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OPPORTUNITIES

At the beginning of the 1990s there are good opportunities for gaining ground for democratic socialism. As Willy Brandt, the President of the Socialist International, says in this issue, there have been the right people in the right places at the right time in Europe.

The peoples of Eastern Europe are turning their backs on the politics of the past forty-five years and democratic socialism is emerging from the shadows into which it had for decades been forced. With the unfolding of democracy and direct and free elections, it is becoming a political option for voters who had hitherto been denied that choice. The message of democratic socialism, reconciling freedom, democracy and economic security, is now reaching a large new constituency, who have high hopes and pressing demands to be addressed.

The development of democratic socialism in Eastern Europe will not be without its difficulties – but the historical roots of our movement stretch back into Eastern Europe's past and the torch is there to be lit once again.

Democratic socialism committed to social justice and solidarity in democracy offers a viable alternative to the mass unemployment and new forms of poverty which are the inevitable social cost of any unbridled free-market system.

The consolidation of the growth of democratic socialist ideas throughout the Old World is a priority. A priority, too, is to make sure that those political ideas are reflected in the rest of the globe, not least among the less privileged societies of the developing world. The task has never been more challenging.

A YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN

At the beginning of the Nineties we are opening a new chapter in European history. In 1989, the year of revolutions, never to be forgotten, the era of narrow-minded confrontation and artificial division of this continent ended. With the whole of Europe and my own country in mind, I see that those elements which belong together are indeed growing together. This is happening, of course, with a good deal of differences and even contradictions. But there is no sure progress without setbacks.

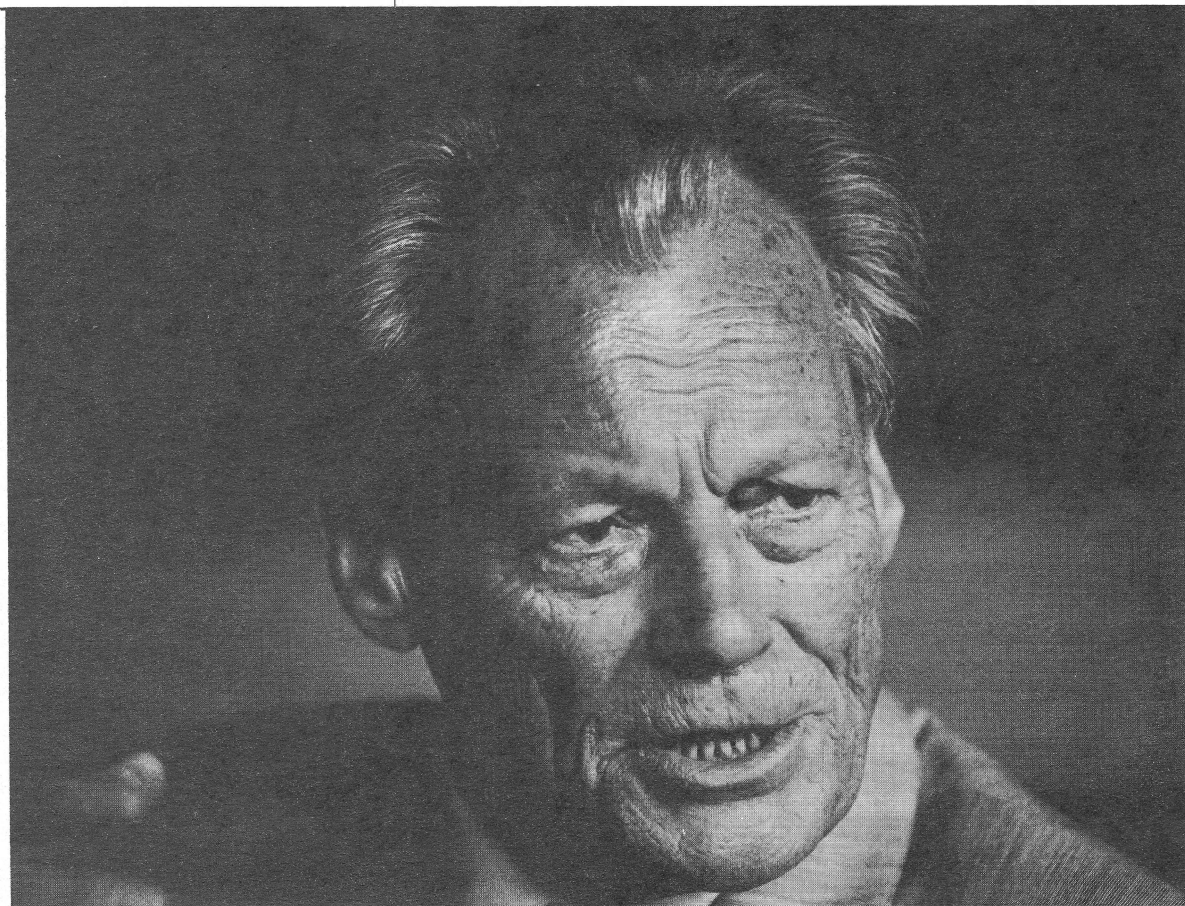
The revolutionary wave in the eastern part of Europe has many origins. First of all, there have been the right people in the right place at the right time: notably a leader in Moscow with a unique feeling for the 'lessons of life', who faces up to sombre realities. The clever people in Budapest and at the round tables in Warsaw and elsewhere have been protected. Moreover hundreds of thousands of courageous men and women have been spurred into demanding true democracy on the streets of Leipzig, Prague and Bucharest. They have achieved revolution by the overwhelming power of their united cry, 'We are the people'.

Secondly, *glasnost* and modern telecommunications have revealed the structural reasons for fundamental change in Central and Eastern Europe: high-handed central planning had resulted in economic mismanagement, technological backwardness and environmental destruction. Spoon-feeding from the top suffocated creativity and initiative at the bottom. There was no doubt that the command system of communist rule had reached a dead end. Even in places where this fact used to be fanatically denied it has been realised that socialism without democracy cannot work – and in my opinion does not deserve to be called socialism.

Thanks to Gorbachev's powers of persuasion even his Central Committee seems willing to swallow the bitter medicine of pluralism. But the one-party system has done so much harm to the basic notion of a political party that ideas of new 'movements' are being floated - and not only in Poland. Due tribute should be given to groups concentrating on human rights, ecology etc., but I have serious doubts that one could establish parliamentary democracy without some kind of party system.

Multi-party democracy will have been introduced, or re-introduced, by the middle of this year in all Eastern European countries except arch-stalinist Albania. The Soviet Union will follow, if it does not experience major set-backs. I will resist predicting the outcome of parliamentary elections, but we have already noticed a renaissance of social democracy, the revival of traditional parties and, at the same time, the transformation of former communist parties into forces claiming a fresh ideological foundation based on democratic socialism. The latter part of the process is observed with interest but also with scepticism. Anyhow, the increasing demand in many places for our ideas and practical experience indicates that what the Socialist International has to offer is far from being the worst available in the 'world political market'.

A new chapter in European history is opening. Willy Brandt, President of the Socialist International, looks forward to how it could develop - and warns against any reduction in concern for the developing world.



Our member parties in the Socialist International are eager for a meeting of minds - and energies - with old and new friends in Central and Eastern Europe. Those who convincingly stick to the basic principles of social democracy or democratic socialism can count on our sympathy and even support in forthcoming elections and afterwards. We in the Socialist International and likewise the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community, in close cooperation with our parties in EFTA countries, are willing to open our doors for an exchange of views and practical cooperation with those parties or movements that have emerged recently. And truly reformed ex-communist parties certainly should not be excluded either. However, we shall be restrictive in accepting early membership of our established organisation. Credentials must entail more than just new labels or borrowed slogans.

An important role for social democracy in those countries which have grown out of communist rule can be taken for granted. But I urge us not to forget that the political culture in Central and Eastern Europe still has to become one of pluralism. And I recall that their rather weak pre-war traditions of democracy provide no firm points of reference for several countries. This continent, in the East as well as in the West, has to be built by competing and cooperating forces of genuine and creative European democracy.

In view of the complexity of establishing market economies in a highly competitive international environment and, at the same time, decentralising in the other parts of Europe all kinds of decision-making, I must also warn foreign political forces against offering too simple recommendations. As far as I know, nobody possesses a magic formula for achieving instant social welfare and sustainable development. The challenge of overcoming the economic malaise - hopefully without civil strife - is indeed an all-European challenge. All political parties and governments will have to contribute to the process of restructuring, and of making the 'new thinking' a success.

If the reformers fail, all of us will lose. Resurgent nationalisms with extremes of racist prejudice, military takeovers and the migration of nations are very real

dangers. For years to come, I suspect there will be a struggle between reviving elements of extreme nationalism and the new forces of Europe-oriented cooperation. But a source of considerable hope is the people and those leaders with strong cultural roots who have already played such a decisive role in all of the peaceful revolutions of 1989.

The fragile state of affairs in Eastern Europe confirms that time is a scarce resource everywhere. Therefore, any Western attitude of 'wait and see' would jeopardise the reform process. That emergency aid is granted, a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development established, and the European Commission given a mandate to negotiate association agreements, all this is good news, but I am afraid that some governments and business circles have somewhat outdated and even cruel views on the conditions attaching to aid.

Some remarks will be expected on the special case of the GDR. November 9, that night of the joyful breaching of the Berlin Wall, was an overwhelming sign of the beginning of German unity. As the gates opened, the outworn system collapsed. Since then politics have hardly been able to keep up with the pace of events. Taking into account the negative effect of some 2,000 citizens leaving the GDR daily - and outflow is continuing up to the present - there was no other option but early elections in the GDR and concrete steps towards German unification. We have passed the stage of whether or not unification is desirable, but we have to explore the ways and means of achieving this goal in an orderly manner. Provided mass exodus can be averted by confidence-building before and after the March elections, some form of confederation is the most likely transitional phase towards a federal state.

Everyone hopes the breathtaking speed can be slowed down - not least the concerned European neighbours and the four status powers. Concerns based on alleged German economic might or on some supposed reorientation towards the East are groundless, as all the facts show. The dependence of West German industry on OECD markets is staggering and the interest in furthering the European Community integration is shared by all relevant parties. Concern about territorial reunification must be countered by guaranteeing Poland the borders existing in 1990. The real problem, that a unified Germany can hardly either be neutralised or be a member of two military alliances, has to be solved between the two Germanies and the Four Powers, and within the larger group of nations taking part in the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process.

New realities require new thinking on the prospects for Europe. We certainly need a peaceful European order with common institutions. Concrete steps in all-European institution-building seem feasible if, with US and Canadian participation, we keep up the momentum of the Helsinki process. Largely untapped is the potential of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and of the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva. On the road to continental integration, in any case, the European Community will have to shoulder more burdens. The experience it has had with enlargement of the Community has proved largely successful. Because those in the *belle étage* have shown concern, the backyards have had a good chance to flourish.

The lessons we have learned should stimulate our efforts in East-West cooperation - so why not in global North-South relations too? I believe it is most important that the reconstruction of Eastern Europe does not imply any reduction in world-wide responsibilities. We have to concentrate on the one great task ahead of us, but at the same time Europe must demonstrate its awareness, too, of the overriding problems of the globe.

Meghnad Desai, who teaches at the London School of Economics and is a trustee of the Bernt Carlsson Trust, assesses the effect on the Third World of the changes in Eastern Europe.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE THIRD WORLD: RIVALS OR COLLABORATORS?

Recent dramatic events in Eastern Europe have been exhilarating for many people who are happy to see a freer, democratic Europe. At the same time, these events have raised doubts and reservations: will the headlong rush of these countries imply a total abandonment of any non-capitalist path of development? Will socialism in Western Europe suffer as a consequence of the demoralising performance of these economies, which will be presented by our enemies as the only way socialism can end?

But these questions, while important, are somewhat in the future. A more urgent concern is about the impact of these events on the Third World. There are fears that the problems of the Central and East European nations will divert the world's attention from the desperate problems that the Third World is facing. Is this true? What are the conflicts and the areas of cooperation between these two regions - East and South?

What is only dimly realised in these hurried days is that the crises of the two regions have a common origin and explanation. If we cast our minds back to the oil shock and the early 1970s, we arrive at the origins of a different crisis: the crisis of declining profitability and stagflation in the prosperous North. The Bretton Woods system broke down and, in a regime of eurodollars and floating exchange rates, the western banks found themselves flooded with surplus petrodollars from the OPEC countries. This money found no borrowers in the governments of OECD countries, nor in the businesses of the North. There followed the unseemly sight of lenders chasing borrowers, stuffing loans down their not-so-reluctant throats.

The Third World was a major borrower, as was the group of East European countries. While the Third World had until then relied on international public aid, this was fast drying up. Yet the switch from public to private money was painless at first and did not mean a big change. For the East Europeans however, borrowing money abroad was a big change. For the first time in twenty-five years it exposed their economy to international influences.

After the second oil shock, when the western economies turned to a deflationary and monetarist stance, the rates of interest went up sharply and with them the burden of debt-servicing for the borrowers. This has meant a profound reversal of fortune for the countries of Africa and, especially, of Latin America. Capital flows have reversed, growth rates of income and consumption have turned negative and the burden on the poorest has been even heavier. There have also been political upheavals in these countries. Dictatorships fell in Brazil, Argentina and Chile and there has been political unrest elsewhere. These changes are all part of the structural adjustment to the debt burden. Democracy, for some reason, is a better way of cutting living standards than dictatorship.

The crises of the socialist countries were of a mixed sort. In some, the

economic causes are primary. In others the political unrest has been the moving force. In the final analysis, the result has been not dissimilar to that in Latin America: economic breakdown, impoverishment and political upheaval. But while the sequence of political and economic causes has been different, the root cause has been the failure of the economies of these countries to generate sufficient surplus to service their debt and to raise or even maintain living standards.

It is the exposure to international influences, to the need to sell abroad competitively, that has shown up the limits of these economies. They could manage full employment and stagnant living standards with the help of an undemocratic structure. But they could not persuade foreigners to buy their exports. Considerations of efficiency in the pure capitalist sense impinged heavily on them. In some countries, such as the German Democratic Republic, the reverse flow of capital has taken the form of human exodus to the Federal Republic. In others, the outflow will take the form of drastic devaluation of the currency, of 'fire sale' of capital assets etc.

The common origins of the twin crises of the South and the East in the monetary disorders of the West are not accidental. They are the mirror image of the way in which capitalism got into a crisis and in turn got out of it. In the 1970s, there was much confusion and uncertainty in the OECD countries as to how to tackle the problems of wage inflation (ie the decline of profitability), while not abandoning the Keynes/Beveridge welfare state. As a result, profitability was restored at home in the West. The cost was borne by the unemployed of the First World as well as the Third World. Now we see that the eastern bloc did not escape paying the costs of the restructuring of capitalism either. In their case these costs came via their own undemocratic regimes and their inefficient (in the international, competitive sense) planning mechanisms.

The past, no matter how recent, is but a prologue. What of the future? Recent events have made one thing clear. The East is in economic terms not all that much richer than many countries of the South. Its difference was in terms of economic arrangements, which it is now proceeding to lose rapidly. Thus the second and third worlds have merged - and they have much in common. They are both recipients of IMF medicines; the South has been for a long time, while the East is just beginning. The South can share its experiences and ways of resisting the worst excesses of these programmes. There has also been in the past a lot of bilateral trade between the two and this can be stepped up. The old strategy of South-South cooperation can now become South-East cooperation.

The bottom line however is the need for scarce capital in both these regions. The fear currently is that when the Third World needs the extra capital to reverse the outflow it has been suffering for the last eight to ten years, the needs of the East are going to crowd them out. This is certainly the case as long as we take the *status quo* as given. The only result then would be continued high interest rates into the next decade. But the problem contains the germ of its own solution, if only a bold and imaginative initiative can be exercised.

The end of the cold war has raised the possibility of substantial cuts in arms expenditure in the West and the East. At present there is even some fear that such massive cuts may cause a depression. Like a drug addict, the economies are so dependent on the constant infusion of defence expenditure that its removal will lead to withdrawal symptoms. But if we could fashion an alternative way of absorbing what is after all a huge amount, say up to 3 or 4 per cent of the GDP of the OECD countries, as well as a similar proportion in the East, then the capital shortage problem can be tackled.

A reduction in armaments expenditure over the next five years and a simultaneous diversion of this money via a multilateral 'Marshall Plan' will ease the conflict between the South and the East, while at the same time reducing the threat of a recession in the West. It only needs bold political leadership to transform this crisis, fraught with danger and division, into an opportunity for cooperation and prosperity.

**Food aid:
coming or going?**



*Carlo Ripa di Meana,
European Commissioner
for the Environment,
recalls the Venice
Biennale 1977, which
helped to push forward
the boundaries of dissent
in Eastern Europe.*

'ONLY FREE AND UNPREJUDICED THOUGHT ...'

A little more than eight years had gone by since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which put a brutal end to the brief, hopeful Prague Spring, bringing down the shutters again in Central Europe; eight years in which Brezhnev's grey and sinister 'normalisation' had done everything in its power to smother the fermenting hopes of freedom and renewal.

Nevertheless, despite the violent repression, all the imprisonment and humiliation, the ferment and the excitement continued.

It was in late 1976 that, as President of the Venice Biennale, I decided with the support of a few friends that the following year, 1977, it would be dedicated to the dissident movement in Central and Eastern Europe.

The idea sprang from two considerations. The first was that the Helsinki third 'basket' on human rights and cultural exchanges should have some practical application. The second was that the cultural and ideological dissent arising directly from this new historical context had found strong political and moral support in the West, and not least in the United States under President Carter.

I therefore thought that the time was ripe for western societies to be made aware of underground currents of thought, which were clear and strong signals that under the blanket of normalisation a thinking and freedom-seeking world continued to exist, albeit precariously.

The Biennale of 1977 took all our energy. It lasted a month, from 15 November to 16 December, and it was dedicated to the theme of cultural dissent in the Soviet Union and in Central and Eastern Europe.

The programmes were many and varied, ranging over cinema, theatre, music, protest songs, literature, the visual arts of painting and sculpture, photography and an exhibition of 'samizdat'.

The shows were put on over a large part of central Venice, from the Ala Napoleonica in St Mark's Square to the Palazzo dello Sport, the Arsenale, the Ateneo Veneto, the Correr Museum, the Querini Stampalia Foundation and the Olimpia Cinema.

The Biennale was opened by a stirring message on video from Andrei Sakharov, who said: 'I would like to thank the Biennale for inviting me to take part. Only free and unprejudiced thought and free goodwill can show us the way to get out of the intricate tangle of the problems of our time ...'

'In the domain of science, to which I belong by profession, the State's ideological pressure is not exercised explicitly, but there is the general anti-intellectualism of the system, the decline of traditions and education, militarisation and bureaucratisation, a low standard of living for the intelligentsia as a whole, the total ideological vacuum of youth, isolation from the world cultural environment, and discrimination on grounds of ideology and nationality.

'In the arts and humanities the situation is even worse. The direct and open pressure of the party and state apparatus kills everything that is fresh and clean before it can flower.

'I hope that the Biennale will show the full tragic dimension of creative life in the socialist countries, and at the same time show that in the USSR and the

countries of Eastern Europe there is nonetheless in existence and developing an unofficial culture which can make a contribution to the free culture of the world as a whole.'

I, for my part, as the Biennale opened, said: 'In welcoming our guests I would like to salute in particular those artists and intellectuals who have had to leave their countries and follow the difficult road of exile. I am proud to welcome them and the culture they represent, on behalf of the Biennale. They do not need to prove their love for their peoples and their culture, they have already done so. It is for us to learn about and reflect upon their artistic, cultural and civic careers. These are all very different from each other, as is bound to be the case with human beings, but what they have in common is the nobility of their motives and their lack of material self-interest, which can serve as an example to us all. The history of our own century shows us that the exiles often include the saviours of the future of their own country.'

And in order to meet and speak with artists, students and critics from Western Europe, there came to Venice artists, historians, writers, critics, and those who were simply witnesses, from the Soviet Union and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Among them, I particularly remember the historian Andrei Amalrik, who was to die tragically and mysteriously soon after; the singer-songwriter Aleksander Galle, who was found murdered in his bath in Paris a little later; the poet Joseph Brodsky, already in exile in New York, who read his poems; the singer-songwriter Wolf Bierman, Valentin Turcin, Jiri Pelikan, Ernst Neizvestnii, Lev Nussberg, Andrei Siniavskii, Gyorgy Konrad and many others.

On the other hand, there were many absences due to what we might call *force majeure*, including Milovan Djilas, Wojciach Ziembirski, Bogdan Bornsewicz, Jaroslav Sabetz, Agnes Heller, Emil Morgiewicz, Tadeusz Konwicki and many others.

This was why I went to the Belgrade Conference, called as a follow-up to the Helsinki agreements, to hand over to an Italian diplomat a file on intellectuals and artists in the eastern bloc who had not been allowed to attend the Biennale.

There were a large number of western intellectuals who came to the Biennale, including Alberto Moravia, Norberto Bobbio, Jean Daniel, Jean Ellenstein, Arthur London, Piero Melograni, Giorgio Ruffolo. André Glucksman, Susan Sontag, Stephen Spender, Marshal McLuhan and many others. Still today I find particularly interesting a passage in an interview with Moravia, who saw the dissidents in these terms: 'Their movement has its origins in classical literature, not that of our day. In other words, they have links with that current in Russian literature which goes from Gogol to Bulgakov. It has features which are grotesque, satirical, surrealist, deformed, ideological. The literature of the dissidents confirms that literature in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union forms a single whole with the literature of the West, as the attempt to create Socialist realism, and thus to separate Soviet literature from the West, may be regarded as having failed completely.'

This is all very true, and today we can add that the attempt by the communists to separate the societies of Central Europe from those of the West can be seen to have failed.

It was at this Biennale that, for the first time in the West, we saw real examples of such exciting phenomena as 'samizdat' literature, reaching us in roundabout ways, often sewn into the linings of clothes. This was the first time



*Carlo Ripa
di Meana*

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that the West had seen works of art, paintings and sculptures which had never been shown the light of day. It was the first time that films had been seen which had been banned by those regimes.

Basically, it was the first time that an official event as well-established and prestigious as the Venice Biennale had allowed a forgotten Europe to speak.

Admittedly, not all the works shown were great ones; and in some cases they showed the negative effects of many decades of separation from the vital circulation of post-war western culture.

