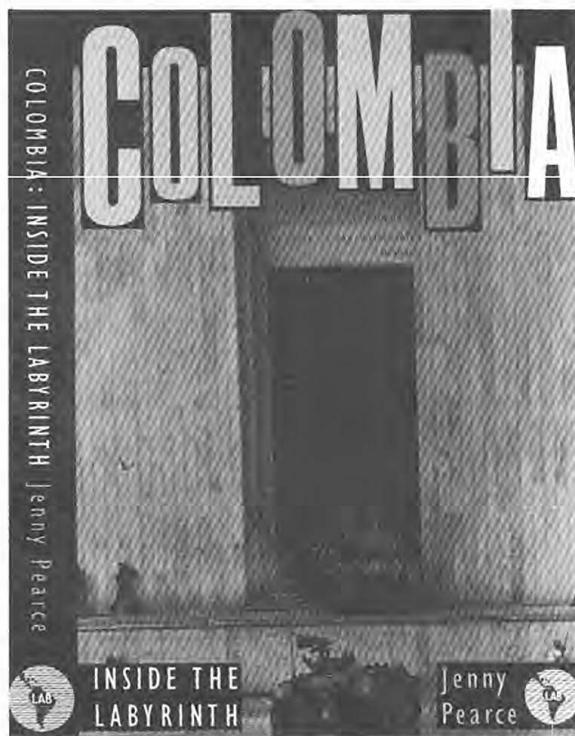
Outsiders attribute the violence which is claiming up to 55 deaths a day to the cocaine mafia. Yet behind the killing of the 8,500 people murdered by contract killers in the past four years are landowners and businessmen bent on fighting.

Jenny Pearce's new book attempts to get to the roots of Colombia's schizophrenic and violent existence. The ruling

class emerges as the main villain. By sorting out their quarrels by force, and plunging the country into almost continuous civil war since independence in the nineteenth century, they have bred a political culture in which the violent resolution of disagreements plays a major part.

Pearce argues too that the ruling classes have used the state to promote their business interests and have failed to carry out social and political reforms.

The book traces the threads of Colombia's many-faceted conflicts since colonial times up to the present. The period since the end of the bloody wars between conservatives and liberals known as La Violencia (1948-1965) is dealt with at great length. A review of the main economic sectors is followed by a close look at the rise of the popular movements. The book is an invaluable source of information on a very complex country. But it leaves the reader wondering why the rapid process of modernisation and the failure of the state to settle the ensuing conflicts - an experience common to most



third world countries - lead in Colombia to such violence.

Maria Elena Hurtado is Assistant Editor of South magazine



James Murphy

**The Best of Ogonyok -
the New Journalism of
Glasnost**

Edited by Vitaly
Karotich & Cathy Porter

London, Heinemann, 1990, 224
pp.,
ISBN 0 434 59586 1

One sentence from this selection of articles from the Moscow magazine *Ogonyok* struck with the illuminating insistence of a laser beam. In a piece called 'Arctic Silence', Yury Rytkhov considers the perilous physical and cultural conditions in which the indigenous tribes of the Soviet Arctic are living out their lives. He is quite prepared to confront and expose the fact that these people have, over the decades, been badly treated by the Soviet authorities and he writes with affecting sadness about the systematic suppression of Eskimo language and literature. He opens the story, however, with this ob-

servation: 'In the first years of Soviet power, the party's first emissaries to the Far North won the local people's hearts with their sincerity and enthusiasm, and new schools and cultural centres were built.'

The phrasing is significant; it could be a quotation from one of those terrible self-preening guide books with which interested visitors to the Soviet Union were once spoon-fed. And in a sense, that is exactly what it is. For myths must not be shattered too quickly; even those with the courage to overthrow the inner totalitarianism of self-deception and to face cruel truths must cling to certain articles of the old faith, just as survivors cling to the debris of a shipwreck. It cannot be that their society never had a legitimacy, a quality which predated so much corruption and betrayal. And so, even in the discredited guide book of the Soviet folk memory, some parts - the first remembered lines of the national catechism - must remain true. In the beginning, there was sincerity and there was enthusiasm. 'Chaque homme dans sa nuit', said Victor Hugo, 's'en va vers sa lumière'. In the beginning, there must have been light ...

Elsewhere, Yury Tyurin talks of the house that Stalin built on the wreckage of treasured ideals: 'He achieved what he did', says Tyurin, 'by abandoning the principles of collective leadership and democracy in the party ...' Turning to a patron saint for spiritual guidance (*chaque homme dans sa nuit ...*), Tyurin adds '... we must examine the past and check everything we do against Engels' warning to stop treating party officials with such excessive reverence - they are merely our servants.' The ache is almost audible. As brave people hack so desperately at their experience in the pursuit of ideological justifications, the digestion of even a heavily compromised, much diluted truth brings its pain.

Elsewhere, with the courage of the confessional and the daring of art, all manner of writers address a positive gulag of the most painful realities of Soviet life. Issues of bureaucratic insolence, organised crime, the incidence of suicide, the quality of family planning, ('one Moscow woman in four will prefer the distress of regular abortions to the fear of an unwanted pregnancy'), the precise location of the graves of Stalin's victims, the poor distribution of food are all scrutinised with the kind of honesty that stings, the kind of decency that distinguishes. It is no easy business to flex the creaking sinews of a much under-used freedom and to address the horrific deficiencies of a society of which until now so little has been said out loud. All societies have to live with their failures and all democratic societies must learn that plurality equals not permanent revolution but permanent contestation: accommodation with, not dismissal of, uncomfortable reality. One Masha Dimitrieva, a seventeen-year-old Moscow schoolgirl, writes to the organisers of a beauty contest to ask 'Why on earth have you agreed to take part in these ludicrous proceedings?' Of how many could such a plucky question properly be asked?

All the darkness of the universe cannot extinguish the light of the smallest candle. The efforts of the Soviet people, perhaps not always artful and not always totally achieved, to exhume and revivify the relics of their better collective self deserve a unique kind of admiration. What could be less surprising than the conclusion that all self-analysis must, for the sake of healthy living, not be too complete?

The authors of this memorable selection of modern Soviet journalism should feel pleased with their output; their articles serve to remind us that whereas Soviet scientists once learned to split the atom, their ideological counterparts never learned how to split the fundamental decency of their people. Suslov is happily - as these pages in their irreverent

way reveal - on his way to permanent oblivion. Each society must be allowed to tell its stories and not merely mouth the incantation of its leaders. *Ogonyok* has not yet found a politics and not yet honed a style; but in an era when Western academics speak foolishly of the 'end of history', the magazine reminds us all too painfully that the business of creating and nurturing a free society involves a continuous struggle against self-deception. It takes courage to lift so many cobweb-crusted myths and evaluate what your country really is. That quality makes '*The Best of Ogonyok*' a memorable read, at once sad and uplifting.

James Murphy is the editor of Socialist Affairs' Books Section

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South Africa: the Sanctions Mission - report of the Eminent Church Persons' Group

by James Mutambirwa

London, Zed Books/World Council of Churches, 1989, 135 pp., ISBN 0 86232 911 6,

A factual but fascinating guide to the work of the churches in destabilising apartheid and poking the conscience of the West. Some very revealing summaries of interviews with European leaders. Laurent Fabius emerges well, but the British leaders less so. ('Sir Geoffrey, who had been listening patiently, did not take kindly to the remark that people in South Africa had an unfavourable view of the British Government ...'). Good stuff.

Life Stories of the Nicaraguan Revolution

by Denis Lynn Daly Heyck.

London, Routledge, 1990, 348 pp., ISBN 0 415 90211 8

In the manner of Oscar Lewis' *Children of Sánchez*, the people of Nicaragua tell their own story. Lidia Saavedra de Ortega says: '...for more than eighteen years, I had sons in jail. ... God and the Virgin helped me through those difficult times'. Distant voices record almost over-exciting times.

Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa

by Diana E. H. Russell

London, Virago Press, 1990, 381 pp., ISBN 1 85381 157 2

Women anti-apartheid campaigners tell the story of their lives, the story of their struggle. Famous names (Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu) mingle with unsung heroines. An inventory - as Oliver Tambo says - of some 'rich and brave lives'

J.M.



COLOMBIA Inside the Labyrinth

Jenny Pearce

Colombia is a country of dramatic and contradictory images. Officially it is a Latin American success story, with steady growth and political stability. Yet it has become notorious through the activities of the Medellín and Cali cartels and the violence surrounding the cocaine trade. Although heralded as the region's longest lasting democracy, it has also been the scene of extreme political and criminal violence which has given it the highest murder rate in the world.

Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth explains the reality behind the official and the actual country. It examines the historical basis of Colombia's two-party system and analyses the corruption and instability which have weakened the state. Exploring the economic and social forces which condemn a quarter of the population to absolute poverty, it examines the role of the political parties, trade unions, guerrillas and civic movements in Colombia today.

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On behalf of the ALP's International Committee, I am writing to congratulate the Socialist International on its publication Socialist Affairs. The Committee's congratulations are extended particularly following the publication of the most recent issue of Socialist Affairs.

It is our intention to publicise Socialist Affairs throughout our Party and its affiliated unions, and to encourage members to subscribe directly.

*Ian Henderson,
International Secretary, Australian Labor Party, Canberra*

I read with interest the feature on the abuse of women, in Women and Politics in the last issue of Socialist Affairs.

I think there is a great lack of knowledge of the sexual abuse which takes place in totalitarian systems. In those systems, the generalised dependency of people gives great possibilities of sexual abuse. The problem needs broad and deep investigation in many countries.

*Peter Dertliev, Chairman,
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party,
Sofia*

Congratulating you on the new thrust of Socialist Affairs, I can't help wondering if there would be a place for one more feature. It is always interesting to see how the different member parties present themselves to their own electorates on an everyday basis, eg in their party press. I think that it would be possible to persuade the member parties to send you their journals regularly for you to make a selection of their articles. If you need more space, perhaps you could save on participants lists from the SI meetings!

*Lars Karlsson,
Vienna*

Thanks very much for the copy of the first number of the new Socialist Affairs.

It is a great improvement and an excellent way of keeping in touch with news and views of socialists around the world.

*Neil Kinnock
The Office of the Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
London*

We much appreciate receiving your publication and hope to continue doing so on a regular exchange basis.

I offer you my congratulations for the re-design of your review.

*Luciano Pellicani
MondOperaio, via Tomacelli 146,
Rome*

I have just got my hands on a copy of Socialist Affairs, Issue One, 1990. I like the new look. There seems to be much more content.

*Stephen Thomas
Stephen Thomas Associates,
Toronto*

WOMEN & POLITICS

**Journal of
Socialist International Women**

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WOMEN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Changes, revolutions, elections and reforms in Central and Eastern Europe have brought down the Berlin Wall, one-party systems and given freedom to millions of people after decades of communist rule.

Women and Politics looks at the situation of women in some Eastern and Central European countries and wonders what good the rapid changes hold for women.

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

WHAT IS THE CURRENT SOCIAL POSITION OF THE 'FAIRER SEX' IN THE SOVIET UNION?

Western observers are struck by the fact that in most cases, women have unusual careers - as doctors, bus drivers, station-mistresses, and also road-sweepers and builders. A third of employees whose job it is to maintain the Soviet railway tracks are women.

Almost all women of working age work and are economically independent. Is this equality in action? Many of them carry out the most physically demanding manual work in sectors which are barely mechanised, such as road-building, or they work in areas traditionally reserved for women - as nursery school teachers, school teachers, in the health service, in the service sector, in the textile industry etc. On average they earn less than men because it is precisely these jobs which are poorly paid.

It has become clear that more women than men study at Soviet polytechnics. Academics earn less than manual workers and being a doctor holds no prestige in this country. Women are fairly well represented in middle management but the higher up in the economic and political hierarchy, the more thin on the ground women are. In spite of *perestroika*, women do not hold high political office.

Many women say that they would rather not go out to work. The reason given was always the stress of combining career, housework and children. Recently, shortages have become more severe. If five or ten years ago it was difficult enough to obtain the bare necessities, the problem has become infinitely worse, involving endless hours of queueing and fruitless scouring of countless empty shops. All this has to be done after work, since discipline has been tightened up at work and it is no longer as easy as it was to go shopping during

**Publisher and Editor
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas**

working hours. All this would not be quite so bad if the household chores were divided equally between men and women. However, not much progress has been made in this direction since the revolution.

In the aftermath of the revolution women were fully integrated into industrial production, but they have remained solely responsible for the home and bringing up children. The role of men has never been questioned. Occasional discussions in the media during the past twenty years (mostly in readers' letters) have done little to change the situation. Of course, men also stand in queues outside shops and can be seen on the way to the creche, but as always it is the women who bear the greatest burden. The comparative lack of mechanisation of housework, the restrictive housing situation and the long distances between home and work in large cities make everyday life even more stressful.

Although there are numerous nursery schools and creches, including those in factories and institutes, there are not enough and women prefer to entrust their children to grandmothers. Grandmothers are much in demand and often indispensable. The housing shortage means that young couples often have to live with their parents for many years in a small flat.

The housing problem coupled with a conservative view of morality is also a reason for early marriages. Only marriage provides a young couple with the opportunity of living together. The divorce rate is high: over a third of marriages end in divorce. In large cities in the European part of the Soviet Union, the divorce rate is considerably higher.

Many women raise their children on their own. And even if they are married, it is mainly they who make the decisions on upbringing and the running of the household. In spite of this marriage is still the first goal of many women, although it appears that there have been changes in recent years, at least in the large cities. Many women now prefer to live alone or with their children, devote themselves to their professional career and no longer marry at such an early age.

Women are shockingly ignorant and inhibited about sexuality and contraception. Contraceptives do exist but they are generally very difficult to obtain. Women take any pill they can get hold of from any source, often from foreigners, with no thought for what actually suits them best. There is a shortage of condoms. With the advent of AIDS, production and imports have increased but the demand is still far from being met.

It should not be forgotten that, for a woman who has no connections for obtaining contraceptives, several abortions in the life of a Soviet woman are not unusual. Pregnancies are terminated without anaesthetic and in the most unhygienic conditions. The presence of the father during childbirth is not possible and, for the most part, unthinkable even to women. It is usually impossible for husbands to visit their wife and child following childbirth.

The new ecological, world peace, nationalist, democratic and other movements mean that there is hardly an aspect of Soviet society untouched by new configurations and groupings and hardly a traditional socio-economic subject or social problem which is not open to debate. So what about feminist issues? Were they resolved by the 'world's first socialist state'? or have women once again lost ground, replacing one set of worries for another?

There is no mention of feminist issues in the Soviet media, although the last two years have brought many essential changes. In the new Congress of



People's Representatives, women are still in the minority. They may write, debate or talk about the various topical subjects, but their own situation appears not to be an issue for discussion. However, things are happening, even though these may not be spectacularly apparent in the media, and they are happening without conflict. Women are banding together, not to wage war against men but to try and exist equally alongside men and to help men solve the problems of their own purely gender-based dominance. This is how Larissa Vasilieva put it at the founders' meeting of the Soviet Women Writers Society. This association of literary women is only one of a series of such alliances, like the International Organisation of Women Film Directors, started by Soviet film directors, and the associations of women journalists and artists, all singularly unbureaucratic organisations, which intend to publish a new magazine.

As Larissa Vasilieva comments: '*What have we women done to prevent such sacrifices being made in the cause of revolutions, civil war, the purges of the Stalin era and war? What have we done to prevent nuclear power stations and Afghanistan or to avoid ethnic violence? We women have suffered hunger and cold, war and destruction, wretched homes and constant queueing. Now is our time to try and achieve what we have always failed to achieve: the right to co-determination.*' ■

OUR SISTERS IN EASTERN EUROPE

BY IRMTRAUT KARLSSON

Social Democratic parties are being 'revitalised', as President Brandt put it, all over Eastern Europe. But what about women's organisations? Traditionally, women from Eastern Europe were in the forefront of our struggle. Rosa Luxemburg, Dorothea Kluzinska, Angelica Balabanoff, Anna Kethly, to name just a few. At the last SIW executive meeting, Socialist women of Austria and SIW tried to find out if this tradition is also being revitalised. The meeting took place in Rust, in the most eastern province of Austria, near the Hungarian border.

