

# PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR GLOBAL ACTION ANNUAL REPORT 1994





# A Message from the 1994 International President



*Senadora Silvia Hernandez was International President during 1994. As such, she chaired the Executive Committee of Parliamentarians for Global Action. See page 29.*

In this Annual Report, you can read about Parliamentarians for Global Action's diverse programmes. Under the leadership of individual Executive Committee members, our programmes have advanced our reputation for innovative and effective global action. Whether at international governmental conferences, at the United Nations General Assembly, with various UN offices and agencies, or through delegations to capitals around the world, the involvement of Global Action is openly welcomed -- even solicited. Of course, we do not always bring a comforting message, but our opinions are attended to seriously because of their political realism. And because our methods of work have proven so successful, Parliamentarians for Global Action is increasingly seen as a force to be reckoned with.

But 1994 was a sobering year -- as much for Global Action as for the rest of the world. Visions of a new world order had to make way for the stubborn, too often brutal, facts of national politics and individual life.

This year, Global Action -- and the United Nations -- learned that for its global vision to work at all, it must work for even the smallest and poorest nations. The sheer magnitude of the tragedy in Rwanda stunned us all. Global Action was powerless to act, and even the United Nations was caught unprepared. Of course, one could dispassionately evaluate this failure, draw lessons, and work to improve the responsiveness of the United Nations system. And this we did. But, what we could not do was turn our backs on another Rwanda brewing in neighbouring Burundi. The hard truth was that the only remaining democratic institution in that country was its parliament -- and it was in crisis. We had on our Task Force on Africa many MPs who had survived crises in their own democracies. We had to act. And I am proud to say that under the leadership of Moses Katjuongua, two missions to Burundi helped to

pull that country back from the chasm that had engulfed Rwanda.

In my part of the world, the Haitian crisis peaked. Our work in Haiti was at times devoted to individuals; helping threatened members escape with their lives. But we also had the great honour of being received by the Haitian Parliament and President Aristide just three days after his return to power. It has been rightly said that the price of freedom is vigilance. On every continent, a single setback for democracy can undercut the entire global trend toward democracy. Functioning parliaments are the single surest measure of a healthy democracy. In Haiti and Burundi, Global Action has demonstrated that it can play a vital role in sustaining the advancement of democracy around the globe.

This, my last year as International President of Global Action, has been perhaps the most demanding year of my long political career. My closest political ally, Presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, was murdered as he campaigned for the Mexican Presidency. Earlier, through Global Action's part in the Six Nation Initiative, I had come to know Prime Ministers Olof Palme and Rajiv Gandhi. Soldiers enter their profession knowing that they may have to make the ultimate sacrifice, but must politicians? My friends in Global Action helped me struggle with these painful questions. I re-entered the Mexican campaign, and was then chosen to serve the new Government as Minister of Tourism. My only regret is that this new responsibility will limit the time I can devote to many of the international causes championed by Parliamentarians for Global Action. But this should not be viewed as a loss by Global Action. Those of us who have been among its ranks will not soon forget the broad horizons we explored with Parliamentarians for Global Action. I need only recall the conference hosted by the Dutch Defense Ministry, arranged for and addressed by Relus ter Beek, Defence Minister -- and former Global Action President (page 11). Relus, I, and others are keeping our eyes on this organisation, because its future is an indicator of the world's future, and our nations' -- indeed our very own. □



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*Parliamentarians  
for Global Action  
1994 Annual Report*

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*Cover photo: Members of  
Parliamentarians for Global  
Action at the UN Annual  
Parliamentary Forum.  
See page 1.*

*International Council  
Chairman Dr. Ólafur Ragnar  
Grímsson presents Senadora  
Silvia Hernández with a  
plaque commemorating her  
three years as International  
President of Parliamentarians  
for Global Action.*



# About Parliamentarians for Global Action



## Secretary-General

*Dr. Kennedy Graham is Secretary-General of Parliamentarians for Global Action. Prior to his appointment in 1989, Dr. Graham was Counsellor with the New Zealand Mission to the United Nations in Geneva. He served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand for 16 years. Dr. Graham has had many articles published throughout the world on international security issues and has taught international relations at Victoria University. Dr. Graham will be on sabbatical during the first half of 1995 on a Quartercentenary Fellowship from Cambridge University.*

A glance at the world portrayed on the center pages of this Report shows that "PGA" is true to its name: parliamentary, global, and action-oriented.

Global Action is, to borrow a phrase, of parliamentarians, by parliamentarians, and for parliamentarians.

In 1994, the organisation's membership -- exclusively sitting members of national legislatures -- crossed the one thousand threshold. The International Council (page 30) has grown to 35 members. It sets the overall direction for the organisation on an annual basis, by electing and offering guidance to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee (page 29), which has also grown to ensure better representation, is the board of the organisation. Each aspect of the political work of Global Action is under the direct supervision of a "parliamentary convenor" on the Executive Committee. The convenor reports to the Executive Committee on his or her area of responsibility. Each programme has a special parliamentary network that is in regular contact with the programme convenor through the Secretariat.