The reaction of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries was immediate. The Soviet ambassador in Italy, Rizhov, formally requested the Italian government, for the sake of good relations between Moscow and Rome, to prevent the Biennale from taking place, as like many another cultural manifestation it received state funding. Otherwise, he threatened, the USSR and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact would withdraw from the 1978 Biennale.

Indications of solidarity with our plans were, however, just as immediate. Twenty-seven questions were put down in the lower house and the Senate, by 148 parliamentarians, obliging the government not to interfere in the Biennale's independent choices. The tokens of solidarity we received from all over the world were just as prompt and forceful.

The difficulties, however, did not finish there. Vittorio Gregotti and Luca Ronconi, communists who were in charge of different parts of the Biennale, resigned, together with Giacomo Gambetti, on various pretexts. Organisational and financial difficulties were thought up, many firms which had luxurious premises in Venice for shows refused to let us use them, and responsible personages in charge of major cultural institutions found that their premises too were not available.

The Biennale's opening day seems to me to have demonstrated very well the conformist and indeed faint-hearted climate of the day. The only Italian political leader present was socialist Bettino Craxi. The whole government was conspicuous by its absence. Everyone was keeping his head down.

The success with the public, however, was enormous. Over 220,000 people visited the 1977 Biennale.

It was then that the taboo about the impenetrable and supposedly happy societies of the eastern bloc was overthrown. The public at large was informed for the first time.

The 1977 Biennale was a genuinely memorable initiative. For the first time the spokesmen of the dissidents, victims as they were of an unpardonable sin of omission on the part of the free world, were allowed to express themselves and make themselves heard. This Biennale also signalled the end of western culture's timidity towards the Soviet and communist world and at the same time showed up the protest movements in western societies in their true, modest dimensions.

Today, thirteen years later, in a Europe which is well on the way to recovering its freedom, my memories of the Biennale are as living and vivid as ever. In my view, an action which some laughed at and many argued against, but which a large part of public opinion supported, is thus seen as justified. It was a testimony of solidarity with a world from which we have been brutally and unjustly separated for more than forty years, a world which has today begun to speak and act again and to which we must make a strong and determined commitment, to help it to make up for lost time and to repair the economic and environmental damage which violent and stupid regimes have caused.

Prizes in Strasbourg

Midday, Wednesday 17 January, the first Strasbourg Session of the European Parliament of the decade, and Alexander Dubcek, president of the Federal Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, is addressing the European Parliament. For so many of us sitting in the socialist rows of the Parliament it is the most intense moment of our political lives.

More than one hundred and eighty red roses wave at him from the socialist benches - one rose for every socialist MEP.

The president of the European Parliament, Spanish socialist Enrique Barón, presented Dubcek with the Parliament's Sakharov Prize which is awarded annually to an international figure who has made outstanding contributions to the cause of peace and progress.

In making the presentation, Enrique Barón spoke for us all when he said: 'Most of us had never met you before, but we would for all that consider you to be an old friend'. Dubcek, the man who gallantly led Czech resistance to the cruel ranks of Brezhnev's tanks in 1968 while many of us were taking our first steps on the socialist journey, had earned a special place in our hearts.

President Dubcek took his place at the podium from which many world leaders had spoken to the European Parliament before - President Reagan, President Mitterrand, Mrs. Thatcher, President Kohl, President Alfonsín, President Pertini and Pope John Paul II.

He spoke against nations taking up arms and for an end to weapons of mass destruction. He made pleas for environmental policies which would allow our planet to renew itself. He pledged that the UN Charter for Human Rights and the Final Act of Helsinki would become part of the law of Czechoslovakia. His reborn country, he assured us, would become humanist and democratic and would welcome men and women to it, no matter what the colour of their skin, the language they spoke, their religion or their politics.

'Throughout the silent decades since 1968', he continued, 'the ideals of democracy, freedom and social justice have not been killed, and now the Prague Spring is ringing victorious in 1990.'

As Dubcek concluded, the Parliament, almost with one accord, communists to conservatives,

Christine Crawley MEP

rose to applaud this enduring figure from the forests of Slovakia, whose country now finds itself at the intersection of the new East-West relations reshaping Europe. There was just one group which did not join in the standing ovation. Who? No surprises here - the extremist right.

The January session of the Parliament in Strasbourg had opened with a point of order from Franz Schönhuber MEP, leader of the far right German Republican Group, that sits alongside Le Pen's National Front party.

Schönhuber complained bitterly to the president of the Parliament that he had recently been barred from entering East Berlin, using his European Parliament Pass as identity. He claimed his rejection at the border was a slur on the European Parliament. I can only applaud the East German guards for their common sense. Schönhuber's despicable party are making rigorous attempts to organise in East Germany for the coming May elections and they are expecting their racist and xenophobic policies to win them 20% of the vote.

These members of the Parliament make up the seventeen-strong group called the Group of the European Technical Right - the German Republican Party led by Schönhuber and the National Front of France led by Jean-Marie Le Pen. They have proved themselves incapable of following the democratic rule book of the Parliament. Their complete rejection of democratic decision-making led to an unpleasant incident in October 1989. One of their members, Mr. Gollnisch, refused to be removed from the chamber after a series of abusive exchanges with the Parliament president. The only way open to the president to stop the antics of the far right on that occasion was to plunge the chamber into darkness for two hours until tempers cooled, the shouting stopped, and the business of the Parliament could be resumed. What had the far right been complaining about? They had objected that one of their German members was not being allowed to chair the Parliament's delegation to Israel. Their move to chair the delegation is so politically insensitive it makes you gasp.

This January, the Parliament voted to change



the rule book of our procedures in order to contain more efficiently the wrecking tactics of the far right. I have my doubts that any democratically decided measure will foil their jack-boot attempts to deride and humiliate the Parliament - but we shall see.

The Parliamentarian who receives the brunt of the far right's attack is the leader of the Socialist Group, Jean-Pierre Cot, a French socialist. His leadership of the largest political party in the Parliament since June 1989 has been a dynamic, striving one and in his Christmas message to us members he reminded us of the Group's achievements in debates on the social dimension of Europe in the 1990s.

He recalled: 'Our Group set itself one goal (at the beginning of the new Parliament) to be the driving force of the new majority in the Parliament. We have been able to rally the left - all the left. We have been able to organise ourselves better than the right. We have succeeded in isolating the extreme right. We have made the Commission and the Council more forward.' Rousing stuff, but accurate.

Yet these advances have not been achieved without honest disagreement and debate within our Socialist Group. Debate, for instance, like the vigorous one going on at the moment about our response to the watered-down, pale imitation Social Charter and Action Programme of Workers' Legislation offered to us by the European Commission. There are calls to sack the entire eighteen-person Commission, coming from sections of the British Labour Group; there are other calls to send back the Action Programme to President Delors with the message, 'Beef it up or count us out of further negotiations!'

There are voices threatening to block the remaining commercial and business sections of the 1992 legislation unless a more radical legislative programme for workers' and citizens' rights is presented to the Parliament.

Jean-Pierre Cot presides over a vibrant, lively

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Socialist Group, which, if it makes life difficult for him sometimes, does so only because of a profound desire to serve the interests of working people in Europe to the best of its ability.

On Monday 15 January, the Socialist Group stood as one, for a solemn minute's silence in honour of Héctor Ouelí, murdered on January 12, just inside the Guatemalan border. Héctor was deputy general secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement of El

Salvador and secretary of the Socialist International's Latin America Committee. His death was terrible news for the Parliament Socialist Group, a Group in which he had many close comrades and where he was held in such high regard.

Button badges were greatly in evidence during the January Strasbourg session. I sported one reading 'The trouble with normal people is that they don't exist', supporting moves to reinvigorate the campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights, within the context of the free movement of people within the Community after 1992.

Jannis Sakellariou MEP and Francisco Oliva García MEP represented the Socialist Group as observers to the electoral registration process in Nicaragua which took place over the first four Sundays in October 1989. They reported that they were convinced that the electoral process in Nicaragua was taking place in such a way as to guarantee transparent and fair elections.

The United States continued to ride two horses in this process, they reported, funding the Contras in the form of humanitarian aid and at the same time voting nine million dollars to support the electoral process.

I began this piece by describing the presentation of the Sakharov Prize to Alexander Dubcek. Nelson Mandela must be the next person to be honoured in this way.

MANDELA IS FREE BUT SANCTIONS MUST STAY

The release of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress was greeted with worldwide delight. The waves of this have spread from Soweto, the black township in Johannesburg, South Africa, where he lives, north to Amsterdam, where one of the main squares temporarily changed its name from Leidseplein to Mandelaplein. Such enthusiasm is quite fitting.

The release of the hero of the black majority is an admission on the part of President De Klerk of South Africa that the situation in his country requires radical change. For this, a dialogue must be set up, with Mandela acting as spokesman for the blacks. De Klerk wants to have negotiations, as he can no longer impose his will on the majority. Pressures from within as well as international sanctions have forced the South African government to admit that the policy of apartheid will no longer work. The release of Nelson Mandela was not a favour - it was dire necessity.

It marks a success not only for the black population, but for all those outside South Africa who have fought against the inhumanity of apartheid. It suggests that a wind of change is blowing through a country that has long been locked in rigidity. It looks as if South Africa, too, is swimming on the tide of change that is affecting so many countries, notably those in Eastern Europe. And Namibia, in south-west Africa, at last gained its independence on 21 March. It seems as though freedom will not be too long coming for South Africa.

But the road ahead is still a difficult one. Following his release, Nelson Mandela repeatedly stressed his wish to negotiate. But he immediately added that there can be no talk of negotiations between blacks and whites until the South African government makes further concessions to the black population. His first speech in Cape Town made this quite clear. He said that the state of emergency should be ended immediately and all political prisoners should be released. Only then is he willing to sit round the table and begin negotiations with the South African government. Before his release, Mandela steadily refused to grant concessions to the apartheid government. Had he done so, he could have procured his release far earlier. He maintains a similar attitude now.

He wants to achieve a negotiating position that will live up to the expectations of his followers. Only if he has the complete support of his own people will he be able to fulfil the role of moderate and conciliatory leader that is expected of him. He can only make concessions to De Klerk if De Klerk makes concessions to him. This tense atmosphere presently dominates the scene in South Africa just as it appears to determine relationships within the ANC.

In his speech on February 11 in Cape Town, Mandela stressed the points that had to be discussed at the negotiating table. He said: 'We cannot turn back our march to freedom. We must not allow fear to stand in our way. One man, one vote, on the basis of a common electoral list in a united, democratic, non-racist

Wim Kok argues that pressure must be maintained on Pretoria until apartheid is totally abolished. The author is chair of the Socialist International Southern Africa Committee. He is deputy prime minister and finance minister of the Netherlands.



***Apartheid cracks:
celebration in Soweto***

South Africa - this is the only road to peace and racial harmony.' And at the same time he made clear that this goal should not be attained by a method that lead to polarisation.

At the close of his speech he repeated some words from his trial in 1964 which he felt were still relevant today. Mandela said: 'I have opposed white domination and I have opposed black domination. I have cherished the dream of a democratic and free society where everyone can live together in harmony and where everybody has an equal chance. This is a dream I hope to live for and to see come true. But if need be, it is a dream for which I am prepared to die.'

Although certain conciliatory measures have been taken, the state of emergency persists in South Africa. De Klerk has certainly made important concessions in releasing Mandela and legalising the ANC and other organisations. However, so far the basis of apartheid is still unshaken. So, although there is great appreciation for what has already been done, pressure on South Africa must not slacken. This international pressure has proved highly successful and is still needed in order to compel further change. Mandela made this abundantly clear in his Cape Town speech when he said, 'We appeal to the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To stop sanctions now would mean the risk of interrupting the process towards total abolition of apartheid.' This was an immediate reaction to the news that British Prime Minister Thatcher, as soon as Mandela's release was announced, had congratulated the black people and announced that the economic sanctions against South Africa could now be lifted.

Now is not the moment to lift sanctions. That would definitely weaken the position of the black majority at the negotiating table. It is better now to give no sign to President De Klerk, rather than to give the wrong one. During the coming year it will become clear whether De Klerk can make good his promises or whether he is in fact a prisoner of white interests. It is incumbent on the international community to follow these developments closely and to continue to make clear what it expects from the South African government.

The ANC is now a legal organisation and Nelson Mandela is a free man. We need no longer isolate South Africa. This is one of the few positive signals we can make. We should now seek contacts in South Africa with all those who want to contribute to a radical transformation in the country. The Socialist International will shortly send a delegation to South Africa, as a sign of our involvement with their situation.

In the first of a series which will be a regular feature of Socialist Affairs, Hugh O'Shaughnessy profiles the SI's General Secretary



**LUIS
AYALA**

It is Sunday and Luis Ayala has just come off a plane from Central America. Sitting in the modest but comfortable office that the SI rents from the British National Union of Seamen near Clapham Common in London, he has precious little time this weekend.

It is not many days since he was at the Brandenburger Tor in Berlin and shortly before that he was in his native Chile witnessing the crushing of the dictator Pinochet's last attempt to perpetuate his rule. One European ambassador has just left, having conveyed greetings to the Socialist International from his head of state.

Not only have the final preparations to be made for two SI meetings in the coming week, but as the pace of change quickens in Eastern Europe there are calls on Ayala that no one would have forecast a year - even six months ago.

'We have the opportunity to organise an economic seminar in Eastern Europe to put over our view. It's a very important discussion we should not miss', he says.

As he puts down the telephone at the end of a call from Mexico, he picks up the faint sound of an incoming message on the fax machine. 'That will be from Guillermo Ungo', he says. It is from Guillermo Ungo, leader of the SI's Salvadorean member party.

A hundred years after the foundation of the first International, and after many transformations and renewals, the SI has its first non-European general secretary. Succeeding Hans Janitschek, an Austrian, the late Bernt Carlsson, a Swede, and Pentti Väänänen, a Finn, Ayala's election has pointed up the fact that the organisation has moved a very long way from the era when it grouped only European parties.

Born in Santiago, Chile, in 1948, Ayala was an early recruit to politics at school and as a law student at university, becoming when he was 20 the national secretary of the youth movement of the Radical Party, the Chilean member of the Socialist International.

The International Union of Socialist Youth, meeting in Malta, elected him as its president in 1973, and he returned home from the Mediterranean with increased responsibilities. But not for long. On 11 September of that year,

Augusto Pinochet led a coup which overthrew the popularly elected government of Salvador Allende.

After a time in Pinochet's Chile, Ayala had to leave the country and carried on his work as IUSY president from Sweden, where he spent a number of years in exile. His time in Scandinavia and his many contacts with European parties gave him first hand experience of democratic socialism at work in the European context. From the early 1970s, he was a regular and active participant in meetings of the Socialist International. He was also coordinating foreign help to the thousands of victims of Pinochet's regime in Chile, and helping to engineer the international climate which came to regard Pinochet as a political pariah.

He travelled the world from Wellington to Luxembourg and from Caracas to Helsinki. A proof of his effectiveness lay in the fact that the Chilean dictatorship did not allow him back into his country until 1987.

Early in 1983 he came to London as secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean at the SI secretariat, then in St. John's Wood. In 1985 he became assistant general secretary, and was elected general secretary at the 1989 Congress in the Swedish capital where he had spent some years.

As an SI general secretary in the 1990s, Ayala seems certain to be called on to help the expansion of the International in new areas of the world and towards new political goals.

The question of the ecological future has taken its place beside the other crucial SI topics of peace, disarmament, social justice and democracy. As a region, Central and Eastern Europe has taken on a great deal of importance for the SI. He is also keen to spread the work of the International in Asia and the Pacific.

Unsurprisingly, Ayala feels that the SI is up to the political task it has set itself. 'The SI is a global organisation which embraces parties and organisations from every latitude, from the most diverse cultures and traditions, demonstrating that democratic socialism is an alternative all over the world', he comments.

At 41, Luis Ayala wears his black hair shorter than when he was leader of the socialist youth of the world. And it is beginning to be flecked with grey.



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Michael Foot reviews

Michael Manley - the Making of a Leader

by Darrell E Levi

London, André Deutsch, 1989
320pp, ISBN 0 233 948 72 0

Jamaican politics in modern times have had a significant fascination all their own, and whether it is that the island has created the personalities or the personalities have put their special imprint on the island, we must leave the marxists to determine. Today, few other countries have such an attractive prime minister as Michael Manley. He might lead with distinction any socialist government in the world, and it is certainly good that the present worthwhile and reliable interim biography should have been made available.

I hope I may be excused for recalling my own introduction to the scene. It happened in

1948 or thereabouts, when I had the chance to attend an election meeting, one of the most justly remarkable in my life, addressed by Alexander Bustamante, the creator of Jamaica's Labour Party - which, of course, was not really a Labour Party at all. It was rather a rapidly assembled populist organisation, created in the image of Bustamante himself.

He was an inspired mob orator; he could stir great emotions; he could touch on the raw when he wished the anti-imperialist instincts of his listeners.

He also had all the gifts of an US Tammany boss and a sure understanding of how money greased the political machine. He had a sense of humour which as often as not was turned against his leading opponent, Norman Manley. He made at least four separate speeches at the meeting when I heard him, and each touched a fresh chord or fresh depths.

'We shall follow Bustamante till we die', sang the cheerful swaying crowd. But in fact they did not. Gradually they were converted by the persistent, skilful advocacy of Norman Manley, who was a true democratic socialist in every fibre of his being and who founded and led a genuine socialist party. Jamaica indeed seemed much too small a place to contain such formidable political rivals. Every argument in every home resolved itself into a debate about the personalities of the two leaders.

What Jamaica needed, and what the rest of the West Indies needed, and what indeed so much of the so-called undeveloped world needed over a period of years, was the firm application of collectivist policies which could offer some guarantee for their economies and some chance of lifting their peoples from chronic, deep-seated poverty. If he had had the proper chance, Norman Manley could have helped to lead his people along that road better than anyone and he could have done it without all the impositions

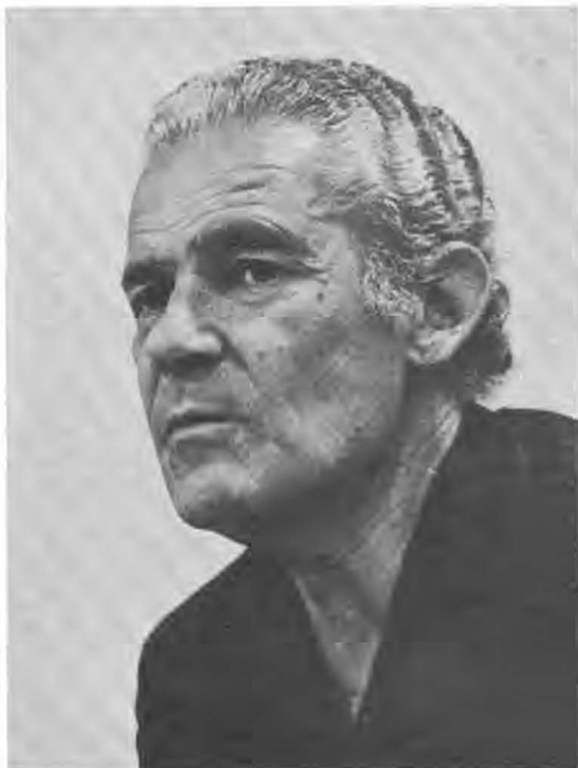
and encumbrances and perils of the one-party state.

The chance was lost and not at all through Norman Manley's fault. It was the western world, and more especially the US world, with its worship of money and the market, which wrecked Norman Manley's vision. The moral was not lost on his son Michael, who combined his father's clarity with his mother's passion and compassion, and who became, if conceivable, a better democratic socialist than any of them. He never lost sight of the poverty he saw all around him and what he analysed as its cause.

Then he and the truly socialist party he had shaped had their chance - and lost it. Amid scenes of frustration and violence, with the pressures mounting from every quarter, the old corrupt Bustamante forces reasserted their mastery and looked as if they might impose their will for ever. Could such bitter lessons ever be learnt?

Ten years later, as these pages graphically explain, the chance has come again - not solely through Manley's action and persistence, but without him and his tradition and his inspiration, what would have been possible? This is an interim biography. It could be nothing other. It describes, with much essential background available elsewhere, how a real leader faces a tremendous challenge which can affect the influence of socialism everywhere.

**Michael Foot is former
leader of the British
Labour Party**



Enrique Barón Crespo



Clandestine in Chile
by Gabriel García Márquez

translated from Spanish
by Asa Zatz

London, Granta Books, 1989
110pp, ISBN 0 14 014015 8

This is a book about illusions. First and foremost the illusion of political power based solely on violence. In 1973 Pinochet came to power through an exceptionally murderous coup, which not only left the elected president dead on the floor of his office, but threw the whole country into years of executions, torture and exile; and yet when in 1985 an international film crew undertook to make a documentary about the situation in Chile it was clear that Pinochet's counter-revolution had failed.

It had failed to undermine the hold of Allende on the people who had known him, first as a parliamentary candidate and finally as president. The film crew led by Miguel Littín found that the backstreets of the poverty-stricken cities of Chile, the *poblaciones*, could be described as liberated territories dominated by a culture of subversion which the regime had failed to eliminate. Pinochet had declared in 1973 that he would stay in power until, as Márquez puts it, 'the last vestige of the democratic system had been erased from

the memory of the new generation.' In fact, as the events of 1989 in Chile have shown, he has failed in his life's work.

Gabriel García Márquez bases this narrative of Littín's extraordinary adventure on long conversations with the Chilean director. It is perhaps ironic that Littín had made his name through his ability to depict on the screen scenes of ferociously bloody violence and intense political struggle. It was this which literally saved his life in the terrifying days which followed Pinochet's coup. Finding himself on the point of arrest and likely summary execution at his place of work, the Chile Films Office in Santiago, he had an almost surrealistic experience. The soldier who was about to arrest him turned out to be a film buff and asked Littín how he managed to give the impression in his movies of real blood coming out of real wounds. This distraction from the business of repression provided a moment of confusion and the opportunity for Littín to escape with his wife, who had come to the film offices in order to collect her husband's body, having been informed that he was already dead.

The book exposes the illusion of peace and tranquillity which dictatorial regimes like to create. It destroys the illusion that the Chicago school of economics had brought prosperity and a stronger Chilean economy. Perhaps the most remarkable illusion of this slim volume is the way it manages to compress so much information about politics, economics and society into so few pages. As always with Márquez, there is a touch of humour to relieve the tension of the narrative, in this case through a series of rather odd-sounding subtitles, such as 'I congratulate you on being a Uruguayan', or 'A long donkey's tail for Pinochet'!