Petra Buzkova reported on Czechoslovakia. The women's committee of the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia was formed at the beginning of February 1990. At the moment men are dominant in the party. But our sisters are struggling to be recognised. At the founding congress on 24-25 March in Prague, they demanded representation on all committees. They also formulated a declaration to be included in their parties' programmes. In the past, men have often sided with totalitarianism and injustice. In a true democracy, women must have the chance to influence politics. This is one of the main sentiments in this programme. In line with the difficult situation of women in Czechoslovak society, the programme demands more time and better social conditions for women. Better housing is also one of the top priorities.

Marta Szigeti-Bonifert from Hungary warned of the great difficulties that face women in her country. In a reaction against the pseudo-

emancipation of the Communist system, men are dreaming now of women's place in the good old days, meaning enslaving women once more. In the labour force, women in Hungary are worst hit by unemployment and inflation. A new image for the modern Hungarian woman has to be found. Marta Szigeti-Bonifert strongly believes in educational programmes for women. The idea of equality should be taught to children. Men and women should be allowed to choose how they lead their lives. At the moment, the Social Democratic party of Hungary is led by a woman, Anna Petrasovits.

In Yugoslavia, the situation for women differs from republic to republic. In Slovenia, feminist groups were started in 1984. Even a group of lesbians dared to form. Women represent half of the Social Democratic party's membership, but women in top positions are few.

On 7 April 1990, the women's organisation within the Social Democratic Party in the German Democratic Republic was founded. Eva Kuntz is the president, Gerlinde Schnell and Ute Fischer are deputy leaders. In the elections on 18 March, the SPD-GDR won 88 seats, 22 out these for women. In the party's executive there are 10 women and one of the deputy leaders is a woman: Angelika Barbe. A quota of 30 per cent has been decided for all party organisations.

Things are moving for our sisters in Eastern Europe. But they need support from the whole of SIW in their struggle against male dominance and false romanticism.

WOMEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION THROUGH CAREERS?

From the quashing of the 1968 Prague Spring until the revolution of recent months, although Czechoslovakia was one of the most progressive of the Eastern bloc countries, the country was governed by a collection of *macho* senile men. Despite all claims to the contrary, there appears to have been little room for women's emancipation.

In recent years, a number of critical articles have appeared in the Czech press concerning the lot of women, and in particular career women. In Czechoslovakia women are usually employed anywhere where the work is strenuous, monotonous or dirty, or in situations demanding an excess of concentration, patience and willingness.

This is the more lamentable when one considers that there is no great difference in Czechoslovakia between the education of men and women. Women represent 58 per cent of the workforce with secondary education and 40 per cent of graduates.

Czechoslovakia is one of the countries with the highest number of working women. Women make up in excess of 47 per cent of the total workforce and 89 per cent of all Czech women of working age are in employment. To Western eyes this may appear living proof of the emancipation of women under the socialist system. Unfortunately, on closer inspection, the much-vaunted career woman appears in a totally different light.

Whereas unions and feminist organisations can promote women's rights in the West, the existing unions and women's organisations in Czechoslovakia were completely under the domination of the Communist Party until recently and were thus an instrument of party control.

As in the West, in the East most women have to bear the burden of household chores and providing for the family. In Czechoslovakia this burden is considerably greater, because the infrastructure of domestic and family welfare (creches, nurseries, childminders, school/works canteens, the provision of social services in the home) is inadequate in many areas. There are bottlenecks and gaps in supplies of consumer goods, driving women to nerve-wracking searches every day for products which have disappeared from the shop shelves, be they children's clothing, food or commodities, not to speak of the bad public transport system and inadequacies in the health service.

The number of women in Czechoslovakia who work with hazardous and antiquated equipment exceeds that in Western countries. Many women work in disastrous conditions in heavy industry and the chemical industry. In the years 1980-87, the number of women in this type of employment rose from 179,000 to 250,000. A survey carried out in 1984 revealed that a quarter of all employees working in hazardous environments in factories are women. Night work is another problem area. Although a law was passed in Czechoslovakia in 1987 banning women from night work, the government issued 35,000 special licences to women to work nights. The statements made by a number of male



trade unionists published in some newspapers to the effect that 'you cannot persuade women to stop doing the night shifts, because they are obsessed with the idea of earning bonuses', are merely a smokescreen. Moreover, 61 per cent of all Czech shift workers are women.

Working on Saturdays represents a further erosion of the law which is intended to protect factory workers. In some cases, women have to work as many as 40 Saturdays per year. In 1987, 50 per cent of working women worked overtime and it should not be forgotten that 87 per cent of working women have children.

It is worth noting that although the present condition of women in Czechoslovakia leaves much to be desired, significant victories in the struggle for women's rights were won in the first Czechoslovakian republic in comparison with many other European countries. While the positive aspect of women's emancipation through gainful employment cannot be disputed, the positive impression however is deceptive. If we consider for instance that the regime in Czechoslovakia, which has always prided itself on the fact that men and women enjoy equal rights at work, has women wholly under-represented at the higher levels of the decision-making hierarchy, with women's salaries, on average, a third lower than their male counterparts.

Whether the 'gentle revolution' of the final months of 1989, in which women played as great a part as men, will finally bring about an improvement in the condition of women in Czechoslovakia remains to be seen. ■

WOMEN IN HUNGARY

THE BURDEN OF THE PAST

Although Hungary was one of the first East European countries to begin the process of democratisation, the Hungarian women's movement is still in its infancy. There are no feminist organisations, with the possible exception of the lesbian group, the 'Homeros Lambda Association' which, although representing women in general, is known as a gay group. It is only recently that a number of rival women's groups have banded together.

The past, both the historic past as well as recent events, has evidently placed a heavy burden on society in general and women in particular. Although there have been changes in the past 45 years, these have not had any effect whatsoever on old attitudes. Women have a right to work and education, in fact almost a duty. No conscientious citizen is going to stay at home as a sponger or a layabout. Only an official job is recognised by society. All social benefits like,



for instance, child benefit are linked to this. In an era of 'real socialism', women had no choice. Now, at a time when the economic crisis is at its peak, there is even less opportunity. Salaries are very low, with the result that a family needs more than one income in order to be able to provide for its basic needs. And when there is an increasing pressure to consume because opening up to the West has made people aware that there is a lot of catching up to do, a family needs more than two salaries to be able to fulfil at least some of its needs and desires.

Women are entering traditional male careers and become engine drivers or judges. Nevertheless, male lawyers still earn considerably more. Salaries are lower in places where women are employed. Discrimination and the division of roles at work may vary in structure, but the effect is the same. It is still women who run the households. Only in exceptional cases do men ever join in, on one hand because they refuse to regard it as their role and on the other because their time is taken up by a second or third job (this again reflects the need for more than one source of income).

In the rural areas, apart from pursuing a career outside the home and the housework, women also have to work on the farm. The result is a great deal of pressure. Even the official women's union has recognised the gravity of the situation. In addition, practical considerations make life very difficult for women, for example, the lack of electrical appliances and most importantly, the serious housing shortage. The housing shortage is so acute that young couples often have to wait for years until they can finally move into a flat of their own. Both devote all their efforts to reaching their common goal - getting a place of their own. The lack of time and space denies them any sort of privacy. This results in acute tension and conflict. Divorce and suicide are often the consequences of great disappointment. No wonder that in Hungary one marriage in every four ends in divorce because human relationships are ruined by poor living conditions. Many women are single parents. Quite a few find life after divorce an improvement. Although short of money, struggling to maintain the bare essentials, at least they are free from the stresses of marital conflict. In this situation, there is no way that a woman can afford to lose her job.

The wretched existence outlined above has driven women to political struggle. In ten years of underground opposition, women have achieved a great deal. They have printed leaflets, arranged to circulate them illegally, sustained a large part of the resistance infrastructure. However, they have rarely been seen to act publicly. One reason for this appears to be that, in order to provide security for the family, one partner had to have an official job so as not to lose the associated social benefits. Traditionally, the high profile role of the hero was reserved for men whilst women did the silent work. Over the years, this division of roles has become an acceptable way of life for opponents of the system.

The reasons for this are characteristic of the present crucial period in which political activity is becoming professionalised. The campaign for the referendum in autumn 1989 was fought inhumanely both between and within political groups. Women thought, if this is the way it has to be, then men should have to do it.

Up until the present time, politics were regarded as 'bad', 'dirty', 'lies', 'the business of civil servants'. This view is still very prevalent and also characterises the struggle between individual opposing groups. This is not what women want, either for themselves or for society in general.

The possibility for women to choose whether to pursue a career or have a family would be regarded as progress by Hungarian feminists.

Women in Hungary suffer from the multiple burden of career, family and social attitudes (no matter what her politics, a woman who appears in public is at best made fun of or at worst made to look ridiculous). There is precious little time for the luxury of women's politics. Quite apart from this, there is little opportunity to disseminate feminist experiences, ideas and literature imported from abroad. The translation of feminist writings is therefore a matter of direct concern.

In addition, planned reforms undertaken to salvage the country, which is sinking deeper into economic crisis, certainly have decisive repercussions on the lives of women. Repelled by the politics of the last 45 years and now sceptical about recent developments, they are seeking a way of avoiding becoming the victims of radical change. ■

WOMEN IN ROMANIA

LIFTING THE BAN ON ABORTION

One of the first measures undertaken by the 'National Salvation Front' after the overthrow of Ceausescu was the legalisation of abortion and contraception. Figures published by the new Romanian Ministry of Health confirm the necessity for these measures. According to these figures, since 1981 1,400 women have died as a consequence of clandestine abortions, 263 within the last ten months. Foreign doctors doubt these figures. The association 'Doctors of the World' recalls that at a gynaecologists' congress in Brasov, Romanian doctors stated that in 1989 alone, 700 women had died in hospital as a consequence of clandestine abortions. The number of women who, in spite of complications following a clandestine abortion, did not dare to seek medical help at a hospital and died as a consequence is unknown but very likely to be considerable.

The birth policy of the 'Father of the Romanian People' was reduced to a slogan: 'If you do not want four children, have five'. Contraception and abortion were banned. Subtly, yet cruelly, Romanian women were oppressed, monitored and relegated to mere baby machines. The following examples illustrate the situation of women under the totalitarian Ceausescu rule.

A medical student, in her final year, is pregnant. She gives herself an abortion. She becomes very feverish. She ought to go to hospital. Because she is afraid of hospital and of being sent to prison, she hangs herself in a room in the student hostel. A meeting takes place between the directors of the polytechnic. The student is posthumously thrown out of the Communist Party, in the presence of many of her fellow students, and expelled from the polytechnic. A photo of her is hung in the hall of the students' hostel together with a text which portrays her as a bad example.

Secret service agents are firmly entrenched in women's clinics. They are masquerading as doctors, wearing white coats, with 'Dr.' in front of their names. On admission to hospital, women are interrogated about the abortion and not until the hearing is concluded is treatment commenced, even in the case of a haemorrhage. Quite often, women die because they will not confess.

Workers accompanied by a trustworthy person from their factory are brought in for examination by a gynaecologist during working hours, under pretext of the prevention of cancer of the womb. There were no preventive examinations before the abortion law was tightened up. Pregnant women are registered. In addition, no kind of medical treatment is given until production of proof of permission from a gynaecologist. Proof of permission is even required when visiting the dentist.

Telephone conversation in an engineering factory: '*Good morning, are you still selling hand-made embroidery? The sizes are 29 to 2. How much is it? OK. When can I pick up the embroidery? Yes, I will be there at 10 o'clock.*' An office employee speaking. She has one child. She is 29 years old and in her second month of pregnancy. Those are the 'sizes' of the embroidery. She is having the conversation with a back-street abortionist. The abortion costs 5,000 Leu (two months' salary). She is lucky, the abortion is performed without complications. Unable

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Women in Eastern Europe

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to afford such high fees and having got pregnant again several times, she gives herself abortions by using a plastic tube from a knitting needle.

Other methods used by desperate women: putting grated washing soap into the womb; putting lemons or lemon juice into the womb; lifting heavy furniture as often, as long and as high she can; giving herself an overdose of various injections twice every two days; taking an overdose of stomach tablets smuggled in from the Soviet Union and sold on the black market: 2 tablets every two hours for 24 hours which cause fever, stomach cramps and heavy vomiting aimed at inducing the abortion (these tablets were popularly known as Russian pills).

These are some of the procedures which were used daily throughout the country, leading to hundreds of deaths since the tightening up of the law on abortion. It is not known how many women have died alone at home or in hospital as the result of attempted abortions. There were no statistics, just as there were no contraceptives, which were also illegal. If the attempted abortion was unsuccessful, women often gave birth to mentally or physically handicapped babies. Even if it was quite evident that the attempted abortion had damaged the child, hospital treatment was still given with the purpose of continuing the pregnancy. Doctors who registered an exceptionally high number of births could expect swift career advancement as well as bonuses and privileges.

These circumstances did not apply however to the wives and daughters of Party officials. There were Party hospitals where abortions were carried out. All other women had to have children, end up in prison, or die. Thousands abandoned their unwanted, often handicapped babies. Pictures of starving children in orphanages vegetating in filth, have haunted TV screens and the print media. ■





WOMEN IN POLAND

CHURCH, FAMILY AND POLITICS

Women's position in Polish society was defined by the role of women offered by the Catholic church: being a mother. This was also one way of creating a private realm in contrast to the norms of 'real socialism'. In reality, the traditional family has a monopoly in the area of human relations.

The absence of an alternative recognised by society to the role of mother and wife, and the need to have a paid job, force women to be emancipated and traditional at the same time.

Daily life for Polish women is characterised by permanent queueing for consumer goods, by producing a meal out of whatever is available, and by the constant worry of what goods, if any, are available in what shops.

The fight against tiredness, the race against time, and the disappointment have become routine.

Traditional and religious norms, the burden of household chores and employment prevent a real emancipation of women, in spite of progressive legislation that guarantees a theoretically equal status. Yet there is no organised protest or revolt, no reaction from women against their plight, because they do not realise that it is gender-specific.

In Poland, equality between women and men at work means that they both work equally hard and that male values are accepted by women.

Half of the working population are women, but 80 per cent of unqualified work is done by women, and women's salaries are on average, 5 per cent below those of men. Only 1.5 per cent of men are employed in the lowest paid jobs as against 9.5 per cent of women. Out of 330 managers in light industries employing 70 per cent women, only 30 are women.

It can generally be said that the work done by women is far from being a career. Depending on the economic situation, women are asked to work or to stay at home. In times of economic growth, equality is the order of the day, whereas in times of crisis, biological arguments come to the fore. In Poland, propaganda campaigns on women's questions are closely linked to economic development. Women were called to work with the slogan 'women on tractors' and pushed out of jobs with the reasoning 'tractor work endangers menstrual

Women and Politics based these articles on № 1-2/90 of 'Ost-West-Gegen-Informationen', published in Austria by the 'alternativ-sozialistisches osteuropakomitee/ Graz'.

cycles'. Again, when it was convenient, women were employed in construction work as bricklayers. Mothers have been accused of both acting selfishly in staying at home with their children and behaving unnaturally when placing the children in creches.

The political changes in 1980-81 brought about the formation of diverse political and social groups, environmental, pacifist, extreme left or right, antisemitic, buddhist and other organisations. Only women did not organise. The unity of all those opposing the communist system was not to be upset by what was considered as a marginal and insignificant problem.

Only very recently, in November 1989, a Polish feminist organisation was founded in protest against the disregard shown by the newly established political groups for the rights of women in society.

