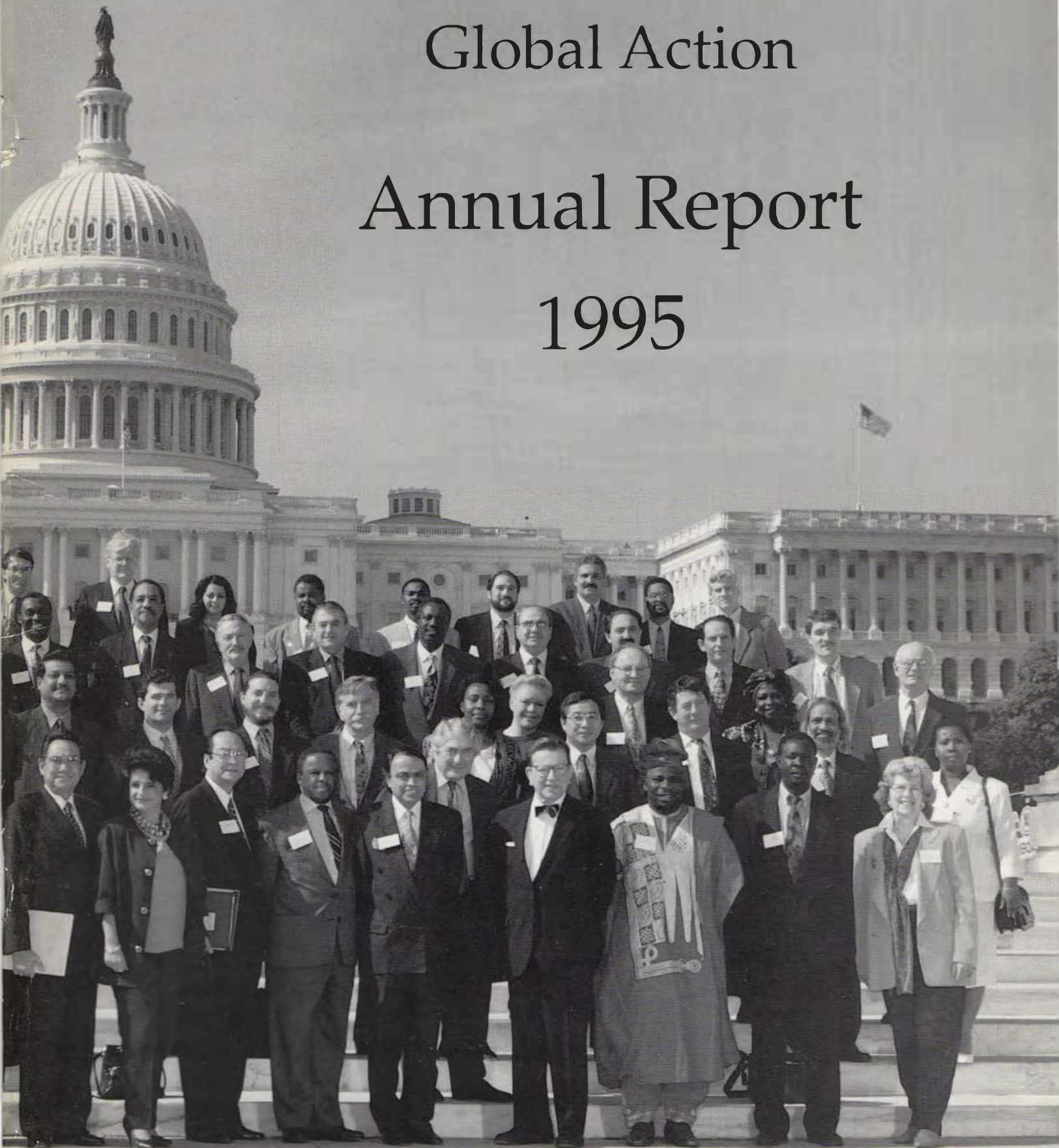


Parliamentarians for  
Global Action  
Annual Report  
1995





# About Parliamentarians for Global Action

## MEMBERS FROM:

<b>Africa</b>	<b>Asia/ Pacific</b>
Benin	Australia*
Botswana	Bangladesh
Burkina Faso	Cambodia
Burundi*	India*
Cape Verde	Indonesia
Cote d'Ivoire	Israel
Egypt	Japan*
Gambia	Jordan
Ghana*	Malaysia
Kenya*	Maldives
Madagascar	Nauru
Mali	Nepal
Mauritius	New Zealand*
Namibia	Philippines*
Niger	Pakistan
Senegal*	Singapore
South Africa	South Korea
Swaziland	Sri Lanka
Tanzania	Thailand
Togo	
Tunisia	
Uganda	
Zambia	
Zimbabwe	
<b>The Americas</b>	<b>Europe</b>
Argentina*	The European Parliament
Barbados	Austria
Bolivia	Albania
Brazil*	Belarus
Canada*	Belgium
Chile*	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Colombia	Bulgaria
Costa Rica	Czech Republic
Dominican Republic	Denmark*
Haiti*	Estonia
Jamaica	Finland*
Mexico*	Germany*
Panama	Greece
Paraguay	Iceland
Suriname	Ireland*
Trinidad and Tobago	Italy
United States	Hungary
Uruguay	Macedonia
Venezuela*	Malta
	Moldova
	Netherlands
	Norway*
	Poland
	Portugal
	Romania
	Russia
	Slovenia
	Spain
	Sweden*
	Switzerland*
	Ukraine
	United Kingdom*

\* denotes multi-party  
PGA National Groups

Global Action was established in 1979 by concerned parliamentarians from around the world to tackle problems too big to be resolved by governments or parliaments acting individually. The PGA political network has since grown to over 1,200 members drawn from 96 national legislatures (listed at left). PGA is action-oriented with specific programs each under the political direction of a parliamentarian on the Executive Committee (page 28). Each program has specified policy goals reviewed and approved on a regular basis by this Board. It is not a talk shop or a forum for passing resolutions. The membership of the Board is elected annually by the International Council (page 30).

With a membership solely of elected officials, PGA members speak on behalf of and are answerable to their constituents. This lends PGA special authority on policy matters vis-a-vis both civil society and the executive branch of government.

Working with PGA on their individual initiative, members can follow and push a policy issue on a long-term basis. In other parliamentary bodies, the Speaker or Whip often decides who attends a particular meeting, so the same person cannot pursue a policy or legislative issue beyond one or two meetings. PGA's guiding principle of having the input of key players from both government and opposition and its close working relationship with members serving on relevant parliamentary committees makes it a valuable contributor to the successful negotiation and implementation of innovative policies.

PGA membership has a concentration of high-level politicians, including Prime Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, and Chairs of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Population, Health, and Defense Committees. PGA members often leave parliament for higher government posts, these former colleagues remain valued contacts. Also, as an NGO of parliamentarians, PGA is able to create effective partnerships with civil society groups, thereby enhancing the role of parliamentarians as the link between civil society and executive authority. PGA's programs on women, a nuclear test ban, and international law work in close cooperation with leading NGOs in those fields.

PGA also works cooperatively with other parliamentary organizations such as the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the OSCE, AWEPA, and the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, as well as with inter-governmental agencies such as the United Nations Departments of Peace-keeping Operations and Political Affairs, UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNIFEM, UNICEF, and the World Bank.

The programmatic work is undertaken by two sections: Democracy and Development (page 4) and Peace and Security (page 18). By the mid-1980s, the organization had established an impressive track record.

In Peace and Security, Global Action convened the Six Nation Initiative for Peace and Disarmament from 1983 to 1988, which won the organization the Indira Gandhi Prize. The Nuclear Test Ban Program also pioneered the 1991 Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment Conference which helped to bring about the current negotiations on the test ban. The Peacekeeping Program has served as an intermediary between UN officials and key members of the U.S. Congress, and other parliaments, to broaden the debate on national contributions to peace-keeping. In International Law and Human Rights, MPs have advanced the goal of an international criminal jurisdiction by enlisting political support for the *ad hoc* tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

In Democracy and Development, since 1991, the Africa and Democracy Program has worked on the entire continuum of the democratization process: electoral assistance, preventive political action when there is a crisis, and consolidation of parliaments and their committee structures. The Sustainable Development and Population Program ensured parliamentary support for critical issues at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.

Assisted by the Secretariat in New York (page 35), the parliamentarian network is in a unique position to foster multilateral cooperation among political leaders. With the support of private donors, corporations, major philanthropic institutions, and UN and government aid agencies (page 32), Global Action has been able to promote the goal of improved global security for future generations.

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Parliamentarians  
for Global Action  
1995 Annual Report

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Cover (and back):  
Participants in the  
Parliamentary Forum on  
Economic Revitalization  
with World Bank President  
James Wolfensohn in front  
of the U.S. Capitol  
Building.

At left:  
International President  
Murli Deora heads up a  
delegation to meet with  
Japanese Prime Minister  
Tomiichi Murayama (see  
next page). With them are  
PGA Secretary-General  
Dr. Kennedy Graham (to  
the left), Mr. Digvijay  
Singh, (MP, India) and Mr.  
Reg Alcock (MP, Canada).



# A Message from the International President



*Mr. Murli Deora became International President of Parliamentarians for Global Action in 1995 (page 28). Mr. Deora was elected mayor of Bombay by the largest majority ever recorded; he was also the youngest mayor ever. He entered the Lok Sabha in 1984 and serves on its Finance Committee. He is President of the Bombay Regional Committee of the ruling Congress Party.*

1995 provided a host of round-number anniversaries. Foremost was the 50th anniversary of the United Nations. Hopes were high that the 50th would bring major reform of the UN System. Unfortunately, hopes that rely on numbers are rarely realized.

Parliamentarians for Global Action co-sponsored an international parliamentary conference on the United Nations in Gifu, Japan. But the resumption of French nuclear testing — on the 50th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — rudely intervened. Responding to this transgression cut into the time we would have preferred to devote to loftier goals. Our meeting with the Japanese Prime Minister centered on opposition to the French tests as well. (See photos on preceding page and page 34.)

The French had announced their plans to resume testing shortly after the NPT Review and Extension Conference. Apparently their idea of “utmost restraint” (pledged at the Conference) was to test more intensively than in a decade. Global Action’s approach to the NPT Conference — held on the 25th anniversary of the treaty’s entry into force — was very practical: the future of nuclear non-proliferation depends not on some new treaty deadline a quarter-century or more away, but on how the NPT functions in the next five or ten years. Given the dismal record of past review conferences, Global Action proposed reforming the review process. In the end, this proved to be the crucial ingredient for agreement on extending the Treaty (page 19). Chalk up another success for Global Action? Perhaps we should wait to see how the new process works when it is put to the test beginning in 1997. Clearly, it is critical that all nuclear tests have stopped by that time.

The Gifu meeting came on the heels of the Fourth World Conference on Women — held on the 20th anniversary of the First. Global Action members, mainly women, were very prominent and active in Beijing (page 16). I was proud to see my predecessor as International President, Minister Silvia Hernandez,

leading the Mexican delegation to the Conference. Our presence at the Copenhagen Social Summit had paved the way to Beijing, but we also ensured that the 1994 international conference in Cairo on population did not fade from view. In October, we convened key committee members from parliaments in the North to rededicate themselves to fulfilling the assistance promises made to the South in Cairo (page 13).

It was in Copenhagen that Global Action and the World Bank first began to explore the possibilities of cooperation. In my view, it is critical that the World Bank not talk solely to the Finance Ministers. For better or for worse, the impact of World Bank decisions is felt first and foremost by the poor. Parliamentarians have an obligation to ensure that poverty alleviation is given top priority. In October, we had an outstanding opportunity to convey that message to the leaders of the World Bank (page 1).

Increasingly, Global Action’s work has a regional dimension. I presided at a conference on conflict resolution in South Asia (page 26). And in Africa, Burundi has been the destination of a veritable stream of Global Action delegations (page 5). Its multi-ethnic parliament must be the place where the Hutu/Tutsi conflict is resolved through debate and legislation, not violence and mayhem. In the Western Hemisphere, our delegations carried a similar — albeit less urgent — message to Haiti and to Suriname (page 9).

The International Law Program had a 50th anniversary to commemorate: the Nuremberg Trials. Sadly, it is none too soon for international criminal law to be enforced again in Europe.

A new set of high expectations will soon accrue to the year 2000 — a round number if ever there was one. Global Action will be alert, as always, to opportunities for a “major breakthrough.” We know how to be a catalyst for change when the opportunity presents itself. But we will also continue the steady, quiet work of strengthening the role of negotiations, the rule of law, and democracy.

# Annual Parliamentary Forum

On October 19, 1996, the U.S. Congress opened its doors to over 60 parliamentarians from 35 countries. Global Action's Executive Committee member Rep. Gary Ackerman welcomed the MPs to the Gold Room for two days of meetings with World Bank officials. Under the general theme of "Reviving the Global Economy," a host of global economic issues were the subject of intense discussion (page 2-3).

The common thread running through the conference was the inseparable connection between politics and economy. The failure of past economic policies could be attributed in large part to insufficient democratic involvement of citizens and their representatives in shaping them. In many countries, the problem has been mismanagement compounded by corruption. In some other countries, the situation has been starker: dictatorships determined economic policies geared largely toward self-aggrandizement. As countries struggle to revive or establish democratic institutions that might correct these abuses, they are held back by these burdensome economic legacies. Without some form of relief, their only prospect is to fall even further behind the more developed nations. The promise of democracy cannot be realized, and democracy itself is often the next victim.

Thus the challenge of reviving economies worldwide is an essential ingredient in sustaining the revitalization of democracy that has made the final years of the 20th Century so hopeful.