Sometimes when novelists stray into the field of political writing their talent is either wasted or fails to live up to the

reader's expectation. In this case the author will not disappoint his admirers. The book is extremely informative and, if it is possible to describe such a frightening experience as Littín's amusingly, then Márquez certainly succeeds in doing so.

Perhaps the saddest part of the book concerns the visit of Littín and his film crew to the Plaza Sebastián Acevedo in Concepción. Acevedo was a coal miner who set himself on fire in protest at the arrest and torture of his son and daughter, who were released after his death. After recounting their story, Márquez rapidly changes the subject, describing in detail why 'it's not so easy to get a shave in Concepción.' In the midst of tragedy life goes on, and sometimes the martyrs are the victors. Acevedo in the end defeated Pinochet, just as Palach in Prague eventually defeated Brezhnev.

Enrique Barón is the president of the European Parliament

James Murphy

Manifeste pour une Fin de Siècle Obscure
by Max Gallo

Paris, Editions Odile Jacob,
1990 208pp
ISBN 738100 77 5

It is a deep and dangerous impudence to open a notice by saying that your author does not understand the twentieth century. And an absurdity, perhaps, to then proceed to praise his book. Max Gallo, the well-known French Socialist member of the European Parliament, here provides an analysis of all that has happened to the last four human generations; an analysis which is so spectacularly flawed as to be positively exotic, and in the same breath, a sermon about

the business of socialism as moving and as true as any you could hear. How can such a great contradiction be contained in such a short book?

Let us look at what is wrong. Max Gallo believes that Marx is still right in his teachings about the destructive power of capitalism. In fact, according to Gallo, Marx taught us all we really need to know about the explosive contradictions of capitalism which lead ineluctably to exploitation, misery and war. These contradictions do not evaporate with the death of Soviet communism; on the contrary, what is all too apparent is that capitalism continues to thwart human development on a global scale and that communism was a ghastly, incompetent way of fighting it. Rather in the incantatory manner of some preacher, Max Gallo explains the entire history of our century - World War 1, the rise of fascism, racialism, the holocaust, nuclear explosions, Stalinism, environmental decay, religious fundamentalism - by exclusive reference to the corrupting power of market forces.

One is no less of a socialist for taking such a posture as totally absurd. For one thing, across our century, the very word capitalism has changed meaning. It is hardly the same phenomenon now to Neil Kinnock as it once was to Jaurès, as it once was to Marx himself. To treat it as the same would be to ignore the revolution which took place over fifty years ago inside capitalism itself (mass production for mass consumption) and, more disturbingly, to deny the very successes of social democracy in Europe. Furthermore, the clash of economic forces simply does not provide a neat, comprehensive explanation of life and history, no matter how hard you squeeze the facts to make them fit. Max Gallo attacks the naïve economism of others. He should think hard about what he writes himself. Did the pure class struggle

really create the Ayatollah? Did capitalism sustain apartheid on its own? Is Russian anti-semitism the doing of US multinationals? Allons, Max, laissez tomber!

So, why the praise? Because socialism needs its priests, its zealots, its angry voices. In the ledger of true history, somebody has to count the cost of human misery, to quantify every cruelty, to value every cry. The economic success of so many countries and companies has an invariable connection with exploitation and injustice. Even when that success is shared by the mass of people - through the insistence of socialists - in the place where it comes to rest, the inhumanities on which it was built are not to be erased from our folk memory.

Max Gallo is right to preach. Socialists have no right to be at peace with the world, whichever way one defines capitalism. However controlled the system, one cannot accept it as a civilisation, as a way of life. Socialists cannot exult, even in these heady days in Europe, in any feeling of ideological achievement while flies fill hungry babies' eyes in rancid shanties and while migrant workers know an alienation Marx predicted all too vividly right in the heart of our economic miracles.

Max Gallo is a pluralist and a humanist, and a man with a big heart. The stark foolishness of his perspective of history subtracts oddly little from an effectively passionate call to ideological arms. Socialists are to be neither seduced by those who see in the current conjuncture of world events 'the end of history' (the permanent triumph of liberal capitalism) nor mesmerised by those who see in the fall of communism the final confirmation that socialism must compromise itself out of existence. The socialist agenda is as long, as pressing as ever it was in a world ridden with 'l'inégalité qui opprime et tue, pour le profit de quelques-uns'.

It is no bad thing to be

brought back to the old simplicities, as the best antidote to the new complacencies. Any socialist administration will only be as strong as its socialist ethic. Socialism needs its priests, simply to survive.

A peculiar read, distractingly misguided, yet uplifting. I am not sure that Gallo's hero Jaurès (the best kind of hero) would have wholly approved. But I am sure he would, nonetheless, have led the applause.

James Murphy is the Editor of Socialist Affairs' Books Section

The Time of my Life
by Denis Healey

London, Michael Joseph, 1989
592pp, ISBN 0 7181 3114 2

The autobiography of one of European socialism's leading figures is a compelling and colourful read. Of special interest is the story of Denis Healey's contribution to the post-war development of the Socialist International.

Fight for the Forest
by Chico Mendes and Tony Gross

London, Latin America Bureau, 1989
96pp, ISBN 0 906 156 51 3

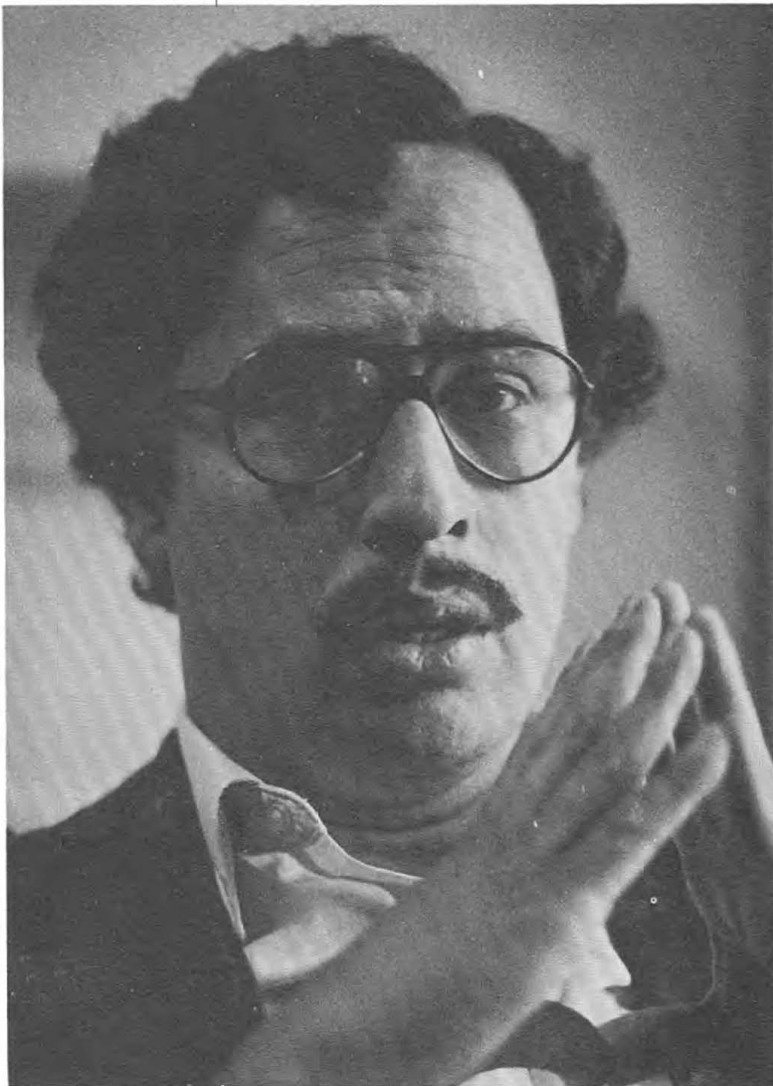
The London-based Latin America Bureau has an excellent record of producing books about Latin American life which are both accessible and instructive. This short study of the life and work of the late Chico Mendes, founder of the Brazilian rubber-tappers' union and protector of Amazonia, is another fine production.

Tiananmen: the Rape of Peking
by Michael Fathers and Andrew Higgins

London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland, The Independent/Doubleday, 1989
148pp, ISBN 0 385 40022 5

This early, breathless account of the tragedy of Tiananmen Square conveys much of the drama of those terrible days in June 1989. Excellent colour photographs.

J.M.



HECTOR OQUELI

Héctor Oquelí Colindres was kidnapped in Guatemala City on 12 January 1990 and found shot in the face near the Salvadorean frontier the next day. His friend Victor Valle writes this appreciation of the Secretary of the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean and Deputy Secretary General of the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario - one of El Salvador's most prominent socialists.

A human life well lived out is an example to others. The life of Héctor Oquelí was such a life.

He was a politician who always sought consensus in a country where that was not often the rule. He was alert to the human side of politics in a country where that was often ignored. Serious in public, often irreverent in private, he was both modest and prudent.

Héctor's first steps into politics came shortly after the foundation of the MNR in 1967. As a student leader of 23 he headed the students' effort in the municipal elections of 1968. Their candidate lost but Héctor's lifelong commitment to the ballot box as the best test of the popular will was forged.

By the end of the year he had become the vice president of AGEUS, the Salvadorean students' movement. As the MNR grew to maturity, Héctor was increasingly keen that the young recruits to the party did not grow up in the style of dark-suited verbal diarrhoea which was the common currency in the politics of our country. When I quit El Salvador for a period of study in Pennsylvania I left a parcel of books which would serve as the basis of a library for the political education of new members of our party. I have kept the receipt for the 61 books - Marx, Bosch, Engels, de Gortari among others - which Héctor signed.

He was by now deeply immersed in educational extension work at the University of El Salvador, but he took time during the 1972 elections to work for the victory of Guillermo Manuel Ungo, the vice-presidential candidate of the broad UNO opposition front which grouped the Salvadorean Communist Party and the Christian Democrats with the MNR.

After the failure of that electoral effort Héctor went on with his doctoral studies in jurisprudence and social science, until in 1972 the government of Colonel Arturo Armando Molina put the troops into the University. That was the signal for him to quit his country, go to England and complete his studies at the London School of Economics. He started collaborating with the SI and when the Latin America and Caribbean committee was first launched he was the clear choice for its first secretary, a job which gave him invaluable experience in the field of practical international politics.

In 1979, after an apparently democratic coup by the armed forces briefly opened up the possibility of a progressive government in El Salvador, Héctor was appointed deputy foreign minister. But the hopes quickly faded and with the rest of his democratic colleagues he was out of government within months.

In opposition he became a member of the political and diplomatic commission of the FDR-FMLN which co-ordinated the joint action of the armed and the political wings of the Salvadorean opposition. The time he did not spend arguing and lobbying the cause of a free and democratic El Salvador he kept for his academic work in the realm of social studies.

Last year he made the brave decision to take his life in his hands, braving the death squads and returning to stand on the common platform of the Convergencia Democrática in the March elections.

Héctor was never one of those politicians who was always avid to see his name in lights or his signature in print. Many of his thoughts and writings were published as the collective thought of the academic and political bodies of which he was a member.

Héctor Oquelí was not a man for clichés and dogma but he was firm in his commitment to justice and democracy. For those reasons, those who feared they would lose their long established privileges, the same forces of evil which had already killed the Jesuits in San Salvador, killed him.

But the power of his example and fruit of his political work live on. He will be there when Salvadoreans recover their country and when, as it says in the Book of Proverbs, 'the honest men govern and the people rejoice.'

*Gloria Steinem recalls
the life and work of
Michael Harrington
who died last summer.*

A BRIDGE OF EMPATHY

Until his death last July, I'd known the pre-eminent US socialist, Mike Harrington, for 30 years, and I suppose I always understood he was irreplaceable.

Who else could bring disparate people together across bridges of empathy and new ideas? Who else expected us to be so much better than we were that we

became better? Who was so pragmatic and idealistic, full of feeling and full of ideas, aware of the past and visionary about the future, that he became both a head and a heart of a world-wide political movement?

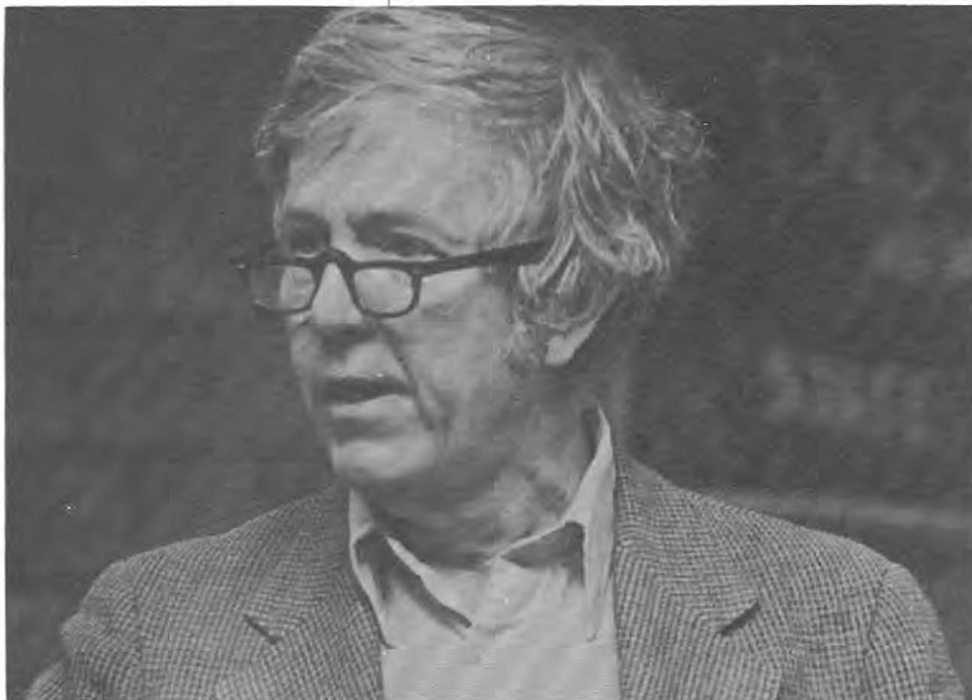
I knew all that, but I still did not know how much his final going would break my heart. I write this not because Mike's first book, 'The Other America', documenting the vast unacknowledged poverty in our land, unsettled John F Kennedy's administration almost 30 years ago and sparked the War on Poverty under Lyndon Johnson, or because his thirteen other books and tireless organisational work promoting democratic socialism continue to have national and international influence.

I write simply because I would like your heart to break a little too. First because Mike was worth it. And second because you will be a little more aware of what Mike did best.

Here is a story he told at a tribute for him at the Roseland ballroom just over a year ago, when, as he battled with a recurrence of cancer, we knew his time might be short but still hoped it would not. It is a parable of what could be.

'In desert societies, water is so precious that it is money. People connive and fight and die over it; governments covet it; marriages are even made and broken because of it. If you were to talk to people who have known only that desert and tell them that in the city there are public water fountains and that children turn on the fire hydrants in the summer and frolic in the water, they would be sure you were crazy.

'They would assume that, at night, people must come out of their houses to



fill buckets and hoard water. For they know, with an existential certitude, that it is human nature to fight over water. It is in our genes.

24 'Our problem is that humankind has lived now for several millennia in deserts of various kinds. Our minds and emotions are conditioned by that bitter experience. There are some who loathe to leave behind the consolation of familiar brutalities; there are others who in one way or another would like to impose the law of the desert upon the Promised Land.

'Yet there are signs that we are, without really having planned it that way, marching out of the desert. We are beginning to know that we can end the invidious competition and venality which we had come to think were inseparable from our humanity. You and I accept the fact of societies in which at least one doesn't die of thirst. Water is the one thing which has been socialised. Hoarding it, fighting over it, marrying for it, are *not* part of human nature after all *because we have confidence that it will be shared.*

'So why can't we go a little further and imagine societies in which each person also has food and shelter? In which everybody has an education and a chance to know their value? Why not?'

At the Roseland listening to Mike were leaders of his own and other countries, organisers, writers, labourers, poets, entrepreneurs - all the disparate groups of people who were united by their good hearts and their debts of gratitude to him.

I could feel in that room a new space opening up for a future none of us had seen. He had made a new place in our imagination, a place we might have scoffed at as being *outside human nature*. Mike had worked his magic by raising our hopes of what human nature could be.

Perhaps if each of us becomes some of what he was, then he will always be alive.

Gloria Steinem is a founder and contributing editor of *Ms Magazine* and a leader in the US feminist movement. She is an honorary national co-chair of Democratic Socialists of America.

HERBERT WEHNER

One of the principal architects of post-war German social democracy, Herbert Wehner, died in Bonn on 19 January at the age of 83. Given a state memorial service as a 'great German patriot', he lived just long enough to see his goal of German reunification through democratic processes come into clear view.

Born in Dresden (in what became East Germany), Wehner was an internationally active communist in the 1930s but became a convert to democratic socialism while in exile in Sweden during the war. Opting for West Germany in 1946, he joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD), was elected to the federal parliament in 1949 and quickly achieved national prominence as a dedicated and forceful politician seeking to steer the party towards governmental responsibility.

Wehner played a major role in securing the passage of the 1959 Godesberg Programme, in which the SPD finally abandoned its old Marxist doctrines. He was also a principal architect of the 1966-69 grand coalition between the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, in which he served as minister for all-German affairs. When Willy Brandt became chancellor in 1969, Wehner switched to the leadership of the SPD parliamentary party, having also become a party deputy chairman. On his retirement from politics, after the SPD's 1983 election defeat, his farewell advice to the party was that the route back to power lay in accommodation with the centre.



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Socialist International Women chose for its most recent Bureau meeting, 22 November 1989 in Geneva, the theme 'Prevention of Sexual Exploitation - A Challenge for Action', carrying out the Action Programme we adopted at the SIW Conference in June 1989, Stockholm. We publish here the speeches held at the meeting because they are rich in information and proposals for action.

Anita Gradin

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION - AN INDUSTRY

When the SIW Executive met in Tokyo in September 1989, we decided that at our next Bureau meeting we would discuss the international sex industry. The urgency of this question was demonstrated in Tokyo. At the seminar arranged by our sisters in the JSP and DSP on the topic of *How can women be effective in politics?*, many speakers urged action against humiliating and violent treatment of women and children, both because this question is, in itself, of deep concern to women, and also because Japan had recently experienced the terrifying murders of four or five small girls by a man who had apparently been inspired by some thousands of violent pornographic videos, later found by police in his home.

The sex industry not only exploits women and children for commercial purposes, it also incites further violence and harassment.

At the Socialist International Congress in Stockholm in June 1989, we adopted a Platform on Human Rights: Humanitarian Action. I should like to quote from this document: *'Human rights are an international responsibility, and universal in character. They are equally important throughout the world, and they all apply regardless of gender, religious belief or race. The right to live with mental and physical integrity is as fundamental in the developing countries as it is in the industrialised world.'*

There is a growing awareness - also in the international field - of the huge problems of sexual exploitation of children, child prostitution and child pornography. In the Council of Europe a special committee was set up in 1987 to look into the matter and propose possible forms of action. The United Nations Universal Declaration on the Rights of the Child also includes provisions aimed at the prevention of sexual exploitation. In many countries legislation and social programmes exist to prevent the exploitation of children - and of women.

**Publisher and Editor
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas**

WOMEN & POLITICS

Prevention of Sexual Exploitation

In Sweden we have had discussions on how to counteract prostitution. It is forbidden by law for young people under the age of 18 to work as prostitutes and also for adults when the prostitute is 'in a state of helplessness'. In other cases, we believe that effective social measures are more efficient than the criminalisation of prostitution as such.

Another way of counteracting prostitution is through the prohibition of public showing of pornographic films and videos and of pornographic live shows.

The very existence of this phenomenon counteracts efforts towards equality between women and men and also undermines real sexual freedom founded on mutual respect and solidarity. Therefore, it is important for society to state that this is not acceptable.

Swedish law forbids the circulation of pornographic pictures of children, the penalty being fines or up to six months imprisonment. The public display of pornographic pictures in general is also illegal.

Since the beginning of 1989, penalties are also incurred for *olaga våldsskildring* (the illegal depiction of violence). This means that the distribution of pictures, films, videos, television programmes or other moving pictures (*rörliga bilder*) is illegal if sexual violence or force is depicted.

There has been a lively debate on the censorship in general of videos. As you are all aware, this is a delicate matter, closely connected with the whole question of freedom of expression.

What is really important is that the laws passed are enforced, which presupposes awareness on the part of the police and of the public. Social Democratic women in Stockholm have carried out their own successful campaigns, hiring and demonstrating porno videos which they then hand over to the public prosecutor.

However, no single country can solve the problems of violence and pornography on its own. The sex industry today is an international one, with large sums of money circulating. A few years ago, a Norwegian film maker made a documentary on how children were being used, abused and killed by the sex industry. This documentary attracted wide attention and made people aware of things which most of them did not even want to think were possible.

For us as democratic socialists and feminists, this disgraceful reality is a challenge. If we do not stand up for abused children and women, who will?



Helen Boesterud is a Norwegian Member of Parliament and Vice-Chair of the Committee on Defence. She was Minister of Justice in the Brundtland Government.

Helen Boesterud

CHILDREN - VICTIMS OF SEXUAL ABUSE

There were two reasons why when I was Minister of Justice in Norway I began a kind of personal crusade against the sexual abuse of children:

Firstly, I consider the sexual abuse of children to be one of the most serious in the dark catalogue of human crimes, and a very serious violation of the human rights of defenceless persons.

Secondly, this serious crime highlights another very serious problem: the tragic conditions in general of millions of poor children in many countries of the world. This I consider to be one of the main problems of the world today.

In recent years we have become aware that the problem of sexual exploitation of children is enormous. It is a problem in industrialised, as well as developing countries. It takes the form of child prostitution, the production of child pornography, trafficking in children, and sexual abuse in the family or community. We should keep in mind that sexual abuse of children and young persons, in its various forms, is often closely linked with other kinds of criminal activity, such as gambling, theft, arms and drug trafficking, etc. Likewise, trafficking in children for the purpose of sexual abuse sometimes has close connections with illegal adoption or with child labour. These sad facts underline the great complexity of the problem we are facing. Add to that the profit potential of sexual exploitation, and it becomes clear that the combatting of sexual abuse deserves our closest attention. Sexual exploitation has serious effects on the physical and mental health of a child, as well as on his or her social development.