One issue brought women out on the streets in defense of their rights last year: abortion. Shortly before the elections in June 1989, a group of 76 members of parliament had presented a bill which aimed at bringing down the rather liberal legislation on abortion. This proposal had been drawn up by a group of experts in the episcopate and was to abolish abortion. Any infringement would incur sentences of up to three years for the woman concerned and for the doctor involved.

Women demonstrating against this bill insisted on women's right to decide over their bodies and made it clear that they regarded abortion as a last resort in a desperate situation.

However, abortion rates in Poland are higher than in other countries. It is estimated that the number of abortions equals the number of births in Poland.

The reason for this high rate is not only the total absence of sex education but also the fact that contraceptives are not widely available and are of inferior quality. Family planning centres are understaffed and many had therefore to be closed down. IUDs -produced in Poland- have been proved to cause complications, the pill, condoms and diaphragms are rarely available. Good Western products (again only the pill and the IUD) may be bought only with foreign currency and are very expensive. In practice the only methods used, albeit unreliable, are the rhythm method and withdrawal.

So far, the draft bill has not been approved by parliament. However, with only 8 per cent of parliamentarians being women an enlightened debate cannot be expected. ■

OBITUARY

Socialist International Women mourns the recent death of Nina Andersen, who was the first president of our organisation after the Second World War, from 1955-59.

Nina Andersen was born in 1900 in Horsens, Denmark. She attended adult education courses at the Socialist Democratic Party Workers' School, and Universities in Germany and Great Britain (London School of Economics and Ruskin College). At the same time she became active in politics, starting in the Youth Movement. She held party offices throughout her life and was elected to the Copenhagen City Council as well as to the Danish Parliament, where she served as a Member for nearly 30 years.



Dasa Sasic Silovic
WOMEN IN YUGOSLAVIA

LIP SERVICE IS NO LONGER ENOUGH

In various interpretations of political pluralistic trends and current developments in Eastern Europe an issue has been neglected namely, what is going to happen to the traditional so-called 'social political' organisations, or non-governmental organisations such as the organisations of women. The rapid politicisation and polarisation of the social scene has, in its first tidal wave, marginalised this issue, but now that the euphoria is subsiding, after the first multi-party elections, the time has come to reconsider the role and status of women's organisations which have until now, as a rule, been the official ruling party women's wings.

The Yugoslav experience, with its socialist self-management is different from that of other socialist countries.

Yugoslavia is on its road to political pluralism. It may seem slow to some, but this is due to its specific characteristics - the nature of its self-management system; the fact that it did not belong to the Warsaw Pact and that it was a non-aligned country with open borders; the fact that some sort of political pluralism was channelled and cushioned through the Socialist Alliance, and of course its multi-national composition and federal system. The republics of Slovenia and Croatia have completed their pluralistic elections, while the rest of the country is, willy nilly, on its way. The electoral campaigns in Slovenia and Croatia, where there was, generally speaking, a conservative and nationalistic outcome to the elections, have demonstrated a socially anti-emancipatory trend and the rise of conservatism. This is particularly visible in views expressed on the status of women. In all objectivity it is to be expected that similar views will also be demonstrated later on when pluralistic political campaigns start this Autumn in other parts of the country. The opinions expressed are: (a) anti-abortion (Yugoslavia has for the past forty years, as can be seen in the UN documentation, had a most liberal and progressive approach to the right of every individual to decide on his/her own reproduction, including the right to abortion); (b) that the role of the woman in society is only reproductive and she is responsible for safeguarding the future of the nation by reversing the low birth-rate which is particularly striking in the developed regions of Slovenia, Croatia, Vojvodina and parts of Serbia; (c) that women should stay at home and look after the family; some parties such as the conservative Croatian Democratic Community, propose special allowances for women who stay at home with a view not only to the proper upbringing of youth, but also generating more employment possibilities for men - the breadwinners. On the other hand, in the orthodox parts of the country, through a deliberate and politically-gearred revival of religion and tradition, the patriarchal family model is being praised. Muslim fundamentalism is also gaining ground in the traditionally Islamic regions and is particularly present in the Kosovo province which is not only backward in development, but also culturally. In view of this, one can often hear the thesis that in coping sometimes harshly with the Kosovo problem Serbia is once again (as in the times of the Ottoman expansion) defending 'Christian Europe from the penetration of Islam'.

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The Left, the communists, socialists and social democrats, and to some extent the liberal centrists have not been deaf to such a retrograde attitude on the feminist issue in the electoral campaigns. The communists (reformed), socialists and social democrats have expanded on their views, campaigning for the equal status of women in society, equal social and economic possibilities and active participation in decision-making and political life. The social democrats in particular, have formulated policy in accordance with the general orientation of the Socialist International including the demand for quota for women in political fora. Unfortunately it seems that these seeds have fallen on barren (or temporarily barren) ground in the electorate and have only reached the most conscious, already progressive public opinion which has traditionally opted for the emancipation of people and society. This is no surprise if one remembers that the dominant issue in electoral campaigns, as dictated by the Right, was the national one, focussing primarily on the status of the respective nation and republic in the Yugoslav federation, with the promises of national sovereignty, independence and well-being based upon the final purge of economic and political relations with other of the Yugoslav federation. Nationalism combined with ideological dogmatism has furthermore, in parts of the country which have not yet trodden the path of multi-party elections, paralysed progressive thinking and action.

Yugoslavia, therefore, is entering into a new battle, but one which it has not experienced before and which is not unknown to socialist, progressive and democratic forces - how to maintain the overall struggle for emancipation. In this respect, the women's issue will be a crucial battlefield.

Women's organisations, especially in Croatia, have raised their voices against such a trend and have reorganised within the existing socialist party as a union of women, in society at large as the Council of Croatian Women and within the Independent Women's Union of Yugoslavia, gathering the feminist intellectual core. In other parts of the country, solutions which are sought differ, but are generally taking the form of women's organisations as political party wings or councils of women as umbrella organisations. On the other hand, family planning councils, which have played an important role in the elaboration and implementation of family planning and sexual upbringing within the Socialist Alliance, are being transformed into a broad independent public organisation with international affiliation to the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Simultaneously, there is feminist public pressure for the reanimation of the formally existing government national mechanism, The Yugoslav Commission for the UN Decade for Women, which played an important role, as did most national mechanisms established during the Decade. This would give the general social drive in this field an instrument of practical, legislative strength.

Women have in these times of change, however, proven their alertness, consciousness, sense of the practical and commitment to their cause. In this they have a natural ally - the socialist forces.

Now it will be up to them to make intelligent use of the heritage of the past which cannot be neglected where legislation and social instruments are concerned and to adapt it to the present situation, and to their own advantage. For this they have both the necessary infrastructure (the legislation, constitutional rights, social institutions) and the indispensable knowledge and experience (professional and personal). However, this needs all the support they can get from like-minded political forces which will now have to carry out their electoral commitments and promises. The forty year rule of one totally bureaucratised party has *de facto* killed the free flow of creative socialist ideas, particularly those of a democratic socialist outlook which includes paying at least lip service to the cause of women. However, Yugoslavia has a well formed tradition of the Left, which will now again be put to the test, both in carrying out its own socialist, democratic and progressive ideas and in the organisational forms required to perform its tasks. At the moment it seems to have been caught empty handed and at a loss. The future regrouping will be a function of a struggle for humane and democratic concepts and against all forms of dogmatism, both nationalistic and generally conservative. Let us hope that the Left will, once again, pull itself together and in accepting the general significance and values of democratic socialism, find its own responses to the specific Yugoslav conditions and, through such a merger of the universal and the particular, once again gain ground among its own people.

BUREAU MEETING IN CAIRO, 19-20 MAY 1990

Socialist International Women held its first Bureau meeting in an Arab country, in Cairo on 19 and 20 May 1990. The theme discussed was "Discrimination Against Women in Legislation".

RESOLUTIONS

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN LEGISLATION

Discrimination against women is enshrined in the legislation of many countries. It can be found in various areas, e.g. in the field of individual rights (family planning, abortion, etc.); in civil legislation, divorce, inheritance, etc.; in the workplace: pay equity, outdated restrictions for different jobs, etc. and in the field of taxation.

SIW has examined persistent cases of discrimination, and notes with concern that the main reasons for discrimination against women in legislation are:

- laws are passed by male-dominated parliaments,
- a paternal attitude towards women's position in society which does not give equal status to women or accept the concept of equal rights,
- the conservative role models and traditions which men perpetuate.

SIW member parties must comply with the Declaration of Principles adopted in June 1989 at its Congress in Stockholm which in paragraph 72, states:

- "legislation and positive action programmes which guarantees full equality between men and women",
- "legislation to ensure equal pay for work of equal value",
- "public backing for full and equal participation of women in the social and political activities of every country by positive steps which ensure women's participation at all levels of decision-making".

SIW calls on its member organisations to take the lead in their parties to formulate anti-sexist legislation.

Special attention has to be paid to the existing discrimination in laws with regard to social security, taxation, family and inheritance legislation, as well as laws paying tribute to women as individuals, like the right to their own names and a gender neutral legal language.

SIW calls for an amendment of the Geneva Convention on Refugees and for legislation in all countries to give women who are persecuted because they are women, the right to asylum and refugee status.

SIW calls for legislation in all countries to give women independent rights of residence in a country where their husbands have the right of residence.

SIW demands that all governments who have not yet done so, ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and that all governments implement it immediately.

SIW calls for a further UN Women's Conference in order to evaluate the progress made in overcoming discrimination against women also in legislation.

ABORTION PILL RU-486

Socialist International Women underlines the fact that family planning and the use of contraceptives, are of vital importance in avoiding unwanted pregnancies.

At the same time, SIW underlines the need for all governments to offer free access to contraceptive methods without cost to everybody in all countries, and to circulate information about contraceptive methods to all citizens.

Since its introduction in France about a year ago, the abortifacient RU-486 has been utilised to terminate about 50,000 pregnancies. Manufactured by the French pharmaceutical company Roussel-Uclaf, the RU-486 pill has since become the object of considerable debate and controversy.

Anti-abortion groups are trying to prevent RU-486 from being licensed for import or produced in other countries.

This method represents a real advance, removing the need for invasive surgery with its attendant trauma. SIW demands that Governments must make the RU-486 pill readily available to all women under proper and continuing medical supervision.

Reservations to this resolution were expressed by some delegations.

EMERGENCY RESOLUTION SOLIDARITY WITH THE ALGERIAN WOMEN

For some time now there has been a worrying resurgence throughout the world, of violence, intolerance and fundamentalism, of which women have become the main victims. Many countries give cause for concern, like Iran and Iraq, and at the moment we are particularly concerned with the situation of Algerian women. Women students have been kidnapped in their universities; the imposition of the veil is common practice and the homes of women active in the defence of women's rights have been burnt down. Legislation is being used to erode the rights of women in order to comply with the most conservative fundamentalism.

SIW expresses its deepest concern and calls for solidarity with women everywhere whose fundamental human rights are under attack. We call upon all governments to use their powers to halt these inhuman attacks on individual rights and freedoms and we express our solidarity with the victims and with all those struggling against this savage backlash against women's rights.



About the SI

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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.

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Willy Brandt

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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
Mouvement pour les 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, SPJ
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POS
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 Federista Party, PRF, Paraguay
Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
Socialist Party of San Marino, 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
Siimut, 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
Yugoslav Socialist Party

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

SI COUNCIL MEETING IN CAIRO

The Council of the Socialist International gathered in Cairo for its first meeting in an Arab country on 22-23 May, as the guests of the governing National Democratic Party which was elected to full membership of the International at the Congress held last year in Stockholm



Brandt: one world for all

The main themes of the meeting were Perspectives on the Mediterranean and the Middle East and Developments in Central and Eastern Europe. The venue in the Egyptian capital was seen as a particular symbol of the SI's commitment to the Middle East and, in the words of SI President Willy Brandt, to 'durable peace and social democracy.'

In his opening remarks Brandt also highlighted the new realities in Central and Eastern Europe and commented, 'We feel close to those who seek and work for independent and true democracy. And we also feel a

certain co-responsibility for the fate of *perestroika* and for the future of Russia and the Soviet Union'.

Referring to the economic gap between the affluent North and the poor South, Brandt said there was no alternative to the pursuit of the vision of one world for all.

Speaking at the Council inauguration ceremony President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt warned against an 'iron curtain' coming down between North and South. 'It is no secret', he commented, 'that our world now experiences an explosive situation because of the gap between industrial and developing countries.'

On Middle East questions, the Egyptian leader warned that the influx of Soviet Jews to the territories occupied by Israel 'threatens to blow up the march towards peace and put the whole region on the verge of a bloody new confrontation.'

President Mubarak called on the SI to pay particular attention to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the drive to end apartheid in South Africa.

The Middle East and the Mediterranean

The SI Council held a major discussion on the Middle East and the Mediterranean and went on to adopt a resolution on the Middle East presented by the International's Middle East Committee, which met in Cairo on the day preceding the Council (see box page 44).

Shimon Peres, the leader of the Israel Labour Party, in a powerful intervention told the Council that peace was at the centre of the Israeli political debate. Bettino Craxi, the leader of the Italian Socialist Party, said that it was difficult to deny the desire of the Palestine Liberation Organisation for peace and negotiations. He added that hope had to be put back into the dialogue between the parties.

For his part Alfonso Guerra, deputy leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and deputy prime minister, declared that the Israeli government of Yitzhak Shamir

'seemed to be betting on the closing of every door to the hope of a dialogue with the Palestinians.'

Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, thought that 'everything must be done so that there takes place between the Israeli government and the PLO a dialogue founded on mutual recognition which must lead to co-existence of the two peoples and the two States in peace, co-operation and security'.

The full text of the resolution adopted on the Middle East is printed below.

Eastern Europe

The second theme of the Council meeting was given heightened interest by the presence of a number of representatives from Eastern Europe. The SI secretary general started the analysis with a survey of developments concerning the SI in the area.

In the debate, speaking for the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Pierre Schori said, 'Democracy has triumphed in the former "Eastern Europe". Democracy, not capitalism, is the winner. Communism was defeated, politically, socially and culturally. Communism, not democratic socialism was the loser... In the case of the Baltic republics it is not a question of if, or maybe, it is rather when and how these nations will regain their independence.'

Antonio Cariglia, general secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party, declared, 'Forty years of totalitarian use of power "in the name of the people" have demonstrated that if socialism is not accompanied by democracy it turns into an instrument of oppression against the people.'

José María Benegas of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party stressed that the SI must be alert to the possibilities in Eastern Europe, 'seeking to widen contacts with all progressive forces in the area and trying to contribute in the measure of our



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possibilities through solidarity with those who may one day govern in those societies'.

Asia and the Pacific

Asia and the Pacific also featured on the agenda.

SI vice president Eiichi Nagasue of the Japan Democratic Socialist Party made a strong plea for continued contacts with China. 'China is trying hard by saying "Let us work together". It is my strong belief that the Socialist International should work to avoid the isolation of China and I make this appeal to my fellow comrades.'

The Council heard a report from a representative of the Nepali Congress Party, elected to consultative membership of the International at the Stockholm Congress, and now heading a coalition government following the recent democratic breakthrough in that country.

Hayat Ahmed Khan of the Pakistan People's Party, a full member party of the International, drew participants' attention to the situation in Kashmir, which

he described as an 'Intifada' in which thousands had already been killed. He expressed the support of his government for the United Nations resolution on Kashmir, which called for the people of Kashmir to vote in a plebiscite on their future, under UN auspices.

The Council was also addressed by George Fernandes, minister in the Indian government with special responsibility for the Kashmir question, who was a guest at the meeting.

Southern Africa

There was also discussion of the current situation in Southern Africa.

The Council was addressed by Zolile Magagu of the African National Congress who said that, 'Intensified sanctions and the increased isolation of the Pretoria government can contribute positively to change in Southern Africa.' It was announced that the SI Southern Africa Committee would meet in June in the Hague, under the chairmanship of Dutch Deputy Prime Minister Wim Kok.