At this extraordinary meeting, Senator Samuel Madistin had the opportunity to ask the World Bank Vice-President Mr. Shavid Javed Burki why Haiti should be accountable for debts incurred by a internationally condemned military junta? Mr. Burki acknowledged it to be a fair question, but it was Dip. Jorge Arguello of Argentina who made the point that repudiation of debts by any single country would have a chilling effect on loan giving not only locally but also globally.

The main speakers of the event were the Hon. Mr. F.G. Mogae, Vice-President and Minister of Finance of Botswana, and Mr. James Wolfensohn, the new President of the World Bank. Opening

the session, Vice-President Mogae noted that multi-party democracy and the adoption of structural adjustment programs in many countries had laid the foundations for change. These prospects were endangered, however, by the cut-back in development assistance which meant that governments could not fulfill their role of providing human, physical and institutional infrastructure for growth. He put stock in the trend toward regional integration, which creates larger markets for regional products and a more attractive investment picture.

President Wolfensohn spoke at the luncheon about the Bank's effort to turn over a new leaf. He emphasized that the watchword for the future would be "partnership," including not just governments but also parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations. He spoke briefly in order to hear, and respond to, as many of the questions and comments of the parliamentarians as possible.



## Featured Speaker:

*Mr. James Wolfensohn, who became World Bank President in June 1995, was introduced by U.S. Rep. James Leach, as a "renaissance man." While best known as a world-class investment counsellor, Mr. Wolfensohn, an Australian, was recently knighted by the Queen of England for his contributions to the arts.*

*"We have a partnership with our shareholders, not only the government officials but more and more the parliamentarians. . . it is you who really have to understand what the Bank is doing. Because in the parliamentary system, when it comes to a vote of support, or when it comes to getting out the message it is you who have to do it."*

**Pres. Wolfensohn**



*Vice-President Hon. F.G. Mogae (Botswana) opened the 17th Annual Parliamentary Forum on "Revitalizing the Global Economy."*



# Panels and Recommendations, the First Day

## Panelists:

*Hon. Adrien Sibomana*  
(former PM, Burundi)

*Mr. Sven Sandstrom*  
(Managing Director,  
World Bank)

*Hon. Dr. Moyeen Khan*  
(Min. for Planning,  
Bangladesh)

*Rep. Esteban Torres*  
*Sen. Paul Simon (USA)*

*Hon. Warren Allmand*  
(MP, Canada)

*Sen. Jose Luis Medina*  
(Mexico)

*Mr. Alan Winter*  
(Head of Trade Pol.,  
World Bank)

*Ms. Maj Britt Theorin*  
(MEP, Sweden)  
*Rep. Esteban Torres*

*Sen. Samuel Madistin*  
(Haiti)

*Mr. Shahid J. Burki*  
(VP, World Bank)

*Hon. Betty Bigombe*  
(Min. for N. Uganda)

*Prof. M. Makram-Ebeid*  
(MP, Egypt)

*Dip. Jorge Arguello*  
(Argentina)

Lunch, First Day:  
(See page 1)

Dinner, First Day:  
*Prof. Oktaj Yenil*

(Koc Univ., Turkey)

Lunch, Second Day:  
*Mr. Ismail Serageldin*  
(VP, World Bank)

Dinner, Second Day:  
*Prof. Lord Desai*  
(St. Clements, LSE)

## “Participatory Governance and Development”



In national and international fora we will promote:

- wider participation in governing structures to ensure that people-centered policies are foremost on development agendas
- democratic forms of governance for sustainable development
- the involvement of local users in the development process
- the meaningful involvement in women in all stages of the development process
- strong NGO participation in development initiative

## “The Impact of Trade Liberalization on Social Development”



We pledge to support the following goals:

- full and rapid implementation of the Uruguay Round decisions
- further liberalization of trade regimes, provided that corrective measures are simultaneously applied for possible negative effects on unemployment, inflation, and the environment
- increased market access for developing country exports of processed and semi-processed goods
- funding of technology development for less industrialized countries and facilitation of technology transfer worldwide

## “Developing under the Yoke of Debt”



We pledge to work both nationally and internationally to:

- increase the net flow of concessional funds to the low-income countries
- call for immediate debt relief for the world's low-income countries; we support debt write-offs rather than debt restructuring whenever possible for countries facing severe development crisis
- urge the re-issuance of bilateral and multilateral debt to the poorest nations on IDA terms
- encourage creative strategies for debt relief such as the Swiss Debt Reduction Facility

## Other Featured Speakers:



# Panels and Recommendations, the Second Day

## “International Capital Markets and Development”

We accept the challenge to:

- foster an “enabling environment” through legal and regulatory reform to generate foreign and domestic investment
- promote domestic capital markets to mobilize domestic resources
- promote debt-equity swaps serving social goals
- promote unbundling of infrastructure services to encourage more efficient provision and greater private sector participation
- consider measures to limit the negative effects of currency speculation and arbitrage



## “Financing Social Development”

We will work in our national parliaments to:

- encourage implementation of the Halifax Communiqué, particularly regarding increased access to concessional lending
- promote the targeting of ODA social development programs toward women and environmental issues
- consider and review structures of current mechanisms of concessional finance
- give special attention to financing mechanisms for the recurring costs of social programs



## “Balancing the Role of State and Market”

We pledge to:

- promote stable macro-economic policies to foster a positive investment atmosphere
- implement legal and regulatory reforms to attract foreign direct investment
- call for improved efficiency in state-run enterprises and create access to international safety nets for displaced workers
- create state sponsored vocational training and other measures to combat unemployment



## “Addressing the Needs of the Poorest”

We must foster a new understanding of social development through:

- inclusion of poverty alleviation and employment creation in structural adjustment programs
- support proposals such as the “20/20 Compact on Human Development” to ensure basic education, primary health care, nutrition, and adequate sanitation for all
- call for the incorporation of trade, investment, technology, and labor flows in aid packages
- support environmentally-friendly trade and production practices



## Panelists:

*Ms. Farida Khambatta*  
(Dir. of Cap. Markets  
Dept., World Bank)

*Dr. Olafur Grimsson*  
(MA, former Finance  
Minister, Iceland)

*Mr. Thomas Dawson II*  
(Fin. Inst. Group,  
Dir., Merrill-Lynch)

*Sen. Anthony Johnson*  
(Jamaica)

*Sen. Sartaj Aziz*  
(former Minister of  
Finance, Pakistan)

*Prof. John English*  
(MP, Canada)

*Mr. Armeane Choksi*  
(VP, World Bank)

*Dep. Ibrahima Fall*  
(Senegal)

*Mr. Vinod Thomas*  
(Chief Economist,  
World Bank)

*Rep. Miguel Romero*  
(Philippines)

*Dr. Kimmo Kiljunen*  
(MP, Finland)

*Mr. Naveed Qamar*  
(MP, Pakistan, Chair  
Privatization Comm.)

*Ms. Eveline Herfkens*  
(Exec. Dir., World Bank)

*Mr. John Blincoe*  
(MP, New Zealand)

*Ms. Elena Poptodorova*  
(MP, Bulgaria)

*Ms. Myrna Alexander*  
(Dir. Operations Policy,  
World Bank)

*Dep. Nephtali Ndirakimana*  
(Burundi)



# Democracy & Development



## Section Director:

*Ms. Shazia Rafi has served as Director of the Democracy and Development Section since 1993, and was appointed Deputy Secretary-General in June 1995. She has published widely as a freelance journalist. Ms. Rafi was the UN representative of the All Pakistan Women's Association and a consultant to the UN Center for Transnational Corporations and the Women's Action Alliance. She has a masters degree in International Political Economy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.*

Speaking at a PGA meeting hosted by the U.S. Congress, October 1995, Kimmo Kiljunen (MP, Finland) listed the reasons why countries provide assistance for democratic development. After a list of reasons based on self-interest, he added "altruism." This, he he judged, was the only really sound reason.

PGA members — whether from donor or developing countries — are not paid to participate in meetings or delegations and they have no force with which to coerce compliance. They act out of altruism. That means first listening to find out what help is needed, and then mobilizing all available resources to respond. For altruism to make a difference, however, it must be matched by the dedication and judgment of parliamentarians struggling within the recipient country to make democracy and development really work.

PGA maintained a continuous presence in Burundi in 1995 in an intensive effort to prevent an escalation of violence. (Page 5) Mr. Moses Katjuongua led Task Force delegations six times to mediate political crises; and Task Force Vice-Chair, Ms. Kristina Svensson (MP, Sweden) took a year's leave from her parliament to live in Burundi and assist the parliament. One of the most telling advances was the establishment of a PGA national group with multi-party leadership. Whatever storms may lie in store for Burundi, this group will provide a forum in which they can reason and work together.

It had been a heartening in 1994 to celebrate with our Haitian members the return of democracy to their beleaguered nation. In 1995, Parliamentarians for Global Action joined the Organization of American States in observing the June elections and pronouncing them "a step in the right direction." (Page 9) Democratization and institution-building was the focus of our workshop in Suriname, a part of UNDP's Human Development Program.

The Economic Revitalization work, begun at

our Annual Forum (pages 1-3), will become a major PGA program through 1998. It is vital that institutions like the World Bank listen not only to the Finance Ministers on assistance needs. Parliamentarians, as elected representatives of the people, can best reflect, and sustain a focus on, the human development needs of a country.

The force of altruism in foreign assistance waxes and wanes with the political tides. When world attention was rivetted on the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development, donor countries found the political will — if not the altruism — to make important commitments to family planning assistance. A year later, meeting at the U.S. Senate, PGA members from the donor Foreign Affairs Committees reviewed the Cairo commitments, found them to be less than iron-clad, and resolved to take action to ensure that they are honored.

Not everyone working in the democracy and development field puts a premium on altruism. This is not always bad — often the right thing is done for the wrong reason — but it can spell trouble when democratic principles are set aside to maintain a "stability" that serves outside interests or internal corruption. It is the healthy combination of altruism and self-determination that Global Action strives to bring together at the parliamentary level in the service of democracy and development.

Women demanding equity would not reject — but are hardly relying upon — an altruistic response. In the Empowerment of Women Program, PGA worked in close cooperation with Ms. Bella Abzug's Women's Environment and Development Organization to mobilize women parliamentarians in support of the Fourth World Conference on Women. The great significance of the Conference was underscored by the extraordinary numbers of PGA members (over 60) who made it to Beijing, and the "Uncompromised Declaration" they crafted there.



# Africa: Preventive Political Action in Burundi

Burundi was the focal point of the most intensive activity by PGA in any single country in any single year in its seventeen-year history. Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, Chair of the Task Force on Africa, went into Bujumbura so often, he was practically an honorary member of the National Assembly. Ms. Kristina Svensson, Vice-Chair of the Task Force, spent her first full year in Burundi on leave from the Swedish Parliament. Parliamentarians in neighboring countries met frequently to assess the ongoing crisis and the possibility of regional solutions.

Burundian members of Parliamentarians for Global Action were also more active than ever internationally. Aside from hosting the Global Action delegations in Burundi, members travelled to New York, Copenhagen, and Port-au-Prince to participate in conferences and election monitoring. To better coordinate this intensive activity, a 30 member-strong National Group was formed across ethnic and political lines with a leading FRODEBU member as President of the Group and a UPRONA leader as Vice-President.

Parliamentarians for Global Action also played a leading role among the various organizations concerned about Burundi. Regular consultations, in Washington, New York, and

London, helped to ensure an effective division of labor among the Non-Governmental Organizations. The continued close coordination with the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, and the Department of Political Affairs Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Lansana Kouyaté, was key to the effectiveness of PGA's work.

At years end, the security situation — described as "genocide by attrition" — had, if anything, worsened. But the institution which offers the best hope of resolving conflict through dialogue and on the basis of law — the National Assembly — was in a better position to serve its vital function.

Activity in 1995 was sustained at a furious pace. The year began in deep crisis with the opposition (UPRONA) refusing to sit in a parliament presided over by Dr. Jean Minani, who they claimed had incited Hutus to attack Tutsi after the failed 1993 military coup. These allegations were not well documented, and the governing party (FRODEBU) was reluctant to yield to the opposition without a guarantee that they would be able to exercise their right to appoint the Speaker of the Assembly. With the help of Ambassador Ould Abdallah, Global Action was able to get all the parties around the same table for the first time in several months



## **Program Convenor:**

*The Hon. Moses Katjiuongua (MP, Namibia) joined PGA's Executive Committee in 1993. He chairs the Task Force on Africa. Mr. Katjiuongua was a leader in the struggle for Namibian independence and helped to draft the nation's new constitution. He served as Minister of Manpower and Civic Affairs and of National Health and Welfare during the democratic transition (1985-89). (See also page 9.)*

## **Program Officer:**

*Ms. Ayaka Suzuki*



*A marathon six-hour meeting with representatives of the FRODEBU (at left) and the UPRONA (at right) parties helped to resolve the crisis over selection of the Speaker of the National Assembly. Mr. Theo Mayer (NR, Switzerland) and Mr. Moses Katjiuongua (MP, Namibia) mediated with the assistance of Section Director Ms. Shazia Rafi and Mr. Gilbert Martin, advisor/translator.*

*"We will not go away until you tell us how you intend to solve this problem as Burundians. I come from Namibia; it is a stable democracy and has many resources. But the world will not invest in Namibia because they think 'Africa'. And when they think Africa, they think Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, etc. So we will keep coming back to help you."*

Hon. Moses Katjuongua

and move toward an agreement. As the delegation departed, Mr. Leonce Ngendakumana, PGA member, was being installed as the new Speaker. Mission accomplished. (A longer account of this incident can be found in the 1994 Annual Report, which also covered January 1995.)