Given these sad facts, it is urgent that governments, politicians, governmental and non governmental organisations focus on the problem and take action to combat it.

We could perhaps divide the possible measures to combat sexual exploitation of children into four main groups:

Firstly, measures aimed at the population as a whole, including the authorities at various levels. Experience has shown us that it is sometimes necessary to stir up strong indignation among the people in order to rouse the authorities to action.

Secondly, measures - both prevention and assistance - aimed at the children themselves.

Thirdly, measures aimed directly at potential and actual child abusers.

Finally, measures aimed at those who profit from the sexual exploitation of children.

I shall examine more closely the possible measures aimed at the various groups, and mention some initiatives taken by the Norwegian authorities.

Information

The spread of information, both at national and international level, is fundamental. Public opinion must be roused to implement the measures necessary to combat the sexual exploitation of children.

A Norwegian-produced film called 'Throw-away Children', made last year, aimed to open people's eyes to the enormous dimensions of the problem. It has been shown on television in Norway and in several other countries. And I have noticed with satisfaction that the film has been followed everywhere by wide

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discussion. Now a new, follow-up film called 'Let's talk about it', has also been produced. This film provides more extensive information on what can be done when the suspicion arises that a child is being sexually abused.

Special information and education must be aimed at those occupational groups who deal with children. In Norway, an educational package has been prepared for this purpose. Using video, slides, course booklets and a textbook, it aims to increase knowledge about sexual abuse and to improve the cooperation between occupational groups who may be concerned: police, health authorities, schoolteachers, etc., on the disclosure and treatment of cases of sexual abuse, across the boundaries of different authorities and professions.

It is important that we gain more knowledge of these problems. There is still much we do not know, and there are still some people who even deny that sexual abuse of children is a problem. Only reliable data will convince such people. For these reasons it is important that the authorities facilitate research. The Norwegian authorities, through various ministries, are supporting a number of research projects, of which I would like to mention two.

The first is a project aimed at charting the extent and nature of sexual abuse and forms of exploitation to which children and adolescents in Norway may be subjected, and at gaining an over-view of the routines and problems of the existing treatment and support systems. This research has shown us, among other things, that a large group of the Norwegian population (approximately 13 per cent) has been exposed to some form of sexual abuse in childhood.

The second project I would like to mention is a study recently concluded by the Norwegian Save the Children Organisation, with the support of the Norwegian Directorate for Development Cooperation (NORAD), of sexual exploitation of children in selected developing countries. This study was carried out in close collaboration with local organisations in those countries, and data were collected partly through interviews with children who were being sexually exploited.

Measures aimed at children

Legislative measures, for example, should be considered. This is important because the law provides a signal of the authorities' assessment of which interests demand protection, and what kind of behaviour cannot be tolerated.

With this in mind, in Norway, it is not regarded as sufficient that the penal code prohibit sexual relations with minors (under the age of 16). A general ban on the ill-treatment of children has also recently been introduced (Section 30, Paragraph 3, of the Act relating to Children). Furthermore the obligation to prevent incest has been extended by introducing an obligation to report if one is aware that incest involving a child up to the age of 16 is *likely to occur* (Section 139 of the Norwegian Penal Code).

We have also extended the range of our criminal code, so that sexual abuse committed by a Norwegian citizen can be prosecuted in Norway regardless of the country in which the crime took place.

This is quite an efficient legal remedy against child abusers masquerading as tourists abroad, especially when we can cooperate with the local police in the country concerned.

Another type of preventive measure is based on breaking the silence and secrecy surrounding sexual exploitation, and teaching children that they have the right of determination over their own bodies.

Through the Norwegian 'Safe and Strong' project pre-school teachers, school teachers and other occupational groups concerned are trained in how to teach children to protect themselves against sexual abuse. The children are taught in which situations it is acceptable and in which it is unacceptable for grown-ups to touch the child's sexual organs. They are trained to tell about sexual contacts and unsafe situations they have experienced, and they are told where they can seek help.

In 1987 the Ministry of Justice set up a working group to clarify and evaluate rules and routines for the investigation of incest cases. In its report the working group stressed among other things that cooperation between the police and prosecuting authorities and the treatment and support systems must be improved.

The police in Oslo have specially equipped rooms with colourful decor, toys, videos and the necessary equipment to investigate incest cases in a way that



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makes the child feel safe. Efforts are now being made to establish joint teams in every municipality and every region. It is important that these teams work together from the beginning. Then the police may proceed with the evidence already obtained, and the child does not have to tell his or her story again and again.

It is important that the child receives follow-up assistance in the form of therapy and the like. In Norway funds have been allocated (3 million kroner in 1989) for the establishment of treatment services in the country's five health regions. In addition, self-help groups for victims of incest are supported.

However, when one is aware of the desperate economic situation in which many children in developing countries live, and which forces them into prostitution, the ideas behind the 'Safe and Strong' project certainly seem inadequate as a preventive measure in those countries, and in many cases difficult to carry through. In order to keep these children away from prostitution, one must first and foremost seek to improve the economic situation of the poorest people. One must also implement information campaigns in the places where recruitment of children for prostitution takes place, ensuring, for example, that parents are warned of the perils perhaps awaiting children sent away from home.

Further, one must attempt to give street children other options than making a living by prostitution. It is important to bear in mind those children at risk of being coerced (be it physically or economically) into prostitution, when preparing strategies for development assistance.

The methods used and recommendations made by those involved in carrying out investigations on behalf of the Norwegian Save the Children Organisation, deserve attention in this connection. Following these recommendations, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) aims to increase training for organisations receiving their assistance for work with children in developing countries, so that those organisations become better equipped to help children who are subjected to sexual abuse.

Measures aimed at potential abusers, and persons who abuse children sexually

At the preventive level, information and education are the key words. The great majority of abusers are men. Attempts must be made to implement campaigns aimed at changing attitudes in order to create greater respect for children's right of self-determination and increased awareness of what damaging effects such abuse has on children.

Measures designed to put an end to child pornography would also, to the extent that they succeed, have a preventive effect. This is one of the reasons why the importing of pornography intended for distribution was recently made an offence in Norway.

Men who abuse children sexually must be stopped and they must be prosecuted. This is a serious crime and must be treated as such. Much would be gained in this area if, through international cooperation, we could harmonise legislation so that child abusers were not able to find a safe haven in other countries; if police forces in different countries freely exchanged information and there were agreements concerning the prosecution of criminals charged with the abuse of children, regardless of where the abuse took place.

Measures designed to stop those who profit from sexual exploitation of children

Those who encourage and profit from sexual exploitation of children include the dealers, the brothel-owners, the producers of pornography, the arrangers of sex tours.

In this area, legislation and law enforcement are crucial. International cooperation regarding legislation and investigation is extremely important. In that connection I would like to emphasise the vital role which INTERPOL could play in such cooperation. I take a positive view of the increased efforts of INTERPOL in recent years, arranging, amongst other things, two symposia on the theme.

In Norway, we also ordered our own Norwegian police liaison officers in drug-producing countries to report on Norwegian citizens committing sexual abuse

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of children when visiting those countries and to report on any 'export trade' in children of which they might become aware.

I would also like to stress the importance of implementing measures to abolish organised sex tours, on the part of both those countries whose citizens are clients and those which are hosts to such tours.

Finally, a few words about the role which international organisations can play in combatting sexual exploitation. On Norwegian and Nordic initiative, this question has become a priority area within the Council of Europe. A Select Committee of Experts on Sexual Exploitation, Pornography and Prostitution of, and Trafficking in, Children and Young Adults, has been established. The committee is working on charting the extent of sexual abuse of children in the member countries, and is preparing proposals for legal measures which could remedy the situation.

As regards the United Nations' system, I was pleased to note that the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, at its session in August 1989 in Geneva, placed as the main theme on the agenda the prevention of sale of children, child pornography and child prostitution. In order to support as strongly as possible this praiseworthy initiative, I myself took part in the session. But further support and pressure is needed to make the problem of sexual exploitation of children a subject of high priority within the UN. In my opinion, there should be one particular UN body responsible for coordination of activities in this field. It should collect and disseminate documentation on sexual exploitation of children, and should initiate information and education campaigns directed towards various target groups.

The potential of the United Nations Specialised Agencies should also be examined, with a view to assessing how they may help in the prevention of sexual exploitation and in the rehabilitation of exploited children.

Also within the UN one should look at how to achieve harmonisation of legislation in this area. It is important that the law does not criminalise the activities of the child, but does criminalise the activities of customers, procurers and other abusers. It would also be desirable to have regulations ensuring that profits from sexual exploitation of children are confiscated, so that such profits cannot be secured by taking them out of the country, and also ensuring that the abusers and procurers are not safe from prosecution anywhere. It is also important to examine more closely how sex tourism can be prevented, and what legislative measures could be used.

However, legislation alone cannot solve any problem. Laws cannot make men see things differently. Close attention must be paid to achieving more international cooperation on the enforcement of law in this field, for instance by exchange of information between law enforcement agencies in different countries.

In addition to these measures, the passing of the UN's Draft Convention on The Rights of the Child is a significant step in the direction of safeguarding children against sexual exploitation. Article 34 of the Convention requires states to protect children from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. The Convention establishes a system of supervision of the implementation of the obligations which it imposes. This could and should be used actively to monitor the state of affairs regarding sexual exploitation of children. I hope that now the Convention has been passed, many states will ratify it.

The SIW Bureau meeting on this subject, and other such meetings, represent an important opportunity to focus on the world-wide problem of sexual exploitation of children and to exchange ideas on how to attack this evil. Ideas and recommendations coming from such meetings will hopefully lead to concrete actions, for the benefit of all the suffering children involved.

In conclusion, I think quite a lot of work lies ahead of us, at both national and international level.

This struggle demands political commitment, professional commitment, and personal commitment.

We have to be patient, and we have to be brave. We will continue to meet criticism for our commitment to this issue. But we must not let this worry us. Such criticism amounts to a defence of attitudes and behaviour which ought to be damned, not defended. We must take such criticism as a challenge.

Regula Renschler

WOMEN - TRADED AS SEX SLAVES

Regula Renschler is a Swiss journalist and founder of the Third World Women's Information Centre of Zürich.

The main task of the Third World Women's Information Centre, of which I was the founder in Zürich in 1985, is to offer information and assistance to women from developing countries who work in the entertainment business in Switzerland or who are married to Swiss men. Another of our tasks is to inform women in developing countries who wish to work here about working and living conditions in Switzerland. We do this by means of written materials, short radio programmes made by Filipino, Thai, Brazilian and Dominican women living in Switzerland and through direct contacts with sister organisations in the countries concerned.

The Centre provides counselling and legal information. The FIZ - as it is called from its German name - also works to inform the public, does consciousness-raising, maintains contacts with the police, with lawyers and members of parliament and, of course, with other women's organisations. To change exploitative structures is one of our main objectives. In this sense, the Information Centre regards its work as highly political.

The Third World Women's Information Centre is an independent organisation which is financed by non-governmental organisations, women's organisations, churches and individuals. This year for the first time we are seeking financial contributions from the city of Zürich, but this would be limited to support for our social, counselling work with women.

The Centre employs three part-time women workers, whose working hours total the equivalent of 1.4 full-timers. Our budget is roughly 100,000 Swiss francs. I am convinced that other countries could do very valuable work through organisations similar to our Centre in Zürich. The example of the FIZ in Zürich has encouraged friends in Stuttgart to found a similar organisation, the FIZ Stuttgart.

We, a small group of women working in NGO's and women's organisations, began this work eight years ago, by assisting a woman from the Caribbean in bringing charges. She had been lured to Switzerland by a Swiss businessman. He promised her a good job, but when she arrived here she was driven directly to a private brothel where she was forced to service clients. She was fed on cat food and had no contact with the outside world. Two other women arrived with her, one of them only 15 years old at the time. We brought a prosecution against the man involved. The trial lasted for seven years but in the end we were not able to get him prosecuted for trafficking in women.

There are two categories of women who migrate from Asia, Latin America and Africa to the rich countries and who are likely to be exploited by the entertainment industry: firstly, women who work as go-go girls and/or prostitutes in bars and private brothels, some of whom are forced into fake marriages in order to facilitate the securing of a work permit, and secondly women who become so called 'mail-order brides.'

The number of women who migrate from developing countries to Switzerland in order to work here as go-go girls or prostitutes is increasing. Among the go-go girls most come from Latin America: Brazil and the Dominican Republic. Others come from Thailand and the Philippines. Of the 'mail-order brides', the majority come from the Philippines. As it is illegal for foreigners to work as prostitutes, women are forced into fake marriages by their pimps and often

have to pay sums of up to 20,000 Swiss francs to obtain a Swiss passport.

32 **Legal and Illegal Ways**

Women migrate to Switzerland by both legal and illegal means, but in most cases these women face exploitation.

One legal form of migration is when the woman receives a contract through an employment agency, knowing in advance what kind of work she will have to do, i.e. work as a go-go girl in a bar. Women may apply for a permit to stay for eight months in Switzerland as 'artists'. This provision is intended to cover only genuine artists, but the authorities tolerate go-go girls, who are registered as a separate category.

Go-go Girls

However, it is illegal for an agent to promise a woman a good job in Europe as a waitress, hotel employee, servant or maid, only for her to realise after her arrival in Europe that she has to work as a go-go girl or even in a nightclub, a brothel or private club as a prostitute. It is also fraud when an agent recruits girls and women to work as go-go girls whilst concealing from them that they will have to do strip tease and induce customers to order expensive alcoholic drinks from the bar.

Although nothing appears in their contracts about enticing customers to buy drinks - since this is prohibited in most districts of Switzerland - the encouragement of alcohol consumption is in fact a part of their work. A dancer, when she is not dancing, is expected to mingle with the guests and urge them to order champagne, the only drink the women may allow the customers to offer them. A 'good' go-go girl is one who sells a lot. On average, the women sell 6,000 to 8,000 SFr. worth of champagne per month. Of this sum, she receives a 10% share, so-called 'cork money'.

Drinking alcohol makes the women sick. Most of them have stomach problems. Many get gastric ulcers and some even tuberculosis. In December 1984, one woman died in the Zürich District Hospital, evidently as a result of her working conditions. So a vicious circle starts: the more the women have to drink, the more vulnerable they become to all kinds of disease.

Ten years ago, managers of agencies and owners of bars and clubs used to go to developing countries in order to recruit personnel for their establishments. Nowadays, unfortunately, the women come by themselves, encouraged by a sister, a friend or a relative who works here already. They come as tourists and apply for work after their arrival.

Unfortunately, it is also women from the countries of origin who have taken over the job of the Swiss procurers. Nowadays, these women do the dirty work for the men, and men - bar owners, procurers and customers - profit from the women-managers and from the foreign go-go girls, prostitutes and wives.

Foreign Workers of the Lowest Class

Procurement agencies make a profit from the women. They keep 8% of the women's wages, and the service they provide in return consists only of the informal procuring of contracts. A go-go girl is allowed to work in the same bar for only one month; the agencies, however, are not obliged to give the woman a contract for the whole period of their eight months working permit. So it may well happen that a woman becomes jobless between work placements and then her savings melt away. If she is unemployed for more than one month she can be deported by the immigration authorities. If her new place of work is located far from her lodging, she may have to pay double rent because she needs two rooms.

As it is the employer, not the procurer, who is responsible for the women's health insurance, it may happen that a woman is not insured between two

CASE STUDY 1 **SWITZERLAND**

Trial Of a Dominican Dealer

A young woman from the Dominican Republic was lured to Switzerland by a Dominican dealer, a woman. She was promised good work here as a waitress. She paid 2,500 Dollars to the dealer for her ticket and for services rendered. When she realised that her job was to work as go-go girl in a Zürich bar, she refused and asked for her money back. The dealer refused to give her the money back and insisted on her fulfilling the contract. The young woman reported the case to the police. When questioned, the Dominican dealer denied having received the 2,500 Dollars from the young woman, saying that she had only paid 2,500 pesos.

The young woman from the Dominican Republic has maintained her charges. The trial is going on. Meanwhile she has returned to her country, but she is willing to return to Switzerland if necessary.

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assignments. If she gets sick during this period she has to cover all expenses out of her own pocket. During the first three days of a new assignment, the owner or manager of a nightclub can fire the dancer without giving any reason.

The average income of a go-go girl is about 3,000 to 4,000 SFr. per month. This is ten times what she would earn for the same work at home and a hundred times more than working in a factory or as a housemaid. But the women have also heavy expenses. They have to pay high - sometimes excessively high - rents for their rooms, studios or apartments. They sometimes over-spend through ignorance or because they cannot speak the language. For instance, they take a taxi because they do not know how the public transport works or they are afraid to use it. All women feel homesick and long for their families, and as they have to leave Switzerland for four months after the expiry of their permits, most of them return home. But again, this costs a lot of money. All in all it is risky, dangerous and insecure work. Only a few succeed in maintaining their health and saving enough money for a better life later on. Many hope to marry a Swiss man. Others do not want to think of the future at all.

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What Can be Done?

Sufficient income and development opportunities for women in their own countries would certainly be the most effective way to combat today's trafficking in women. In the short term however, we think that at least their working and living conditions in Europe should be improved and that those who exploit the women should be punished. On a larger scale, we should aim to change the exploitative structures existing.

CASE STUDY 2 SWITZERLAND

The 'Austrian Connection'

This young woman, also from the Dominican Republic, had studied medicine and finished her studies, but she wanted to earn quick, good money in order to establish herself with her work in her own country. She came to Zürich as a tourist and enquired where she could find work.

She was given the address of an entertainment agency. There she was told that there was no work for her at the moment, but that she could work in the Austrian district of Vorarlberg, just across the Swiss border, and maybe later find work in Switzerland. The young doctor then realised what kind of work this would be and refused it. She also realised that, as a woman from the Dominican Republic, she would never be able to work legally in Switzerland. The only jobs available to her would be in the entertainment business.

She was desperate, as she had spent all her money on her trip to Europe. A proposal was then made to her that she should get married here. She lived with her "bridegroom" for a very short time and then left him, feeling horrified at what she had done.. He was much too old for her, quite unsuited, and so on..

She later got married to a Swiss man of her own age and has now settled down in Switzerland.

It is now a common practice in Zürich for agencies to send young women first to Vorarlberg in Austria, where there are many private sex clubs. From there it is easier to get work permits for Switzerland. Also, the managers have a look at the women, assess what they are 'worth', and - most importantly - once the women have already worked in these private brothels they can be treated in any way the employers wish.

Guidelines for Action

Important ways of tackling such situations are through prosecutions, with protection provided for the women; and through cooperation between groups from the countries concerned.

An additional problem faced recently is the fact that it is now WOMEN who are being prosecuted. Women do the dirty work, men profit. How can we change this situation?

CASE STUDY 3

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The Hawaii Bar Case

For the first time, the manager of a bar in Stuttgart and several other persons are on trial, charged with trafficking in women, promoting prostitution and procuring in connection with Thai women. Sadly enough, all the accused are Thais, but all the customers are Germans.

The main accused are the female manageress of the 'Hawaii Bar' and a Thai man, an employee of Thai Airways. In 1987, this man lured four Thai women to Europe, by promising them good jobs as waitresses in restaurants.

He brought them first to Denmark where they were married to German men in fake marriages in order to facilitate the obtaining of work permits for Germany. The Thai women had to pay 1,000 DM for the marriages, and then pay their 'husbands' 300 DM per month!!!

From Denmark, the women were brought to Frankfurt and from there to Stuttgart, directly to the Hawaii Bar. They did not speak any English, did not know the Latin alphabet, they scarcely knew where they were.

In the Hawaii Bar they had to work from 2 pm to 4 am. They were lodged and fed at the bar. They were paid from 10 to 50 DM a day. Newspaper reports of the trial told how they were kept and treated like animals. If they refused to serve a client, the manager would threaten them with transfer to a

brothel in Hanover where working conditions would be much worse.

The Beginning of the Trial

In the Spring of 1988, one of the Thai women had to go to hospital, where she confided her story to a social worker. This social worker telephoned the FIZ which took care of the woman once she was released from hospital. The FIZ hid her and reported the case to the police.

The Hawaii Bar was closed down, the remaining foreign women were deported, the bar manageress, the employee of Thai Airways, and another man employed as 'supervisor' at the bar, and the Thai women in Frankfurt were charged in relation to the activities detailed above.

However, the woman who had told her story in hospital and who had been hidden by the FIZ remained hidden and was not deported. Since the Women's Information Centre can vouch for her, the police are allowing her to stay. She will give evidence at the trial.

The trial started in November 1989 and will last until February 1990.

Guidelines for Action

It is important that centres like the FIZ are able to hide and protect the women who are willing to talk about what has happened to them. The German police seem prepared to let the women stay, and not to deport them when the Women's Information Centre vouches for them. A careful study is needed of what happens to these women in the longer term.

Hence our action plan involves the following:

- 1) Foundation of a Third World Women's Information Centre, or similar organisation is an excellent instrument. Such a centre should be an NGO and independent if possible of any large subsidies. The collaboration of women from countries concerned is indispensable.
- 2) Consciousness-raising in the countries concerned, through sister organisations. Many women who wish to work in Europe have little or no knowledge of working and living conditions here. For example, they know the size of the salaries but do not know the cost of living.
- 3) Consciousness-raising among the public. Discouraging potential customers from booking tickets for sex-trips and forcing tour operators to stop publicising and running these sex-tours, as we are able to do here in Switzerland. Bringing

WOMEN & POLITICS

Prevention of Sexual Exploitation

charges against managers of sex-tours. Prosecutions and trials of those responsible are one of the best ways to raise public consciousness.

4) Bringing charges against agents who lure women from developing countries into the European entertainment business, especially on false pretences, and who then force them to work under the conditions already described.

5) Bringing charges against managers of bars and nightclubs who force the go-go girls to entice customers to buy alcoholic drinks and who allow the customers to touch the women. This is strictly against Swiss law but the police differentiate between 'soft' and 'aggressive' animation - as they call it - and they find it in their own interests to accept 'soft animation'.



6) Better working conditions ensuring go-go girls a work assignment for the whole period of eight months, so that they are properly insured during their stay in Switzerland.

7) Fake marriages should be declared void and the women concerned given access to training and the opportunity to get another job.