Mubarak: a welcome to the Arab world

Latin America

The Council heard the new foreign minister of Chile, Enrique Silva Cimma of the Radical Party, PR, who reported on the installation of the new democratic government in Chile on 11 March, thanking the SI for its sustained support for the Chilean people during the Pinochet dictatorship.

Leonel Brizola, leader of the Democratic Labour Party, PDT, reviewed Brazilian political developments since the presidential elections.

On Central America, Guillermo Ungo, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador, and Mario Solórzano, general secretary of the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, Guatemala, reported on the ongoing peace process.

Membership Decisions

Acting on the mandate of the Stockholm Congress, the Council decided to revitalise the full membership of the Czech Social Democratic Party and of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in the International.

Jiri Horak, Chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party said, 'While it is true that the communist totalitarian regime has discredited the ideal of socialism in our part of the world, I am confident that we will once again rise to the occasion and make democratic socialism a respectable and

even a major force in my country and hopefully in the whole of East and Central Europe.'

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Chair Peter Dertliev reported, 'Numbers of new and young members have coalesced around the core of old veterans. It was an avalanche of enthusiastic people coming from all strata, occupations and professions who wished to join the party ranks. Today our party is one of the strongest parties in our country.'

It was agreed by the Council that the Social Democratic Party of the German Democratic Republic, represented by a delegation headed by GDR foreign minister Markus Meckel, would have the status of full SI member party.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, Greece, was also admitted to full membership which would be for the next SI Congress to ratify. Among those attending the Council was PASOK leader Andreas Papandreou. In his speech he echoed some of the sentiments expressed earlier in the meeting when he said, 'It is essential that, right now, within the new political and economic conditions, we set up the framework for a new Mediterranean co-operation'.

Future Activities

It was agreed at the Council that the third SI Conference on Disarmament would be

held in the Finnish city of Tampere in early September, an event which would be preceded by a mission of the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council to Moscow following the recent one to Washington.

The SI Study Group on Africa, chaired by Jorge Sampaio, Portuguese Socialist Party, and Djibo Ka, Socialist Party of Senegal, met informally in Cairo. The Council approved the decision to hold a meeting in Lisbon during the summer which would focus on environmental and economic issues.

The Mediterranean Study Group, now under the chairmanship of Bettino Craxi, also met informally in Cairo and decided to send a mission to the Maghreb in September, whilst planning other activities for late 1990 and next year.

It was announced that the SI Committee on the Environment, chaired by Swedish Minister for Environment Birgitta Dahl, was preparing to hold a special meeting in Sweden in the near future.

Following discussions in the Council, it was agreed that an SI mission would travel to the Baltic states shortly.

Finally, it was agreed that the next meeting of the SI Council would be held in New York in October 1990.

SI MIDDLE EAST COMMITTEE

The SI Middle East Committee convened in Cairo on the day before the Council under the chairmanship of Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski. The Committee meeting was also attended by representatives of the PLO and of the governments of the US and the USSR.

US representative Ryan Crocker drew attention to the points of coincidence between the Middle East peace proposals of President Mubarak and of US Secretary of State James Baker.

Vladimir Zenchev, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, said, 'As we see it, there are grounds for reasonable optimism that a historical compromise between the Arabs and the Israelis can be found.'

The Committee appointed a working group chaired by Gerald Kaufman of the British Labour Party to consider a draft resolution which was subsequently put to the Council.

REPORT OF THE SI SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE COUNCIL IN CAIRO

Dear comrades,

I am pleased to report that since our last Council meeting in Geneva, in November 1989, the Socialist International has been continuously active in different regions of the world, making its contribution in various areas of current concern.

At a time of rapid and far-reaching change, I think it can be said that our organisation has, through its many activities during the recent period, been dynamically involved in helping to shape new international realities.

This Council meeting in Cairo, the first to be held in this part of Africa and the Middle East, at the invitation of our new member party, the National Democratic Party, is yet another important point of reference for our International and its worldwide commitment.

Since our meeting in Geneva, where we discussed the dramatic developments in Central and Eastern Europe, the pace of change has continued to accelerate. Our International has been particularly active in this area, following the evolving situation through bilateral contacts, organising missions and arranging a permanent exchange of views and information.

An important aspect of these developments has been the re-emergence and consolidation of democratic socialist parties and movements in the region to which I had an opportunity to refer yesterday. We and many of our member parties have attended their party congresses, observed elections and held meetings with leaders and members of these re-established or new political formations. Some of us have accompanied them in their political campaigns. I had myself, for instance, early in March, the privilege of travelling with our president to attend a number of events in the German Democratic Republic during the election campaign.

After the elections in the GDR and in Hungary, which we followed in close detail, our attention also turned to Bulgaria and Romania. A mission of the Socialist International

visited Bulgaria from 29 to 31 March. Representatives of seven member parties and organisations participated. The mission, headed by Heinz Fischer of the Austrian Socialist Party, held meetings with the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria, with leaders and members of the Union of Democratic Forces, with the Bulgarian government and with other of the country's political groupings. The mission also attended the Conference of the Social Democratic Party on 31 March in Sofia. Preparations are now being made for an SI delegation to observe the Bulgarian elections on June 10.

Another mission travelled to Romania 9 and 10 April, led by Peter Jankowitsch of the Austrian Socialist Party and including representatives of seven other member parties. Their programme included meetings with leaders of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, of the Peasants' and National Liberal parties, and other groups such as the Social Dialogue, as well as with government representatives. In the case of Romania our International also organised an observer delegation to the elections held three days ago. The delegation, headed by Santiago Pérez of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, also had talks with representatives of political parties, trade unions and others.

On 26 March, the SI Human Rights Committee held a meeting in Prague where the theme was 'The State of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Eastern and Central Europe'. As well as the Committee members, the meeting was attended by guests from the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Association of the USSR, the Social Democratic Union of Slovenia and the International Helsinki Federation on Human Rights, among others. Antonin Baudisch, deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, was also present.

A new area of activity was opened when the Soviet leadership invited the Socialist International to send economic experts from its parties in



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Secretary general
Luis Ayala

Europe to a jointly organised seminar on 8-10 February in Moscow on the topic of 'Co-existence of various forms of property and market'.

As part of the exchange of information and of coordination with regard to developments in Central and Eastern Europe, the secretariat has been in close contact with a number of international secretaries for informal talks and useful discussions.

There have been several congresses of our member parties and associated organisations in Europe in the last months and I was happy to have been able to participate as a guest in a number of them. It was also a particular pleasure to attend, in the company of Bettino Craxi, the celebration of the unification of the San Marino Socialist Party on the 24 March. The joint secretaries-general from the newly unified party are with us today.

During the recent Greek election campaign I went to Athens at the invitation of PASOK. There I had the op-

portunity to discuss with the party leadership its application for membership of the Socialist International.

It was a heartening experience to head an SI delegation of twenty member parties to Chile to observe the elections held on 14 December 1989. The members of the delegation observed the voting process in different areas of my homeland and witnessed an orderly election, which resulted in a resounding victory for the Coalition for Democracy. Together with many leaders of SI member parties, I also attended the inauguration on 11 March 1990, of the new Chilean government, headed by Patricio Aylwin. It includes SI vice president and Radical Party leader Enrique Silva Cimma as foreign minister.

In mid-January, an SI mission visited Nicaragua to observe the election campaign and a delegation also witnessed the voting process of 25 February. A statement issued by the delegation congratulated all political forces in the country on the holding of free and fair elections and expressed our confidence that the new government would continue the progress, development and commitment to social justice which had characterised Nicaragua since the revolution of 1979.

On 17 and 18 January, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean met in Quito. Our comrade, the president of Ecuador, Rodrigo Borja, opened the meeting. Discussions focussed on the problem of drug trafficking, external debt and democracy in Latin America. Resolutions were also adopted on the situation in Haiti, Panama and Puerto Rico.

This was a productive meeting, but it was overshadowed by the assassination in Guatemala of our dear comrade Héctor Oquelí, as he was on his way to join us. Immediately following the meeting, a number of participants and I travelled to El Salvador and Guatemala together with Guillermo Ungo to express our concern and outrage to the authorities. In the absence of any satisfactory outcome of the investigations

the SI has charged a leading U.S. human rights expert with the examination of these on our behalf.

A delegation of the Socialist International, including representatives of ten parties observed the general elections held in the Dominican Republic on 16 May. They watched the voting process and met representatives of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, an SI member, whose leader José Francisco Peña Gómez was a presidential candidate.

Also in February, the second SI-ICFTU joint conference on 'Peace and Democracy in Central America' took place in Guatemala City. With this second joint event, successful co-operation between our two international organisations was further consolidated and we shall be looking at the opportunities for joint activities in the future, both in Central America and elsewhere. We are now in the process of establishing a joint Central America working group.

At the other end of this continent - Southern Africa has been at the forefront of world attention. The successful struggle of the people of Namibia led to a long awaited independence. The Swedish foreign minister Sten Andersson represented the Socialist International on the day Namibia became a free nation.

The Southern Africa Committee will soon meet in the Netherlands at the invitation of its chairman, deputy Prime Minister Wim Kok, to draw up detailed plans for the next stage of our contribution to the struggle in South Africa.

There is one struggle for democracy in Asia which must not be forgotten. The International has been in the last months in close contact with our friends from the Nepali Congress Party supporting their successful efforts for democracy in the kingdom.

On 8 and 9 March, an important and concrete step towards peace and disarmament in South America was taken when the Socialist International went to Colombia to receive the arms handed over by the M-19 at the request of this guerrilla movement and the government of Colombia and to

supervise the destruction of these weapons. An international commission appointed by the Socialist International, consisting of Lieutenant-General Ermei Kanninen (retired) of Finland; Dr Frank Barnaby of Great Britain - former director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI; Heinrich Buchbinder, from the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; and General Ernesto Uzcátegui (retired) of Venezuela, accompanied by military aides, received the arms from the guerrilla movement. In this way, following an agreement with the Colombian government, the M-19 incorporated itself into civilian life. Tragically, the M-19 leader and presidential candidate Carlos Pizarro subsequently became the third Colombian presidential candidate to be assassinated during the current electoral campaign.

Nonetheless this important initiative of the M-19 and the Colombian government as well as the SI involvement must be seen as an important example of a successful peace effort.

The SI's ongoing commitment to peace was once again evident when the Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, carried out a successful mission to Washington on 14-15 May. The ten-party delegation led by SIDAC chair Kalevi Sorsa, of Finland, had valuable discussions with US representatives at a particularly crucial period in the disarmament process.

The activities of the past six months, which I have summarised in this report, have served to underline two important political facts. They are, firstly, the continuing and growing vitality of democratic socialism, and secondly, the interest in our ideals which exists in those regions where, for one reason or another, social democrats have not yet fully established themselves.

I have no doubt that our International will continue to foster that vitality and to encourage that interest.

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

All over the world, the opportunity for achieving peace, détente, disarmament and cooperation has become greater. Unfortunately, however, this does not apply to the Middle East. Apart, so far, from the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, all efforts to bring about a just peace between Israel and her Arab neighbours have failed.

The Intifada has now been continuing for two and a half years. The number of victims is great and is constantly increasing. The Socialist International considers the situation to be extremely dangerous.

Efforts to bring about direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians in Cairo have so far failed, despite constructive assistance from Egypt and the USA. The principal obstruction has been the Likud position in Israel.

The danger of radicalisation among groups on both sides of the conflict is real and it is increasing.

For the sake of peace the Socialist International calls for the following:

1) The Israeli people and the Palestinian people must come together for direct negotiations. These should be conducted with the assistance, where appropriate, of the United Nations, the USA, the Soviet Union, the European Community, and other concerned countries, and with substantial participation by Egypt.
 2) The Israeli government must respect human, political, civil, and social rights in the Occupied Territories in accordance with internationally recognised standards.

The destruction of houses, expulsions and mass imprisonment, settler violence and brutality, must stop. Settlements in the Occupied Territories contravene UN resolutions and the Geneva Conventions. They are illegal. They change the demographic balance. They are an obstacle to peace and must not be established. Schools and universities must be kept open. The ban on contacts between Israelis and the PLO must be lifted.

3) All the parties to the conflict are requested to give up any form of terror. Shooting of civilians, whether Palestinian or Israeli, must stop immediately.
 4) The PLO Charter should agree to the secure existence of the State of Israel as part of the process of achieving national self-determination for Palestinians and Jews.

5) An international conference should be convened, under the auspices of the five permanent members of the Security Council and with the participation of

the concerned parties in the region including the Palestinian people, to achieve a full settlement of all disputes involving Israel and her neighbours.

6) The EC, EFTA, the USA, Canada, Japan, and the Arab oil producing countries are requested to work on a well prepared and large scale programme to promote economic development and cooperation between the countries of the Middle East. This programme should come into action the day the negotiations achieve their aim.

7) It is essential to work towards an agreement covering all states in the region, which prohibits the production, possession and use of NBC weapons. The supply of such weapons to countries in the region, or of production sites for such weapons, or of parts of production sites for such weapons must be prohibited.

The Socialist International will not falter in its efforts to assist peace in the Middle East. In doing so, it is guided by the following principles:

- A political solution on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 which excludes the use of force;
- the secure existence of the State of Israel; and
- the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, the outcome being whatever constitutional form they choose, not excluding a state or other possible arrangements.

We shall continue to intensify even further our contacts with all people of goodwill in the region. In doing so, we shall make use of the fact that our organisation has both Israeli parties and parties from Arab countries working in it. We shall not allow anybody to obstruct us in fostering contacts which, in the interest of peace, are indispensable.

RESOLUTION ON LEBANON

In Lebanon there is still no peace. Civil war continues. A reform of the Lebanese Constitution is indispensable. All states are called upon to observe the territorial integrity of a united, free and democratic Lebanon and give their support to the Taif agreement. All foreign military troops must leave Lebanon in accordance with UN Resolutions. Until that can be achieved, the institutions and troops of the United Nations in Lebanon should play an especially important role. The position of the United Nations in the Lebanon must be strengthened.

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

East Timor remains as an international unsolved problem. The occupation of East Timor has been condemned not only by the United Nations General Assembly Security Council but by many other international organisations.

Human Rights are daily violated: arbitrary imprisonment, deportation, forced resettlement, torture, summary executions, the absence of the right of association and of freedom of expression.

The final Declaration of the Dublin EC Foreign Ministers meeting last February recalls again the 'disquieting reports of human rights violations' in East Timor.

The Socialist International condemns the continuing violation of human rights and the destruction of the cultural identity of the people of East Timor.

The Socialist International supports the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor.

DECLARATION ON THE ASSASSINATIONS OF HECTOR OQUELÍ AND HILDA FLORES

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Cairo, strongly condemns the assassinations of Héctor Oquelí, Deputy Secretary General of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, of El Salvador and Secretary of the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, and of Hilda Flores, a member of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD, which took place in Guatemala on 12 January of this year.

It also condemns the mild response until now of the government of Guatemala, as shown by the lack of results in the investigation and punishment of these crimes, more than four months after the event; and in view of recent statements by the President of Guatemala, which implicate groups of the Salvadorean far right in these violent deeds, it demands that the Guatemalan and Salvadorean governments act at once, with seriousness and responsibility, in the investigation and punishment of those responsible.

**Alfonso
Guerra (left)
and Pierre
Mauroy in
Cairo**

RESOLUTION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

1990 will be a year of remarkable change in southern Africa. The independence of Namibia and the release of Nelson Mandela are important signs of this change. The Socialist International welcomes these positive developments.

The independence of Namibia was the combined result of the relentless struggle of the Namibian people and its liberation movement, SWAPO, and the efforts of the United Nations. The independence process under the guidance of the UN has set a precedent of historic importance. The UN has proven its ability to act in difficult circumstances. The Socialist International calls upon the international community to use this valuable experience in other areas of conflict.

Now that Namibia is independent under a democratically elected government and under a constitution that guarantees human rights, this country needs the support and the cooperation of the richer countries in bringing about a peaceful economic transformation.