Later in January, two leading Burundi MPs, Mr. Nicolas Mayugi (who was appointed Minister of State for International Cooperation, UPRONA), and Mr. Nephtali Ndikumana (now PGA Councillor, FRODEBU) attended our UN Parliamentary Forum, and had a chance to talk with various UN department and agency officials about the UN's role in Burundi.

In February, Mr. Katjuongua participated in a major gathering in London of organizations active in Burundi, sponsored by International Alert. Global Action was one of the few organizations represented by an African. On an almost monthly basis, Shazia Rafi, Director for Democracy and Development, and other PGA staff members attended similar gatherings for U.S.-based organizations known as the Burundi Policy Forum. These meetings helped to cement working relations with a number of groups that recognized the importance of the National Assembly to the future of Burundi.

In March, Global Action held a meeting in Copenhagen on the role of parliamentarians in providing early warning on imminent crises. The 21 MPs in attendance were treated to a first-hand account of the situation in Burundi and Global Action's involvement by the former Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko (UPRONA) and Mr. Pie Ndagaye (MP, FRODEBU).

After catching their breaths in April, another delegation was dispatched to Bujumbura. At the invitation of the new Speaker, Mr. Katjuongua brought with him Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu (MP, Kenya), and Dr. Manto Tshabalala (MP,

South Africa). The two women MPs actively sought to include women Burundian MPs, as they called for a pan-African partnership of women parliamentarians as peace-makers. This message was underscored again by Ms. Hawa Yakubu (MP, Ghana) and Ms. Svensson in June (below). One of the most hopeful developments in Burundi in 1995 was an increased activism of women generally, culminating in December in a non-partisan march of thousands of women.

The April delegation laid the foundations for the parliamentary dimension of the National Debate: a series of "Parliamentary Weeks." The National Debate was provided for by the Governing Convention as a means of reconciling different interests in Burundian society.

The First Parliamentary Week took place in June even though it was clear that the launching of the National Debate proper would have to be postponed until 1996. After consulting with Amb. Ould Abdallah and Mr. Terence Sinunguruzza, the Minister in charge of the preparatory process for the Debate, PGA agreed to play a leading role, along with three other NGOs, in a seminar which looked at the "how to" aspects of running an effective national legislature. Twenty-four parliamentarians from sixteen countries arrived in Burundi in the midst of a very tense situation. The "Kamenge Operation" was underway. The predominantly Tutsi military attacked the three remaining predominately Hutu neighborhoods in Bujumbura on the pretext that Hutu militia members had to be disarmed. Hutus claimed that the military simply wanted to rid the capital of Hutus.

PGA's delegation was led by Mr. Gerrit de Jong (MP, Netherlands) and comprised the Hon. Laurent Gbagbo, leader of the opposition in Côte d'Ivoire; Ms. Yakubu, an independent in Ghana; and Dep. Ibrahima Fall of the governing party in Senegal. With them were Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, Program Officer, and Mr. Gilbert Martin, advisor and interpreter. PGA members Dep. Oumar Diouf (Senegal) and Ms. Svensson also took part through the sponsorship of the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies and the National Democratic Institute. Search for Common Ground was also part of the Parliamentary Week.

*Women parliamentarians caucus in Bujumbura.*

*Among the visitors:*

*Ms. Hawa Yakuba (MP, Ghana, far left)*

*Dep. Victorine Dakouo (Mali, second from left, foreground)*

*Ms. Kristina Svensson (MP, Sweden, center)*

*Ms. Ingrid Naslund (MP, Sweden, far right)*





Because of the security problems, the Week was held away from the National Assembly and only a fraction of its members attended. While a few Burundian parliamentarians felt that "foreigners should stay out" of Burundi's affairs, the main problem was that some MPs faced constant physical threats. The Burundian participants expressed their gratitude for the presence of the visiting MPs during the latest offensive by the military. Practical discussions on the theme of the meeting went forward, the security situation notwithstanding.

These developments were reported to concerned groups by Mr. Katjiuongua at the



Council on Foreign Relations later in June. This New York meeting, co-sponsored by Parliamentarians for Global Action, was useful for New York-based NGOs who found it difficult to have representatives at the Washington Burundi Policy Forum meetings. Of course, Global Action continued, through the year, to participate in the Policy Forum as well.

Around this time, former Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana (MP, UPRONA) was able to complete a parliamentary exchange with Haiti (page 9). In 1994, Dep. Samuel Madistan had participated in a PGA delegation to Burundi. Now, in June 1995, Mr. Sibomana was able to return the visit by participating, through PGA coordination with the OAS, in monitoring the Haitian parliamentary and municipal elections. As they reflected on the common experiences of their countries, an ominous pattern emerged. "A few days before the [abortive] coup in Burundi, U.S. Marines had tried to enter Haiti, but threats by the Haitian Army were taken seriously by the Americans who chose to leave the island," recounts Mr. Sibomana. "That situation led Burundian coup leaders to believe that their actions would not necessarily entail foreign military intervention." On the other hand, Haitian coup

leaders saw in Africa, and Burundi in particular, a lesson that "not only is the President ousted from office, but he is also killed." Fortunately, President Bertrand Aristide was already safely out of the country by that time.

Later in June, several high ranking officials were assassinated in Bujumbura, some in broad daylight. Threatened with a similar fate were he to return home after a OAS meeting in Addis Ababa, the Hon. Jean-Marie Ngendahayo, Foreign Minister, abruptly resigned and went into self-imposed exile in South Africa. This dramatic act help to refocus international attention on Burundi and Rwanda. UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali called for a "Great Lakes" conference of the states bordering the lakes of the African Rift Valley. The Executive Committee of Global Action, meeting in New York, issued a special Parliamentary Appeal supporting the Secretary-General, and sent it out to the Task Force on Africa immediately. They then met with the UN Secretary-General, Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding and Mr. Kouyaté to discuss the crisis. On the way back to Namibia, in July, Mr. Katjiuongua together with two South African parliamentarians, Dr. Manto Tshabalala and Mr. Jan van Eck, met with Mr. Ngendahayo. The former Foreign Minister foresaw a continuing downward spiral in his country, and agreed that a regional approach offered the best hope.

In July and August, several meetings were convened in the Great Lakes region by PGA members to support the Secretary-General's visit and proposal. Furthermore, upon learning that the United Nations had sent an expert, Mr. Pedro Nikken, to Burundi to explore the idea of a truth commission, PGA contacted its leading members so they could arrange a meeting with him and ensure that he had input from the Burundi parliament on this very important issue.

In early October, the Second Parliamentary Week was held. On this occasion, Global Action cooperated with the World Bank and Amb. Ould Abdullah on the theme of "Improving Management of the Economy and International Development Assistance." The Global Action members who were selected to participate in this workshop, Senator Rahim Bin Baba (Malaysia), Mr. Karl-Goran Biersmark (MP, Sweden), Mr. Michael Lisa Kaya (MP, Malaysia), Dr. Ermelinda Meksi (MP, Albania), Ms. Tuija-Maaret

*At the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NGO Roundtable on Prevention in Burundi/Rwanda hears from Mr. Moses Katjiuongua (MP, Namibia). With him are PGA Section Director Ms. Shazia Rafi, at left, and Council on Foreign Relations officials, Ms. Louise Diamond, Executive Director for Multi-Track Diplomacy, and Prof. Barnett Rubin, Director, Center for Preventive Action.*

Pykalainen (MP, Finland), Dep. Niadiar Sené (Senegal), Ms. Svensson, Mr. Manzi Tumubweinee (MP, Uganda), and Mr. van Eck each play leading roles in forming economic policy in their countries through their finance/economic committees. The members from Finland, South Africa, and Sweden participated in this workshop through the sponsorship of the Scandinavian Institute for African Studies. The Parliamentary Week was held in the National Assembly, Burundian participation was high.

*Burundi strategy session in Washington, DC, from left: Dep. Nephtali Ndikumana (Burundi) Mr. Lansana Kouyaté (UN Asst. Sec.-Gen.) Senator Samuel Madistin (Haiti)*



During the three days of the workshop, participants discussed the role of parliamentarians in economic management in a country where political crises have prevented the parliament from being able to debate substantive economic issues. The years of conflict have actually reversed economic growth. The workshop helped Burundian parliamentarians appreciate the pivotal role they could play in shaping and monitoring the economy of Burundi.

Beyond the technical aspects of this workshop, it was important that for the first time, the international community along with the Burundians themselves, looked at one of the root causes of the on-going conflict in Burundi. The participation of the Malaysian MPs, whose country underwent a tumultuous period in 1960's between the minority ethnic-Chinese who, like the Tutsis, had economic power over the majority ethnic-Malays, was particularly very useful. A PGA member from Uganda illustrated how Uganda, Burundi's neighbor, also had a very violent past but was now enjoying relative peace and stability.

The Hon. Mr. Sibomana and Mr. Ndikumana were able to participate in the 1995 Annual Forum (page 1). Global Action organized two meetings — a strategy breakfast and a policy

dinner — to discuss the situation in Burundi. The breakfast meeting benefitted from the attendance of Assistant Secretary-General Kouyaté. After Mr. Kouyaté's brief presentation on the recently established International Commission of Inquiry, PGA members — most of whom had participated in missions in the past twelve months — debated various strategy options for Burundi. The discussions continued at dinner where the leading Task Force members met to exchange various ideas about how Parliamentarians for Global Action can most effectively help Burundi. Ms. Yakubu felt strongly that the military has to be brought into the picture. While PGA's by-laws would prevent PGA from working directly with the military, the Task Force took up Ms. Rafi's suggestion that PGA could work with the parliamentarians who serve on the defense/military committee of the Burundian parliament. The examples of Mr Theo Meyer (NR, Switzerland) and Dr. Tshabalala approaching their governments regarding reform of the military was also highlighted.

Mr. Katjuongua was back in Bujumbura meeting with the PGA National Group in November. He and Ms. Svensson were able to underscore that the existence of the National Group will facilitate PGA's ability to engage in activities that Burundians "truly need." Mr. Katjuongua also reiterated that the content of all PGA activities in Burundi has to be "Burundian" and that their input will guide PGA's activities. These meetings helped to consolidate the National Group to the point where, in 1996, it is generating its own proposals for action.

Was this intensive preventive political action a success? Nothing so definitive can be claimed, unfortunately. But the slow "blood-letting" did not become a torrent, as many had feared. Although the National Debate was postponed, the Parliamentary Weeks were able to partially fill the vacuum. The National Assembly is operating again, with over a third of the parliament cooperating across ethnic lines within the Global Action National Group. And, perhaps from the stories of travails overcome in other African parliaments and from the trips taken beyond their borders, Burundian MPs have higher hopes that their troubles, grave as they are, are surmountable.



# Strengthening Democracy: Haiti & Suriname

"Democracy goes beyond the election. There must be fairness in income distribution, respect for human rights, access to basic social services such as housing and health, and there must be accountability at all levels. The important thing is to practice democracy — demonstrate it is alive," urged Mr. Desmond Allum (MP, Trinidad & Tobago) at PGA's workshop in Suriname.



His remarks apply just as well in Haiti. In June, PGA sent an eight-member PGA delegation to the OAS/UN Electoral Observation Mission in Haiti. This mission marked the end of one phase of PGA involvement in Haiti. As Global Action members and supporters could well recall, PGA's Democracy Network was put to the test in 1993 when the assassination of former Justice Minister Guy Malary demonstrated the sharp deterioration of the security situation in Haiti for pro-democracy politicians. Three members attending PGA's democracy workshop in Venezuela the week of the assassination realized that it was too dangerous for them to return home. When one member, Dep. Samuel Milord, narrowly escaped an assassination attempt, PGA's worldwide network was

mobilized to condemn the Cedras junta. Nearly two years later, the same PGA members who had been forced to flee were running once again, this time to regain their legislative seats!

Haiti's democratization process is far from complete. As shown by a relatively low voter turnout for the Presidential elections in December 1995, the population is increasingly agitated and frustrated. However, Haiti and Suriname are among the countries which have graduated from

civil strife to a tenuous democratization process. In addition to the PGA delegation to the OAS Electoral Observation Mission in June 1995, PGA also invited a delegation of six PGA Haitian members to attend its 17th Annual Forum on Revitalizing the Global Economy (page 1), since the rehabilitation of the economy is the foremost challenge facing Haitian politicians in their new electoral term. The economic situation in Haiti is still a destabilizing factor that could derail its fragile democratization process. Much the same could be said of Suriname.