8) The question of trials merits a special mention. The greatest difficulty is to find women who are ready to testify before a judge; the second difficulty is to prevent the police from deporting women who find themselves the victims of any kind of scandal. We have now reached a situation where the police accept the guarantee of the Information Centre and also accepts the fact that the Centre hides women who are in danger.

The dealers involved in the traffic in women - and many of these dealers are also involved with drugs, alcohol and other things - work in international networks.

We should also have our international networks. We should keep each other informed and work together in order to get hold of those who are controlling the trade in women. A new difficulty is that nowadays there are often women from developing countries concerned who act as recruiters.

In all areas where existing legislation needs to be reinforced, new laws passed and structures changed, help

is needed from Members of Parliament.

In order to bring those responsible to trial, money and good lawyers are needed, also good journalists to report on the trials.

The Mail-Order Brides Business

It is even more difficult to tackle those who profit from the the mail-order brides business. In Switzerland, no licence is needed to set up a marriage agency, and profiteering is not easy to prove. There are many ways to purchase cheap flights to developing countries and expense-accounts fraud is always possible. One way to tackle this problem could be to require such 'institutions' to apply for an operating permit, and to set a maximum permissible charge for the procurement.

It is equally important to make as much information as possible available to women in developing countries, and to assist women who have already contracted such marriages and who are in difficulties.

A final way of tackling this problem could be by bringing charges against individuals or managers of marriage bureaux who take advantage of women and sometimes also of men.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Prevention of Sexual Exploitation

RESOLUTIONS

SIW is deeply concerned that millions of families every year in developing countries slide into severe poverty. Poverty is produced by foreign debt, economic mismanagement and monetarist policies. The lack of public expenditure on services such as education, health and social welfare programmes in developing countries and cuts in public expenditure in industrialised countries, increase the number of women and children who are forced into prostitution, the pornography and sex tourism industries.

SIW welcomes the Resolution of the European Parliament on the exploitation of prostitution and the traffic in human beings (14 April 1989) and calls upon members of the European Community and of the Council of Europe to curb by legislative measures the flourishing trade in "snuff" videos, the production of pornographic material, sex tourism and mail-order marriages.

SIW calls upon UN member states who have not yet done so to sign and ratify the UN Convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and of

the exploitation of the prostitution of others, without policy and legislation being directed against the women concerned.

SIW calls on its member organisations to call on their countries' governments:

- to take the necessary social measures to facilitate the reintegration of former prostitutes into the labour market and society;
- to take the necessary legal measures to punish severely those who lure children and adults into prostitution and the porno industry; as well as those who traffic in women and children, not forgetting that the most effective penal sanctions include education and social re-habilitation of offenders;
- to promote legislation that provides protection for women and children, e.g. non-molestation orders, provision for written testimony and testimony through video interviews;
- to support organisations who counsel prostitutes and help them to leave the profession;
- to shift the criminal burden from women who are forced into prostitution by economic necessity, to the men who seek these sexual services and perpetuate their continuance;
- to use education, media and other means at our disposal to eliminate the acceptance of the use of pornography and prostitution within our societies.

SIW calls on governments with a view to tackle serious problems of sexual exploitation of children:

- to sign, ratify and implement the UN Convention on Children's Rights as soon as possible;
- to organize campaigns in order to raise public awareness of sexual violence and exploitation and to promote sex education in schools;
- to contribute to changing the roles and attitudes of men within a society with shared responsibilities between men and women in all fields.

SIW urges its member organisations:

- to organise boycotts of travel agencies which are selling to men in industrialised countries packaged 'sex tours' to poor, developing countries;
- to support organisations in developing countries which counsel, educate and help women and children who, because of the sheer difficulty of economic survival, are vulnerable to being lured into prostitution, into mail-order marriage or into working for the porno-industry.

Emergency Resolutions

CHILE

Socialist International Women notes with profound concern the escalating violence within the political climate in Chile in the run up to the elections on 14 December 1989 and calls on the authorities to give guarantees for a normal transition towards democracy, because this is the will of the Chilean people as was decided by the plebiscite that took place on 5th October 1988. SIW supports the demands of the Radical Party of Chile and of the 'Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia'.

EL SALVADOR

SIW is gravely concerned about the murders and violations of human rights that are now happening in El Salvador and that have led to the current state of siege in that Central American country. We demand that the authorities guarantee the safety of people, especially those representatives of democratic organisations and leaders and members of the M.N.R. who are under threat today, and the safety of all those working actively for peace.

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AND WOMEN & POLITICS

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The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 89 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 general secretary 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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Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Barbados Labour Party
Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada
Radical Party of Chile, PR
National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica
Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao
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
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Socialist Party, PS, France
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Republic of Germany
The Labour Party, Great Britain
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Social Democratic Party of Hungary
Social Democratic Party, Iceland
The Labour Party, Ireland
Israel Labour Party
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Italian Social Democratic Party, PSDI
Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica
Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Socialist Party of Japan, SPI
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSLE
Democratic Action Party, DAP, Malaysia
Malta Labour Party
Mauritius Labour Party
Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
New Zealand Labour Party
Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP,
Northern Ireland
Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay
Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
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
Siunmut, 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 in exile (Members of SUCEE)

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
Czechoslovak Socialist Democratic Party
Estonian Socialist Party
Social Democratic Party of Latvia
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
Polish Socialist Party
Italian Democratic Party, Romania
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, CSPEC
International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic
Press, IFSDP
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers,
IUSDT
Jewish Labour Bund, JLB
Labour Sports International, LSI
Socialist Group, European Parliament
Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE
World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM

GENEVA COUNCIL MEETING

Developments in Eastern Europe headed the agenda at the meeting of the Socialist International Council held in Geneva on 23 and 24 November 1989, at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland.

In his opening remarks, SI President Willy Brandt spoke of the exciting and moving events of recent months in much of Eastern and Central Europe. 'When I speak of my meetings with people in my own city of Berlin, people in the other part of Germany', he told the Council, 'this has been the most moving part of my political life.'

The rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union reflected not only the end of communist rule; not only people's demand for pluralistic rule; not only objective needs for economic modernisation, he said. Events in his own country, for example, were a sub-theme of the main theme running through all the recent developments: the growing together of Europe.

This growing together could be traced in a number of different areas: in the positive signs at the Vienna negotiations on arms reduction; in the pressing need for economic cooperation between the present European Economic Community, the EFTA member countries, and the countries still formally connected to COMECON; in what seemed at last to be a real will to European cooperation in the ecological field.

He stressed the speed of developments and that the role of the Socialist International was 'to stay in

very close contact, and to give all possible support to our friends in these countries.' He welcomed to the Council meeting representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, newly re-established in Budapest, and of the Social Democratic Party in the German Democratic Republic.

'Finally', he concluded, 'let me say that what we are experiencing is not only fascinating and encouraging, it is in a way the greatest challenge for democratic socialism in this part of the world since World War Two. We should be open, helpful, but also careful in developing our contacts with these reviving and new democratic socialist forces in the other part of Europe.'

These sentiments were reflected throughout the subsequent debate, at what all those present felt was a particularly memorable meeting of the Socialist International. Speakers included Italian Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi; first secretary of the French Socialist Party, Pierre Mauroy; Norwegian Labour Party leader Gro Harlem Brundtland; and president of the Netherlands Labour Party, Marjanne Sint.

The meeting was also addressed by Anna Petrasovits, newly elected president of the Social Democratic Party of

Hungary. She reported to the Council the re-establishment of the Party in Budapest in January 1989. At a Party Congress on 3 to 5 November 1989, attended by 613 delegates representing more than ten thousand members in Hungary, and by representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in exile, a new party leadership had been elected. Andor Bölcsöldi, leader of the Party in exile, which had remained a consultative member of the Socialist International, through the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE, was honorary president of the newly re-established party.

Petrasovits expressed her happiness at seeing the party once again represented in a meeting of the Socialist International, after an absence of 41 years. She was proud to speak for a constituency which included 'millions of apathetic Hungarians, people of German, Jewish, Gipsy and Slavonic origins, nationalities or minorities, and ... the greatest minority, the exploited women who are more than half the population.' and to represent the 'traditional, 100 years old Social Democratic Party of Hungary, of Ana Kéthly, Antal Bán, Imre Szélig, and other great personalities'.

Stefan Hilsberg, representing the Social

Democratic Party in the GDR, thanked all those present for their solidarity with the new party, established in the GDR on 7 October 1989.

'With this creation', he told the meeting, 'we were

promote a market economy with certain social and ecological limitations, as well as mixed property ownership situations. ... We want to have a State that guarantees human rights and civil rights, a State in which

want to make a contribution towards comprehensive European integration.'

Not only in Europe

Djibo Ka, international secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal, reminded the meeting that momentous developments were taking place not only in Europe. The dismantling of the Berlin wall and the rapid process of democratisation, not only in Europe, but in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, and the elections in Namibia, signifying the completion of decolonisation in Africa, were all major political events. 'We have still to dismantle that wall of incomprehension, of negation of human rights which is apartheid', he said, 'just as the Berlin Wall has been dismantled - by the irresistible impetus of the world's peoples towards freedom and democracy.'



**Stefan
Hilsberg**

able to link back to the old traditions of social democracy of the past, the social democratic party which was forcibly incorporated in the Communist Party in 1946, since when there has been no more opportunity for any freedom of development of society in eastern Germany. At the same time, we wanted to show very clearly that we rallied to the international socialist movement. On the same day, we applied for membership of the Socialist International. Again, at this point in time, I would like to express our heartfelt thanks for the rapid response ... and for your invitation to attend this meeting of the Council.

'The SPD in the GDR', he continued, '...wishes to have a democratic, ecologically oriented social democracy in the GDR. ... We want to

every individual has the right to defend his or her interests and to speak of his or her interests. ... This is why we want to defend the social democratic principle of sharing these responsibilities, these social responsibilities, and also defend the principle of equal distribution of wealth. In foreign policy, we see ourselves as a member of a society of nations. We have a share in world politics nationally and internationally. We want to help solve the problems that beset our planet and in economic terms we want to trade fairly. We want to defend human rights all over the world, in all countries, and declare our solidarity with all the repressed and disenfranchised nations of the world. In Europe, as part of the German nation, we

Position paper, resolutions

The Council endorsed a Position Paper on Eastern Europe which was a major and comprehensive statement of the SI's position in a rapidly changing situation. Since the publication of this document, which is reprinted on page 44, the political circumstances in many of the countries mentioned have significantly altered. Resolutions in support of the movements for democracy in Czechoslovakia and in Romania were also approved, together with resolutions on Disarmament, on Haiti, on Namibia and on El Salvador (see full texts of all documents on page 47).

SI missions

Peter Jankowitsch, Socialist Party of Austria, reported to the Council on behalf of the

Socialist International delegation which travelled to Namibia to observe the first free and democratic elections there (see page 55).

The Council also received from mission chair Irmtraut Karlsson, Socialist Party of Austria, and a vice-president of Socialist International Women, a report of the SI mission to Cyprus which took place in October 1989 (see page 54).

Elections

A mission of the Socialist International would be in Chile to observe the elections (see Mission report, page 58). Alejandra Faulbaum, Radical Party of Chile, reported on the development of the election campaign.

Results of the first round of presidential elections in Brazil, held on 15 November 1989, left Leonel Brizola, chairman of the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, PDT, in third place - party international secretary Bocayuva Cunha reported - with Fernando Collor de Mello, supported by the right-wing parties which formerly sustained the dictatorship, in first place, and Luis Inácio 'Lula' da Silva of the Workers' Party in second place.

Brizola gained around 11.5 million votes, trailing Lula by some 400,000 votes only.

Major factors in this disappointing result for the PDT were Collor de Mello's control of a large communication network, including the widely received Globo TV channel; together with the grass roots support of the Brazilian churches for Lula's campaign. (Final election result: see page 60).

Middle East Committee

Committee chair Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski reported

to the Council on a meeting of the SI Middle East Committee, held in Geneva on 22 November.

At the 1989 Stockholm Congress, the Socialist International considerably expanded its membership in the region, accepting as members the National Democratic Party of Egypt, the Constitutional Democratic Assembly and the Popular Unity Movement of Tunisia, and the Pakistan People's Party. All these parties were represented for the first time at the Committee meeting in Geneva, which was also attended by representatives of the governments of the USA and the USSR and of the PLO.

Naseer Shaikh of the Pakistan People's Party presented the views and policy of his party, now in government, on the situation in Afghanistan, opening the Committee's

first discussions on this question. Soviet representative Gennady Tarasov also took part in these discussions.

The Mubarak 'ten point' Plan for assisting the Middle East peace process was introduced by Kamal El Shazly of the Egyptian National Democratic Party, and a large number of the SI member parties and special guests attending were able to take part in the ensuing discussions.

The final item on the Committee's agenda was the present situation in Lebanon - a discussion abruptly overshadowed when news reached the meeting of the assassination that day of President Moawad.

SI Committees

The Geneva Council reviewed the composition and work of all Socialist International Committees.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEES

SI Committee for Human Rights, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch, Austrian Socialist Party; Vice-Chair: Anita Gradin, Social Democratic Party of Sweden

SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, chaired by José Francisco Peña Gómez, Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic

SI Committee on Local Authorities, chaired by Pierre Mauroy, French Socialist Party

SI Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP, chaired by Michael Manley, Peoples' National Party, Jamaica

SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, chaired by Kalevi Sorsa, Social Democratic Party of Finland

SI Environment Committee, chaired by Birgitta Dahl, Social Democratic Party of Sweden

SI Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC, chaired by Thorbjørn Jagland, Norwegian Labour Party

SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, Social Democratic Party, Federal Republic of Germany

SI Southern Africa Committee, SISAC, chaired by Wim Kok, Netherlands Labour Party, and Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Progressive Front of Upper Volta, Burkina Faso

SI Study Group on Africa, chaired by Jorge Sampaio, Socialist Party of Portugal, and Djibo Ka, Socialist Party of Senegal

SI Study Group on the Mediterranean, chaired by Bettino Craxi, Socialist Party, Italy

Many of the existing committees had valuable work still to do and a number had increased their membership. The Council approved the establishment of a new SI committee on Local Authorities. (see box for details of SI Committees).

General Secretary's report

Reporting to the Council on activities since the Congress in Stockholm, SI general secretary Luis Ayala said that much attention had naturally been on events in Eastern Europe, with intensive contacts being maintained. However, there had also been frequent exchanges with many SI member parties around the world, including those who joined the International at the Stockholm Congress in June 1989. The National Democratic Party of Egypt,

one of these new member parties, had invited the Socialist International to hold its next Council meeting in Cairo.

The general secretary had represented the SI at political events in a number of countries over the past months: occasions for much satisfaction, like the inauguration of Jaime Paz Zamora as president of Bolivia in August 1989, and of great sadness, like the memorial service for Michael Harrington held in New York in September.

During this very busy period, SI missions had visited Namibia and Cyprus, as reported to the Council. Arrangements were now in hand for a delegation to travel to Chile for the elections there in December 1989, and for SI groups to visit Nicaragua both before and during the elections in

February 1990.

The SI Disarmament Advisory Council met in Warsaw on November 15-16 and held talks with a number of Polish officials and political representatives.

Meanwhile, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was planning its first meeting in Ecuador, to be hosted by President Rodrigo Borja, leader of the Democratic Left Party, PID, in January 1990.

Future Work

Introducing the second main theme of the Council meeting, the general secretary outlined to the Council perspectives and priorities for the activities of the International in the coming period.

SI membership was expanding and the organisation had an ever-higher profile in many regions, with great hopes being invested in democratic socialism at this time.

In the coming years the SI would have to respond to the challenge of such expectations, he said, not only with vision, but also with effective organisation and clear priorities.

Peace and disarmament, North-South relations, Human Rights and the Environment would continue to be high on the agenda.

As discussions at this meeting had shown, the SI was well placed to play an important and constructive role in Eastern Europe.

In Latin America, the struggles against dictatorships had borne fruit and in a number of countries SI member parties were now in government. Enormous difficulties and challenges, however, remained.

Another challenge in the near future would be to respond to the strong voices of growing progressive movements in Asia.

Bettino Craxi: one of the keynote speakers





**Anna
Petrasovits**

Whilst the successful holding of free and fair elections meant that a free, independent and democratic Namibia was now a realistic goal, the struggle against apartheid and oppression in South Africa continued, despite recent moves, to be a priority.

The Study Group on Africa would be building on the cooperation established in recent years with progressive political forces in a number of countries.

The Middle East Committee, now enlarged to include the new SI member parties from the Arab world, would be doing everything possible to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution to the region's conflicts.

Continuing the work of the SI Study Group, a Conference on the Mediterranean was planned for the near future.

It had been suggested by the French Socialist Party that the Socialist International should also extend its work to an

important area of democratic political life where it has not previously been active: elected local authorities.

Cooperation with fraternal organisations, Socialist International Women, the International Union of Socialist Youth, and the International Falcon Movement, would of course continue, as would a long

tradition of collaboration with the ICFTU.

Finally, Ayala said, the SI would be taking the opportunity to associate itself with the revitalisation of support for the United Nations, and in general with the newly positive international climate which had given renewed impetus to all our work.

SI RECEIVES 'LET LIVE' AWARD

At the Geneva Council meeting, SI President Willy Brandt accepted on behalf of the Socialist International from Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson the 'Let Live Award', presented annually by the Swedish newspaper *Arbetet*. Sten Andersson told the Council that the award, of 100,000 Swedish Kroner, is made each year to an individual or an organisation for 'important contribution to humankind.' Former recipients include Lech Walesa, Alva Myrdal and Olof Palme. The 1989 award went to the Socialist International for its 100 years of struggle for a world of freedom, equality and democracy; for its active support for national liberation struggles in the Third World; for its commitment to promoting a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict; its constructive role in creating an open dialogue between East and West, and its important contribution to international détente and disarmament.

PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

A. Fundamentals

In our Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist International at its recent Congress in Stockholm, we stated in point 76:

'The Socialist International supports all efforts aimed at the transformation of communist societies through liberalisation and democratisation. The same support must apply to the development of decentralised market mechanisms, struggles against bureaucratisation and corruption and, above all, the realisation that human rights and political openness are important elements of a dynamic and progressive society.'

The course of events since then confirms these basic affirmations and permits their use as a basis for further reflections.

B. The Present Situation

1. The communist dictatorships established in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the Second World War with the help of the Soviet Union have clearly reached a dead end. The decline in the political influence and status of the classical communist ideology in these countries has gathered speed in recent months. Even the political power of the USSR has decayed and economic goals have foundered on realities.

The disaster of a centralised State-controlled economy in tandem with an absence of political freedom has led to a growing pressure for reform (to which Gorbachev above all is trying to respond). A further consequence is that tens of thousands of people (from the GDR in particular) have left their homes and that profound changes are occurring which are clearly by no means yet complete.

The views of European social democracy, particularly its views on democracy and human rights, as well as on detente and

cooperation in Europe, are inspiring points of reference for committed groups in their efforts to bring about change and to jettison previous forms of domination.

Since it is quite impossible to ignore the fact that the term 'socialism' has been grievously burdened by the policy of what was called 'real socialism' in these countries, democratic socialism must, more than ever, clearly differentiate its basic positions and basic values from totalitarian positions.

2. In Poland the central communist party apparatus is responsible for an almost hopeless situation and has forfeited its credibility. Counterweights to the State bureaucracy, especially the Catholic Church and the Solidarnosc union movement which represents a broad political spectrum, have inherited the legacy left by the ideological, political and economic disintegration of communism. The economic situation is catastrophic and the resultant confrontations and contradictions throughout society will also leave their mark on the organisation of political life.

To the extent to which Solidarity assumes additional tasks including responsibility for government, it is possible that centrifugal forces will increase so that the 'party landscape' in Poland today cannot be regarded as a stable one even in the medium term.

Further changes are also to be expected in the Communist Party, since the PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party) is in a process of clarifying its position and is interested in broadening its contacts with the Socialist International.

3. In Hungary the revived forces of classic Hungarian social democracy have created a party structure. There are still difficulties, however, to connect the social democratic heritage with new ideas and a new generation, from which a strong

social democratic movement could become politically decisive.

The transformation of the former communist State Party USAP into a new type of socialist party has given Hungarian domestic and foreign policy new impulses. The degree to which this will change the broad spectrum of Hungarian politics will depend on whether or not people see in the transformation of parts of the old USAP into the new USP a really credible fresh start. The Socialist International itself will also need to examine very carefully whether or not the USP is able to concretise its intentions and promises in the direction of a pluralist democratic movement, especially since the USP is requesting membership of the SI.

4. In the German Democratic Republic, a development has taken place which would have been inconceivable even a few months ago. The departure of many of the old guard, the opening of the frontier with the Federal Republic of Germany, and steps in the direction of a *de facto* surrender of the Socialist Unity Party's monopoly of power, can only be described as a peaceful revolution.

Above all, the breaching of the Berlin Wall, this symbol of the cold war and the division of Europe, is welcomed wholeheartedly by the Socialist International as an historic event. The Socialist International combines with this welcome the hope that the division of Europe will be overcome.

In the context of the changes in the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist International is of the opinion that the process of reform and democratisation in the GDR must take its course without outside interference and that forward-looking forms of cooperation in Germany and Europe should be elaborated.

The union of citizens to form a Social Democratic Party of the German Democratic Republic, whose representatives have already established contact with

the Socialist International, is part of a democratic mass movement embracing all sections of the population, a movement to which the ideas of democratic socialism make a decisive contribution.

5. Clearly the **Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR)** could not avoid the winds of change either. Powerful demonstrations put pressure on the ruling State Party whose security forces tried ruthlessly to suppress the mass movement. Uncertainty remains as to how the demands for reform and the unqualified maintenance of the Party's leading role can be reconciled. It can be expected that the pace of developments will rapidly accelerate in the next days and weeks. The Socialist International in any event demands for the **Czechoslovak Socialist Republic**, too, a democratic, peaceful and pluralist development and unequivocally condemns any massive deployment of State coercion against peaceful demonstrators.

In addition to the already well-known personalities of Charter 77 and other civic groups of reformers, parts of the Catholic Church are also among the opposition movement now emerging as the **Civic Forum**. There is courageous protest which will most certainly lead to fundamental changes. The SI expresses its firm conviction that the ideas of democratic socialism will play an important role in the future of this country.

6. In **Bulgaria** a group within the Communist Party is opting for pragmatism and sapping the previous leadership's power. This group is seeking to reform the system. But the acceptance of the leading role of the Communist Party on the basis of Leninist principles, on the one hand, and the promise of free elections on the other, are goals which are hardly compatible. Therefore it is hardly conceivable that the present situation could constitute the basis for a fresh start.