The Socialist International fully supports the position taken by the UN Security Council in its resolution 432 (1978) to re-integrate Walvis Bay in the state territory of Namibia.

The winds of change have also touched upon South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela and the partial measures of the South African government with respect to the release of political prisoners and the state of emergency mark an important turnabout in the struggle against apartheid though the basis of apartheid is still unshaken. The release of Mandela is a success not only for the black population but for all those outside South Africa who have fought against the inhumanity of apartheid. The talks between the ANC and the South African government may be the beginning of a process that leads to the dismantling of apartheid and to free and fair elections.

However there are still many problems to be solved before real negotiations can begin. The state of emergency should be lifted and all political prisoners released.

The Socialist International calls upon the South African government to take these steps and - more important - to finally state its goals with respect to the forthcoming negotiations.

The Socialist International calls for the implementation of the UN General Assembly Declaration on South Africa of 14 December 1989, which is based on the Harare declaration of the Organisation of African Unity and which gives conditions and guidelines for the process of negotiations, and a programme of action for the international community.

Only by accepting a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa, equal rights and the principle of one person - one vote, can the South African government



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convince the world that it is working towards the end of apartheid and not towards its reform.

In this connection the Socialist International will carefully note the voices of the black population.

As long as this commitment is lacking, pressure on South Africa must be continued. To stop sanctions now would mean the risk of interrupting the process towards total abolition of apartheid.

The Socialist International fully appreciates the important role of the ANC and other democratic organisations and calls upon its member parties to support these organisations in building new political structures towards a new South Africa.

The Socialist International also calls upon its member parties to propose to their national government to negotiate new cultural treaties based on the principle of full racial equality.

The Socialist International reiterates that lasting peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the apartheid regime in South Africa is eliminated and South Africa becomes a united, democratic and non-racial country. Stability in the region also depends on continued support for the Front Line States, especially Angola and Mozambique.

RESOLUTION ON AFGHANISTAN

Only a political solution is capable of bringing peace to Afghanistan. The Afghan people must decide on their own path through free elections. We welcome the fact that the government in Kabul has also announced the first steps in the right direction. We welcome the offer of the former King of Afghanistan to assist in the search for peace.

We ask our political friends in Pakistan to help in the search for a political solution.

RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR

In Kashmir, the tension between India and Pakistan is increasing and the risk of war between the two countries is growing.

The Socialist International is concerned at the growing tension between India and Pakistan and calls on both countries to avoid any further escalation of tension and to redeploy their armed forces to peace-time locations.

The Socialist International urges the governments of India and Pakistan to open a dialogue to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the applicable United Nations Resolutions and the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

The Socialist International requests the governments of India and Pakistan to allow it to play a conciliatory role to promote this dialogue.

RESOLUTION ON ERITREA

The Socialist International expresses deep concern for the situation in the Horn of Africa.

Although discussions have started between the Ethiopian government and representatives of the Eritrean people - who have been fighting for the last 30 years for their right to self-determination - this negotiation is not making any progress. In the meantime a bloody and destructive war is going on with the danger of new terrible famines.

Therefore the Socialist International asks that the peace process should be strongly resumed. To this end, it is necessary to give a more significant role to the international community, also remembering the UN Resolution on Eritrea of 1952 that recognised to the Eritrean people the right to choose its own government, a right which was afterwards completely violated by the Ethiopian government.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE MEETS IN PRAGUE

At the meeting of the SI Committee on Human Rights which took place in Prague on 26 March, the main theme of discussions was 'The State of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Eastern and Central Europe'.

The meeting, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch of the Socialist Party of Austria, was attended by the SI secretary general and representatives of SI member parties in Belgium, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy and Venezuela, together with representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party; the Social Democratic Union of Slovenia; the Social Democratic Association of the USSR, the European Parliament and the European Parliament Socialist Group, and experts on human rights questions from Austria and from the International Helsinki Federation. Antonin Baudisch, Deputy Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic also attended the meeting and welcomed the SI Committee members on behalf of his government.

Gerald Nagler, general secretary of the International Helsinki Federation, gave an overview of the human rights situation in Central and Eastern Europe, pointing to a number of areas of future concern, whilst in no way wishing to detract from the celebration of general changes and improvements. These areas included economic and social problems in the fast changing societies; rapidly increasing unemployment which would particularly affect the least educated, often including ethnic minorities; and the resurgence of extremism and prejudice in societies liberated from state repression. He drew participants' attention to the

recent establishment of a Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow, and also expressed the hope of the Helsinki Federation for future cooperation with the Socialist International Committee on Human Rights.

Oleg Rumjantsev, co-chair of the Social Democratic Association of the Soviet Union, reported on the situation there, pointing to the contradictions between the authorities and civil society, between the centre and the republics, and between the reformist and conservative sections of society.

The committee also heard a report from Eric Modic of the Social Democratic Union of Slovenia. He pointed to the economic, political and national problems confronting Yugoslavia, and the repercussions of this last also on neighbouring countries. He stressed that his own party advocated moving towards a confederal structure.

Jiri Horak, chair of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, assured the meeting that there was now no problem of human rights abuse by the state in his

country. However, the establishment of a democratic system and of a human rights regime, did not automatically put an end to individual's violations of each other's human rights, nor to discrimination against minorities.

The committee's discussions strongly emphasised that the question of human rights is closely related to the strength or weakness of democracy in a country and that the individual needs protection not only against human rights violations perpetrated by the state, but also against those perpetrated by other individuals or agencies.

The committee discussed the situation in the Baltic republics and adopted a statement on Lithuania (see box below).

The committee went on to discuss the proposal for a Socialist International Ten-Point Plan for Refugees and Asylum Seekers, with particular reference to a humane immigration policy in the changing Europe. It was agreed that work should continue on the drafting of such a document.

STATEMENT ON LITHUANIA BY THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The Socialist International Committee on Human Rights expresses deep concern at the rising tensions in regard to the future status of Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.

The SI Committee on Human Rights calls on all sides to avoid actions which increase tension and, while upholding basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, to proceed without delay towards a process of negotiation opening the way to a peaceful and mutually satisfactory resolution of the present conflict.

ROMANIA: SI SENDS FACT-FINDING MISSION AND ELECTION OBSERVERS



**Social
Democratic
Party Leader**
**Sergiu
Cunescu**

A mission of the Socialist International visited Romania from 8 to 11 April, at the invitation of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, which was newly founded on 8 January this year. Headed by Peter Jankowitsch of the Austrian Socialist Party, the mission included Luc Levy, French Socialist Party; Yuria Lavan, MAPAM, Israel; Alberto Benzoni, Italian Socialist Party; Maarten van Traa, Labour Party of the Netherlands; Santiago Pérez, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; Jan Hodann, Swedish Social Democratic Party.

The SI group, in a three-day programme, held extensive meetings with the leadership and other members of the Social Democratic Party, and with representatives of the National Peasants' Party, the National Liberal Party, the 'Social Dialogue' and government representatives.

Some three months after the collapse of the Ceausescu regime, and in the run-up to the elections to be held in May, the members of the mission noted that the political landscape was still somewhat contradictory and confusing. The founding of some 70 political parties in Romania, some of an ethnic or local character, certainly bore witness to a degree of liberalisation and democratisation. The most important elements emerging were on the one hand the National Salvation Front, now transformed into a political party, and on the other the historically traditional parties, including the Romanian Social Democratic Party. Other quite new groups, for example the Social Dialogue had as yet no clear profile as political parties, but were acting as social pressure groups.

The mission further noted

the numerous newly founded newspapers and extensive freedom of speech and the founding of free trade unions.

However, they also noted a general political climate of fear and anxiety, especially in the regions farthest from the capital, and widespread wariness of party politics.

Subsequently, an SI delegation was in Romania to observe the elections held on 20 May. The delegation was led by Santiago Pérez, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, and included Gabriella Traxler, Austrian Socialist Party; Steve Lee, New Democratic Party, Canada; Sonia Mink and Luc Levy, French Socialist Party; Freimut Duve, Social Democratic Party of Germany; Arduino Agnelli, Italian Socialist Party; Bert Koenders, Dutch Labour Party, and Ewa Hedkvist Petersen, Social Democratic Party, Sweden.

Following meetings on 19 May with representatives of a number of political parties, on election day the SI delegation split into four groups and visited, between them, some fifty polling stations in both urban and rural areas.

On the following day, members of the delegation visited the Central Electoral Bureau, the body responsible for the organisation of the elections.

Members of the delegation reported great disparities in the access of political parties to the media and deficiencies in the organisation of the elections, particularly in rural areas.

Looking to the future, they emphasised the need for continuous attention to the transformation of the structures of political power in Romania.

(For election results see Socialist Notebook, p 64)

SI MISSION AND ELECTION OBSERVERS IN BULGARIA

From 29 March to 1 April, an SI mission was in Sofia to observe democratisation and to meet representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria and other parties and organisations in the Union of Democratic Forces, and of the Bulgarian government. The members of the mission also attended the National Conference of the Social Democratic Party.

The group was headed by Heinz Fischer, vice-chair of the Socialist Party of Austria, and included Sonia Mink, French Socialist Party; Daphna Sherfman, Israel Labour Party; Renata Malerba and Igor Pelliciari, Italian Socialist Party; Monique Quint, Dutch Labour Party; Conny Fredriksson, Swedish Social Democratic Party, and David Blackman, Socialist Group, European Parliament.

The programme of the SI mission included meetings with Peter Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic

Party, and members of the party's executive council, and with the editor of the social democratic weekly newspaper; with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces, including its secretary, Peter Petar, and head of the election campaign, Petko Simeonov; with representatives of environmental and human rights groups; and with the Bulgarian prime minister Andrei Lukanov and the president of the Communist Party (now the Socialist Party), Alexander Lilov.

The mission reported on the unity of different democratic forces constituting the UDF, which resulted in the presentation of a common list for the elections. They also reported in particular on the work of the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria which was attracting a substantial number of new members and providing a focus for traditional social democratic values.

The mission saw at first hand

the severe economic problems facing Bulgaria and agreed to the many requests for an SI observer delegation at election time.

An SI delegation was subsequently in Bulgaria from 8 to 11 June, to observe the elections held on 10 June. The delegation included Norbert Wimmer, Austrian Socialist Party; Luc Levy and Sonia Mink, French Socialist Party; Alwin Brück, Social Democratic Party, Federal Republic of Germany; Juan José de la Camara, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; and David Blackman, Socialist Group, European Parliament.

Members of the delegation reported on some irregularities, particularly on the partiality of the media. The UDF, however, did not contest the final outcome.

(For election results see *Socialist Notebook* p 55.)

Popperfoto



Elections in
Sofia

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE IN THE HAGUE

The Socialist International Southern Africa Committee, SISAC, held a meeting in The Hague on 18 June, hosted by the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA. The meeting, which was chaired by Wim Kok, leader of the PvdA and deputy prime minister of the Netherlands, was attended by the SI secretary general, and by representatives of SI member

parties in Belgium (SP), Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Tunisia (RCD) and Sweden, and of Socialist International Women and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament. Following the meeting, the Committee issued a statement on its deliberations (see box).

STATEMENT

The Socialist International Southern Africa Committee met in The Hague on June 18 under the chairmanship of Wim Kok, leader of the PvdA, to examine the current situation in southern Africa, particularly developments in South Africa.

The Committee paid special attention to the forthcoming discussion to take place at the EC summit in Dublin on 25-26 of this month. The Committee was of the view that despite positive developments within South Africa, there is no clear evidence today of irreversible change in the direction of ending apartheid. Therefore in accordance with the UN Declaration of December 1989 and stated Socialist International policies, the international community must not lift sanctions. Pressure on the South African government must continue.

The Committee discussed and agreed on a programme of activities to be carried out in the forthcoming months to monitor directly developments in South Africa. To this end the Committee will continue its close cooperation and contacts with the ANC and other democratic organisations in South Africa.

The Committee agreed to review periodically the internal situation in South Africa and to examine ways and means to contribute to the success of the ongoing process which should lead to the abolition of apartheid.

The Committee also discussed the recent contacts of SI leaders with Nelson Mandela, and have included among matters to be addressed with priority the assistance in the re-establishment of those returning from exile, and aid for the development of democratic structures in South Africa.

The Committee reiterates that lasting peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the apartheid regime in South Africa is eliminated and South Africa becomes a united, democratic and non-racial country that guarantees social justice. Stability in the region also depends on continued support for the Front Line States, especially Angola, Mozambique and Namibia.

SIDAC: TALKS IN WASHINGTON

A delegation of the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, visited Washington DC on May 14 - 15 for talks on the current arms control and disarmament negotiations and on East-West and European security issues.

The delegation was led by SIDAC Chair Kalevi Sorsa, SI Vice President and Speaker of the Finnish parliament, and also included SI secretary general Luis Ayala; Paolo Vittorelli, Secretary of SIDAC, Italian Socialist Party; Peter Jankowitsch, Socialist Party of Austria; Dominique Delhauter, Socialist Party, PS, Belgium; Dirk Drijbooms, Socialist Party, PS, Belgium; Lasse Budtz, Social Democratic Party, Denmark; Jouko Elo and Markku Hyvarinen, Social

Democratic Party, Finland; Luis Planas, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; Gunnar Lassinantti, Social Democratic Party, Sweden; Heinrich Buchbinder, Social Democratic Party, Switzerland; and Marc Tulio Bruni Celli, Democratic Action Party, Venezuela.

The mission held discussions with representatives of the State Department, the Pentagon, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

These talks were held in advance of the Bush-Gorbachev summit, and ranged over the START negotiations, chemical weapons, conventional forces in Europe (CFE), defence and space, naval disarmament, nuclear testing and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

AUSTRALIA

Labor returned to power

Federal elections on 24 March resulted in the return of the ruling Labor Party, ALP, for a fourth consecutive term, which commenced on 4 April under Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

The final distribution of seats, confirmed in April after a protracted computation of preference votes, gave Labor a reduced but adequate majority in the 148-member House of Representatives. Labor's share of the poll, as compared with the previous federal election in July 1987, dropped by 6.6 per cent to 39.2 per cent, leaving it with 78 seats, as against 85 at the dissolution of the House.

The conservative Liberal Party won 55 seats (45 at dissolution); the National Party, which with the Liberals forms the opposition Coalition, secured 14 (18); and an independent 1 (0). The Australian Democrats took 11.1 per cent of the first-preference vote nationally but failed to win a seat.

A simultaneous election for half the seats in the Senate produced few net changes: Labor holds 32 of the 76 seats (unchanged), to 29 (27) for the Liberals, 4 (7) for the Nationals, 8 (7) for the left-of-centre Democrats, who continue to hold the balance of power in the upper house, 1 (0) for the Northern Territory's right-wing Country-Liberal Party, CLP, and 2 (3) for independents.

Interesting features of the elections were the continuing decline of the rural-based National Party, whose leader lost his post along with his seat in the House, and the rise of the Democrats, who garnered much of the lost Labor vote but whose leader, Janine Haines, nevertheless managed to lose her Senate seat. The Liberal leader of the opposition, Andrew Peacock, resigned after the election, so that all three opposition parties are under new

leadership, with a reduced role for the Nationals in the Coalition front bench led by new Liberal chief John Hewson.

The cabinet announced by Hawke on 3 April included four new faces: Ros Kelly (the only woman in the cabinet) as minister for arts, sport, the environment, tourism and territories; Gerry Hand at immigration, local government and ethnic affairs; Peter Cook at industrial relations and Nick Bolkus in charge of administrative services. The senior ministerial personnel was otherwise unchanged, although with major movements of portfolio.

The new line-up retains Paul Keating as treasurer and deputy prime minister; John Button at industry, technology and commerce; Gareth Evans at foreign affairs and trade, with Neal Blewett succeeding the new attorney-general, Michael Duffy, at trade negotiations; Brian Howe replacing Blewett as minister for community services and health, and ex-environment minister Graham Richardson succeeding Howe at social security; Ralph Willis as the new finance minister, with former defence minister Kim Beazley taking over from Willis at transport and communications, and Robert Ray, formerly at immigration, taking over defence; John Kerin at primary industries and energy, and John Dawkins at employment, education and training.