Throughout 1995, two major themes dominated the political landscape in Haiti: the elections — presidential, legislative, and municipal — and the release of committed foreign aid which is vital to sustaining the Haitian economy where over 40% of the revenue comes from international aid. Having monitored elections in Haiti in June, the Forum addressed this second concern of our Haitian members, giving them an opportunity to discuss the issues with parliamentarians from around the world, as well as World Bank experts. In fact, the Haitian delegation was among the largest with Sen. Samuel Madistin, Dep. Gary Guiteau, Dep. Emmanuel Derelus, Dep. Lorraine Casimir Besson, and Dep. Jonel Laguerre. The Haitian members



## **Program Convenor:**

*Hon. Moses Katjuongua, a leader of the opposition, gained the support of the Namibian Parliament to host the first Parliamentary Workshop on Democracy in Africa in 1993. Fifty-five PGA members from Africa, as well as others from elsewhere attended. Mr. Katjuongua is Chair of the National Patriotic Front of Namibia. (See also page 5)*

## **Program Officer:**

*Ms. Ayaka Suzuki  
(Haiti and Suriname)*

## **Project Officer:**

*Mr. Sotiris Cartsos  
(Suriname)*

*Karl-Göran Biörsmark (MP, Sweden) thanking Mr. Anselme Remy, Director of the Electoral System, for helping with arrangements for observers in the up-coming Haitian elections. With him is Haitian member Dep. Dr. Elie Plancher.*

*Groundwork for the Paramaribo Seminar was done by a consultative mission. They are pictured here with some of their Surinamese counterparts*

*(left to right):  
Ms. Ayaka Suzuki  
(Program Officer, PGA)  
Mr. Soetjpto Krosmosetiko  
(MP, Suriname)  
Hon. Moses Katjiuongua  
(MP, Namibia)  
Ms. I. Djwalapersad  
(MP, Suriname)  
Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark  
(MP, Sweden)  
Mr. Dirk Drijbooms  
(Senior Advisor, UNDP)*

listened closely as PGA members from countries such as Namibia and Bangladesh shared their experience in guiding their countries through democratization and the economic liberalization



simultaneously. Sen. Madistin, President of the Haitian PGA National Group, when speaking on the issue of "Debt Reduction and Economic Recovery: Developing Under the Yoke of Debt," explained how his country is held responsible for debts incurred while the illegal military junta was in power. The exchange was particularly striking since Senator Madistin shared the panel with the World Bank Vice-President in charge of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Democratic institutions, while in their infancy and lacking a historical legacy, are extremely vulnerable to any negative economic developments. Several parallels between Haiti and Suriname are evident: both are impoverished with devastated economies and both have histories of military rule.

PGA's involvement in Suriname this year began when the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP) sought PGA partnership in its worldwide initiative to foster good governance. PGA welcomed the opportunity for its members to share their experiences with parliamentarians

largely isolated from the pool of parliamentary interaction. Because PGA did not have members in Suriname, an initial consultation mission was sent to Paramaribo in May to introduce Surinamese parliamentarians to the work of PGA and for leading members to assess the political situation. The delegation, which was headed by the Africa and Democracy Program Convenor, Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, (MP, Namibia) included two other leading parliamentarians — the Hon. A.N.R. Robinson (Trinidad and Tobago) and Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark (MP, Sweden) — and Mr. Dirk Drijbooms, Senior Advisor, UNDP, and Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, Program Officer, PGA.

The delegation met with representatives from all major political parties who clearly illustrated their diverse party positions — e.g. one party favoring "re-unification" with its former colonial power, the Netherlands, while another party refuses to have anything to do with the Netherlands. The deteriorating economy and



*Haitians vote for a new Parliament. The Global Action observers found the election to be free and fair, although plagued by logistical problems.*

the recent flurry of strikes and mounting tension in the population dominated the discussions.

The delegation also met with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Police, as well as leading human rights scholars. As in Haiti, the delegation was reminded of the difficulties for



its democratization process in the face of debilitating economic stagnation.

Suriname is one of the most diverse countries in the Western Hemisphere — 35% East Indian, 32% Creole (African-Surinamese), 15% Indonesian, 10% Maroon (descendants of former

the people — that is the overriding question.”

Just one month later, Global Action in close cooperation with the UNDP field office in Suriname organized the Seminar entitled “Strengthening Democracy.” The Seminar, sponsored by UNDP, was attended by six PGA members:



*The Global Action delegation meets with the Ministers in Paramaribo. Left to right: Mr. Soetjipo Kromosetiko (MP, Suriname) Mr. M. Girjasing (Min. of Justice & Police) Mr. Subhas C. Mungia (Min. for Foreign Affairs) Mr. Moses Katjiuongua (MP, Namibia)*

African slaves), and 3% Chinese. Once a prosperous country, it suffered a major economic setback under the authoritarian rule of the dictator, Desi Delano Bouterse. Democracy was finally introduced in 1991 with a freely elected Parliament and President. However, as the second elections scheduled for 1996 loomed, many parliamentarians expressed anxiety over the exploitation of “ethnic” factors as predominantly ethnic parties try to influence the voters.

The presence of the Hon. Mr. Robinson was particularly appreciated; he is a well known figure in Suriname from his term as Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. Suriname had just been accepted into CARICOM, a regional economic association of Caribbean states, in which Trinidad and Tobago plays a leading role. Trinidad and Tobago, furthermore, shares a similar ethnic composition with Suriname in that the main two ethnic groups there are East Indians and Africans.

By the end of the delegation, the needs of Surinamese MPs were clear and a provisional workshop agenda was hammered out with the Organization Committee of the Surinamese National Assembly. Mr. Katjiuongua suggested the main issue was, “how does parliamentary work contribute to the execution of the will of

Mr. Katjiuongua and Mr. Biörsmark; three members from the region, Mr. Glyn Clark (MP, Barbados) and Messrs. Desmond Allum (quoted above) and Raymond Pallackdharrysingh, representing Trinidad and Tobago’s two major ethnic groups; and Mr. Theo Meyer (NR, Switzerland) whose country’s “accommodative democracy” might be useful for Surinamese parliamentarians to know more about. Mr. Drijbooms of UNDP returned to Suriname with the delegation which was also accompanied by Mr. Sotiris Carsos, PGA Project Officer. “The final goal of this seminar,” Mr. Jaggernath Lachmon, the venerable Speaker of the National Assembly commented, “is to enhance the public’s confidence in government, and so strengthen the government’s commitment to good governance and democratic process.”

The themes discussed at the Seminar included: the role and duties of the opposition; the operations of a modern parliament; strategies for consolidating democracy; the relationship between MPs and constituents; and parliamentarians’ role in protecting human rights. The discussion on the role and duties of the opposition drew on the examples of MPs from British-style democracies such as Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago who voiced their opinion that the opposition must act as an “alternative

government" responsive to the needs of constituents. Mr. Meyer highlighted his country's unique democratic system. "For 50 years, we have had this so-called 'magic formula.' But this means, there is a difficult obligation to find a consensus in the government. . . and the last one who has a say is the people. Not the ministers, not the parliament, but the people themselves." Ms. Lydia Hermelijn (MP, Suriname) commented, "I am getting lots of information from the experience of other countries. The Seminar will make me and others feel more confident and powerful when voicing opposition."

Reflecting Speaker Lachmon's desire to instill public confidence in the political process in Suriname, the Seminar was opened to various segments of Suriname's civil society — academics, human rights and women's rights advocates, lawyers, labor party members and private sector representatives. They made valuable contributions to panels such as "MP and the Citizen" during which constituency-building, transparency and political accountability were discussed. Dr. Coen Ooft, former Professor of Law at the University of Suriname, sharply reminded the audience that "the MP must be aware that he is accountable to every voter. The mandate does not end a week after the elections, but goes on till the next elections. Often the MP no longer meets his constituents anymore. It is only in the final year that the political party calls a meeting to explain what the political situation of the country looks like." He also criticized the democratic system as it is practiced, "in many countries, it seems as though after the elections, there are no voters, no people, no elected candi-

dates anymore, but only majority and minority... If this game is continued, year after year, government and opposition destabilize a healthy development of democracy in society."

After debates on issues such as the role of parliamentarians in protecting human rights and socio-economic policies, a couple of participants again voiced their concerns with the ethnic divisions that appear to be emerging. Still others commented that a Western-style democracy could not be adopted wholesale in a former colony with such a diverse ethnic composition. But Mr. Katjiuongua reminded the audience: "Within democracy, there are no enemies, merely political opponents who have different perspectives on how to solve problems."

Discussion then shifted focus from the domestic level to the work of parliamentarians at an international level. Mr. Biörsmark began by asking: "Is inter-parliamentary cooperation something of great importance? Is it really so important and fruitful for parliamentarians to arrange seminars as this one here in Suriname in order to exchange views and experiences?" Answering his own questions, he continued, "Communication between parliamentarians is of utmost importance. People from many walks of life meet regularly around the world through business associations, professional groups, women's organizations, to become better and more professional in their work, so obviously this should also apply to parliamentarians. So let us use and take advantage of our different parliamentary organizations and help each other to become better in our work. Together, we can help each other to build a better world and a safe future for our children and grandchildren."

*Part of the election ballot  
for the Haitian Senate.  
PGA members can be  
found at either end:  
Mr. Joseph Turneb Delpe  
(FNCD)  
Mr. J. Wesner Emmanuel  
(Lavalas)*





# Sustainable Development & Population

After the September 1994 Cairo Conference, the media attention on population issues quickly faded. The lofty rhetoric and promises heard in Cairo could have been shelved for business as usual. Parliamentarians for Global Action's population program was designed to persevere despite the inevitable let-down. Parliamentarians can and must use their positions and stature to challenge governments to move beyond rhetoric and to keep their promises if there is to be the sustained action that is needed on a global basis.

The first order of business was to prevent backsliding at the upcoming Social Summit. The Cairo Program of Action had been controversial. There was a distinct possibility that it would be diluted within the broader scope of the Copenhagen meeting. To avert that possibility and to promote some positive new ideas for the Summit, it was decided that the Parliamentary Forum entitled "Some More Equal Than Others: Development and Disarmament in the Post-Cold War Perspective" would be held in conjunction with the final governmental preparatory meeting for the Social Summit, in January 1995. (See also the 1994 Annual Report.)

The MPs first considered the merits of UNDP's "20/20" proposal for the alleviation of poverty, presented by Dr. Richard Jolly, Acting Executive Director of UNICEF. The proposal, which calls on states to allocate 20% of public sector spending to poverty alleviation, was enthusiastically received. When public funds go to official development assistance (ODA), the same ratio should apply within the developing country. Some MPs were concerned that "conditions" would be imposed by donors, limiting the ability of Third World governments to tailor development to their particular national circumstances. It was felt that the best way to ensure that foreign aid was applied properly was to involve the parliaments. If MPs could see to

it that 20% of foreign assistance was going to actual poverty alleviation and not being squandered in corruption, the donor countries should be satisfied that their efforts were having a good effect.

The ODA aspect of the 20/20 formula should not be seen as a permanent feature of international relations. "It is the primary responsibility of each nation to provide for the social well-being of its people by generating domestic resources and allocating such resources to meet its citizen's needs" the MPs underscored. Unfortunately, that responsibility is simply beyond the capacity of certain governments at this time. International assistance must come into the picture — with a view to reviving the capacity of these countries to be self-reliant. The Parliamentary Statement identified Sub-Saharan Africa as a particular "priority for any poverty reduction strategy."

Situated at the heart of poverty is unemployment. Many of the parliamentarians had seen governments fall over a failure to check unemployment. "Without opportunities to find a job, people lack the purchasing power for food and other essentials and without that, there can be no assurance of social and political stability," observed the Hon. Hawa Ogede (Ghana). While the problem is particularly acute in the South, the North is by no means immune to it, and the recommendations in the Parliamentary Statement were of global relevance. One main difference is the urgency of involving women more in the economies and decision-making of the South. In that regard, promoting "the achievement of gender balance in our parliaments" was pinpointed.

Dr. Jorge Werthein, Director of the New York Office of UNESCO, guided the discussions on social integration. "It is civic leaders such as yourselves who will be called upon to take the lead in devising the national, regional and international policies and providing the means, including the dedication of human and financial



## **Program Convenor:**

*Senator Ernesto Maceda has been elected Chair of the International Council for 1996 (page 31). His political career began at 23, when he was elected to the Manila City Council. He is known as a tireless legislator, having attended every session of the Senate since July 1987 and having filed the largest number of resolutions in the Congress. He, nonetheless, manages to participate, often in a leadership capacity, in many Philippine delegations to international conferences.*

## **Program Officers:**

*Ms. Mercedes Mas de Xaxas  
(January-May)  
Ms. Asha Shah  
(June-December)*

resources, that will assure these initiatives meet their objectives.” Public scrutiny of the decisions of the executive branch and of the parliament and popular participation in decision-making were agreed to be central to good governance.

Thirty seven parliamentarians from twenty nine countries put their names to the Statement. It was delivered to Amb. Juan Somavia, Chair of PrepCom III, by PGA members the Hon. Moses Katjioungua (Namibia) and the Hon. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia). The Ambassador said, “It is a real satisfaction for me to receive this statement. From your involvement in prior UN Summits, I know that your actions leading up to,

week-long conference discussing with national leaders various aspects of the Summit’s Declaration and follow-through. A large contingent, led by International President Mr. Murli Deora (MP, India), met with Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao.

The PGA delegation met at length with Dr. Jolly to review progress both in parliaments and at the Summit for the 20/20 proposal, and share ideas for follow-up to the Summit by UNICEF and PGA. They also had a breakfast with Mr. Jyoti Singh, UNFPA Deputy Executive Director, to review the status of the national committees which were to be set up in each country in support of the Cairo Conference’s Program of Action. Mr. Singh heartily endorsed Global Action’s plans for a meeting of members of foreign affairs and/or economic development committees of donor countries to be held in the fall of 1995 to ensure the financial commitments made in Cairo would not fade away.

Washington was selected as the site for the “International Meeting of Foreign Aid Committees of Donor Countries.” Sen. Thomas Harkin, Council Vice-Chair, arranged for the venue on Capitol Hill. Sixty members of parliament representing thirty countries attended. After Mr. Deora opened the session, the Population and Sustainable Development Program Convenor, Senator Ernesto Maceda (Philippines) underscored the critical need for resources to address population issues and the potentially dire consequence if the Cairo promises went unfulfill. Mr. Singh found “encouraging signs” in the pledges of Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the European Union. Mr. Colin Bradford, Director of Policy and Program Coordination at USAID, acknowledged that “the United States is missing from this equation.” In his view, global sustainable development is in the national interest of all nations, the United States being no exception.