Reform currents in Bulgarian society are already pressing for economic, ecological and political changes which leave the goals of the present group of leaders far behind.

7. Even though in **Romania** the recent Congress of the ruling party showed no signs of change

it is hardly likely that the dictatorship - one of the most authoritarian and ruthless regimes of today - could escape the fundamental changes occurring among its neighbour countries. We deplore this resistance to reforms and encourage all forces struggling for democratic change.



**Berlin wall:
fewer
divisions in
Europe**

8. In the **Soviet Union**, the SI earnestly desires to see the continuation and success of the transformation initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev. Attempts at economic reforms and the struggle for political democratisation go hand in hand with ecological concern to put an end to the over-exploitation of natural resources and, most notably, pressure for national and cultural autonomy. In the **Baltic Republics** we find the strongest national emphasis in the reform movement. The popular fronts which have emerged have become a powerful motor in the process of reform and the quest for national identity which the communist parties have been unable to evade. The social democratic forces in all three Baltic Republics are in the process of radically reorganising their parties which already existed before the Second World War. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the national emphasis is undeniable.

9. The controversies within the **Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia** betray with increasing clarity the features of a national quarrel combined with the

energetic striving for a democratisation of society.

What the Socialist International would like to see is a Yugoslavia which is politically sound, economically successful, democratic, and a safeguarded united federal state. And the call for unqualified respect for human

rights as a fundamental and indispensable concern has also to be addressed.

The Socialist International assures the forces of reform in Yugoslavia of its readiness for dialogue; contacts should accordingly be made also with all groups which see themselves as social democrats and are prepared to provide concrete evidence of their commitment to our basic values.

C. What can be done?

1. For the Socialist International, but particularly for its member parties in Europe, the situation which exists at the end of 1989 as a result of developments in Eastern Europe is one which calls for the maximum attention, awareness, and also firmness.

The reform processes which so far have taken a peaceful course and which at least in Poland, Hungary and the GDR can be described as peaceful revolutions have reached a stage which should exclude any return to the *status quo ante*.

This does not mean, however, that the results so far achieved

and the developments striven for in the next stage can be regarded as secured and that an undeviating continuance of the developments of recent years and months is guaranteed. On the contrary, even serious setbacks are not simply to be excluded.

We must not discount the possibility that nationalistic and reactionary forces could rush in to fill the vacuum caused by the collapse of the communist ideology, thus hindering the process of reform and democratisation.

It is in the true interests, therefore, of those countries which towards the end of this century are finding peaceful deliverance from totalitarian political systems, if in the pluralist party spectrum of these countries there exist strong social democratic parties which, together with free trade unions, act as guarantors of a democratic development, strive for social progress and can play a pre-eminent part in the necessary cooperation of these countries with Western Europe.

2. On the basis of its democratic legitimacy and its moral authority, the Socialist International will support the further development of the reform process in Eastern Europe. It will be guided here by the effort to contribute to a gradual and peaceful development with the object of avoiding sudden and violent changes which could endanger the stability of Europe.

3. Those social democratic formations in countries which had social democratic parties before the Second World War and which subsequently remained within the Socialist International as parties in exile continue to be an historical and integral part of the SI. The decision as to their future status within the Socialist International is taken by these parties themselves in consultation with the bodies of the SI.

New social democratic organisations or movements which appeal to basic social democratic principles will be welcomed confidently by the Socialist International; it will of course have to insist on carefully observing the unity of theory and practice and will also have to endeavour to safeguard against the division of the social

democratic camp. It will strive to ensure that as far as possible there is only one social democratic party in each country, so as to avoid fragmentation.

4. New democratic movements, irrespective of how they see themselves or the sources from which they draw their strength, are regarded by the Socialist International as important partners in dialogue.

5. The goal of the development in Eastern Europe cannot be a restoration of former political or economic systems but the construction of a democratic, socially and ecologically sensitive and economically viable society.

Free, democratic and secret elections in the GDR and in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe are just as indispensable a goal as the creation of free and independent trade unions.

6. The Socialist International assumes as axiomatic that the solution of the economic problems of the East European countries, which are now on the way to democracy with social justice and solidarity, is decisive for their political and social development. Therefore the democratic industrial countries, especially the prosperous member states of EC and EFTA, must promote the process of economic development in Eastern and Central Europe. What must be avoided is any emergence of new forms of dependence and any weakening of the economies of countries already experiencing massive emigration leading also to social tensions in the countries on the receiving end of such migrations. Aspects of special importance for a policy guided by these principles are:

- Providing emergency aid when needed.
- Support in overcoming the burden of foreign indebtedness by moratoria, interest rate reductions and the partial waiving of claims.
- Coordinated public assistance in the development and renewal of vital infrastructural installations (e.g. in the field of transport).
- Support and coordinated efforts to meet the increasing environmental threats, for instance through an all-European Environmental Agency.
- Credits and insurance schemes

for investments in the field of industry and trade. In order to ensure the coordination of the transfer of financial resources and their proper use, it would be helpful to establish a new European Development and Investment Bank to serve both creditor and debtor nations.

- The promotion of joint ventures for the rapid transfer of technical and organisational know-how.
- The opening up of markets in prosperous West European countries for products from countries in Eastern, Central and South East Europe which are in process of democratisation.
- Assistance for management and vocational training through scholarships and exchange programmes, and help in establishing training workshops and educational centres.

7. To sum up, the Socialist International therefore recommends its member parties to make the principles and ideas outlined above the basis of their policy towards Eastern Europe. It urges its member parties to support social democratic movements and groups whose ideals and practice correspond to the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International. If requested, solidarity and also organisational support should be provided.

The SI calls on trade union organisations close to our movement to cooperate with democratic and especially social democratic union movements in Eastern Europe.

The Socialist International will, whenever possible, send observers to major conferences of newly emerging political groups based on social democratic or progressive democratic principles.

While maintaining its commitments in all parts of the world, and not ignoring the significance of the current changes in the East/West security balance, the SI however recognises the historic nature of the current transformations in Eastern Europe and therefore will make every effort to play a constructive and far-sighted role in these events. As political contacts and economic assistance increase, we must step up our work for disarmament and for a new era of mutual trust and common security.

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Socialist International welcomes the movement of the people of Czechoslovakia for democracy and free elections.

We support the Civic Forum's appeal for dialogue and ask the Czechoslovak authorities to accept their demands and abstain from using force against the aspirations of its people.

RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT

The Socialist International recalls the desire expressed at our XVIII Congress in Stockholm that the next decade should see a full implementation of defensive military postures and doctrines and the principle of common security in partnership.

We believe the forthcoming meeting of Presidents Bush and Gorbachev can make an important contribution to this process.

The Socialist International believes that the agenda for the year 1990 should include as a minimum:

- conclusion of an initial START treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning a 50% cut in strategic nuclear arms;
- a joint halt to nuclear testing and decisive progress towards a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT);
- a positive outcome to the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference which should re-affirm and strengthen the non-proliferation regime beyond 1995;
- conclusion of an agreement for a total ban on the production, stockpiling or proliferation of chemical weapons;
- the first Vienna agreement on a reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe (CFE), including restrictions on aircraft;
- the start of a joint move to disengage, reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons below a range of 500 kilometres;
- joint action to devise new military doctrines and new

confidence and security building measures (CSBM's), and verification arrangements. We welcome the seminar on military doctrines to be organised within the CSBM negotiations in Vienna in early 1990, which should provide an important forum for serious discussions;

- to start discussing seriously confidence and security building measures at sea, including in the North Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and naval arms control and disarmament measures, in areas such as the Baltic and Nordic Seas.

We reaffirm that our goal is deep cuts in both conventional and nuclear weaponry. The idea of a 50% cut should apply not only to strategic nuclear weapons but also be progressively applied to conventional weapons too. As a general rule our objective must be substantial (eg 50%) reductions in all armaments to equal levels.

We reiterate our support for the development of regional disarmament proposals.

Our ultimate aim remains the goal of general and complete disarmament of conventional weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction, under effective international verification, and the mobilisation of additional resources which can be dedicated to development aid.

RESOLUTION ON HAÏTI

The Socialist International notes with regret that in Haïti:

1. insecurity is once again becoming a nightmare for Haïtian people;
2. units of the Haïtian army are once again torturing political prisoners and detaining them in prison illegally; the cases of Evens Paul, Etienne Marineau and Jean Auguste Mesyeux, who were arrested on 1 November 1989, are well known;
3. political assassinations are again taking place and those responsible are not being arrested.

The Socialist International

therefore calls upon the government of General Prosper Avril to take all necessary measures to ensure respect for human rights and to commit Haïti to the process of democratisation in accordance with the wishes of the Haïtian people and democrats throughout the world.

The Socialist International supports Haitian democratic forces in urging the Haïtian Electoral Council to formulate a shorter and less complex electoral calendar. The Haïtian people and international public opinion call for the holding of free elections by secret ballot within a more reasonable time-frame so as to allow Haïti to finish with a provisional situation that has lasted too long.

RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

The Council, after hearing the reports of the two SI missions to Namibia to observe the electoral process and the elections themselves, expressed its profound satisfaction that free and fair elections could take place as a decisive step towards an independent and democratic state of Namibia.

The Council states its high esteem for the unique and constructive role which the United Nations has hitherto played in this difficult process and which has greatly strengthened its position in the world.

The Council is pleased with the genuineness of the ballot which has proved the maturity of the Namibian people and their will to build an egalitarian and united nation where exclusion and segregation will disappear.

The Council conveys to SWAPO the sincere congratulations of the SI for its impressive victory in the first democratic elections in which the entire Namibian nation has taken part.

The Council emphasises its expectation that all parties represented in the Constituent Assembly will cooperate constructively and responsibly to build the new State of Namibia on a solid constitutional foundation. This must include adequate treatment of human rights violations committed by both sides in the past and necessary consequences, as well as constitutional guarantees for

human rights and civil liberties.

The Council urges South Africa to refrain from any kind of interference in the process but to fully honour, in letter and spirit, its obligations under UN Security Council Resolution 435, including its financial commitments to the territory to the day of independence.

The Council appeals to the international community to maintain their full support to UNTAG to the completion of its task, and to prepare for the necessary assistance to the new Namibia after independence.

The SI member parties undertake to work for these objectives in their countries.

RESOLUTION ON ROMANIA

The SI expresses its deep concern over recent developments in Romania, where human rights are systematically violated, where national minorities' rights are neglected and where the rule of Ceausescu and of a small leading group of the Communist Party is imposing its dictatorship, suppressing any opposition, in flagrant contradiction of the Final Act of Helsinki, signed by the Romanian government.

The SI expresses its solidarity with the Romanian people and with the democratic forces in Romania who are fighting for civil rights and democratic change despite the repression.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Council of the Socialist International whilst noting that President F.W. de Klerk has taken some positive steps, e.g. releasing a number of political prisoners and commuting some death penalties in the past months, emphasizes that these steps do not affect the pillars of the apartheid system in any way. The discriminatory legislation and the repressive laws continue to exist. Nelson Mandela and many others are still in prison.

Reforms of the apartheid system, as announced by the white South African government, are completely inadequate and therefore unacceptable. The apartheid system itself must go.

The final objective can only be a unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa, in which all citizens enjoy the same human rights and civil liberties, including one person - one vote. The road towards that goal can only be through negotiation with the genuine leaders of the majority.

It is for the government to create conditions conducive to a climate of negotiation which must include:

- the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners;
- the unbanning and lifting of the restrictions on organisations and individuals;
- the repeal of the state of emergency and all repressive legislation;
- the removal of troops from the townships;
- the cessation of political trials and executions.

The final step must be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will hammer out a new constitution.

The Socialist International supports these legitimate demands of the South African majority. The SI welcomes the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity, subsequently supported by the Non-Aligned Movement, as a realistic and feasible basis for a just solution.

While apartheid continues to exist it is necessary to maintain and increase political, diplomatic and economic pressure, including comprehensive sanctions, on the white minority regime.

STATEMENT ON EL SALVADOR

The Council of the Socialist International deplors the intensification of the civil war in El Salvador and expresses its profound sympathy and concern over the senseless suffering and deaths inflicted upon the Salvadorean people as a result of that conflict. We acknowledge the root causes of this war to be the political repression and economic injustice which have beset El Salvador throughout its modern history. We assert that any attempt to achieve a permanent resolution of this war must be predicated on a sincere

commitment to political freedom and economic justice. We call upon all the parties to this conflict and in particular upon the FMLN, the government of El Salvador, and the government of the United States to turn away from policies which use violence as the means for resolving political conflict, and to embark upon a new policy which respects the sacred right of the Salvadorean people to non-violent, indigenous and democratic self-determination. Specifically, we urge our member parties to call upon their governments to give their full, public support to the following course of action:

1. The agreement of the Salvadorean government and the FMLN to an immediate and authentic cease-fire.
2. The immediate suspension of all military aid from all external sources.
3. The establishment of a United Nations monitoring group to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.
4. The conditioning of all further aid to the Government of El Salvador on the strict observance of elemental standards of human and political rights. We are particularly concerned that the government of El Salvador has used the current crisis as a pretext for the annihilation of religious leaders, democratic opposition leaders, labour leaders and other critics of conscience. We call upon the government of the United States to make clear to the government of El Salvador that it must guarantee the personal safety of the leaders of the MNR and of all other political and religious leaders as a condition of receiving further financial or material support.
5. The establishment of an international monitoring group to help ensure the observance of basic human and political rights.
6. The immediate commencement of serious peace negotiations and the participation in those negotiations of a broad representation of social and political forces as called for in the Mexican Agreement of September 1989.

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SICLAC HOLDS FIRST MEETING IN QUITO

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) met for the first time in Quito, Ecuador, on 17 and 18 January 1990, at the invitation of the governing Democratic Left Party (PID), a member party of the Socialist International.

Participants, representing SI member parties and guest organisations from the region, and also other SI members from Europe and North America, were welcomed by Rodrigo Borja, president of Ecuador and leader of the host party. In his opening remarks, President Borja evoked the historic times in which this meeting was taking place. In 'the death throes of those neo-liberal ideas which gave rise to misery, frustration and marginalisation in the countries of the Third World', and in the spectacular events taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe, we were

witnessing, he said, a vindication of the commitment shared by all democratic socialists to 'the reconciliation of freedom with economic security'. He underlined the importance of the Socialist International as a forum for the exploration and strengthening of that commitment.

Other speakers at the well attended opening session included SI vice president Enrique Silva Cimma, Nicolás Issa Obando, national director of the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador, and SI general secretary Luis Ayala.

The Committee focused on the problem of drug-trafficking, and also discussed developments in relation to foreign debt, processes of democratisation in Latin America, the situation in Central America, and recent events in Panama. It passed a number of resolutions, which are printed here in full.

RESOLUTIONS

THE PROBLEM OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, at its meeting in Quito on 17 and 18 January 1990, NOTES:

- that the problem of the illegal trading of psychotropic drugs has turned into one of the fundamental problems facing mankind in the last decades of the 20th century,
- that the problem is universal,

and not confined just to Latin America.

INDICATES:

- that the greatest consumption of these substances is in the developed countries, but that not only the consumption takes place in these countries, but the production of various vital chemical ingredients included in their preparation also takes place there,
- various pieces of evidence also suggest that other aspects of the billion-dollar drug trade - both manufacturing and financial



*Luis Ayala,
Rodrigo
Borja,
Enrique Silva
Cimma (l-r):
encounter in
Quito*

aspects - have ramifications which originate in the developed countries and are coordinated and carried out there,

- that the cultivation of some of the primary agricultural commodities which form the chemical basis for psychotropic substances, particularly coca leaves, is part of the cultural tradition of various Latin American countries, and their direct consumption, without the chemical compounds which transform them into psychotropic drugs, cannot be considered part of the drug trade;

STRESSES:

- that the industrialised countries should make greater efforts within their national borders to reduce drug consumption, halt the drug trade, prevent the 'laundering' of profits, and curb the growth of demand which encourages the growth of drug supplies;

UNDERLINES:

- the role which various non-governmental organisations can play in the field of prevention, through public information and efforts to change social attitudes, stereotypes and pressures; in the field of assistance, by encouraging varied programmes and their implementation through agreements; in the field of social reintegration, by offering community resources aimed at the rehabilitation of former addicts.

RECOGNISES:

- the selfless and very costly efforts that several countries in the region, especially Colombia, are making to fight that part of the drugs trade which is taking place in their territories;

EXPRESSES ITS CONCERN:

- which has deepened as a result of recent events, at the U.S. Administration's attempts to militarise the issue of the narcotics trade in its relations with Latin America and the Caribbean.

AND RECOMMENDS:

- that those parties represented, in whatever capacity, on the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean make every effort to ensure that all countries of the region adopt common policies and common legislation against the illegal trafficking of drugs.

**EXTERNAL DEBT
AND DEMOCRACY
IN LATIN AMERICA**

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean meeting in Quito on 17 and 18 January 1990 to discuss the issue of EXTERNAL DEBT AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA:

Taking into consideration the report presented by the

Democratic Left Party, PID, of Ecuador;

Aware that problems related to debt and the economic policies applied in Latin America during the 80s have had serious consequences on the standard of living of its peoples;

Recognising that the schemes used are contrary to the aims of strengthening the democratic system prevailing today in most countries of Latin America;

Convinced that if such policies are not redirected, current trends will only increase the backwardness and social injustice of the region;

Concerned by the increasing marginalisation of Latin America in relation to the world economy, and by the intolerable intervention of certain international organisations in the formulation of its national policies;

Noting the absence of true international solidarity on the part of industrialised nations, and the need to formulate a new development strategy which is democratic, progressive and just;

AGREES:

1. To adopt as a working document the report by the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador on External Debt and Democracy in Latin America.

2. To request the chair of the Socialist International Committee

on Economic Policy, Michael Manley, to consider creating a working group of that Committee on external debt in Latin America and the Caribbean. Such action should be additional to any coordination with the United Nations working group on external debt, headed by S.I. vice-president Bettino Craxi.

3. To reiterate our concern about the negative effects that external debt is having on Latin American democracies, particularly on the weakest sectors of society, and the hoped-for economic recovery.

4. To request the Council of the Socialist International to give this subject its special attention, since its urgency is beyond doubt and it is the greatest challenge to international democratic socialism in this decade, as stated by the resolutions of the Socialist International Congress in Stockholm in 1989.

5. To express as its own the criteria presented in the report and in discussion, in the sense that the issue of external debt cannot and should not be considered by debtor or creditor nations as being a purely monetary and financial issue, but rather a problem which calls for a social and political solution on the part of the countries concerned.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean meeting in Quito, Ecuador on 17 and 18 January 1990, decided:

1. To condemn most vigorously the assassination of Comrade Héctor Oquellí Colindres, deputy general secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador and Secretary of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, and of Comrade Hilda Amparo Flores Arévalo, member of the Democratic Socialist Party (PSD) of Guatemala on 12 January this year. And to demand that the Guatemalan government carry out a responsible investigation of these brutal murders and punish the perpetrators of such heinous acts. At the same time, to demand that the government of El Salvador clearly determine any responsibility of extremist right-wing Salvadorean elements in these assassinations.

2. To condemn the systematic

violation of human rights in El Salvador and Guatemala, since university students, union leaders and recently a diplomat in Guatemala, are continuing to be kidnapped and killed.

3. To demand the democratisation of El Salvador, for which the following are necessary:

* To bring an end to the repressive political and military policies and restore political freedoms and guarantees.

* To initiate a dialogue in order to find a political solution to the armed conflict raging in the country.

4. To demand that the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala comply with the Esquipulas II agreements between Central American presidents, which is a necessary precondition for avoiding a worsening of the conflict. At the same time, the Committee demands that a dialogue be initiated in both countries with a view to securing peace in the region.

HAÏTI

In the case of Haiti, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean expresses its deep concern about the atmosphere of insecurity and the repeated violations of human rights committed by the military government of General Avril, which cast doubt on whether the elections scheduled for this year can take place normally.

We therefore call on the government of Haiti to take all necessary steps to guarantee respect for human rights, particularly the political rights of assembly and self-expression, thus establishing the minimal conditions necessary for an electoral process leading to a democratically elected civilian government.

We urge member parties and related governments to express their political and practical solidarity with the democratic forces in Haiti at this critical point in its history.

PANAMA

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, meeting in Quito on 17-18 January 1990:

1. Strongly condemns the invasion of Panama by the United States of America;

2. Demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Panamanian territory, since this invasion constitutes a flagrant violation of the principle of non-intervention included in the Charters of the OAS and the UN and in the political platform of the Socialist International;

3. Demands that free and democratic elections, without foreign involvement, be called immediately;

4. Condemns the grave violations of human rights and the deaths caused by the invasion, and considers it necessary that an inquiry be conducted with the cooperation of the International Red Cross;

5. Demands that the Torrijos-Carter Treaties be unconditionally respected;

6. Demands absolute respect for diplomatic and consular immunity and inviolability, as established by treaties and by international custom;

7. Rejects the role of 'custodians of democracy', claimed by the Government of the United States;

8. Expresses its solidarity and support to the people; to the workers of Panama whose rights have been violated; and to the democratic political forces within Panama, and in particular with those who share the principles of the Socialist International.

9. Urges that efforts should be united to find ways of re-establishing sovereignty and democracy in Panama;

10. Finally, expresses its consternation at the attitudes adopted by certain democratic governments in international fora, such as the UN, which have not condemned the invasion of Panama.