As democracy expands globally, so does the organisation. Members are now drawn from 80 parliaments worldwide. The 1994 Council had MPs from 32 countries; Executive Committee members come from every continent. Former Global Action members are in leading positions in many governments and international organisations, and many current members have held top government posts. The work of the organisation brings members together from far-flung destinations to meet with officials of politically crucial countries and to observe major inter-governmental conferences wherever they may be held.

Putting the right people in the right place at the right time produces action. This Report illustrates well the great scope of action the organisation has undertaken in 1994. The members can raise their voices in parliament, they can meet with their own government officials, and they can join their government's

delegations to international conferences. Members of the programme networks are often the most active. Members can also form delegations, often involving Executive Committee members, to present Global Action proposals to key decision makers in governments and international organisations. By demonstrating to one leader or key official that their counterparts in other countries are ready to join forces, Global Action can overcome hesitancy and catalyse action by all. Our work in the arms control field affords several examples of this, most recently the Step-by-Step Reduction of the Nuclear Threat Resolution which was advanced in the UN General Assembly this year.

In 1994, Global Action further developed a type of action first practiced in Togo in 1993: "preventive political action" by which the parliament can be the saving grace of a nation in trouble. It can provide an opening for political intervention by outside parliamentarians -- intervention that does not impinge as bluntly on national sovereignty as intervention by another state. By speaking parliamentarian to parliamentarian, political parties divided by conflict can be encouraged to debate, reason, and legislate together again. In 1994, this was accomplished in Burundi. Already in 1995, the United Nations has invited Global Action to play a similar role in Suriname.

Of course, parliamentary global action does not materialise out of thin air. The Secretariat (page 31) in New York has the task of doing the ground work. The programme work of the organisation is carried out by two sections: Peace and Security (page 4), and Democracy and Development (page 18). Each section pursues several specific programmes, each, as mentioned above, under the direction of a parliamentarian convenor. In assisting the parliamentarians, the travels of the members of the Secretariat also span the globe.

By these means, Global Action's members, achieve outstanding results in the global arena. □



# UN Annual Parliamentary Forum

No Global Action year is complete without a meeting of the International Council and the United Nations Annual Parliamentary Forum. In 1994, this meant stretching the year into January 1995. The Executive Committee wanted to use the opportunity, that the Annual Forum might provide to influence inter-governmental meetings being held at UN Headquarters, which were of direct relevance to the organisation's plans for 1995.

The first meeting concerned preparations for the March 1995 Social Summit in Copenhagen (page 2); the second, preparations for the April 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty Extension Conference in New York (page 3). One day of the Forum was devoted to each subject, allowing not only the members of the International Council but a good number of other MPs to make a direct contribution to these important international events as they were being planned. Global Action will have a significant presence in both Copenhagen and New York.

The high point of the Forum was the Inga Thorsson Memorial Lecture, given by the U.S. Secretary of the Department of Energy, Ms. Hazel O'Leary. A message from Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson recalled the extraordinary dedication with which Inga Thorsson had served the causes of disarmament and development, in her mind a single indivisible cause. Inga Thorsson's successor as Swedish Ambassador for Disarmament, Maj-Britt Theorin, MEP (Sweden), opened the event with some personal memories of her predecessor; Dr. Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, MA (Iceland), Council Chairman, introduced the Secretary of Energy. Ms. O'Leary addressed the public gathering of over two hundred parliamentarians, diplomats, and arms control advocates on the subject of "Decommissioning of the Nuclear Arsenals: the U.S. Experience."

She described how President Bill Clinton had honoured his campaign pledges to end nuclear weapon testing, counter proliferation, and pursue further arms reductions. "He has moved directly from promises to deeds," she concluded. Her lecture was followed by a lively question and answer period, during which she voiced her opposition to a U.S. Administration policy for a less-than-permanent test-ban treaty. Later that week, she and other Cabinet officials were successful in getting a



permanent test-ban policy affirmed by the President. The Lecture generated a great deal of interest because the Secretary was the highest-level official to be in New York on the occasion of the NPT Preparatory Committee meeting.