The electorate having reaffirmed its confidence in the Labor government, Hawke stated that there would be no major changes in policy. In particular, the ALP retained its commitment to cooperation with the trade union movement as the lynchpin of its strategy against inflation (see 1-2/89, page 76), now reduced to 8.6 per cent. The government is also reviewing industrial relations legislation with the main aim of facilitating mergers among the 140-odd federal trade unions.

BALTIC REPUBLICS

Baltic parliaments declare independence

Since the first free, multi-party elections held in Lithuania on 26 February, the thrust of reform in the three Baltic republics has been towards the restoration of independence from Moscow.

The democratically elected parliament of Lithuania, which is dominated by the nationalist Sajudis movement and also includes ten members representing the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, voted unanimously on 11 March for a resolution declaring Lithuania an independent state, with its own constitution, based on that of the pre-war independent Lithuania. The parliament then elected Sajudis leader Vytautas Landsbergis as president and Kazimiera Prunskiene, a former communist who had also run for parliament on a Sajudis ticket, as prime minister.

Whilst ready to make some concessions, the Lithuanian leadership refused to revoke the declaration of 11 March - the condition imposed by the Soviet government for any negotiations. On 17 April the Soviet authorities began to implement economic sanctions against Lithuania, notably the cutting of the oil and much of the gas supply.

Meanwhile, parliamentary elections held in Latvia on 18 March resulted in a strong majority for the pro-independence Popular Front and on 4 May, the Riga parliament approved a resolution proclaiming an independent Republic of Latvia and reinstating the pre-war constitution. However, the parliament also announced an unspecified transition period, during which Soviet laws would continue to be recognised. Elections were also held on 18 March in Estonia,

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resulting in a majority for the nationalist Estonian Popular Front. On 30 March, the Tallinn parliament voted by an overwhelming majority to declare the annexation of Estonia in 1940 illegal. The declaration provided for a transition period pending the completion of independence negotiations with Moscow.

In April, the Supreme Soviet responded to these developments by introducing a framework for granting independence to republics seeking to secede, but providing for a transition period of up to five years.

The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Latvia, re-established in December 1989, and the Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party, ESDIP, which held its founding congress on 19 May 1990, both affirm their links with the pre-war Social Democratic Parties which continued to exist in exile. Both parties, like the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, also support negotiated progress towards independence.

As *Socialist Affairs* went to press the prospects for negotiations between the Soviet government and the leaderships of the Baltic parliaments appeared to be improving. The Lithuanian parliament, widely seen as the most uncompromising on the independence issue, was to consider a proposal brought from Moscow by President Landsbergis which envisaged suspension of the independence declaration in return for formal secession talks and the probable ending of the economic sanctions.

OBITUARY

Bruno Kalnins

The leader in exile of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, Dr Bruno Kalnins, died in Stockholm on 26 March at the age of 90. After a long life of struggle for democratic socialism, usually against heavy odds, he lived long enough to see the revival of his party in Latvia.

Born in 1899 when Latvia was a province of Tsarist Russia, Kalnins had active socialist parents, who took him into childhood exile in Switzerland after the abortive 1905 Russian revolution. Returning home during World War I, he participated at the age of 19 in the creation of the independent Latvian republic in 1918 and was later elected to parliament.

Forced into exile again after the 1934 right-wing coup, this time to Finland, Kalnins went back to Riga in 1940 as Latvia came under Soviet control. But the German invasion of 1941

resulted in his arrest by the Gestapo and detention in a Nazi concentration camp for the duration of the war. After the liberation in 1945, he chose exile in Sweden, where he lived for the rest of his life, becoming a lecturer in Soviet studies at Stockholm University.

A prolific writer and tireless campaigner for the socialist cause, Kalnins became the leader of the exiled Latvian Social Democrats and later also chairman of the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, linking all the exiled democratic socialist parties from that region. Constantly active within the Socialist International, he played a leading role in keeping the flame of East European democratic socialism burning through the inevitable difficulties of exile. In 1983 he was elected an honorary president of the Socialist International.



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BULGARIA

Socialist Party heads poll

In a somewhat different scenario from that in other Eastern European countries, the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (former Communist Party) led the poll in elections held on 10 and 17 June. There was a high turnout of 91 per cent in the first round of voting and 71 per cent in the second round.

Final results gave the Bulgarian Socialist Party 211 seats (47.15 per cent of the vote), against 144 seats (36.2 per cent) for the main opposition Union of Democratic Forces, 23 seats (6.03 per cent) for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which represents the Turkish speaking minority, and 16 seats (8.03 per cent) to the Agrarian Party, BZNS. 2 seats were allocated to the Fatherland Union, 1 to the SDP (non-marxist), 1 to the Fatherland Labour Party and 2 to independents - all of these having passed the 5 per cent threshold required for representation in parliament.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party is a major constituent of the 16-party UDF and has 29 seats.

Large but peaceful protests erupted in Sofia following the announcement of first-round election results, which clearly showed that the BSP would emerge as the majority party. However, UDF leaders made clear their acceptance of the results, despite some recorded irregularities.

The parliament elected will serve as a constituent assembly, with a life of 18 months. A two-thirds majority will be required for constitutional changes.

CHILE

Confronting the past

The recently-installed civilian government, has begun the arduous process of examining and healing the wounds left in Chilean society by almost 17 years of military dictatorship.

President Patricio Aylwin, who took over from Pinochet on 11 March, announced on 24 April two major initiatives. The first was the constitution of a National Commission of Truth and Reconciliation, consisting of nine public figures and charged with establishing in broad terms the extent and gravity of human rights violations since the 1973 coup.

The inquiry, which is to last eight months, is not meant to establish individual legal liability, which is a matter for the courts, but will provide an objective framework for discussion of the issues of torture, kidnapping, summary execution and other serious violations during the dictatorship. The establishment of the Commission was supported by the Radical Party and other members of the Coalition for Democracy and by human rights groupings, but attracted inevitable criticism both from the far right opposition, which would prefer to close the books on Chile's painful past, and from sections of the left, which resent the inclusion in the inquiry's brief of anti-Pinochet guerrilla activity and the inclusion of two members associated with the military regime.

The second initiative was the formation, subject to congressional approval, of a National Office of Return to facilitate and promote the return and reintegration into national life of the many thousands forced into exile during the Pinochet years.

COSTA RICA

PLN legacy of women's rights

The outgoing National Liberation Party, PLN, government, which lost the election of 4 February (see 1/90, page 61) to the centre-right Social Christian Unity Party, PUSC, and officially relinquished power on 8 May, has by its last major piece of legislation left Costa Rica with a significantly-improved canon of civil rights law.

The Law Promoting the Social Equality of Women, enacted by the Legislative Assembly on 1 March and signed by the outgoing President, Nobel laureate Oscar Arias, on 8 March - International Women's Day - gave institutional expression to the long-term commitment of the PLN to the protection and enhancement of women's rights. Drafted by a team of women including Margarita Peñón de Arias, wife of President Arias, the Equality Law had been introduced in the Assembly in March 1988, and the delay in its passage was partly due to a policy of promoting debate and discussion of the issues among all sections of the population.

The progressive tradition of Costa Rica, which has long possessed an advanced social welfare system, was reflected in the fact that recent opinion polls showed over 70 per cent approval of the Equality Law.

Women were enfranchised under the very first PLN government, after the brief civil war of 1948; the principle of sexual equality was enshrined by Article 33 of the 1949 Constitution; in 1976 a PLN government established a National Centre for the Advancement of Women and The Family, and in 1984, again under the PLN, Costa Rica ratified the UN Convention against sex discrimination. Nevertheless, the status and participation of women in many areas of public life remained, as in most other countries, is

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56 severely restricted by social, cultural, educational, legal, political and economic factors including deliberate discrimination.

Perhaps the most radical element of the Law was its promotion of quota systems to ensure the representation and participation of women in national political processes. Political parties, for example, are now obliged to incorporate in their statutes measures designed to ensure the inclusion of women in their internal structures, national leadership and ballot papers.

Although much will depend on the persistence of Costa Rican women in ensuring that the concept of sexual equality takes root in popular consciousness, the Equality Law provides the legal underpinning of that concept and accelerates its implementation by means of a range of measures. These include the quota system, the creation of an Office of Women's Rights within a national Human Rights Agency, equalisation of financial and property rights, the elimination of stereotyping in education, subsidies for child-care, the amendment of labour law to improve maternity rights, and better legal protection against domestic violence and sexual aggression.

Death of José Figueres

José Figueres Ferrer, 'Don Pepe', 83, former leader of the Liberación and twice president of Costa Rica, died in San José on 8 June. The next issue of Socialist Affairs will carry a full appreciation of his life and work in the next issue.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Elections endorse Civic Forum

Elections held in the Czechoslovak Federative Republic on 8 and 9 June - with an extraordinarily high turnout of over 96 per cent - resulted in a clear victory for the Civic Forum and its Slovak counterpart Public Against Violence, gaining between them 46 per cent of the vote, which translated into 169 seats in the 300-member bi-cameral Federal Assembly. The Communist Party came a distant second with 13.6 per cent, and the Christian Democratic Union third with 12 per cent. Also represented in both federal chambers will be the Slovak National Party and groups representing the Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian minorities.

Voting also took place for separate Czech and Slovak assemblies. In the latter, Public against Violence, led by Prime Minister Marian Calfa and Alexander Dubcek, emerged as the largest party, despite a strong Christian Democratic base in Slovakia.

All but six of the 22 parties fielding candidates failed to secure representation, under a system which excludes parties receiving less than 5 per cent of the vote. These included the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, which was reconstituted at a congress on 24-25 March 1990 and which fielded a separate list of candidates.

As Socialist Affairs went to press, Slovak Marian Calfa, leader of the Civic Forum-dominated 'Government of National Understanding' since December 1989, was thought likely to head the new government, whilst it was expected that the assembly would overwhelmingly endorse President Vaclav Havel, whose candidature is unchallenged. Spokesmen said that Civic Forum was ready to enter into a coalition with any parties represented in the assembly, except the Communists and

the Slovak Nationalists.

The election results give a mandate for far-reaching economic reform. The Federal Assembly will also be charged with the drafting of a new constitution before the next elections in 1992.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Widespread criticism of elections

Procedures in presidential and parliamentary elections held on 16 May were criticised by the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, an SI member party, and other opposition parties.

The results announced by the electoral tribunal on 24 May gave outgoing president, 83 year-old Joaquín Balaguer, of the Social Christian Reformist Party, 35 per cent and a narrow victory over Juan Bosch of the Dominican Liberation Party, PLD, with the PRD leader and SI vice president José Francisco Peña Gómez coming third on 23 per cent of the vote.

Allegations from opposition parties of serious electoral irregularities were supported by international observers, including a delegation of the Socialist International.

José Francisco Peña Gómez



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EL SALVADOR

UN prompts new talks

The 10-year guerrilla war moved a step closer to resolution when the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance, Arena, government of President Alfredo Cristiani, installed in June 1989 (see 1-2/89, pages 47 & 79-81), and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed on 4 April an agreement to resume peace talks under the auspices of the United Nations.

The breakdown of the last talks, held late in 1989 in the context of the Esquipulas II regional pacification process, had been followed by a resumption of the bitter fighting which has so far cost some 75,000 lives. The Arena government, under pressure from the US Congress, sought to resume dialogue, as did the FMLN which in mid-March announced the suspension of attacks affecting civilians. The April agreement, drafted by UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar and formalised at the UN's European headquarters in Geneva, provided for a UN-supervised ceasefire and the legalisation of FMLN participation in electoral politics, committing both sides to the principles of democracy and respect for human rights. The chief FMLN negotiator, Shafik Handal, indicated that the duration of the ceasefire would depend on progress made in the negotiations.

Perti Paasio: re-elected

large majority. General secretary Ulpu Iivari was re-elected unopposed. Elected as party vice-chairs were Matti Puhakka, Tarja Filatov, who is the leader of the SNK youth organisation, and Tuulikki Hamalainen.

The first day of the congress was devoted to a review of the domestic political situation.



Elections are due in Finland early next year.

Also on the agenda were a new foreign policy document, a programme for science and higher education, and party statutes.

The congress was followed by an international seminar on the environment.

FINLAND

Congress re-elects party leader

At the congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party held in Lappeenranta from 6 to 10 June, Perti Paasio, foreign minister in the present coalition government, was re-elected party chairman by a

Post-Mitterrand scenarios dominated the proceedings of the 10th biennial congress of the ruling French Socialist Party held in Rennes, Brittany, on 15-18 March. Deadlock at the congress on policy orientation and the composition of the new executive was resolved shortly afterwards.

Pre-congress party elections had given a narrow lead (28.9 per cent) to the supporters of Pierre Mauroy, PS first

secretary, and Lionel Jospin, the education minister and a former first secretary. Just behind, on 28.8 per cent, was the platform propounded by Laurent Fabius, the former prime minister and current president of the National Assembly. Whereas the two currents had once jointly formed the party's dominant 'Mitterrandist' tendency, the Fabius supporters now advocated broad-based radical politics, whereas the Mauroy/Jospin camp favoured a more traditional socialist line.

In third place, with 24.3 per cent, was the social democratic current associated with the Socialist prime minister, Michel Rocard, whose popularity in the country did not easily translate into party support. Of the other four currents, only two made an impact, namely the left-wing platform of Jean-Paul Chevènement, the defence minister, and the orthodox socialist line of Jean Popéron, minister for relations with parliament. These obtained 8.5 and 7.2 per cent of the party vote respectively.

At the congress the Mauroy/Jospin and Chevènement supporters formed an alliance, as did the Fabius and Popéron currents. But the refusal of the Rocard supporters to back either side meant that for the first time in the party's history a congress ended without a policy programme being adopted. Intense negotiations continued after the Congress, until a compromise formula emerged on 21 March with agreement on a general statement of principles. Senior party posts were filled according to the strength of each group. Pierre Mauroy remains first secretary, with Marcel Debarge, a Fabius supporter, as his effective deputy, responsible for party coordination. The other three top secretariat positions went to Henri Emmanuelli, Gérard Lindeperg and Pierre Guidoni, charged respectively with finance, organisation and international relations.

FRANCE

Socialists meet in Rennes

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

SPD advances boost Lafontaine's prospects

The Social Democratic Party, SPD, scored major successes in state elections held in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia on 13 May, becoming the largest party in the former and retaining its overall majority in the latter. The results served to boost the SPD's prospects in the federal elections due late in 1990 and provided the perfect recovery tonic for the SPD's 'Chancellor-candidate', Oskar Lafontaine, following an attempt on his life on 25 April.

The assassination attempt had occurred at the end of an election meeting in Cologne when a lone woman, later found to be deranged, had stabbed the SPD deputy chairman and Saarland premier in the neck, almost killing him. Rushed to hospital, Lafontaine made a good recovery and later confirmed that he would continue his candidacy for the chancellorship (which was formally confirmed by the SPD executive on 19 March). In Lower Saxony the SPD climbed from 42.1 per cent in 1986 to 44.5 per cent this time, well ahead of the Christian Democrats, CDU, who slipped from 44.3 to 41.7 per cent. The CDU's erstwhile coalition partner, the Free Democrats, FDP, also lost ground, as did the Greens, their respective shares being 5.8 and 5.5 per cent. The new state government was expected to be a coalition between the SPD and the Greens.

In its stronghold of North Rhine-Westphalia - the country's most populous state, with nearly 17 million inhabitants - the SPD won a healthy 50.1 per cent of the vote, somewhat down on its exceptional 1985

performance, but enough to keep Johannes Rau in the state premiership unchallenged. The CDU failed to make any progress, remaining on 36.5 per cent, while the FDP slipped slightly to 5.7 per cent and the Greens increased their vote slightly to 5 per cent. As in Lower Saxony, the extreme right-wing Republicans got less than 2 per cent of the vote.