PUERTO RICO

The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean expresses its support to the efforts of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, in connection with the holding of a plebiscite in Puerto Rico to be authorised by the United States Congress, concerning the political future of the country. It is the Committee's hope that the process initiated by the plebiscite will allow full expression to the self-determination of the Puerto Rican people, and the Committee reiterates its support for the independence of Puerto Rico.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Socialist International
Luis Ayala

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

ARUBA
People's Electoral Movement, MEP
Hyacintho Croes
Ambrosio Wever
Raymond Hernandez
Andresito Bikker

BRAZIL
Democratic Labour Party, PDT
Bocayuva Cunha

CHILE
Radical Party, PR
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Andrés Sosa Clavel
Luis Labra Moya

CURAÇAO
Movement for a New Antilles, MAN
Irving Moenir Alam

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD
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PUERTO RICO
Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP
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UNITED STATES
Democratic Socialists of America, DSA
Skip Roberts

UNITED STATES
Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
Rita Freedman
Doug Payne

VENEZUELA
Democratic Action, AD
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli
Timoteo Zambrano

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FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Wolfgang Weege

ISRAEL
Labour Party
Abraham Hatzamir

ISRAEL
United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Mario Toiw

SPAIN
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
Bernardo Bayona

FRATERNAL ORGANISATION

Socialist International Women
Floridalma Tellez
Ruth Herrera de Morales

GUEST PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS

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Popular Socialist Party, PSP
Guillermo Estévez Boero

ARGENTINA
Radical Civic Union, UCR
Luis Alberto Cáceres

COLOMBIA
Liberal Party
Eduardo Mestre Sarmiento
Héctor Quintero Arredondo

GUADELOUPE
Socialist Party of Guadeloupe, PSG
José Toribio

HAITI
KONAKOM
Victor Benoit
Brantly Oge

MEXICO
PRI
Carlos Flores

NICARAGUA
FSLN
Aldo Díaz Lacayo
Silvio Prado

PANAMA
Marcel Salamín

UNITED STATES
Committee for US/Latin American Relations
Robert White
Melinda DeLashmutt

Interamerican Regional Workers'
Organisation, ORIT
Luis Anderson

THE BERNT CARLSSON TRUST

The Bernt Carlsson Trust was launched in London in December by Glenys Kinnock on the first anniversary of Bernt Carlsson's death in the Lockerbie air disaster. The Trust will commemorate the former general secretary of the Socialist International by channelling help principally to working people in the Third World. The first beneficiary of the Trust will be the trade union movement in Namibia, a territory for which Carlsson was working as United Nations Commissioner at the time of his death.

'Sending resources to Namibia would have been what Bernt wanted. We hope to extend our aid soon to

countries in Asia and Latin America,' said Glenys Kinnock at the launch ceremony. The Trustees of the new organisation, which is registered under British law as a charity, include Luis Ayala, present general secretary of the Socialist International, Stanley Clinton Davis, former member of the European Commission, and Sir Sigmund Sternberg.

Among the Trust's Patrons are Willy Brandt, the Socialist International president, Thomas Hammarberg, the former head of Amnesty International, and Guillermo Manuel Ungo of the Salvadorean MNR.

The Trust has already collected numerous donations in Britain and other countries.



Bernt Carlsson's brother, Tore Carlsson, a Trustee, with Glenys Kinnock at the Trust launch



SI MISSION VISITS CYPRUS

A mission of the Socialist International was in Cyprus from 24 to 27 October 1989. The six-member mission was chaired by Irmtraut Karlsson, Socialist Party of Austria and a vice president of Socialist International Women, and also included Mike Gapes of the British Labour Party, Didier Billion of the French Socialist Party, Veronika Isenberg of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Johny Gal of MAPAM, Israel, and Renata Malerba of the Italian Socialist Party.

Following up on two previous missions to Cyprus in 1982 and 1984, the

mission's brief was to gather information on current developments and on the prospects for a negotiated solution to the Cyprus problem.

There was a very full programme. As well as meetings with Vassos Lyssarides, president, and other leaders of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, EDEK, a member party of the Socialist International, they met with leaders of the Democratic Rally, DSY, and the Communist Party, AKEL; and with former President of the Republic Spyros Kyprianou, president of the Democratic Party, DIKO.

**Cyprus:
division
persists**

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO CYPRUS

1. To reaffirm the decisions of the previous mission in 1984, which were:

i. The Socialist International should affirm its support for the latest initiative of the UN Secretary General to re-activate talks within the context of the UN Resolutions.

ii. It must continue to support initiatives for the solution of the Cyprus problem wherever and whenever possible, within the SI, its member parties and their parliaments and assemblies.

iii. It should reaffirm its support for an independent, non-aligned Republic of Cyprus embracing the two communities, for the removal of foreign troops and for the creation of a federal demilitarised state.

iv. It should keep in contact with EDEK and PASOK, and express the SI's views whenever possible to Cypriot, Greek and Turkish governments.

v. It should encourage contacts between groups in the two

communities, including support for initiatives to establish a University of Cyprus.

vi. It should encourage the two communities to solve the question of missing persons.

2. That it would be desirable for the Socialist International to have an opportunity to discuss with our Turkish member parties, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), matters raised with us during our visit to Cyprus and to make known the views of our member parties on the Cyprus problem.

3. That the Socialist International and its member parties press for Turkish Cypriot opposition parties to be able to travel without hindrance.

4. That the Socialist International organise a seminar to which it will invite Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot political figures, Socialist International member parties in Europe and the Middle East, and other personalities.

5. That the Socialist International welcomes and encourages meetings and dialogue between the two communities in Cyprus. Such activities should take place on a more regular basis without obstacles being placed in the way of participation by members of either community.

6. That the Socialist International welcomes the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General and his representatives in Cyprus to find a solution to the problem.

7. That the Socialist International welcomes intercommunal cooperation like that between the two municipalities of Nicosia in the Nicosia Master Plan. Such cooperation should be encouraged and promoted by grants and loans from the European Community and other international organisations under the proviso that the funds should be used for joint action of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities.

8. That efforts should continue to be made through other international organisations including the European Community to work for a solution.

9. That renewed efforts should be made to resolve the difficult issue of missing persons. This is a very sensitive and emotional issue and a solution of the question would greatly assist the process of reconciliation.

10. That recognition be given to the desire of certain groups to be invited as observers to meetings of the Socialist International, and that positive consideration be given to wishes to participate in the work of the Socialist International on the Cyprus question, after consultation with the member parties.

SI OBSERVERS IN NAMIBIA

Meetings were also held with the Commander of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Cyprus, and the secretary of the Missing Persons Committee.

On 26 October, the members of the mission crossed the 'green line' for meetings in the North of the island, with leaders of the New Cyprus Party, the Communal Liberation Party, TKP, and the Republican Turkish Party, CTP; and with Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş and other representatives of his administration.

The SI group's final meeting was with George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Reporting on the mission to the SI Council in Geneva, Irmtraut Karlsson said: 'Cyprus is an unsolved conflict, which, due to the fact that there is no major violence, has vanished from our consciousness. We forget that this currently peaceful island is a highly militarised island. There are 600,000 inhabitants and about 10 per cent are soldiers - not just soldiers, but soldiers from different and antagonistic armies.'

In the difficult geopolitical zone of the Eastern Mediterranean, this calm island could explode quite suddenly.'

Intercommunal talks had not been progressing, and all the points of conflict remained. It was vital that the international community, including the SI, help to find a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The detailed written report from the mission, including a number of recommendations for future action by the Socialist International, was adopted by the Council.

As Namibia moved towards its first free elections and the start of the independence process, in accordance with UN Resolution 435, the Socialist International reaffirmed its commitment to a future free, independent and democratic Namibia, and SI observer delegations were in Namibia both prior to and during the elections.

The first SI mission, in Namibia from 9 to 12 October to observe the development of the campaign some four weeks before voting, was chaired by Herta Däubler Gmelin, vice-chair of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and also included SI general secretary Luis Ayala, Gérard Fuchs of the French Socialist Party, Bara Diouf of the Socialist Party of Senegal, Jouko Elo of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, Carole Tongue, of the British Labour Party and a member of the European Parliament Socialist Group, Wolfgang Weege of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and Jan Marinus Wiersma of the Dutch Labour Party.

In an intensive four-day period, in Windhoek, in the black 'township' of Katutura, and in Ovamboland, they met with United Nations officials, including the Special Representative of the United Nations General Secretary, Martti Ahtisaari; with the South African Administrator General, Louis Pienaar; with representatives of political parties, including SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma; with church officials, trade union officials, and representatives of a variety of other organisations.

Subsequently an SI delegation including Bo

Toresson, Social Democratic Party of Sweden; Peter Jankowitsch, Austrian Socialist Party; Jouko Elo, Social Democratic Party of Finland; Nico Schrijver, Dutch Labour Party; Dirk Drijbooms, Socialist Party of Belgium, SP; and Rafael Vallejo of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, was in Windhoek from 5 to 11 November to follow the voting process. The SI observers visited many polling stations in the capital of Namibia and surrounding 'townships' and rural areas, and also held meetings with party leaders including Sam Nujoma, and with Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari and other UN officials.

Positive impressions

The overall impression formed by all the SI observers of the UN Transition Assistance Group, UNTAG, and its operation in Namibia, was a positive one. There were a number of serious threats to the election process: an obvious lack of impartiality on the part of South Africa and the Administrator General; worrying instances of intimidation and violence, particularly by former members of the disbanded KOEVOET counter-insurgency force; and evidence of the involvement of some members of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, DTA, in attempts to disturb the elections campaign. However, largely effective monitoring by the UN forces, and especially the democratic enthusiasm and discipline shown by the majority of the Namibian people, ensured that voter registration, electoral campaigning and the voting process itself could be



*Independence
at last*

described as free and fair in accordance with UN Security Council requirements.

Future support for Namibia

The members of both SI missions emphasised that international interest and support for Namibia must not end with independence.

Having seen something of the conditions of daily life

for many Namibians, both in the capital and in remote rural areas, the very unequal distribution of wealth, and the degree of dependence on South Africa, it was evident that the future of independent Namibia depended on economic transformation, and that for this Namibia would need considerable and sustained assistance and cooperation from the international community. Without urgent programmes to develop the poorest areas and to reintegrate and use the skills of the returned refugees, it seemed likely that many of the 41,000 who returned from exile in the run-up to the elections would swell the population of the shanty towns around Windhoek or would be forced back into exile.

ANTON LUBOWSKI

Speaking at the SI Council in Geneva, Peter Jankowitsch of the Austrian Socialist Party paid tribute to Anton Lubowski, member of the SWAPO leadership and friend of many in the Socialist International, who was gunned down outside his house in Windhoek a few weeks before the independence process began.

Alongside economic issues, after decades of colonial suppression and apartheid, questions of basic human rights and freedoms loomed large. Allegations remained, not only of ill-treatment, torture and disappearances inflicted by the South African authorities on those detained in recent years, but also of ill-treatment and disappearances of prisoners held by SWAPO in Angola. The SI observers, following discussions with Martti Ahtisaari, were satisfied that much had already been done, with full SWAPO cooperation, to establish an objective basis for investigation.

Nujoma names government

In the elections for a 72-member constituent assembly, SWAPO won a comfortable overall majority of 41 seats and 57.3 per cent of the vote, against 21 seats and 28.5 per cent for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, DTA, with five small parties taking the other 10 seats. Although SWAPO did not obtain the two-thirds majority required for approval of the new constitution, its flexibility in subsequent negotiations facilitated unanimous agreement on a new text on 20 December 1989.

The following day, Nujoma announced the composition of his independence government under the premiership of Hage Geingob of SWAPO. While SWAPO figures were allocated most of the portfolios, the government would also include several non-SWAPO representatives, notably Otto Herrigel, a white Namibian of Afrikaner descent, who was named as Finance Minister.

21 March 1990 was named as Namibian Independence Day.

SIDAC: TALKS IN WARSAW

In the light of significant political changes in Poland, the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council accepted a long-standing invitation to send a delegation to Warsaw. This invitation was endorsed by both chambers of the Polish parliament, thereby reflecting the new political realities in the country.

The visit took place from 15 to 17 November 1989 and those taking part included: Kalevi Sorsa, chair of SIDAC, Social Democratic Party of Finland; Paolo Vittorelli, secretary of SIDAC, Italian Socialist Party; Maarten van Traa, second secretary of SIDAC, Labour Party of the Netherlands; Sylvia Michal, Socialist Party of Austria; Martin O'Neill and Mike Gapes, British Labour Party; Lasse Budtz, Social Democratic Party, Denmark; Veronika Isenberg, Social Democratic Party, Federal Republic of Germany; Allan Rosas, Markku Hyvärinen and Jouko Elo, Social Democratic Party, Finland; Sachiko Taguchi, Democratic Socialist Party of Japan; Joseph Mathiam, Socialist Party of Senegal; and Heinrich Buchbinder, Social Democratic Party of Switzerland.

The SI delegation met Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Adam Michnik, Henryck Michalek and other Solidarity leaders, First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski and other leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party (as it then was), and a number of high-level functionaries at the Ministry of Defence.

At the Parliament they also met speakers of both houses,

and the parliamentary leaders of the Civic Group (Solidarity and allies), the United Peasants Party, the Democratic Party, the Christian Social Union, the Polish Lay Catholics Union, the Pax Lay Catholics Group, and the Polish United Workers' Party.

A central focus of consideration at all these meetings was the current and future situation of Poland and its neighbours:

implications for the future posture of the Polish armed forces, the impact of Poland's economic problems on defence spending, and possibilities for conversion from military to non-military production.

Discussions also ranged over many international issues including Poland's relationship with the Soviet Union, the future of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, future military and economic cooperation in Europe, prospects for the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, and confidence and security building measures.

SEMINAR IN MOSCOW

A seminar on 'Co-existence of various forms of property and market' took place in Moscow on 8 to 10 February 1990, with the participation of economic experts from a number of SI member parties in Europe and experts from the Soviet Union.

The main issues discussed were: the place and role of property in economic programmes of political parties; the issue of property; combination of different forms of property (State, share holding, cooperative and individual) in a market economy; forms of transition from State

property to share holding and other forms of property (transformation of State enterprises into joint stock companies); the role of State property in market economies; and problems of transition from centralised to market economy.

The seminar was attended by representatives of SI member parties in Austria, Great Britain, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden; and leading Soviet officials and academicians involved in the Soviet economy.

ELECTIONS IN CHILE ...

A delegation from the Socialist International travelled to Chile to observe the country's first free elections in 16 years, on 14 December 1989. Twenty member parties were represented in the delegation, which included Herbert Berger, Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe); Carmen Pereira, Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), Bolivia; Francisco Borja, Democratic Left Party (PID), Ecuador; SI vice president Guillermo Ungo, National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), El Salvador; Ernst Waltemate, Social Democratic Party (SPD), Federal Republic of Germany; Juha Eskelinen, Social Democratic Party of Finland; Pierra Brana, Claude Bartolone, Gérard Lindeperg, Arlette Carlotti and Maria

Dolores Rodas, Socialist Party of France (PS); George Foulkes, Labour Party, Great Britain; Miguel Angel Ibarra, Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala; Arnold Antonin, National Progressive Revolutionary Party (PANPRA) of Haiti; Eitan Sela, Labour Party, Israel; Lotti Mehler, MAPAM, Israel; Walter Marossi and Alessandra Paradisi, Italian Socialist Party (PSI); Peter Galauff and Eveline Herfkens, Labour Party of the Netherlands (PvdA); Elena Flores, Leopoldo Torres, Ludolfo Paramio and César Mogo, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE); Margaret Grape-Lantz, Bert Lundin and Goeran Karlsson, Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP); Regula Ochsenbein, Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; and Maria

Rodriguez-Jonas, Socialist International Women. The delegation was headed by SI general secretary Luis Ayala.

Prior to the voting, the SI group met leaders of the main opposition parties united in the Coalition for Democracy, the Coalition's presidential candidate Patricio Aylwin, and SI vice president Enrique Silva Cimma, who played a leading role in the campaign.

On voting day, groups of SI observers toured different polling stations in a wide variety of areas in and outside the capital, Santiago, and were able to observe with satisfaction the orderly and well-supervised voting process, which resulted in victory for the the Coalition led by Aylwin. (see Notebook Section, p 60 for election results and details of new Chilean government).

*Chilean
president
and SI
delegates:
among
friends*



...AND IN NICARAGUA

From 12 to 14 January 1990, a Socialist International mission was in Nicaragua to observe the campaign for February's elections. The group included SI general secretary Luis Ayala; Guillermo Ungo, National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador and an SI vice president; José Luis García Raya, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE); Jukka Pakkala, Social Democratic Party of Finland; Marie Duflo, French Socialist Party (PS); Miguel Angel Ibarra, Democratic Socialist Party (PSD) of Guatemala; Abraham Hatzamri, Labour Party of Israel; Gary Brenner, MAPAM, Israel; Wolfgang Weege, Social Democratic Party (SPD), Federal Republic of Germany; Rita Freedman and Douglas Payne, Social Democrats USA (SDUSA); Timoteo Zambrano, Democratic Action Party (AD), Venezuela; and Floridalma Tellez, Socialist International Women.

The mission met officials of the FSLN, the UNO (National Opposition Union) and the Social Christian Party, the president of the Supreme Electoral Council, the observer mission of the United Nations, and of the Organisation of American States, the observer mission led by ex-US president Jimmy Carter, and others. They also observed rallies and demonstrations in support of different candidates.

They were able to verify that some 92 per cent of those eligible had registered to vote and that, thanks to the effective work of the Supreme Electoral Council and the support provided by various international observer missions, all aspects of the electoral campaign were proceeding satisfactorily. Whilst the

mission heard some criticisms of the electoral process, concerning abuse of the media, verbal and other intimidation, they were satisfied that none of these was sufficiently serious to call into question the legitimacy of the electoral process. This view was confirmed by the permanent observer missions based in Nicaragua.

The mission presented a report, which was widely distributed prior to the elections.

A second SI delegation travelled to Nicaragua to observe the elections on 25 February. The group included SI general secretary Luis Ayala and SI vice president Guillermo Ungo, of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), El Salvador; together with Peter Jankowitsch, Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe); Dan Heap, New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada; Walter Coto, National Liberation Party (PLN), Costa Rica; Lasse Budtz, Social Democratic Party of Denmark (SDP); Yves Vidal, Socialist Party of France (PS); Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski and Wolfgang Weege, Social Democratic Party (SPD), Federal Republic of Germany; Michael Higgins, Labour Party of Ireland; Eitan Sela, Labour Party of Israel; Walter Marossi, Italian Socialist Party (PSI); Fernando Martín and Ariel Colón, Puerto Rico Independence Party (PIP); Elena Flores, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, (PSOE); Monica Andersson, Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP); Ernst Leuenberger, Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; Joel Freedman and Doug Payne, Social Democrats USA; Timoteo Zambrano, Democratic

Action Party (AD), Venezuela; and Floridalma Tellez, Socialist International Women.

SI delegates observed the voting process in Managua and in all parts of the country, including the cities of Matagalpa, León, Granada and Chontales. After the completion of voting and the announcement of the victory of the opposition UNO coalition led by presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro, the delegation issued the following statement:

STATEMENT

1. The Socialist International delegation to observe the elections in Nicaragua, states that the electoral process carried out yesterday, 25 February 1990, was in all aspects an honest, fair and free election.
2. The government of Nicaragua and its authorities have succeeded, in spite of external military and economic aggression, in carrying out these historic elections in which the people of Nicaragua have had the opportunity to express themselves democratically.
3. Through this exemplary process, the people of Nicaragua have strengthened their position among the democratic nations in Latin America and in the world.
4. We express our confidence that Nicaragua will continue its progress and development with social justice in the spirit of the revolution of 1979 and that democracy will continue to draw strength from freedom of expression, respect and the participation of all the political and social forces in the country.
5. Having left behind the sad legacy of the Somoza dictatorship Nicaragua has, with sacrifice and effort, won its place among the independent and sovereign nations, and has gained the respect of the international community. This constitutes today one of the important achievements which should be defended as the birthright of all Nicaraguans.
6. Nicaragua has for many years deserved peace and an end to foreign aggression. In the new phase which begins following this electoral process, our firm expectations are for a future of peace for all Nicaraguans, which at the same time will strengthen the prospects for peace in the Central American region.
7. Finally, we congratulate all the political forces who have participated in this electoral process and all those who at this time have been given the great responsibilities of Nicaragua's future.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

AUSTRALIA

ALP's 'first' in Western Australia

The ruling Labor Party (ALP) in Western Australia made history in February when Dr Carmen Lawrence became the country's first-ever woman state premier. She succeeded Peter Dowding, who had held the post since early 1988 and had led the ALP to its third successive term in state elections in February 1989. His resignation followed new disclosures about the links between the state government and big business interests in Western Australia.

Dr Lawrence (41) had served as state education minister under Dowding and was elected to the leadership unopposed. She announced that her government would give priority to the interests of children, old people and Aborigines.

BRAZIL

Left comes close

Brazil's first direct and free presidential elections in 29 years took place in two rounds on November 15 and December 17, resulting in a win for the populist centre-right over the radical left.

The first round was contested by 21 candidates including SI vice president Leonel Brizola, leader of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT), a full member of the International since the 1989 Stockholm Congress. Brizola secured third place with a highly respectable 15.5 per cent (11.2 million votes), fractionally behind Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula), the charismatic leader of the

leftist Workers' Party (PT) with 16.1 per cent. The first-round leader was Fernando Collor, founder and leader of the six-month-old National Reconstruction Party (PRN), with 28.5 per cent. Both the PDT and the fourth-placed Social Democratic Party of Brazil (PSDB) opted to support Lula in the two-man run-off, but Collor, heavily backed by the business community, managed a narrow victory with 53 per cent of the total valid poll to 47 per cent for the left. In an attempt to overcome the handicap of having just 24 PRN supporters in the 559-seat Congress, Collor offered the PT seats in a government of national unity, but this was rejected in the aftermath of a somewhat vitriolic election campaign. The transfer of power from outgoing President Jose Sarney, scheduled for March 15, was preceded by intense negotiations aimed at forming a pro-Collor centre-right coalition.

CANADA

McLaughlin opposes Meech Lake Accord

The new leader of the opposition New Democrats (NDP), Audrey McLaughlin, has reaffirmed the party's objections to the Meech Lake Accord seeking to create a new constitutional framework for Canada. Signed in 1987, the Accord recognised French-speaking Quebec as a 'distinct society' within the federation, but has so far failed to secure the necessary ratification by all of Canada's provincial governments.

The first woman leader of a major Canadian party, 53-year-old McLaughlin was elected at the NDP's Winnipeg convention in December. She defeated six

other contenders over four ballots, finally receiving 1,216 votes to 1,072 for David Barrett, ex-premier of British Columbia. A former mink farmer, teacher, social worker and business consultant, McLaughlin had entered the federal parliament as recently as 1987 as the sole representative of the Yukon Territory.

McLaughlin replaced Ed Broadbent (also 53), who had led the NDP for 14 years. Under his stewardship, the party had won an unprecedented 43 out of 295 federal seats in the 1988 elections, but remained entrenched as Canada's third party after the ruling Progressive Conservatives and the Liberals. Broadbent gave up his parliamentary seat at the end of the year.