Amb. Jean-Francois Giovanni, Deputy-Director of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, said that the Swiss Government would be increasing the resources earmarked for population issues. The Swiss were concerned that “experience has shown that the



and in Copenhagen, will greatly contribute to making the Summit a wide success.” The Statement was also distributed to members of PGA’s Sustainable Development and Population network, governmental delegations attending PrepCom III, and relevant United Nations officials.

Global Action assembled a twenty-member delegation in Copenhagen. It was gender balanced and included legislators from both developed and developing countries who deal with the issues on the Summit’s agenda on a daily basis back in their capitals, not only as politicians, but also, in the case of Ms. Antoinette Fouque (MEP, France) and Sen. Jairo Clopatofsky (Colombia), on a personal level, as members of the disabled community. The delegates — six of whom were on their nation’s official delegation — were active throughout the

*Mr. John Connor (TD, Ireland) rises to make a comment on population assistance. Listening are parliamentarians from North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa.*



poorest fifth of the population in most countries gets almost no benefit from development programs even when these programs are designed for them." Mr. Bernie Grant, a member of the U.K. All-Party Group on Overseas Aid, noted that aid is sometimes being used to pay off international loan debts, without even a penny reaching the poor.

Much of the day was devoted to panel discussions on how to meet the Cairo resource goals and how to strengthen the relationships between and among donor and recipient countries. There was no illusion that it would be easy to get broad agreement on the 20/20 targets or to achieve them. Years ago, the target of 0.7% of the gross national product on ODA was established for the economically developed nations. With some honorable exceptions, most states have not measured up to the mark on this target. Numerous references were made by MPs to the difficulties faced by donor countries in increasing or maintaining their ODA allocations in times of domestic economic recession. But, Mr. Jorgen Estrup, Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Danish Parliament, said "there is no excuse to say it is difficult. You don't know how difficult it is for the government of my country to maintain our ODA levels. It involves numerous parliamentary debates and public opinion controversies. But when one assumes a commitment and that commitment is fair and necessary, one has to have the courage to maintain it through hard times." He suggested that the slowness to move from words to action could be attributed in part to the lack of specifics in the Program of Action when it came to the contributions industrialized countries should make; the fact that the Program was not legally binding did not help either. Mr. Otohiko Endo, Japanese Parliamentary Vice Minister for Trade, and Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark (MP, Sweden) emphasized focussing on women and youth for education and training on population issues. Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen (MP, Finland) stressed that the education of adult men must also be part of the picture.

If the 0.7% target could not be reached immediately, then perhaps, Mr. Jan Hoekema (MP, Nether-

lands) suggested the emphasis should be on allocating a larger portion of it to population programs. Dr. W.M.R. Sudjoko, member of the Indonesian Parliament's Commission for Welfare, Population, and Health, showed how long-term support from the North for South-South cooperation on these issues could make better use of limited resources. Amb. Giovanni and Mr. John Connor (TD, Ireland) both underscored the importance of ensuring that trade and economic policies were not working at cross purposes.

The main outcome of the meeting was the formation of a network of legislators focussed



*One of the parliamentary panels at the International Meeting of Foreign Aid Committees of Donor Countries, held at the U.S. Senate. From left to right:*  
 Mr. Jan Hoekema  
 (MP, Netherlands)  
 Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark  
 (MP, Sweden)  
 Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen  
 (MP, Finland)  
 Mr. Otohiko Endo  
 (MP, Japan)

on mobilizing resources for population programs. Parliamentary activities and information exchanges are envisaged for 1996 and beyond. As long as this network continues to monitor governmental follow-up on the Cairo Program of Action, there is hope that societies around the world will tackle the population challenge in ways that recognize "that population is more than an issue of rates of birth, and ensure that funding will address the underlying reasons for population growth."



*Mr. Colin Bradford, Director of Policy and Planning at USAID, speaks to the parliamentarians. To his left are:*  
 Mr. Murli Deora  
 (MP, India; Pres., PGA)  
 Ms. Shazia Rafi  
 (Dep. Sec.-Gen., PGA)  
 Mr. Jyoti Singh  
 (Dep. Exec. Dir., UNFPA)

# Empowerment of Women



## Program Director:

*Ms. Maj Britt Theorin joined the Executive Committee of Global Action in 1995, the same year she moved from the Swedish Riksdag to the European Parliament. She was the Swedish Ambassador for Disarmament from 1980 to 1988 and has been President of the International Peace Bureau since 1993. She has chaired several UN Expert Groups sponsored by the Division of the Advancement of Women, including on gender and the Agenda for Peace in 1994.*

## Meeting Convenors:

*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid  
HoneMargaret Alva*

## Program Officer:

*Ms. Ayaka Suzuki*

*Global Action members worked intensively on the "Uncompromised Beijing Declaration." An Indian parliamentarian stands to make a point.*

"No. Madame Chair, the document must say 'at least' 50%, so the sentence should be read as 'we propose 33.3% as the minimum critical mass required immediately with the goal of *at least* 50% of all decision-making positions by 2010' and 'at least' should appear whenever 50% is mentioned in the document!" This forceful comment was not made by a young progressive-looking Northern woman parliamentarian but from an elderly traditional-looking Indian parliamentarian who would not invoke an image of a fierce feminist in most on-lookers' minds. PGA's Strategy Session, convened during the Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing, demonstrated over and over again the commitment of women parliamentarians of all political persuasions to bring equality home.

In many ways, the debate among women parliamentarians themselves — those favoring strongest possible measures to promote women in all decision-making spheres and those who



were conciliatory and concerned about bringing back commitments that would be accepted by predominantly male parliaments — was the sharpest and certainly the most lively debate that took place in the whole Beijing process. The disagreements did not follow the stereotypically-conceived notions of the progressive North and the traditional South. In fact, as indicated by the

comment above, the Indian parliamentarians were able to show their Northern and Western counterparts tangible gains accomplished *before* coming to Beijing, such as the Constitutional Amendment Bill requiring that one third of the seats in local councils be reserved for women.

The year 1995 marked the emergence of an active International Network on Empowerment of Women for PGA. At the Copenhagen Social Summit in March, PGA held two joint meetings with the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in an effort to mobilize women for the upcoming Beijing Conference and beyond. The first meeting, a workshop entitled "Increasing Women's Political Participation," brought together women parliamentarians and activists to discuss the urgent need for a greater number of women in decision-making spheres. Participants, including NGO representatives, brainstormed on possible parliamentary initiatives. What emerged was a campaign entitled "180 Days: Beyond the Paper Commitments — Guideline for Parliamentary Initiatives."

On International Women's Day, March 8, 1995, Global Action and WEDO held a public panel entitled "Bridging the Gender Gap: Open Dialogue between Parliamentarians and Civil Society." Co-chaired by former Congresswoman Bella Abzug (USA) of WEDO, and Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid (MP, Egypt) of PGA, the discussion included the following panelists: the Hon. Margaret Alva, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (India), Dr. Antoinette Fouque (MEP, France), Ms. Hawa Yakubu, (MP, Ghana), Ms. Thais Corral (Brazil), Chief Bisi Ogunleye (Nigeria), Ms. Wangari Maathai (Kenya), and Ms. Vandana Shiva (India). The parliamentarians expressed their solidarity with NGOs and activists and promised to be the "bridge" between civil society and executive authority.

Over 120 international and national women's organizations around the world joined in launch-



ing the WEDO-coordinated "180 Days / 180 Ways Women's Action" Campaign, a call to action to women, men, governments, the UN System, and the world to foster progress for women's equality. The Campaign sought to "create a 180 degree reversal of negative trends that threaten progress for women's equality." PGA's "Guidelines for Parliamentary Initiatives" included such measures as urging the signing and ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, the pledging of equality of women and men within the UN System, and promoting legislative measures to increase participation of women in politics.

The Fourth World Conference on Women was the pinnacle of this activity. The embodiment of the conference, the *Beijing Platform for Action*, outlined twelve areas of concern which were matched with a corresponding action-oriented commitment to improve the status of women. As official delegates of their countries to the Conference, PGA members were in full force, with over 60 members present — the highest number of PGA members ever to attend a UN conference. Because of their dual role as parliamentarians and representatives of an NGO, PGA members served as one of the main links between the

NGO Forum and the official government forum.

During the conference, Global Action members intensely debated the "The Uncompromised Beijing Declaration: From Paper



*The Beijing workshop on women in politics. From left to right:*

*Ms. Maxine Olson  
(Dep. Director, UNIFEM)  
Ms. Bella Abzug of WEDO  
(former Rep., USA)  
Minister Margaret Alva  
(MP, India)  
Ms. Shazia Rafi of PGA  
(Dep. Secretary-General)  
Ms. Antoinette Fouque  
(MEP, France)*

Commitments to Reality — A Strategy of Implementation" through two long, late-night sessions. Concerned that the implementation process has been weak in the past, PGA members examined such critical concerns as women's role in national security and the use of affirmative action. The session demonstrated PGA's unique ability as a global parliamentary association to bring together individually committed members from different countries to fight for equality on an international level.

The Strategy of Implementation was endorsed by over 40 women PGA members on September 7. Two core strategies include the establishment of National Committees in each country and the formation of a Parliamentary Committee on Women within each national legislative body to focus exclusively on women's issues. At PGA's 17th Annual Forum in October (page 1), Rep. Connie Morella (USA) described the dedication of the women involved in finalizing the Strategy, "I know that PGA women were not sightseeing or shopping in Beijing. They were working late through the night when most people were sleeping."

In the post-Beijing era, Global Action members — such as Minister Alva, who has opened a center on politics for women — have already begun to implement initiatives that will empower women. "The time for women's empowerment has finally arrived at PGA," declared Ms. Maj Britt Theorin (MEP, Sweden), "with a *Platform for Action*, Beijing has provided women with a tool that will challenge inequality. Both far-reaching and effective, PGA's international network on Empowerment of Women will pick up where Beijing left off."



*Minister of Tourism Ms. Silvia Hernandez led the Mexican Government's delegation to the Beijing Conference. Shown here in a live video broadcast as she addresses a plenary session of the Conference, Minister Hernandez was International President of PGA from 1992 to 1994.*

# Peace & Security



**Section Director:**

*Mr. Aaron Tovish has been Director for Peace and Security since 1989. From December 1994 to August 1995, he served as Acting Secretary-General of PGA.*

*(See also page 35.)*

*Mr. Tovish has worked with the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, Greenpeace, IPPNW, and the U.S. Test Ban Coalition. He has degrees from MIT and UCLA and did three years of post-graduate studies at Oxford.*

Politics is a constant struggle to get priorities right. As International President Mr. Murli Deora laments in his introductory message, referring to the tension at the Gifu meeting between on-going French nuclear testing and the future of the United Nations, the most difficult balance is between short-term crises and long-term solutions.

With weapons of mass destruction, the long-term solution is abolition, as has already been codified for chemical and biological weapons. In part because they are the sole, unprohibited weapon of mass destruction, nuclear arms are proving much harder to set aside. The political balancing act that presented itself in 1995 was how to assure the short-term continuity of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) while averting complacency about the long-term goal of abolition. Parliamentarians for Global Action is proud to have contributed to striking a proper balance. Not everyone, however, agrees that a fair balance was struck. The proof will come in the years ahead as the strengthened NPT review process starts to work. Indeed, that process's success will depend on the short- and long-term priorities it sets for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

The Democracy and Development Section (page 4), through preventive political action, has been dealing admirably with several political crises. But when a conflict erupts into open warfare, more forceful international mechanisms must be available to step into the breach. The Peacekeeping Program aims to ensure that peacekeeping operations can be mounted quickly and effectively whenever and wherever there is a serious threat to international peace and security. During the Cold War the superpowers became accustomed to deploying their forces in, or pouring arms into, trouble spots. Russia still seems to claim a right to do so in its "near border." The United States is only reluctantly being weaned from unilateral action to

multilateral peacekeeping. Our Washington workshop is just the beginning of an effort in the key parliaments of the world to mobilize political will for the promising new directions being taken by the UN Department of Peace-Keeping Operations.

Long-term does not always apply to the future. It also can mean not forgetting the past too quickly. Try as we might, there will continue to be crimes against humanity, most often and most massively in the form of war crimes. But these crimes have gone unpunished for too long. Half a century after the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals, the concept of international criminal justice is finally back in operation. The monstrous criminal acts perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda are subject to prosecution by International Tribunals. While providing essential short-term support for these Tribunals, Parliamentarians for Global Action continues to strive for a permanent International Criminal Court.

Even when dealing with short-term problems, it helps to have made long-term preparations. The Maldives workshop on conflict resolution in South Asia sought to direct the natural skills of legislatures toward the special tasks of conflict resolution between nations. The first of a two-part training session, it brought together leading politicians to consider how their experience in crafting legislative compromises could be applied outside the parliamentary chambers. The Center for International Affairs at Harvard and the International Centre for Peace Initiatives in Bombay helped PGA craft a program that would be of long-term value to the parliamentarians.

When short- and long-term objectives are identified carefully, work done toward each tends to be complementary. The balance can be achieved by addressing short-term problems as obstacles in the path to the greater goal, and by having long-term solutions serve as a source of inspiration for tackling the present problems.



# Nuclear Test Ban & Non-Proliferation

For many years, it was apparent that the central event of 1995 would be the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Extension Conference. Years of experience have also shown that major conferences cannot be significantly influenced after they are already underway. Thus, it was essential that Parliamentarians for Global Action's Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Program build up momentum heading into 1995.