The results were widely seen as a general rebuff for the Christian Democrat/Free Democrat federal government of Helmut Kohl and as indicating in particular West German voters' concern about the cost and speed of German reunification. The same worries had been apparent in local elections in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein on 18 and 25 March respectively, when the SPD had also made significant gains.

The SPD's victories in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia had the important consequence of transforming the federal coalition parties' one-seat majority in the federal upper house (Bundesrat) into an SPD majority. Composed of representatives of the states, the Bundesrat has considerable powers, the exercise of which is likely to make life difficult for Chancellor Kohl in the run-up to the December elections.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SPD ministers, following first free elections

Following the general elections, the GDR cabinet includes Markus Meckel of the Social Democratic Party, SPD, as foreign minister, and three other SPD ministers: Walter Rombers (trade and tourism), Sybille Reider (justice), and Regine Hildebrandt (labour and social affairs).

The coalition government,

headed by Christian Democrat Prime Minister Lothar de Maizière, was formed after extensive discussions following the general elections held on 18 March, which gave a nationwide majority vote of 48.15 per cent to the Christian Democratic Union, CDU (40.91 per cent) and its allies, the German Social Union, DSU (6.32 per cent) and the Democratic Awakening, DA (0.92 per cent). The SPD received 21.84 per cent of the vote - a disappointing result after early optimistic opinion polls, and widely seen as a vote for the policy of fast German unification espoused by the CDU and their allies, who were supported by Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic.

The coalition government also includes, besides the CDU, DSU and DA, representatives of the Liberal Party and some independents.

In East Berlin, the SPD gained 34.95 per cent of the general election vote, compared to 21.62 per cent for the CDU and allies, and this high level of support was confirmed in the local elections held on 6 May, when the SPD won 34 per cent, compared with 17.7 per cent for the CDU. Support for the Party of Democratic Socialism, PDS - the successor to the communist SED - was also high in Berlin, with a vote of 29.97 per cent in the general election and a still strong vote of 30 per cent in the local elections. SPD Mayor Thomas Schwierzina leads a coalition administration in East Berlin and has begun talks with West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper aiming at the swift administrative unification of the two halves of the City.

The local election results underscored the sharp north-south electoral divide in the GDR. In the soon-to-be reconstituted southern Länder, the CDU gained 40.7 per cent in Saxony, compared with 15.6 per cent for the SPD, and 37.6 per cent in Thuringia, against 19.1 per cent for the SPD. Meanwhile, in addition to the

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traditionally left Berlin, the SPD did well in the surrounding Potsdam district, with 33 per cent of the vote.

Overall, the local election results showed a gain for the two farmers' parties and for a number of smaller citizens initiatives, at the expense of all the main parties, with the CDU the greatest losers, falling to 34.3 per cent from 40.8 per cent in the general election, whilst the SPD share of the vote fell only slightly to 21.2 from 21.9 per cent.

The SPD congress held in Halle on 9 June elected Wolfgang Thierse, a 46 year-old academic, as Party chair. The congress also approved a resolution to set up a joint commission on unification of the Social Democratic Parties in East and West Germany with a view to completing this process by autumn 1990.

Labour made an overall net gain of over 300 seats, all the more impressive because the party had advanced strongly in the comparable elections four years previously. The Conservatives and Liberal Democrats suffered net losses of some 200 and 50 seats respectively, while the Social Democrats were almost eliminated from urban local government. In Scotland, the Nationalists made a modest net gain of four seats.

Labour gained control of eleven more councils, including the Conservative show-case city of Bradford, while the Conservatives lost control in twelve. The only major exceptions to Labour's countrywide advance were in London, where the Conservatives retained control of councils which Labour had hoped to win and also took control from Labour in two others. In part, these setbacks reflected Tory manipulation of the poll tax to keep it low in certain boroughs. But Labour leaders conceded that in some metropolitan areas the party still had ground to make up.

Labour's share of the popular vote was 43 per cent, whereas the Conservatives obtained 32 per cent. The 1987 general election percentages of the two main parties were thus reversed almost exactly, with analysis showing that on this performance Labour would win a parliamentary majority of around 60 seats. Surprisingly, in view of their much lower opinion poll ratings, the Liberal Democrats collected 17 per cent, showing that they remained a significant force, at least at local level.

On the national plane, opinion polls were unanimous in recording a continuing trend back to two-party politics, with Labour seen as the only viable alternative to the Conservatives. Two months before the local elections, this trend had been confirmed in a parliamentary byelection in Mid-Staffordshire on 22 March. In that contest Labour overturned a large

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour's local triumph

The opposition Labour Party registered major gains in local council elections on 3 May in which over half the British electorate was eligible to vote. Although it did not quite match the party's huge opinion poll lead over the Conservatives, the swing to Labour was more than enough to make Neil Kinnock prime minister if repeated in the next general elections.

Dominating the contest was the government's controversial new measure for financing local government, officially called the 'community charge' but universally dubbed the 'poll tax' because it replaced the old property-based rates with a direct levy on people. Widely condemned as unfair, the new tax had contributed to a plummeting of the Conservatives' standing in the opinion polls and a corresponding surge in Labour support, which was reflected, with some inconsistencies, in the local election results.



Neil Kinnock:
major gains
for Labour

Conservative majority to win the seat with a 21 per cent swing, the biggest recorded in a byelection since 1935

GUYANA

The failure of government

In a recent paper on Privatisation and Development published in Georgetown, Professor Clive Thomas of the University of Guyana, a leader of the Working People's Alliance, an SI member party, commented: 'the failure of state enterprises is much more a testimony of the failure of government than it is of the inherent incapacity of enterprises, because they are state-owned, to perform well. In Guyana, state enterprises suffer principally from the lack of public accountability; the absence of clearly defined goals and objectives; reward systems which do not motivate management and the work force but alienate them instead; and the migration, often without notice and invariably without trained replacements, of skilled

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Hugh O'Shaughnessy

Guyana: a workforce alienated

personnel in huge numbers, at all levels of these enterprises.'

He called on the government of President Desmond Hoyte to 'create an independent authority to oversee the divestment process; ensure that his authority comprises representatives from government, the private business sector, legal and other relevant bodies (e.g. accountants), the academic community, labour and the consuming public and ensure that this body is transparently independent and outside arms' reach of government.'

HAITI

Dictator ousted

The National Progressive Revolutionary Party, PANPRA, welcomed the collapse on 10 March of the military regime headed by General Prosper Avril, who was forced into the exile to which he had consigned a number of his democratic opponents (see 1/90, pages 62-63). An interim civilian government has been formed under supreme court

judge Ertha Pascal Trouillot. Observers had forecast a military coup against Avril but the end came instead through several days of widespread popular protests, in which the PANPRA was to the fore, following the killing of an 11-year-old girl at a rally demanding the holding of free and fair elections.

After a brief period of rule by the army chief-of-staff, General Hérard Abraham, Trouillot was nominated with the consent of the 12 opposition movements in the Group for the Defence of the Constitution and was sworn in as president on 13 March, to govern with the assistance of the 19-member council of state pending the holding of elections. She announced on 19 March the formation of a non-party cabinet of 13 ministers, including Joseph Maxi, hitherto president of the Haitian League for Human Rights, in the key post of interior minister.

The PANPRA is urgently gearing up for its first electoral contest. In the interim, the provisional government is faced with formidable problems of corruption, political violence, economic chaos and not least the potential resurgence of Duvalierist elements in the armed forces.

HUNGARY

New government formed

General elections held on 25 March and 8 April were the first free elections in Hungary for more than 40 years.

The Democratic Forum won 165 seats, the Alliance of Free Democrats 92 seats, the Independent Smallholders 43 seats, the Hungarian Socialist Party (former Communists) 33 seats, the Alliance of Young Democrats 21 seats, the Christian Democrats 21 seats, the Agrarian Alliance 1 seat, independent candidates 6 seats and candidates backed by several parties 4 seats.

The Hungarian Social Democratic Party did not secure the minimum 4 per cent of votes needed for representation in the 386-seat parliament.

Subsequently, Democratic Forum leader József Antall was chosen as prime minister, whilst Árpád Goncz of the Alliance of Free Democrats became interim president with the support of the Democratic Forum. He will stand at the separate presidential elections to be held later this year.

Goncz has set as a priority Hungary's entry to the European Community.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

ISRAEL

Peres disappointed in bid for government

Shimon Peres came close to forming a Labour-led government in April, after six years of uneasy coalition with the right-wing Likud front led by prime minister Itzhak Shamir. However, last-minute defections from the projected Labour-led alliance meant that the required parliamentary majority was narrowly unattainable.

Peres's opportunity came after the Likud-Labour national unity coalition collapsed in mid-March amid wrangling over the modalities of Middle East peace negotiations. Labour had strongly criticised Likud's procrastination over Shamir's US-backed plan for elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which had encountered strong resistance from Likud hardliners. The latter objected in particular to the proposed composition of the Palestinian delegation with which Israel was supposed to hold pre-

Shimon Peres



Cheryl Hatch

election talks.

Matters came to a head on 11 March when Labour decided to support an opposition no-confidence motion, whereupon Shamir dismissed Peres as deputy premier and finance minister, causing the rest of the Labour ministers to resign. In the no-confidence debate on 15 March, Shamir (by now heading a minority caretaker administration) was decisively defeated by 60 votes to 55 with five abstentions. Three days later President Herzog asked Peres to form a new government, giving him three weeks for the purpose.

By the 11 April deadline Peres appeared to have got together a coalition commanding a two-seat majority in the 120-seat Knesset. Apart from the 39 Labour deputies, it included the United Workers' Party (Mapam), the centre-left Civil Rights and Centre-Change movements, three small Arab-dominated or anti-Zionist factions, the ultra-religious Union of Israel and one member of the dissident Liberal wing of Likud. At the last moment, however, two of the five Union of Israel deputies changed their minds, leaving Peres with only 59 seats and thus unable to ask the Knesset to elect him as prime minister.

The Labour leader continued for a further two weeks his endeavours to secure the support of all five dissident Liberals. But on 26 April he finally called it a day and returned his formation mandate to the president.

One of the consequences of the political bargaining surrounding the attempts to find a majority coalition was heightened public criticism of Israel's extreme system of proportional representation, which gives enormous power to tiny factions to make or unmake governments. Large demonstrations calling for reform of the system took place during the crisis, while opinion polls showed that over 70 per cent of Israelis favoured changes to reduce parliamentary fragmentation.

Prime Minister Yitzhak

Shamir won a parliamentary vote of confidence on 11 June for a new right wing coalition, formed after protracted negotiations. The new cabinet, which includes hardliners David Levy as foreign minister and Ariel Sharon as housing minister, has explicitly rejected the Middle East peace proposals formulated by US Secretary of State James Baker.

ITALY

Socialists advance in local elections

The Italian Socialist Party, PSI, made a further solid advance in countrywide regional and municipal elections on 6-7 May, taking 15.3 per cent of the regional vote and 17.8 per cent in the municipalities, as against 14.3 per cent in the 1987 general elections and 14.8 per cent in the 1989 euro-elections. The Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI, meanwhile polled 2.8 per cent in the regional vote and 3.4 per cent in the municipalities, as against 2.5 in the 1989 euro-elections and 2.9 per cent in the 1987 general elections.

While the Christian Democrats maintained their position as Italy's strongest party, with 33.4 per cent in the regions and 33.9 per cent in the municipalities, the Italian Communist Party, PCI, despite their planned transformation into a social democratic party, slumped to 24 per cent in the regional vote and 22.9 per cent in the municipalities, their worst result since 1958. Another feature of the contests was the strong showing of regional parties, notably the Lombard League. The League took 20 per cent of the Lombardy vote, representing 4.8 per cent of the regional vote on a national basis, making it Italy's fourth-strongest party after the Christian Democrats, Communists and Socialists.

JAMAICA

PNP holds parishes

The People's National Party, PNP, of Prime Minister Michael Manley retained control of 11 of the 12 parish councils in local elections held on 6 March.

The PNP secured some 60 per cent of the vote in an unusually low turnout (45 per cent), attributed by Manley to 'electoral fatigue' in the aftermath of the hard-fought 1989 general election which the party won by a similar margin (see 1-2/89, pages 85-86). The conservative Jamaican Labour Party, JLP, held power in just one of the councils, which are to regain many functions and responsibilities taken over by central government under the last JLP Prime Minister, Edward Seaga. The elections were marred by several instances of violence, including two deaths, and interference with polling.

Popular confidence in the PNP was demonstrated by the inability of the JLP to exploit the country's continuing economic difficulties, largely the result of the vast external debt contracted by the Seaga administration. At the end of January the PNP government agreed tough conditions for a new IMF facility, including a devaluation and price rises; the industry and commerce minister, Claude Clarke, subsequently resigned and his portfolio was redistributed, with industry going to deputy prime minister P.J. Patterson and agriculture minister Horace Clarke taking commerce. The cabinet is otherwise unchanged from that appointed after the 1989 victory.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

OBITUARY

Sandro Pertini

Post-war Italy's most popular head of state, Alessandro (Sandro) Pertini, died in Rome on 25 February at the age of 93. President in 1978-85, he was the first ever holder of the post from the Italian Socialist Party, PSI.

Born in Liguria, Pertini trained as a lawyer before becoming an active socialist and anti-fascist in the 1920s. He suffered brief exile in France and three terms of imprisonment in Italy before emerging in 1943 to become an anti-Nazi resistance leader. In 1946 he was a member of the constituent assembly which established the Italian Republic after the Italian people had rejected the monarchy. The following year he opted to remain with the PSI, led by Pietro Nenni, after the Democratic Socialists, led by Giuseppe Saragat, had broken away.

A supporter of the 'opening to the left' of the 1960s, by which the PSI re-entered government, Pertini secured election as speaker of the Chamber of Deputies in 1969. Nine years later Italian parliamentarians elected him president in succession to Giovanni Leone, a Christian Democrat, although it took them 16 ballots to do so. It was quickly realised that they had made the right decision.

He resolutely opposed the terrorists as well as the Mafia and worked to bring greater stability to Italian politics.

Preferring his Rome flat to the Quirinale presidential palace, Pertini maintained a simple life style which commanded respect. Under his presidency Bettino Craxi became Italy's first PSI prime minister (in 1983)

and headed the longest-serving post-war government.

Pertini spoke out clearly in support of human rights around the world, from the Soviet Union to South Africa. He also made a point of sharing personally in the triumphs and disasters of the Italian people, taking particular satisfaction in the Italian football team's victory in the 1982 World Cup. His manifest love of children likewise endeared him to the Italian public, which mourned his death with an intensity accorded to few other recent political leaders.



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

NEPAL

Congress Party heads democratic breakthrough

Nepal's Pro-Democracy Movement achieved a major breakthrough on 19 April by securing the appointment of the country's first democratic government for 30 years. Headed by the Nepali Congress Party, a consultative member party of the Socialist International, the new government is committed to restoring multi-party democracy and curbing the hitherto absolute powers of the monarchy.

King Birendra eventually bowed to the demands of the Pro-Democracy Movement after a series of mass popular protests in which the security forces killed or injured hundreds of demonstrators and arrested many Congress activists (see 1/90, page 63). Spearheaded by the Nepali Congress and the communist-dominated United Left Front, ULF, the campaign had scored its first success on 8 April when King Birendra agreed to lift the ban on political parties dating from the royal coup of 1960.

The new prime minister, K.P. Bhattarai (66), helped to found the Nepali Congress in 1946 and was speaker of parliament during the short-lived period of democracy in 1959-60. There are three other Congress ministers in the 11-member cabinet, with three posts going to the ULF, two to independent human rights campaigners and two to royal appointees. The veteran Nepali Congress leader, Ganesh Man Singh, declined to join the new administration, preferring instead the role of Pro-Democracy elder statesman.