The Winnipeg convention called for revision of Meech Lake to take account of five conditions for acceptance entered by the Quebec government. Supporting this policy, the new NDP leader said that it was 'absolutely clear' that the Accord must be changed to achieve full constitutional reconciliation in Canada.

CHILE

Coalition cabinet announced

On 9 January the Christian Democrat (DC) leader Patricio Aylwin, Chile's president-elect since the polls of the previous month, named Enrique Silva Cimma, vice president of the SI and president of the Radical Party (PR), as foreign minister in the cabinet due to take over from the Pinochet regime on 11 March. Juan Agustín Figueroa Yáñez, also of the

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

PR, will become agriculture minister. Other parties featuring in the broad-based coalition government will include the DC with nine of the 20 posts (including Enrique Krauss as interior minister and Alejandro Foxley at finance), the centre-left Party for Democracy (PPD) of Ricardo Lagos, who will be education minister, the reunited Socialist Party (PS) and the Social Democrats (PSD).

The presidential and congressional elections on 14 December - the first since the 1973 coup - gave a resounding victory to the 17-party opposition Coalition for Democracy (CPD) including the PR and the DC, the latter retaining its traditional position as the largest single party. Aylwin obtained an absolute majority (55 per cent of the valid vote) in the presidential election, easily defeating both right-wingers - the pro-government candidate Hernán Büchi (29 per cent) and the populist businessman Francisco Errázuriz (15 per cent) - and obviating the need for a second round of voting. The new government will have 71 seats from the different coalition parties, to 49 for independent and right-wing candidates who were greatly favoured by the unfair electoral system imposed by the outgoing dictatorship. In the Senate the Pinochet electoral laws gave the right, including government-appointed senators, a total of 26, somewhat restricting the coalition government's room for manoeuvre.

Despite the clear popular mandate for democratisation and progress, the present constitution still secures a continuing strong role for the military, including Pinochet who retains the post of Commander-in-Chief until 1997 but has stated his intention of co-operating with the Aylwin government.

COSTA RICA

PLN loses mandate

The social democratic National Liberation Party (PLN), in power since 1982, suffered a narrow defeat at the hands of the centre-right Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC) in presidential and legislative elections on 4 February. President Oscar Arias, who received the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to bring peace to Central America, will hand over on 8 May to Rafael Calderón, who in his third successive presidential contest won 51.4 per cent of the total valid vote as against 47.2 per cent for PLN nominee Carlos Manuel Castillo (a former vice-president). This was almost an exact reversal of the 1986 result (PLN 52.3 per cent, PUSC 45.8 per cent). Control of the unicameral Legislative Assembly also passed to the PUSC, which took 29 seats to 25 for the PLN (1986: 25 and 29 respectively). Three minor parties each secured one seat, as in 1986, with a combined total of 1.4 per cent of the presidential vote.

The PLN's disappointing showing was widely attributed to economic uncertainties and to the country's tradition of alternation between social democratic and centre-right governments. Although the Arias government presided over four years of sustained growth, with low unemployment and low inflation, the substantial public debt and the recent collapse of the coffee price have made a significant downturn in 1990 more than likely. However the present situation is a vast improvement on the chaos inherited by the PLN from the last PUSC regime in 1982.

Accepting the people's verdict in line with Costa

Rica's long democratic tradition, Castillo promised to form a 'loyal, responsible, constructive but determined opposition' to the new Christian Democratic government. The PLN's priority would be to defend the living standards of the people.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

SPD endorses Berlin Programme

Responding to the momentous events in East Germany and elsewhere in communist Europe, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) held a congress in Berlin on 18-20 December, little more than a month after the historic opening of the Berlin Wall. Originally scheduled for Bremen, the gathering had been billed as the formal adoption meeting for a new SPD basic programme. In the event, all attention focused on the German question and on SPD policy towards the prospect of German unification.

What became known as the Berlin Programme sought to update and modernize the celebrated Godesberg Programme of 1959, in which the SPD had come to terms with the market economy. Overwhelmingly adopted by the 441 congress delegates, it called for the early creation of a confederation of the two Germanies as the first stage towards the emergence of a 'federal state order'. The programme looked forward to the withdrawal of both Soviet and US troops from Europe and the creation of nuclear-weapons-free zones in the continent.

On economic and social policy, the programme represented a reworking of the Godesberg social market formulations in the context of environmental and other present-day concerns. It called for a strengthening of workers' rights and the gradual reduction of the working week to 30 hours, so as to make more jobs available.

It also envisaged an 'ecological mutation of industrial society' and pledged the SPD to seeking improved women's rights in society.

Lafontaine on target

SPD deputy chairman Oskar Lafontaine consolidated his chances of being selected as the party's 'Chancellor-candidate' for the December 1990 federal elections by leading the Social Democrats to a landslide election victory in his home state of Saarland on 28 January.

The results showed that the SPD had obtained an overall majority in the state parliament with 54.4 percent of the vote, over five points up on 1983. The Christian Democrats slumped from 37.3 to 34.4 percent and the liberal Free Democrats from 10 to 5.6 percent, just enough to retain some representation. Both the Greens (2.7 percent) and the right-wing Republicans (3.3 percent) failed to surmount the 5 percent barrier.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

First SPD conference

With 'The Future Has A Name Again - SPD' as its slogan, the SPD (GDR) held its first National Party Conference from 21 to 24

February 1990 in Leipzig, the centre of the democratisation process in the GDR and a cradle of German social democracy. August Bebel came to Leipzig in 1860, and in 1863 Ferdinand Lassalle, emphasising social democracy's internationalism, was present at the birth of the General German Workers' Association, a forerunner of German social democracy.

Founded in October 1989, the SPD (GDR) could boast by the opening of the conference a fast growing membership of some 100,000. The task facing delegates in Leipzig was huge, with three and a half days to discuss and adopt the basic policy programme and a government programme and, not least, to elect the National Executive Committee and the Party Chair.

The SPD (GDR) sees itself as a 'broad, democratic popular party', working towards a social and ecological market economy, which will guarantee private property, avoid excessive concentrations of economic power, and secure employee participation in the workplace.

In government, the SPD would seek to ensure a decent life for old people, would introduce retraining programmes to help workers retain their jobs, and would not leave rents completely to market forces. Ibrahim Böhme, newly-elected party chair, stated that in view of the problems facing the country he would welcome the formation of a coalition government, even if the SPD was to gain an absolute majority in the national elections to be held on 18 March 1990.

A central demand of the SPD is the integration of German unification into a European framework of peace, security and cooperation.

The arrival of SI President Willy Brandt was a high spot of the conference. Already honorary chair of the SPD in the Federal Republic, he was unanimously elected honorary chair of the SPD (GDR). And it was he who succinctly summed up these three and a half days: 'This is not just any party conference'.

HAÏTI

Repression denounced

The military regime headed by General Prosper Avril suspended constitutional rights and imposed a state of siege on 20 January, with a proposed duration of one month, but international protests following the arbitrary arrest and expulsion of opposition leaders forced it to revoke the decree ten days later. The Avril government subsequently claimed that municipal, legislative and presidential elections planned respectively for April, July-August and October-November would take place according to the schedule announced on 6 January, but there were fears that the regime intended to postpone, cancel or rig the polls and some opposition figures called for a boycott of any elections while Avril remained in power.

One of those temporarily detained and severely beaten during the state of siege was Serge Gilles, co-ordinator of the National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haïti (PANPRA), which became a consultative member of the SI at the Stockholm Congress. After his release Gilles was visited by the French and US ambassadors in a gesture of solidarity. The PANPRA and its colleagues in the National Alliance for Democracy and Progress (ANDP), a centre-

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left coalition headed by Gilles and Marc Bazin, issued a strong condemnation of the state of siege and the accompanying violations of human rights. Other PANPRA and ANDP activists were among scores of opposition figures and civic leaders arrested, and a number of prominent centrist and communist leaders were forcibly deported without legal process, while other politicians who were out of the country were prevented from returning. Press and broadcasting censorship was imposed for the first time since the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986.

The Avril regime claimed that the state of siege was part of a fight against 'bandits and terrorists', citing the discovery of alleged arms caches and the killing of an army officer on the morning of the decree; there were possible financial motives for the murder, however, and there had been no reports of non-governmental terrorism since the Avril coup in September 1988. There had, however, been many government-inspired attacks on opposition members, journalists and human rights activists, with others forced into exile. Strong condemnations of the January repression were issued by the SI, by internal forces such as the Catholic Church and by aid donors such as the USA, Canada and the European Community. France, the major donor, went further by suspending aid and cancelling a ministerial visit.

When lifting the state of siege Avril acknowledged the 'excesses' committed during it and promised to establish a commission of inquiry. During February the regime announced the release of 'all remaining political prisoners'.

JAPAN

LDP hangs on as left advances

The ailing juggernaut of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) limped home to a narrow victory in lower house elections on 18 February, thus continuing its unbroken 35 years in power. Both the Socialist Party (SPJ) and the Democratic Socialists (DSP) registered significant gains, but in the event the opposition parties could not quite repeat their success in the upper house elections of July 1989.

Beleaguered by Japan's most serious wave of political scandals since the war (see 1-2/89, pages 86-87), the LDP had gone through two prime ministers in 1989, before elevating the innocuous Toshiki Kaifu to the post in August, largely as a cipher for the tainted party barons who continued to dominate behind the scenes. A hugely unpopular new consumption tax added to the government's problems, but as the lower house elections approached the LDP's financial muscle and the electorate's doubts about political change began to take effect.

For the JSP, charismatic party leader Takako Doi mounted an impressive campaign, denouncing the 'money politics' of the LDP and its institutionalized corruption and promising to scrap the consumption tax in favour of a levy on luxury goods. But the efforts of the opposition parties to present a joint front to the government were not entirely successful, largely due to continuing differences on key foreign and defence policy questions.

The results showed that

the LDP had retained 275 of the 512 lower house seats, sharply down on its 304 seats in 1986 but enough to keep it in power.

Of the opposition parties, the JSP performed best by winning 136 seats, as against 85 seats in 1986. Meanwhile, the Democratic Socialist Party went from 26 seats in 1986 to 14 seats.

NEPAL

Arrests and violence

The government of Nepal arrested leaders and rank and file members of the Nepali Congress, a consultative party of the SI, and of other opposition parties in response to the announcement that a broadly based Pro-Democracy Movement was to launch a peaceful mass movement for the restoration of democracy and basic human rights on 18 February. Among those detained was G.P. Koirala, the general secretary of the Nepali Congress.

The major demands of the Nepali Congress were for a constitutional monarchy; the dissolution of the present undemocratic government and the formation of a national government of all democratic forces, and the holding of free and fair elections on the basis of a multi-party system.

Before he was jailed Koirala declared that if international protests were not made 'this dictatorial regime will pursue relentlessly the obliteration of any opposition to it.'

Four people were reported dead, a score injured and nearly 500 arrested after demonstrations throughout the country supporting the Pro-Democracy Movement.

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NETHERLANDS

Labour returns to government

The Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) has returned to government after 12 years in opposition except for a six-month period in 1981-82. The party now forms the progressive wing of a centre-left coalition headed by the perennial Christian Democrats (CDA) and has successfully incorporated some key elements of Labour economic policy into the new government programme.

Although the PvdA itself lost ground in early general elections in September 1989, the results showed an appreciable swing to the left. While the CDA marked time as the strongest party, its right-wing Liberal coalition partners suffered a sharp setback as both the leftist Democrats '66 and the radical Green Left gained seats.

After a short, by Dutch standards, period of post-electoral negotiations, the PvdA agreed early in November to join a two-party coalition with the CDA. Labour leader Wim Kok became deputy premier and finance minister, his first taste of ministerial office, and six other PvdA ministers were appointed in the 14-member cabinet.

Of the new Labour ministers, the former mayor of Nijmegen, Mrs Ien Dales, took the interior portfolio, while Mrs Hedy d'Ancona (a European Parliament member) became minister of welfare, health and culture. The important environment ministry went to Hans Alders, the development co-operation portfolio to Jan Pronk and education to Jo Ritzen. Former PvdA international secretary Relus ter Beek became defence minister, while the five PvdA

state secretaries included another face familiar in SI circles, that of former European Parliament president Piet Dankert, who took responsibility for European affairs.

PORTUGAL

PS is largest party.

Local authority elections on 17 December produced a significant increase in the Socialist Party (PS) vote, giving it control of many councils previously dominated by the centre-right Social Democrats (PSD) of Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva. Of the 305 councils, the PS won seats in 296, with the presidency (equivalent to mayor) in 116, and absolute majorities in 90.

A significant feature of the elections was the participation of the party in several tactical alliances at council level with other left or centrist groupings. Local coalitions in which it was a partner won control of four councils. In Lisbon, where general secretary Jorge Sampaio won the city presidency by a comfortable 7 per cent margin, the PS was for the first time ever standing in coalition with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), along with two smaller groups. In the PSD strongholds of the Azores and Madeira the Socialists allied in five of the 30 councils with the Christian Democratic centre party (CDS), which had moved into opposition during 1989: the alliance won majorities in three councils (and the PS alone won eight, against just two in 1985).

The PS emerged as the largest party, securing 32.3 per cent of the popular vote in its own right (overtaking

the PSD on 31.4 per cent), while the PS-PCP and PS-CDS coalitions won a further 4.4 per cent. Despite the decline in the PCP vote (to 12.8 per cent) the polls confirmed the left opposition as the strongest electoral force.

Fortified by its triumph, the PS is now gearing up for the 1991 legislative elections, with Sampaio, who became leader just last year, established as a credible candidate for prime minister. As part of the preparatory process there was a reorganisation of responsibilities among the 11 members of the national secretariat in January, including the appointment of Fernando Marques da Costa as international secretary and the creation of three national political offices, responsible respectively for organisational support, policy co-ordination and electoral planning. The PSD government, equally electrified by the December results, was also reshuffled in January.

SAN MARINO

Socialist merger

San Marino's splintered socialist forces have taken a major step to unity with the launching of a new Socialist Party (PS) as a merger of the Unitarian Socialist Party (PSU) and the San Marino Socialist Party (PSS). The union was approved by a general assembly of the PSU (the SI's member party) in January and came into formal effect on 25 March.

Both constituent parties are currently in opposition to a coalition of the Christian Democrats and the Communists formed in 1986. The PSU was founded in 1975 by the left-wing faction

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of the Independent Democratic Socialist Party, which had itself originated in a right-right secession from the PSS in the late 1940s.

The new party commands 15 of the 60 seats in the republic's Grand and General Council, against 27 for the Christian Democrats and 18 for the Communists. Both ruling parties had gained ground in the May 1988 general elections at the expense of the divided opposition, the PSU winning 8 seats and the PSS only 7.

SWEDEN

Carlsson falls – and rises

Sweden's parliament reappointed Ingvar Carlsson as prime minister on 27 February, at the head of a new minority Social Democratic government. During the first weeks of 1990, Carlsson had reshuffled his government, with Mrs Ingela Thalín moving to health and social affairs and being replaced as labour minister by Mrs Mona Sahlin, while the deputy chairman of the LO trade union federation Rune Molin became industry minister. Despite these changes, the industrial relations scene showed no improvement, as various groups of public sector workers and bank employees resorted to strike action in support of pay claims. At the same time, the inflation rate approached double figures and Sweden's current account continued its slide into deficit. The government's drastic response on 8 February was to propose a two-year ban on strikes, coupled with a freeze on wages, prices, dividends,

rents and local taxes.

For different reasons, not only the three bourgeois parties but also the Greens and, crucially, the Communists (who normally supported the government) declared their opposition, forcing the government to withdraw the strike ban proposal on 12 February. However, the opposition had gained such momentum that the rejection of the rest of the package in parliament three days later, by 190 votes to 153, was inevitable.

Carlsson immediately resigned, but remained as head of a caretaker government. Subsequent consultations showed no alternative to the formation of a new government by the Social Democrats, and a new vote on 27 February gave them 175 votes to 101, with 59 abstentions - including both Greens and Communists. Meanwhile, revised proposals for tackling the economic and industrial problems included a freeze on prices and rents and the appointment of a national mediator between unions and employers.

In the new cabinet Allan Larsson became finance minister, replacing Kjell-Olof Feldt, who was closely identified with the ill-fated austerity package and resigned following its rejection by parliament. Larsson was formerly head of the Labour Market Board, and his past experience also includes a spell working for the Metalworkers' Union. Odd Engström, who held that position under the late Olof Palme, was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, a position previously not filled in the Carlsson government.

Dominant in Sweden for over half a century, the Social Democrats have been in power since 1981, and before that from 1932 until 1976 except for a few months in 1936.

UNITED STATES

Democratic Socialists map strategy

Opposition to conservative Republican economic policies and action on Central America and South Africa form central planks in the 1990-91 programme priorities of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), an SI member party. The party is also pledged to develop solidarity with the US labour movement and to accelerate its organizational efforts among students.

The priorities were set at a DSA convention held in Baltimore on 10-12 November, just as the Berlin Wall was being breached, which inevitably focused discussions on the political opportunities arising from the ebbing of the Cold War. The 200 delegates were told by DSA leader Bogdan Denitch that the collapse of communist systems in Eastern Europe 'does not represent any kind of verdict on the possibility of a socialism that is also democratic'.

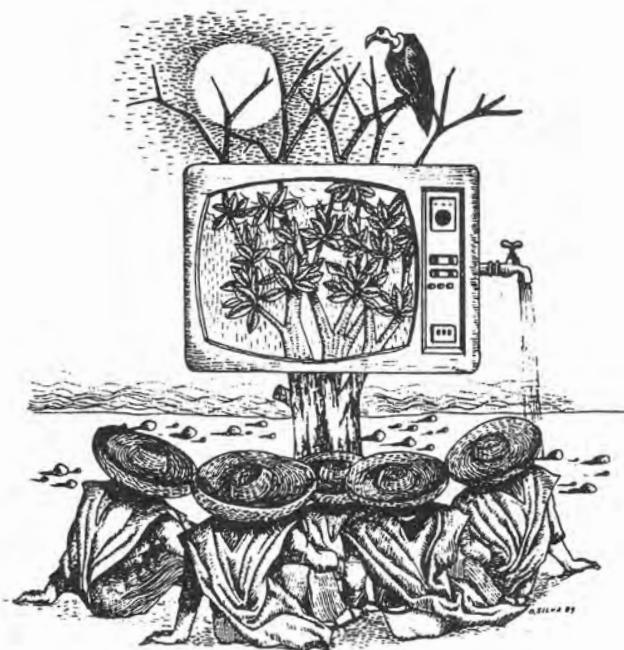
The convention saluted several victories for DSA members standing as Democrats in recent local elections, including that of David Dinkins in the contest for mayor of New York. Tribute was paid to the late Michael Harrington, founder and national co-chair of the DSA, who died in July 1989 (see page 23). National co-chairs elected by the convention were William W. Winpisinger (former machinists' union president), Gloria Steinem and Barbara Ehrenreich (both eminent feminists), black theologian Cornel West, farmworkers' union vice-president Delores Huerta and the writer Irving Howe.

LAST WORD



The wall has fallen... What about filling the gap?

From IFDA Dossier, Switzerland (originally published in 'Tam-Tam', journal of the Third World Association, Saint-Pol/Ternois, France)



From a series 'Visions of Violence' in Nueva Sociedad magazine, Venezuela

LOMBARD

The rebirth of socialism

By Michael Prowse

THE OVERTHROW of communist power in eastern Europe is widely interpreted as a ringing endorsement of western capitalist values. Some commentators have claimed that the battle of ideas is over: in their eyes, market-based individualism of the kind which finds its fullest expression in the US has proven its superiority to all other forms of social and economic organisation. The tearing down of the Iron Curtain, in short, proves we are all Thatcherites now.

Such a neo-conservative reading of events is implausible – as well as sickeningly complacent. Some individuals in communist countries undoubtedly support extreme libertarian policies of the sort advocated by Robert Nozick in *Anarchy, State and Utopia*: a nightwatchman state and any amount of inequality provided it results from "free" trades in the market place. But the great majority of east Europeans are surely doing no more than reject tyrannical government. They want freedom. But free-market capitalism is not the only environment in which freedom can flourish. There is also such a thing as democratic socialism.

My guess is that if the residents of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were asked to rank the socio-economic systems of western countries, they would put Sweden and Austria far ahead of the US and the UK. They want greatly to improve the efficiency of industry and commerce, but they do not want rampant crime, poor schools, squalid public transport, bag ladies, a growing underclass and soaring social and economic inequality of the kind promoted in Britain and the US. It is thus absurd to interpret their rejection of left-wing extremism as a vote in favour of right-wing extremism: Jacques Delors's philosophy is far more likely to win their allegiance than that of Nigel Lawson.

This is not to deny, however, that the meaning of socialism is changing. The Soviet Union, China and eastern Europe have demonstrated beyond all doubt that state planning is economically inefficient. In the West, nationalisation and public

ownership have also had an unhappy history. State-run bureaucracies are often poor at meeting the needs of individuals. But they were only ever advocated as a means to the important ends of greater efficiency in production and greater equity in distribution. Socialists should not blush at the need to discard institutional arrangements which did not deliver the goods; capitalists, after all, are constantly scrapping out-of-date machinery as they search for ever faster ways to make a buck.

But if everybody accepts the case for decentralisation and increased reliance on the market, what now distinguishes the political left and right? The answer is to be found in very different conceptions of social justice. The right-wing view, which dates at least from David Hume, is that a distribution of goods and services is just, provided it results from uncoerced market exchanges which respect existing property rights – assuming these were arrived at fairly. The point about this "entitlement" theory, which has been popularised by Nozick, is that the relative proportion of income and wealth in the hands of the rich is irrelevant: 1 per cent of the population could justly own 99 per cent of everything.

The left-wing view is that social justice requires a fair distribution of goods, services and other social privileges. Those who are unusually productive (or lucky) must therefore surrender a large portion of their spoils. One version of this theory has been popularised by John Rawls, the US philosopher. He argues that social and economic inequalities are justified only if they can be shown to improve the absolute living standards of the worst-off groups in society.

If you believe the distributive theory of justice makes sense, you should count yourself as potentially left-of-centre, regardless of your admiration for markets. The intensity of your socialist conviction is best gauged by the amount of distributive injustice you are prepared to tolerate. My guess is that the east Europeans will remain better socialists than most of us in the West for many decades to come.

From the Financial Times, 17 December 1989

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