Global Action's policy on the extension decision was forged and made public at its Annual Parliamentary Forum in January 1995. As reported in last year's Annual Report, the Forum's Message was delivered to the President-Designate of the Conference, Amb. Jayantha Dhanapala, and distributed to the participants of the final Preparatory Committee meeting which was being held in a conference room just across the hall from the Forum at UN Headquarters.

The Message focused public attention for the first time on strengthening the NPT's review process. A wide-ranging series of consultations in late 1994 in Washington, Geneva, and New York had been useful for developing the idea. It was apparent that officials from key countries in all the major geopolitical groups found the proposal serious and constructive. Not surprisingly, given the tensions surrounding the extension decision, Global Action found that each group expected the other groups to be less forthcoming than themselves. Indeed, we were advised not to add "yet another" contentious issue to the already long list facing the NPT Conference.

The organisation decided not to heed such a warning for three reasons. First, we had overcome such "communication problems" before. While it might have been that some of the officials were citing the supposed opposition of others to

hide their own opposition, by holding them to their position of support, it might be possible to demonstrate to all concerned the breadth of support for strengthening the review process. Second, the conference desperately needed an additional "degree of freedom." Most of the other key issues facing the conference were deadlocked. An issue on which there could be some real give-and-take could be essential to reaching an overall compromise.

Third, it would be just plain wrong to let the treaty go into its next phase without a viable review process. Previous reviews had been unimpressive affairs; two of the four had ended without agreement on past performance or future expectations. In Global Action's view the next five to ten years would be critical to nuclear arms control and non-proliferation. Extending the treaty for only five or ten years would be disastrous, unleashing a torrent of worst-case contingency planning in anticipation of the treaty's demise. But a longer extension — including an indefinite one — would not in itself do anything to ensure a serious role for the review process. If the NPT was to make an important contribution to tapping the positive potential of the coming decade, its review process absolutely had to be strengthened.



**Program Convenor:**

*Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson (MA, Iceland) was the Chair of the International Council in 1995. (See page 28.) From 1993 to 1998, he was Global Action's principle representative on the Planning Group of the Six Nations Initiative for Peace and Disarmament. He helped lead PGA's campaign for the convening of the inter-governmental Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment Conference, held in 1991.*

**Program Officer:**

*Ms. Annabel Hertz*

*The first of three group consultations on strengthening the NPT review process was held in Geneva. Mr. Aaron Tovish, PGA Acting Secretary-General, chaired the discussion among representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Colombia, Germany, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe.*



The issuing of the Parliamentary Message cast the die. Global Action would bend all its efforts to see that this issue was taken up by the

Extension Conference. Only two and a half months remained until the April-May NPT Conference. Consultations would need to be intensified and shift from exploration to advocacy. But to solidify the gains of these bilateral discussions, Global Action needed to get selected countries together for group consultations so they could see for themselves the broad support for "reviewing the review."

A number of countries had expressed doubts that a reform package could be agreed upon by

faith, such measures could be formally adopted for future reviews.

This conclusion suited Global Action just fine: we had demonstrated that a reform package was not too ambitious. Now someone had to put forward a formal proposal.

South Africa had been open to PGA's proposals from the onset. But their Foreign Ministry officials were stretched to the limit. With help from Canada, which had taken up the Parliamentary Message at the final Preparatory

*At PGA's luncheon during the NPT Extension Conference, Amb. Isaac Ayewah of Nigeria, Chair of the First Main Committee, was invited to speak prior to the general discussion. Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson (MA, Iceland), seated to the Ambassador's right, led the discussion. In attendance were top officials from Algeria, Austria, Belarus, Canada, China, Cape Verde, Finland, Germany, the Holy See, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Mauritius, Mexico, Myanmar, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tanzania, and the United Kingdom.*



consensus. They felt that change would have to come through practice. But it was widely felt that the review aspect of the NPT Conference would suffer in "competition" with the extension aspect. If, in actuality, there were no new practices to serve as precedents for future reviews, then those who were anxious that the review process would be even further degraded after extension would never support a lengthy extension.

To address these concerns, the concept for the group consultations was a little unconventional. Global Action's invitations to the consultations centered on how the 1995 review itself would be conducted and participants were asked to "leave their extension positions at the door." Global Action provided a list of suggestions on how to make the 1995 review more thorough and meaningful. What emerged from the meetings, held in Geneva (April 7) and New York (April 11), with over two dozen key countries participating, was that, yes, improvement along the lines suggested were necessary, but, realistically this was not the conference at which to implement them. Perhaps, to keep the

Committee meeting, South Africa crafted a proposal for enhancing the review process. When submitted to the Conference, it immediately became the focus of intense, largely favorable, attention, including from the media. Global Action's role — and Canada's — was known only behind the scenes by the diplomats.

Toward the end of the third week of the four-week conference, Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson (MA, Iceland), convenor of the Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Program, hosted a final group consultation. Despite many competing demands, over thirty of the top diplomats came to the luncheon to underscore their appreciation of Global Action's contribution. While success was still not certain, it was clear that if it were achieved in the final week it would in large part be due to a major emphasis on enhancing the review process.

In the end, strengthening of the review process was one of the three main elements of the Conference's package decision on extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty indefinitely.

The opportunity to savour the successful



conclusion of the NPT Conference did not last long. Only two days after the conference, China conducted a test explosion of a nuclear weapon. This, despite its pledge at the NPT Conference to exercise utmost restraint. Two weeks later, following general elections in France, President Chirac announced that he would end former-President François Mitterrand's testing moratorium. Shortly thereafter, the United States announced it would conduct "sub-critical" underground explosions involving nuclear fissionable materials. Aside from showing less than utmost restraint, these actions cast doubt on the prospect of concluding negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty "no later the 1996" as also pledged at the NPT Conference.

The international response to the French testing is well known, and Global Action played its part (see 1995 President's Message). The behavior of the nuclear powers prompted many non-aligned countries, who were already uneasy with the NPT compromise, to conclude that they had been cheated. At the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in September, a position was taken to press for commitments that went beyond the NPT compromise, particularly a commitment to complete nuclear disarmament within a "time-bound framework." This virtually assured a confrontation at the 50th United Nations General Assembly. It also presented difficulties for another Global Action initiative.

In 1994, Parliamentarians for Global Action had shepherded a new resolution through the UN General Assembly (see 1994 Annual Report). It focussed on the "mid-term" nuclear arms control and non-proliferation agenda: those steps that could be taken after a comprehensive test ban is achieved but before an agreement on complete nuclear disarmament is concluded. In Global Action's view the guiding principle should be the "reduction of the nuclear threat." That would mean putting greater obstacles in the way of a new nuclear arms race and proliferation, while de-escalating the build-up of the Cold War arms race. The 1994 resolution was carried purely on the support of the non-aligned states.

Global Action hoped to see a follow-on resolution in 1995 that could attract wider support. By toning down some of the secondary issues that had been cited as reasons for abstaining or

voting against the 1994 resolution, it might be possible to attract the support of many Western countries that were sensitive to — or even shared — the frustration felt by the non-aligned in the aftermath of the NPT Conference. Indeed, Australia became an enthusiastic partner in the new drafting effort. Unfortunately, as the 50th General Assembly became increasingly polarized, some of the 1994 sponsors of the resolution became uncomfortable with toning down any aspect of it.

In the end, as with several other draft resolutions, the effort had to be abandoned. The non-aligned were determined to use their numerical superiority in the General Assembly to make a "UN 50th Anniversary" statement that would rectify the shortcomings of the NPT Conference. That done, the question for 1996 — what will be the order of business after the test-ban? — is more burning than ever. This will have to be addressed by the 1996 General Assembly, and PGA is well positioned to play a prominent role.

The full significance of the decision to strengthen the NPT review process will only be known as the new process is implemented. In Global Action's view, this will depend primarily upon the initiative the member states bring to the process. Dynamic leadership could ensure that, when the process formally begins in 1997, it has a sustained impact on nuclear arms control and non-proliferation issues right up to the sixth Review Conference in the year 2000.

All these plans will come to nothing if a test ban is not achieved in 1996. Complacency in this regard would be criminal. PGA will follow the negotiations in Geneva closely and send delegations in whenever necessary. Due to its decade-long involvement in this issue, Global Action is able to mount substantial pressure should it be called for it. Hopefully, the negotiations will proceed smoothly to conclusion; but if they do not, PGA will definitely intercede.



*In December 1995, PGA held a Seminar at the European Parliament to discuss the future role of nuclear weapons in Europe. Joining the MEPs were, at right, John Connor (TD, Ireland) and Ambassador Miguel Marin Bosch of Mexico, Chair of the Geneva nuclear test ban negotiations in 1994.*

# UN Peacekeeping



## Program Convenor:

*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid has served on the Executive Committee since 1992. She is a member of the Foreign Affairs and Education Committees of the Egyptian Parliament. She has received the Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur of France. (See also page 26)*

## Program Officers:

*Dr. Jean Krasno*

*(January-May)*

*Mr. Mark Clark*

*(June-December)*

*Prof. Makram-Ebeid (MP, Egypt) opens the luncheon press conference with Senator Paul Simon (USA) and H.E. Mr. Sven Alkalaj, Ambassador of Bosnia Herzegovina to the United States. At that very time, the UN "safe haven" of Zepa was being overrun by Bosnian-Serb forces.*

Srebrenica had fallen to Bosnian-Serb forces the day before; Zepa was next. With Senator Paul Simon at his side, the Ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the United States, Mr. Sven Alkalaj, described in explicit terms the brutality the Serbian forces were inflicting at that very moment on the fleeing Muslims. While some of the Members of Congress and their aides hearing this may have been inclined to hope that his remarks were being made purely for propagandistic effect, that faint hope would be dashed soon enough. Despite his speaking at probably the lowest point in the 50-year history of the

responsibility for attacks on UN troops and civilian personnel. The program's goals were shaped by optimism in the years immediately following the end of the Cold War that the UN would be a real player in the management of international peace and security. However, in spite of that optimism, U.S. participation and leadership, which could play a crucial role in the success of Peacekeeping, has fallen far short of expectations.

To promote the discussion of peacekeeping issues in the U.S. Congress, Global Action, in cooperation with the Canadian Centre for Global Security, held a workshop on UN Peacekeeping for Members of Congress and their staffs on July 12 in Washington, D.C. The workshop



addressed the concerns within Congress over United Nations Peacekeeping and provided Members and their staffs with information to strengthen the case for continued U.S. involvement in UN Peacekeeping. It is hoped by Global Action that Congress will refrain from reducing current levels of U.S. participation. The event was sponsored by Senator Thomas Harkin, Vice-Chair of the International Council of Global

United Nations, Ambassador Alkalaj nonetheless expressed his firm opinion that UN peacekeeping remained key to the promotion of international peace and security.

In 1995, the Peacekeeping and Collective Security Program focused on four major issues: the support of national UN standby arrangements; the creation of a permanent standing UN force; enhancing the financing of peacekeeping; and, ensuring the safety of UN troops and personnel by supporting an international convention which would create international and national mechanisms for determining the

Action. The workshop was divided into three panel discussions covering the topics of "Financing of UN Peacekeeping and UN Reform," "Command and Control of UN Peacekeeping," and "Development of a Quick Reaction Force."

Professor Mona Makram-Ebeid (MP, Egypt) provided the introductory statement and served as a panel moderator along with Mr. David Cox, Director of the Canadian Centre. Senator Claiborne Pell made a presentation in support of the UN and then discussed the history of the UN Charter as it relates to peacekeeping.



Other speakers at the workshop included Professor Paul Kennedy of Yale University; Mr. Joseph Connor, UN Under Secretary-General for Administration and Management; Mr. George Ward, Acting Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs; Mr. John Sewall, Institute for National Strategic Studies-National Defense University, Brigadier General Abdul Ghani, UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations; Colonel Cees Van Egmond, UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations; Colonel David Harries, Canadian Centre for National Security Studies; Mr. David Moon, The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre; and Mr. David Scheffler, Senior Advisor and Counsel to Ambassador Madeleine Albright, U.S. Mission to the UN. Amb. Alkalaj and Senator Simon spoke at the luncheon, which attracted considerable media attention as well.

Immediate conclusions reached from the workshop were that uncertainty has hurt the UN effort, and has much to do with the prevailing attitude within the U.S. Congress. The UN's leadership must realize that sound peacekeeping and peace-enforcement strategies are needed in order to provide guidance and support both for the UN's efforts and for those of Member States who wish to commit their armed forces to UN operations. Once such strategies are put in place, the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Secretary-General, the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations, and UN forces in the field will have the necessary guidance to take action in response to future crises.

Global Action strove for the establishment of a firm civil-military relationship between the organization and the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Relations between military organizations and non-governmental organizations have been viewed as key to the future of peacekeeping. Global Action serves as a resource with vital experience in political decision making and transnational issues. The military in turn can help as an enabling force. Currently, Global Action's relationship with the Department of Peace-keeping Operations stems from regular contacts with the Department of Peace-keeping Operations's Mission Planning and Training Divisions as well as Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping, Mr. Kofi Annan.

In 1996, the strength of Global Action's new relationship with the Department of Peace-keeping Operations will be demonstrated through its Orientation Program on UN Peacekeeping at the department's headquarters in New York. This program serves as part of the follow-up on the Congressional Workshop. The Orientation Program on UN Peacekeeping is designed to provide parliamentarians with a first-hand look at the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. The program will include presentations by the officers and civilian staff engaged in policy and analysis; operations plans, and training; and field administration and logistics. The initial Orientation Program will include Members of the U.S. Congress and Canadian Parliament and will serve as a test-bed for further orientation sessions.