PERU

APRA outflanked by populists

Luis Alva Castro, a former prime minister and the presidential nominee of the governing Peruvian Aprista Party, APRA, came third of the nine candidates in the first round of the 1990 presidential poll. Although APRA was confirmed as the largest single party in the country, it was outmanoeuvred by two populist alliances of recent formation, and under the country's electoral system Alva Castro was excluded from the run-off poll, restricted to the two front-runners.

The official results for the first round, held on 8 April, were as follows, discounting blank and invalid votes (over 15 per cent of the total). The APRA candidate secured 22.6 per cent of the popular vote, markedly down on the 45.7 per cent with which the party won the presidency for Alan García in a single round of voting in 1985. The first-round leader in 1990, with 32.6 per cent, was the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, standing for the right-wing Democratic Front (Fredemo) coalition, including his own Liberty movement and the APRA's traditional rival, Popular Action, AP, whose candidate secured 6.3 per cent in 1985. The runner-up, with 29.1 per cent, was Alberto Fujimori, a newcomer to politics running under the centrist banner of Change 90 with the slogan 'Work, Technology and Honour'. Fujimori went on to win the run-off held on 10 June.

The United Left, IU, candidate came fourth with 8.2 per cent (1985: 21.3 per cent). Five minor parties, and blank or invalid votes, accounted for the remaining 19 per cent of the vote (1985: six others, 26.7 per cent).

An unusual feature of the sudden appearance of Fujimori on the political scene is that, as a low-profile academic and a member of the 'Nikkei' or

ethnic Japanese community (65,000 out of the total population of 20 million), he had no obvious power base before the election.

In congressional elections APRA, according to unconfirmed official projections, appeared to have retained some 45 of the 107 seats it won in the 180-seat Chamber of Deputies in 1985, and 13 out of its 32 in the 60-member senate. Fredemo secured about 67 in the lower house and 23 in the upper (1985: AP 10 and 5), and Change 90 won about 33 and 15 respectively (1985: 0). The IU won 19 and 3 (48 and 15), and other parties around 16 in the Chamber and 4 in the Senate (15 and 8).

The García government, which will hand over power to Fujimori on 28 July, is meanwhile confronted with the management of the country's persistent economic crisis and the containment of the 10-year-old Sendero Luminoso insurgency. The Sendero and two other guerrilla groups stepped up their campaign of violence and intimidation in the run-up to the election, causing the extension of the state of emergency to new areas, and voting was disrupted in several parts of the country. Several APRA activists, party and government officials, local and national elected representatives and congressional candidates were among those assassinated or attacked by the terrorists. Some 650 deaths from political violence were recorded in the first quarter of 1990.

POLAND

First free local elections

Local elections held throughout Poland on 25 May were marked by a low turnout compared with last year's national elections and by a fall in the still massive support for Solidarity, widely attributed to the continuing economic crisis. In some of

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

64 the major cities Solidarity gained more than 90 per cent of the vote, but nationally they obtained only 41.5 per cent of the 52,000 seats in 2,388 local councils - a substantial drop in support from their 70 per cent of the vote in last year's government elections.

Official results gave the recently reunited Peasant's Party 6.5 per cent of seats, Rural Solidarity 4.3 per cent, the Democratic Party 1.7 per cent, hard-line former communists 0.7 per cent, the OPZZ trade union 0.3 per cent, Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (reformed communists) 0.3 per cent and the right-wing nationalist Confederation for an Independent Poland 0.1 per cent. 38 per cent of seats went to independent candidates.

At the National Congress of Solidarity in April - its first in nine years - Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, strongly defending his government's austerity policy, looked forward to the holding of free parliamentary elections as early as spring 1991 and possible presidential elections even before that.

PORTUGAL

New party programme

Following considerable gains in the local elections of December 1989 (see *I/1990*, page 64) the Socialist Party of Portugal held its 9th congress in Oporto on 25-27 May and approved a major policy document: *Bases and Principles for a Programme of Government*.

Mayor of Lisbon Jorge Sampaio was re-elected as general secretary at the congress by an overwhelming majority. Following his election, Sampaio commended the new policy document: 'This is a fundamental document which defines and distinguishes us ... and provides us with our direction. It is a document for the future, and this was a congress

which looked to a future and to two fundamental challenges: the presidential elections and the legislative elections in 1991.'

He went on to underline the commitment of the party to campaign for the re-election of Mario Soares as president of Portugal, and paid tribute to Soares' long career, particularly in clandestinity during the long years of dictatorship and in the consolidation of democracy following the revolution of 1974.

Earlier, introducing the policy document, Sampaio emphasised the two main strands running through all aspects of party policy: more individual and collective rights for citizens, and the devolution of government and administration to the regions. He also underlined the party's commitment to European political union, to the European Monetary System, and to the democratisation of the European institutions.

Romania with 2.11 per cent (10 seats), the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania with 1.78 per cent (8 seats), the Romanian Ecology Party with 1.70 per cent (8 seats), and the Romanian Social Democratic Party with 1.5 per cent (2 seats). The Romanian Social Democratic Party is led by Sergiu Cunescu, a veteran of the historic Social Democratic Party. The 5 remaining seats went to other small groups and independents. The National Salvation Front also gained 92 seats in the 119-seat Senate.

Groups of international observers in Romania during the elections, including a delegation from the Socialist International, expressed serious concern at the numerous irregularities noted.

Opposition party leaders firmly rejected proposals from the Front to join a coalition government and protests against the newly elected government escalated.

On 13 June, protesters stormed the national police headquarters and the television centre. International condemnation followed the violent repression of protests by the security forces and by miners brought to Bucharest by the authorities.

The Council of Ministers of the European Community meeting in Luxembourg on 18 June condemned 'the indiscriminate use of force by the Romanian government against protesters' and deferred the signing of a new trade and cooperation agreement with Romania.

ROMANIA

Protests and violence follow victory of Salvation Front

Elections held on 20 May resulted in a landslide victory for the National Salvation Front and its presidential candidate Ion Iliescu.

The final results announced on 25 May gave 85.05 per cent of the presidential vote to Iliescu, against only 10.64 per cent for Radu Campeanu of the National Liberal Party and 4.29 for Ion Ratiu of the National Peasant Party.

The parliamentary elections also resulted in a large majority for the National Salvation Front, with 66.31 per cent (233 seats), against the Democratic Magyar Union with 7.23 per cent (29 seats), the National Liberal Party with 6.31 per cent (12 seats), the National Peasant Party with 2.51 per cent (12 seats), the Alliance for the Unity of

SPAIN

Confidence affirmed

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, government under Prime Minister Felipe González, in power since December 1982 and formally reinstalled for a third term on 7 December 1989, sought and received a parliamentary vote of confidence on 5 April.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK



Felipe
González

The 176-strong vote in favour of the government came from the 175-member PSOE bloc and the one Canaries Independent, AIC. There were 130 votes against, mainly from the conservative Popular Party, PP, and the communist-led United Left, IU, and 37 abstentions, the latter including the Social Democratic Centre, CDS, and Catalan and Basquenationalists.

Spain has a new minister of labour. The incumbent, Manuel Chaves, resigned on 20 April to seek election to the presidency of the regional government of Andalucía in June. His successor, named on 27 April, is Luis Martínez Noval, formerly a professor at the University of Oviedo. The major cabinet posts are otherwise unchanged from the pre-election line-up, with José Luis Corcuero as interior minister, Narciso Serra at defence, Francisco Fernández Ordóñez at foreign affairs, Carlos Solchaga in charge of

the economy, Javier Solana at education and Enrique Mugica at justice. The new labour minister is expected to continue with the post-election policy of re-establishing the close cooperation with the UGT trade union movement which existed prior to the one-day general strike in December 1988.

New Socialist Journal

The PSOE has a new journal, *El Socialismo del Futuro*: It is published by the Sistema Foundation whose president is Alfonso Guerra, the deputy secretary general of the party and vice-president of the Spanish government.

The journal's international management committee includes, among others, Oskar Lafontaine, Michel Rocard and Jorge Semprún. Laurent Fabius, Ernest Mandel and Alain Touraine are among the members of the editorial council. The journal, whose first number included contributions from Willy Brandt, Mikhail Gorbachev and Giorgio Napolitano, the Italian Communist leader, will from next year appear quarterly.

Speaking at the journal's launch in Madrid on 22 March Felipe González said: 'something important is happening when ideas can be expressed which until recently were in conflict.'

SWITZERLAND

Congress elects new party leader

At its congress held in Basel on 28 and 29 April, the Swiss Social Democratic Party elected a new Party chair. Peter Bodenmann, a 38-year-old lawyer, began his political career in 1971, as co-founder of the Critical Group in his canton, which merged in 1982 with the Social Democratic Party. He became a member of the federal parliament in 1987.

Addressing the congress after his election, Bodenmann set a short-term aim of increasing the red-green vote in Switzerland from its present 28.7 per cent to 35 - 40 per cent. He stressed the priority of environmental questions and the need to make the 'polluter pay', whilst highlighting the party's commitment on a number of issues which were reflected in the papers adopted by the congress. These included reduction in arms expenditure and conversion of the armaments industry; increase in old-age pensions and reduction of the retirement age; abolition of the political police - by whom many party activists have suffered investigation and harassment; the establishment of a minimum income; an increase in the party regulations on quota for the representation of women from 33.3 to 50 per cent, and the phasing out of nuclear power stations.

The congress elected as central secretaries André Daguet, Eva Ecoffey, Barbara Geiser, and Rolf Zimmerman. Francine Jeanprêtre, who stood against Bodenmann for the presidency, and Ursula Ulrich were subsequently elected party vice-presidents.



Peter Bodenmann

LAST WORD

"They threw me in the river on the frontier with Mexico. As I knew how to swim I got to the other side. It was a very original way to enter a country."

Comandante Gaspar (Rodrigo Asturias) of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity commenting in *El País* of Madrid on his expulsion from Guatemala in 1961.

cartoon by Evert Karlsson - EWK, from *Inside Sweden*, published by the International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement, AIC.

'The market is not an invention of capitalism. It has existed for centuries. It is an invention of civilisation.'

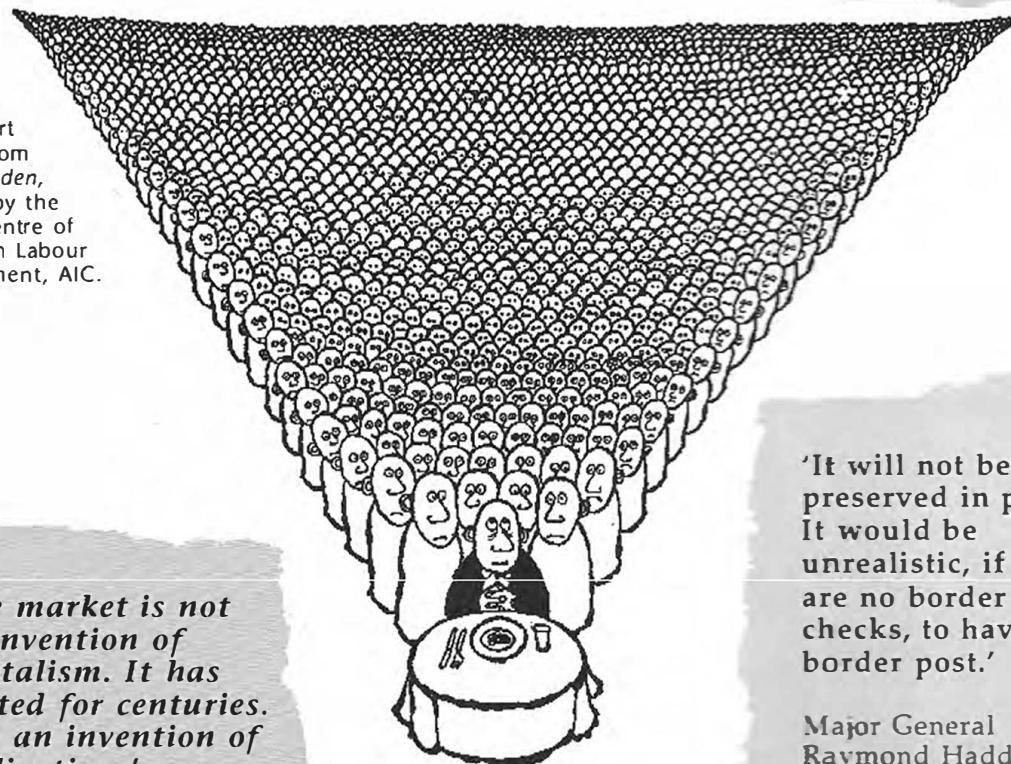
President Mikhail Gorbachev.

When John Elliott says, "It isn't the money but the principal of the thing", it's the money.'

The Herald, the official organ of the Australian Labour Party in South Australia, with reference to the federal president of the Australian Liberal Party.

'Just when the signs of global warming and its implications have become firmer, the political resolve to take appropriate action has weakened in some quarters.'

Paul Hohnen, Greenpeace.



'It will not be preserved in place. It would be unrealistic, if there are no border checks, to have a border post.'

Major General Raymond Haddock, commandant of the US sector of Berlin on the demolition of Checkpoint Charlie.

'The first prime minister of a democratic Hungary must be a fanatic, a missionary, or a madman.'

Hungarian prime minister Joseph Antall

The Organisation of American States should, in my opinion, play a mediating role between the United States and Fidel Castro.'

President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela.

NAMIBIA.

Your help is still needed

TIME TO REBUILD



Bernt Carlsson, UN Commissioner for Namibia, died in the Lockerbie disaster. He was flying to New York for the signing of the Namibia peace accord. From 1976 to 1983 he was General Secretary of the Socialist International. The Trust is named after him.

After more than twenty years of liberation struggle Namibians are working to rebuild their country. Help them to help themselves.

Luis Ayala, General Secretary of the Socialist International and a Trustee says: *'The needs of a free, independent and democratic Namibia are urgent. This appeal is a tribute to Bernt Carlsson's own efforts at the time of his tragic death'.*

Andimba Ya Toivo, SWAPO General Secretary says: *'Bernt Carlsson was full of ideas of how to serve the Namibian people. May this Trust serve to the letter and spirit of Bernt Carlsson'*.

CAN NAMIBIA COUNT ON YOU?

The Bernt Carlsson Trust counts among its supporters many prominent patrons. **Frank Chikane**, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches says: *'It is a privilege and an honour to have been invited to serve as a patron of the Trust'*.

But in order to really help Namibia rebuild we need cash for the many worthwhile projects now underway. This is why we are asking you to give generously.

In the words of Bernt Carlsson's sister Inger: *'This is what Bernt worked so hard for and I'm sure he would have approved'*.



Glenys Kinnock, Chair of the Carlsson management committee, answering a few questions in Namibia. Glenys believes the Trust is a suitable memorial to 'a life dedicated to peace, freedom and humanity'.

With your help we can support projects like these

- A crisis centre for women victims of rape and violence.
- Teaching materials for the People's Primary School in Katatura.
- Research into the causes of death among young children in Northern Namibia.
- Adult literacy training for the members of the National Union of Namibian Workers.
- Much needed support for an adult education centre in Caprivi.

Amongst the Trustees and Patrons of the Trust are:

Luis Ayala, Tore Carlsson, Stanley Clinton Davis, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Adelaide Tambo, Ela Bhatt, Tessa Blackstone, Willy Brandt, Inger Carlsson Musser, Barbara Castle, Frank Chikane, Nawal El Saadawi, Susan George, Thomas Hammarberg, Trevor Huddlestone, Jack Jones, Wangari Maathai, Andimba Ya Toivo, Guillermo Ungo.

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Another cheap way to transfer money internationally is to use your credit card.

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MEZINÁRODNÍ SOLIDARIA PROLETARIATU

Austrian Social Democratic Party May Day poster - in Czech
Source: Association for Labour Movement History, Vienna