*Duty officers in the UN Department of Peace-Keeping Operations's situation room — a destination for orientation sessions for parliamentarians in 1997.*

# International Law & Human Rights



**Program Convenor:**

*The Hon. ANR Robinson was Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago in 1989 when he urged the U.N. General Assembly to revive efforts for an international criminal court in order to counter drug trafficking and terrorism. Earlier, he had barely escaped with his life, when Parliament had been seized by terrorists with international backing. After several years as a leader of the opposition, Mr. Robinson has recently been appointed Minister Extraordinary in a new coalition Government.*

**Program Officer:**

*Mr. Paul Nuti*

The man who has spent a quarter of a century championing the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court wistfully remarked that he had never been certain that an Court would become a reality during his lifetime. "Now," the Hon. Mr. ANR Robinson (Trinidad and Tobago) added, with the hint of a smile, "I am sure that it will."

Sentiments like this were voiced more and more frequently during 1995. Due, in part, to the heightened profile of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former-Yugoslavia and, in part, by the superb technical work of the special United Nations Ad Hoc Committee created in 1994 to develop a draft statute, the International Criminal Court (ICC) initiative reaped the benefits of a much more favorable negotiating climate. This momentum has carried the ICC to a point not even seasoned diplomats could have foreseen only three short years ago: the threshold of a full plenipotentiary conference.

PGA commenced its ICC work in 1995 with a view to shaping the tone of the discussions of the Ad Hoc Committee, which convened in mid-April and again in August. Following on the heels of a divisive UN Sixth Committee ICC debate at the end of 1994, it was vital to encourage the Ad Hoc Committee to act constructively and to be aware of the widening support for a permanent ICC. Mr. Robinson sensed that a parliamentary declaration might be useful to demonstrate the extent of this support. A declaration would also underscore the prominent role parliamentarians must play when legislatures begin to reconcile domestic law with provisions of a new ICC statute.

The Parliamentary Declaration in Support of an ICC — an eloquent statement highlighting the proposed court's role in the maintenance of democracy and respect for the rule of international law — was circulated to PGA's network for signature. In just over three months, 227 members of parliament from 28 countries

had recorded their support. With the help of the Trinidad & Tobago Government the full text of the Declaration became part of a UN document that was distributed to all members of the Ad Hoc Committee.

In early April, at the invitation of Global Action member Gianfranco Dell'Alba (MEP, Italy), Mr. Robinson travelled to Rome to attend the Transnational Radical Party (TRP) Congress. The gathering drew together activists and members of parliament, many from Eastern European countries and the republics of the former Soviet Union, to consider progress on the ICC. Sharing the podium with Mr. Robinson was Emma Bonino, Mr. Robinson's predecessor as Convenor of the International Law and Human Rights Programme and currently a Commissioner of the European Union. With an audience of over 1000 people and Italian television cameras in place, Mr. Robinson delivered a rousing appeal, citing the historic context of the ICC dialogue — 50 years since Nuremberg — and urging a broader grassroots effort to seize the momentum.

While an indisputable majority of Member States had moved firmly into the pro-ICC orbit at the conclusion of the UN Ad Hoc Committee session in August, it remained unclear whether the United States would respond favorably to the accelerated pace of the discussions at the 50th UN General Assembly. On October 15th, however, a remarkably forthcoming speech by President Clinton buoyed hopes. PGA arranged meetings with two top Administration officials in order to encourage strong follow-through on the issue.

The meetings proved useful in sounding out the technical obstacles which stood in the way of a full U. S. embrace of an ICC. These obstacles notwithstanding, Mr. Conrad Harper, Legal Adviser, U.S. State Department, acknowledged that the ICC had become one of the "principal occupations of his office" and applauded PGA's long-standing commitment to a permanent court.



Mr. George Ward, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, pledged to maintain a dialogue with PGA particularly on the issue of including terrorism in the final ICC statute, a point of interest to the United States. Mr. Robinson gave assurances that PGA would take into account the Administration's concerns in its work at the United Nations.

PGA co-sponsored, for the third consecutive year, the International Experts Conference on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court. With Global Action advisor Prof. M. Cherif Bassiouni presiding at his Sicilian-based institute, the conference formulated alternative texts for the consideration of members of the UN Preparatory Committee in 1996. Likewise, PGA members will be able to bring a wider range of options to the table when they raise the ICC in their parliaments and with ministers.

During the course of 1995, Global Action also made considerable headway in opening a cooperative relationship with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former-Yugoslavia. A parliamentary delegation, led by Mr. William Powell (MP, United Kingdom), with Mr. Gerrit J. van Oven (MP, Netherlands), and Mr. Dell'Alba, went to The Hague with a view to exploring ways in which PGA might assist the

regarding cooperation with the Tribunal. The Tribunal officials were impressed with PGA's development of the idea of parliamentarians



*Global Action's parliamentary delegation to The Hague. At the table with the Tribunal's Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone. at left are: Mr. Gerrit J. van Oven (MP, Netherlands), Mr. Gianfranco Dell'Alba (MEP, Italy), and Mr. William Powell (MP, United Kingdom) Standing are: Mr. Paul Nuti (PGA Program Officer) Mr. Graham Blewitt (Deputy Prosecutor)*

coordinating observation of national trials relating to the Yugoslav conflict, and noted that they were prepared to endorse an exclusive role for PGA should the project move forward.

At year's end, PGA had taken steps to lay the groundwork for the trial observation project. Pledges of cooperation have been received from the Council of Europe and the International Section of the New York State Bar Association. In addition, the initiative has been well-received by PGA members in Europe and work proceeds on securing the necessary financing.

Yet another window of opportunity was opened in November when PGA received a visit from the President of the Yugoslavia Tribunal, Judge Antonio Cassese. During the Hague delegation, PGA had suggested that it was extremely well-placed to facilitate the enactment of legislation to enable cooperation between national and international jurisdictions, as required by the statute of the Tribunal. With only a handful of countries having passed such legislation, President Cassese commented that most States were, in effect, potential havens for war criminals. To address this situation, PGA and the Tribunal have opened a further dialogue on convening a workshop sometime in 1996 on enabling legislation. This event would bring together parliamentarians and Justice Ministry officials to develop common approaches to crafting the appropriate legislation.

Whether in advancing the International Criminal Court initiative or supporting the Yugoslav Tribunal in The Hague, the role of parliamentarians in strengthening the rule of international law has become tangibly more significant in 1995.



*President of the Yugoslav Tribunal, Judge Antonio Cassese. at PGA Headquarters in New York with Secretary-General Dr. Kennedy Graham and Deputy Secretary-General Mr. Aaron Tovish.*

Tribunal. The delegation met with Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone and Deputy Prosecutor Graham Blewitt in June. The Tribunal has a strong interest in an alliance with a network of parliamentarians, primarily because, in Goldstone's view, it may serve to counter the "lack of political will" among Member States

# Conflict Resolution in South Asia



## **Program Convenor:**

*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid was a founder of the Arab League for Human Rights, and is active in several other regional and international organizations, including the World Bank. She was a member of Egypt's National Committee for the 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development. (See also page 22.)*

## **Meeting Convenor:**

*Mr. Murli Deora*

## **Program Officers:**

*Dr. Jean Krasno  
(January-May)*

*Mr. Mark Clark  
(June-December)*

*The working group on sharing water resources checks a map of the region.*

*Pictured from left are:*

*Mr. Som Pal  
(MP, India)*

*Mr. Pashupatai S. Rana  
(MP, Nepal)*

*Mr. Jhala Nath Khama  
(MP, Pakistan)*

*Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan  
(MP, Bangladesh)*

Global Action began its Conflict Resolution Training Program in 1994 with the goal of enhancing the negotiation and mediation capacities of selected Members of Parliaments in troubled regions of the world. The first region of focus for the program was South Asia where Global Action has established strong ties with a regional organization, the Bombay-based International Centre for Peace Initiatives. A planning meeting was held in Kathmandu, Nepal in May 1994 to organize two workshops on enhancing negotiation and mediation skills of parliamentarians.

Citizens Majlis, the Parliament of the Maldives. Attending the workshop were twenty-two MPs and eight political leaders from the six countries of South Asia: Bangladesh, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. International President Mr. Murli Deora (MP, India) spoke on behalf of Parliamentarians for Global Action at the opening ceremony.

The workshop was facilitated by Dr. William Weisberg of the Program on International Conflict Resolution at the Center for International Affairs of Harvard University. Dr. Weisberg, a political psychologist, has worked in the area of conflict resolution for fifteen years and in the field of international conflict



From May 19 to 23, the 1995 workshop was conducted in the Maldives. Mr. Sundeep Waslekar, Director of the International Centre for Peace Initiatives, planned the workshop in conjunction with Global Action. The Ministry of Tourism of the Maldives gave extensive support for the event, which was co-hosted by the

resolution for five years. Dr. Weisberg used a combination of simulation exercises and a more traditional presentation format to introduce political psychology and conflict resolution concepts to the participants. The participants talked about the ideas presented in the context of their own experiences in the region. One of the



participants from Sri Lanka gave a presentation on negotiations between his government and the Tamil parties.

Mr. F.T. Liu, formerly UN Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs and currently with the International Peace Academy, gave an overview of conflict prevention and the role of the UN. From the history of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, he cited periodic

efforts to resolve various aspects of the conflict throughout the years. Several of the participants presented their views on and experiences in developing cooperation in the South Asia region.

One of the main purposes of the workshop was to emerge with plans to utilize the skills practiced in the coming months. Working group activities were woven into all parts of the agenda. Participants were asked to discuss informally among each other what issues to take up and who would like to work together. Four groups emerged on the following issues: 1) the sharing of water resources, 2) regional cooperation, 3) the role of women in the region, and 4) relations between India and Pakistan.

Reviewing the workshop during the last session, all of the participants found that the experience had been rewarding and useful. Many felt that the concepts learned could be applied to work which they were doing both within their countries and in the region. All of the parti-



*At a reception, PGA International President Mr. Murli Deora (MP, India) introduces workshop participants to the President of the Republic of the Maldives, H.E. Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom.*

cipants agreed to report on the outcome of the workshop to their parliaments. Most importantly, however, there was agreement that follow-up was essential to the long-term success of the project. It was decided to reconvene the workshop at a time practical for all to keep advancing the process and to set a goal for achieving interim action on the part of the four working groups established during the workshop.

Following the workshop, parliamentarians who participated were encouraged to continue addressing the peaceful resolution of specific disputes arising from issues such as the sharing of water resources. Mr. Waslekar and the Centre for Peace Initiatives will prepare, in coordination with the PGA Secretariat, a manual concerning conflict resolution training which revolves around the activities of the May workshop.

A second workshop on conflict resolution for parliamentarians and political leaders in South Asia will be held in the region in 1996.



*The parliamentarians participated in simulation exercises, to familiarize themselves with various negotiating techniques. Pictured here are: Ms. Fatimath Sheerin (MP, Maldives) Senator Aitaz Ashan (Pakistan) Mr. A. Thangathurai (MP, Sri Lanka) Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan (MP, Bangladesh) Mr. Abdul Suttar (former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan)*

# 1995 Executive Committee



**International President:**  
*Mr. Murli Deora (MP, India) first joined the International Council in 1991. and became a President in 1992. In 1994, he served as Convenor of the Sustainable Development and Population Program. He has been re-elected International President for 1996. (See also the page facing page 1.)*

International President ..... Mr. Murli Deora (MP, India)

Presidents..... Dip. Jorge Arguello (Argentina)

Hon. Mr. Moses Katjuongua (MP, Namibia)

Senator Ernesto Maceda (Philippines)

Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid (MP, Egypt)

Hon. Mr. A.N.R. Robinson (MP, Trinidad and Tobago)

Ms. Maj Britt Theorin (MEP, Sweden)

Members-at-Large ..... Rep. Gary Ackerman (USA)

Ms. Elena Poptodorova (MP, Bulgaria)

Treasurer..... Mr. George Foulkes (MP, United Kingdom)

Past President ..... Hon. Mr. Warren Allmand (MP, Canada)

Council Chairman (*ex officio*)..... Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson (MA, Iceland)

*June 2, 1995, Executive Committee members and Secretariat Directors meet with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali.*

*From left:*

*Ms. Shazia Rafi (Sec.Dir.)*

*Mr. A.N.R. Robinson*

*Sen. Ernesto Maceda*

*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid*

*the UN Secretary-General*

*Mr. Murli Deora*

*Mr. Moses Katjuongua*

*Mr. Aaron Tovish (Sec.Dir.)*

*Dr. Ólafur R. Grimsson*

*Dip. Jorge Arguello*





## Newly Elected to the 1996 Executive Committee

### As Presidents:

**Mr. Koji Kakizawa** was Foreign Minister of Japan from 1993-94. Before entering politics, he served in various Ministries and as Cabinet Secretary. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1980. He has been Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Environment, for Transport, and for Foreign Affairs. He was convenor of PGA's Democracy Program in 1994.



Thrice elected to the National Congress, in 1984, '90 and '94, **Dip. Andres Palma** has served on the Defense, Revenue, and Budgetary Committees. He has also played a leading role in several Special Commissions on subjects such as poverty in Chile and ozone depletion. He attended the Cairo population conference both with PGA and on his government's delegation.



### As Members-at-Large:

Prior to being elected to the National Assembly of Senegal in 1992, **Dep. Ibrahima Fall** served as Director of the Cabinet of the President of the Assembly. Upon election, he joined the Bureau of the Assembly. He has represented Senegal regularly in the African Parliamentary Union, and has participated in several PGA delegations to Burundi.



The opposition boycotted the last Ghanaian elections, so **Ms. Hawa Yakubu** is the sole independent member in a parliament without a formal opposition. She has spoken out forcefully against abuses of power by President Jerry Rawlings and his family. She has played a role in Ghanaian politics since 1978 when she was elected to the National Constituent Assembly.



### 1996 Executive Committee

#### International President:

Mr. Murli Deora  
(MP, India)

#### Presidents:

Mr. Koji Kakizawa  
(MP, Japan)  
Hon. Moses Katjuongua  
(MP, Namibia)  
Dip. Andres Palma  
(Chile)  
Hon. A.N.R. Robinson  
(Trinidad and Tobago)  
Ms. Maj Britt Theorin  
(MEP, Sweden)

#### Members-at-Large:

Rep. Gary Ackerman  
(USA)  
Dep. Ibrahima Fall  
(Senegal)  
Dr. Ólafur Ragnar  
Grimsson (MA, Iceland)  
Ms. Elena Poptodorova  
(MP, Bulgaria)  
Ms. Hawa Yakubu  
(MP, Ghana)

#### Treasurer:

Mr. George Foulkes  
(MP, United Kingdom)

#### Past President:

Hon. Warren Allmand, PC  
(MP, Canada)

# 1995 International Council



**Council Chair:**

*Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson has held the position of Chairman of the International Council since 1994. He also served in that capacity in 1984. In 1996, he will be a Member-at-Large of the Executive Committee. He is convenor of the Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Program (page 19).*

**Chair:**

Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson (MA, Iceland)

**Vice-Chairs:**

Dep. Valdir Colatto (Brazil)

Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal)

Rep. Garrie Gibson (Australia)

Senator Thomas Harkin (USA)

Mr. Koji Kakizawa (MP, Japan)

Hon. Dr. A. Moyeen Khan (MP, Bangladesh)

**Councillors:**

Ms. Helen Beim (MP, Denmark)

Senator Sartaj Aziz (Pakistan)

Dip. Carlos Becerra (Argentina)

Senador Rodolfo Becerril (Mexico)

Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark (MP, Sweden)

Sen. Jaime Fernandez Mirabal (Dominican Republic)

Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu (MP, Kenya)

Mr. M.J. Nolan (TD, Ireland)

Rep. Jon Lilletun (Norway)

Mr. Theo Meyer (NR, Switzerland)

Hon. Mr. Lesedi Mothibamele (MP, Botswana)

Dip. Andes Palma (Chile)

Dep. Elie Plancher (Haiti)

Mr. Ross Robertson (MP, New Zealand)

Dip. Gustavo Tarre (Venezuela)

Ms. Suzette Verhoeven (MP, Belgium)

Mr. Gert Weisskirchen (MdB, Germany)

Ms. Hawa Yakubu (MP, Ghana)

**Executive Committee:**

All Executive Committee members (see page 28) also sit on the International Council.



## Newly Elected to the 1996 International Council

### As International Chairman:

Philippine **Sen. Ernesto Maceda** served as a PGA President in 1995. He was convenor of the Sustainable Development and Population Program in 1995 (page 13). He has chaired the Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Constitutional Amendments Committees, as well as being Minority Leader. In 1986 he was Minister of Natural Resources.



### As Vice-Chairs:



**Dip. Carlos Becerra** served as Councillor in 1995. In the Argentine Congress, he has represented the Province of Cordoba, 1983 to 89 and 1991 to present.

He served as Secretary-General to President Dr. Raul Alfonsin (1986-89), during the last years of the Six Nation Peace Initiative. He has been Secretary of the Committee on External Relations and Culture, and a member of the Defense Committee.



**Mr. Theo Meyer** has been a National Representative in the Swiss Parliament since 1991. He is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Having lived and worked in Togo and Benin in the 1960s, he has been especially involved in Global Action's Africa programs (page 5). In the Swiss tradition that politics ought not be one's sole occupation, Mr. Mayer practices and teaches architecture.

### As Councillors:

**Mr. John Connor** (TD, Ireland): Having first served in the Irish Senate, Mr. Connor is now Vice-Chair of the Dail's Finance Committee and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

**Dr. Kimmo Kiljunen** (MP, Finland): Dr. Kiljunen has published a global historical survey of the identities of modern states. He has been Secretary-General of the Int'l Peace Bureau.

**Dep. Nephtali Ndikumana** (Burundi): Dep. Ndikumana represents the Burundi PGA National Group. He is Vice Chairman of the National Assembly's Economic Committee.

**Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen** (MP, Finland): Ms. Pietikainen was 24 when she entered parliament. As Minister of the Environment (1991-95), she chaired several international meetings.

### 1996 International Council

#### Chair:

**Senator Ernesto Maceda**  
(Philippines)

#### Vice-Chairs:

**Dip. Valdir Colatto**  
(Brazil)

**Mr. Garrie Gibson**  
(MP, Australia)

**Senator Tom Harkin**  
(USA)

**Hon. A. Moyeen Khan**  
(Bangladesh)

**Mr. Theo Meyer**  
(NR, Switzerland)

#### Councillors:

**Senator Sartaj Aziz**  
(Pakistan)

**Senador Rodolfo Becerra**  
(Mexico)

**Ms. Helen Beim**  
(MP, Denmark)

**Karl-Göran Biörsmark**  
(MP, Sweden)

**Mr. John Connor**  
(TD, Ireland)

**Mr. Otohiko Endo**  
(MP, Japan)

**Senador Jaime Fernandez Mirabal**  
(Dominican Republic)

**Dr. Kimmo Kiljunen**  
(MP, Finland)

**Mr. Jon Lilletun**  
(MP, Norway)

**Dep. Nephtali Ndikumana**  
(Burundi)

**Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu**  
(MP, Kenya)

**Mr. M.J. Nolan**  
(TD, Ireland)

**Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen**  
(MP, Finland)

**Dep. Elie Plancher**  
(Haiti)

**Mr. Ross Robertson**  
(MP, New Zealand)

**Dip. Gustavo Tarre**  
(Venezuela)

**Ms. Suzette Verhoeven**  
(MP, Belgium)

**Mr. Gert Weisskirchen**  
(MdB, Germany)

# Finances



## **Treasurer:**

*George Foulkes has served as Treasurer of Parliamentarians for Global Action since 1992. He is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the British House of Commons. Mr. Foulkes is Labour Shadow Minister for Overseas Development, and has been Labour Shadow Minister for both Foreign Affairs and Defence. He has represented the British Parliament in the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union.*

## **Financial Administrators:**

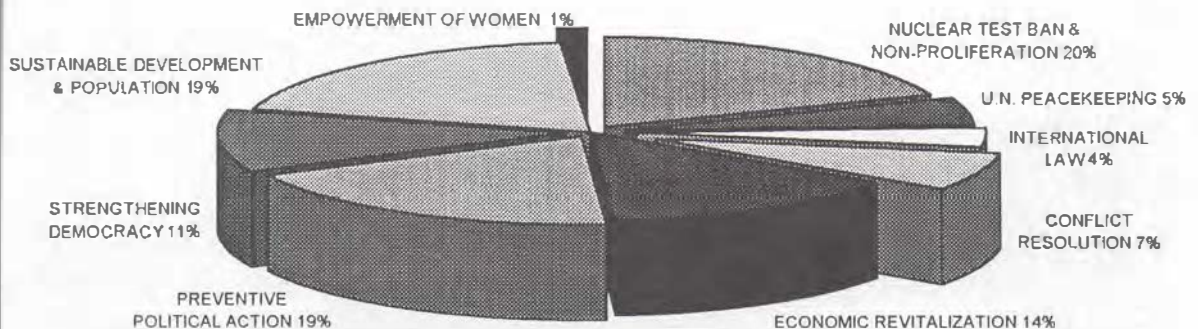
*Ms. Janice Johnson  
(January-August)  
Mr. Michael Agbeko  
(August-December)*

## **Development Officer:**

*Mr. Henry Grossberg*

The 1995 budget surmounted the one and a half million dollar mark for the first time in the organization's history. Since the revenue increase was confined to temporarily restricted funds, it was not possible to eliminate entirely the fund balance deficit inherited from last year. That increase in program grants in 1995 is a testament to the strong relationship Global Action has developed with governmental and inter-governmental agencies over the last few years. Several foundations and individuals have now been regularly supporting Parliamentarians for Global Action for over a decade. As our sources of financing diversify, we remain especially grateful for their contributions.

## ACTIVITY BY PROGRAM



## **Grants to Parliamentarians for Global Action in 1995 —\$3000 or more**

### **UN Agencies and Co-operating Agencies**

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)  
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
United Nations Educational, Scientific, & Cultural Organization (UNESCO)  
United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)  
World Bank

### **Governments**

Danish Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Norwegian Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency  
Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

### **Corporations**

Bozell Worldwide  
Merrill Lynch International

### **Foundations**

Raymond and Elizabeth Bloch Foundation  
Boehm Foundation  
Bydale Foundation  
Compton Foundation  
S.H. Cowell Foundation  
Ford Foundation [India]  
W. Alton Jones Foundation  
Stewart R. Mott Charitable Trust  
Ploughshares Fund  
Scherman Foundation  
Miriam G. and Ira D. Wallach Foundation  
Winston Foundation for World Peace

### **Institutions**

Open Society Institute [Bulgaria]  
United States Institute of Peace

**Individuals** (see page 34)



## INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

We have audited, in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, the statement of financial position of Parliamentarians for Global Action as of December 31, 1995, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended (not presented herein); and in our report dated April 4, 1996, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those financial statements. In our opinion, the information set forth in the accompanying condensed financial statements is fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the financial statements from which it has been derived.

*Winnie Tam & Co. P.C.*

New York, New York  
April 4, 1996

*Winnie Tam & Co. P.C.,  
member of the American  
Institute of Certified Public  
Accountants and the New  
York State Society of  
Certified Public Account-  
ants, conducts the annual  
audit of Parliamentarians  
for Global Action. The  
complete financial state-  
ments are available upon  
request or by writing to:  
New York State*

*Department of State  
Office of Charities  
Regulation  
162 Washington Avenue  
Albany, New York 12231.*

	<u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Temporarily Restricted</u>	<u>Total All Funds</u>
<b>Statement of Financial Position</b>			
Total Assets	\$ 14,639	\$ 354,475	\$ 369,114
Total Liabilities	26,341		26,341
Net Assets	(\$ 11,702 )	\$ 354,475	\$ 342,773
<b>Statement of Activities</b>			
<u>Support and revenue:</u>			
Individual contributions	\$ 55,720	\$ 9,000	\$ 64,720
Foundation, corporate and institutional grants	83,661	448,035	531,696
U.N. agency and government grants		885,475	885,475
Other	36,522		36,522
Total Support and Revenue	175,903	1,342,510	1,518,413
Net assets released from restrictions:			
Satisfaction of program restrictions	1,169,935	( 1,169,935 )	
Total Support and Revenue	1,345,838	172,575	1,518,413
<u>Expenses</u>			
Programme Services	1,187,617		1,187,617
Supporting Services			
Administrative and general	114,778		114,778
Fund raising	38,161		38,161
Total Expenses	1,340,556		1,340,556
Changes in net assets	5,282	172,575	177,857
Net assets at December 31, 1994	( 16,984 )	181,900	164,916
Net assets at December 31, 1995	(\$ 11,702 )	\$ 354,475	\$ 342,773

## Donors — \$5,000 or more

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Harrison and Louise Hoffman  
Dr. Josephine L. Murray  
Mrs. Joan Warburg

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Mrs. Avery Rogers Brooke  
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Ms. Clair S. Thomas  
Mr. Charles A. Utzinger  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Gill Walker  
Ms. Cora Weiss  
Mr. Clemens A. Werner, Esq.  
Mr. & Mrs. Edgar Wyman

*The World Parliamentary Conference for Support of the United Nations, co-sponsored by Global Action and the Foundation for the Support of the United Nations, Japan, was front page news. This clipping shows Senator Margaret Reynolds (Australia) addressing a plenary session of the Conference shortly after arriving in Gifu from the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women.*





# Secretariat, New York

Secretary-General .....	Dr. Kennedy Graham
Acting Secretary-General .....	Mr. Aaron Tovish
Deputy Secretaries-General .....	Ms. Shazia Rafi Mr. Aaron Tovish
Program Officers.....	Dr. Jean Krasno / Mr. Mark Clark Ms. Annabel Hertz Mr. Paul Nuti Ms. Mercedes Mas de Xaxas / Ms. Asha Shah Ms. Ayaka Suzuki
Project Officer .....	Mr. Sotiris Cartsos
Director for Publications and Membership .....	Mr. Garvin Brown
Development Officer .....	Mr. Henry Grossberg
Financial Officer .....	Ms. Janice Johnson / Mr. Michael Agbeko
Administrative Assistant .....	Ms. Mirtille Romegialli / Ms. Fatime Dam



**Secretary-General:**  
Dr. Kennedy Graham became Secretary-General in 1989. In 1995, he was on leave through August and resigned in December. He is currently a Director at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance in Stockholm.

**Acting Secretary-General:**  
Mr. Aaron Tovish, who has been Deputy Secretary-General since 1987, served as Acting Secretary-General in Dr. Kennedy Graham's absence. (See also page 18)



Staff members, left to right:  
Annabel Hertz  
Mark Clark  
Michael Agbeko  
Ayaka Suzuki  
Paul Nuti  
Ike Gonzalez (intern)  
Shazia Rafi  
Fatime Dam  
Sotiris Cartsos  
Aaron Tovish  
Henry Grossberg



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<http://www.pglobal.org/pglobal>