The International Council (page 30) held a full day's meetings prior to the Forum. The Council elected the officers of the organisation for 1995, reviewed progress in the various programmes, and established general guidelines for the work for the Executive Committee, the board of the organisation (page 29). □



*United States Secretary of Energy Ms. Hazel O'Leary was the Inga Thorsson Memorial Speaker at the 1994 Annual Forum.*

*At a reception preceding the Inga Thorsson Memorial Lecture, Secretary O'Leary is greeted by, left to right, Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid of Egypt, Ms. Houda Kanoun of Tunisia and Mr. Aaron Tovish, the newly appointed Acting Secretary-General of Parliamentarians for Global Action.*



*"We pledge to work in cooperation with all other relevant international and parliamentary organisations, and in our national legislatures to attain the goals laid out in the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action by:*

- Ensuring the democratization of the development process by decentralising government institutions and services;*
- Promoting the participation of women in decision-making and the achievement of gender balance in our parliaments;*
- Adopting legislation which stimulates investment in national production and exports and contributes to employment opportunities;*
- Approving budget allocations, when appropriate, for the achievement and maintenance of the 0.7% GNP target by donor governments;*
- Approving budget allocations consistent with the 20/20 initiative for the provision of basic social services to all;*
- Approving measures for the generation of domestic resources and savings to be used in the provision of priority social services;*
- Taking action against the illegal transfer of capital and against misappropriation and misuse of public funds;*
- Promoting the drafting of a charter to protect the rights and eliminate the economic and social injustices of migrants.*

*We call on world leaders and parliamentarians around the world to join us in this endeavour."*

*Statement excerpts  
January 23, 1995*

## Day One - Social Summit

The theme of the Annual Forum was "Some More Equal Than Others?: Disarmament and Development in the post-Cold War Perspective." The first day addressed social inequalities and the MPs issued a Statement on the Social Summit. Parliamentarians, pictured below, Mr. Jaime Fernandez Mirabal (Dominican Rep.), Mr. Guillermo Estevez Berrero and Mr. Carlos Baccerra (Argentina), Ms. Diane



Yates (New Zealand), and the Hon. A. Moyeen Khan (Bangladesh), heard from UN agency officials Dr. Richard Jolly, Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, pictured at left, and Dr. Jorge Werthein. The lunch-eon speaker was Armeane Choksi, Vice-President of the World Bank, pictured at bottom left. Just as im-portantly, members had an opportunity to converse with each other, below Sir David Steel, (UK) with Ms. Elena Poptodorova (Bulgaria) and Mr. Theo Meyer (Switzerland), on the organisation's work on democracy and development.





## Day Two - Extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

The second day of the Forum addressed nuclear inequalities. Parliamentarians, pictured at right, Gert Weisskirchen and Freimut Duve (Germany), Valdir Colatto (Brazil), George Foulkes (UK), and Jon Lilletun (Norway), considered means of reducing the nuclear threat. The high point of the day was a debate



on the future of the NPT with, facing forward at table, Houda Kanoun (Tunisia), Amb. Sir Michael Weston (UK), Amb. Thomas Graham (USA), Dr. Ólafur Grímsson (Iceland), Mr. Aaron Tovish (Secretariat), and Amb. Miguel Marin-Bosch (Mexico), taking part. At the luncheon, MPs had an opportunity to question NPT negotiator George Bunn. At left, Warren Allmand (Canada) recognises Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid (Egypt), also at table, Mr. Gianfranco Dell'Alba (Italy), Mr. Colatto and Ms. Antoinette Fouque, MEP (France). □

*“The nuclear non-proliferation regime must be strengthened to face the challenges of the coming decades. . . Four NPT review conferences have been held to date. They have been difficult, even acrimonious, affairs. The Conference in April 1995 includes the fifth review, as well as the extension decision. This conjunction provides a special opportunity to review the review process itself. The longer the extension of the treaty, the more critical it is that the review process inspire confidence, since it is the only mechanism for monitoring compliance with the treaty's provisions. We suggest looking at the review process as a cycle, rather than intermittent events. The cycle would begin with parties to the treaty setting general compliance targets for the coming five years; this would be followed by a good faith effort to attain those targets through specific measures and actions; the cycle would end with a thorough evaluation of the match between expectation and performance. Positioned at the cusp between cycles, each review conference should both look back at the previous five-year period and forward to the next five-year period. In this way, each review can be maximally useful to the next review and progress toward the long-term objectives of the treaty could be tracked more systematically through the years.”*

*Message excerpts  
January 24, 1995*



# Peace & Security Section

## Parliamentary Convenors:

Hon. Warren Allmand

Ms. Emma Bonino

Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson

Rep. James A. Leach

Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid



## Section Director:

Mr. Aaron Tovish has served as the Director of the Peace and Security Section as well as Deputy Secretary-General of Parliamentarians for Global Action since 1986.

While studying at Oxford University, he founded Third Party Intervention, which called on non-nuclear nations to promote a dialogue on nuclear arms control. In 1983, Mr. Tovish joined Global Action to advance the Six Nation Initiative for Peace and Disarmament. From 1983 to 1991, he was responsible for promoting use of the amendment provisions of the Partial Test Ban Treaty to convene a conference of the treaty members on a comprehensive test ban.

Aaron Tovish will be Global Action's Acting Secretary-General for the first half of 1995.

Throughout the Cold War, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* had a clock on its cover displaying how many minutes away the world was from nuclear devastation. The days when international tension could so easily be reduced to a single parameter are over. For every development promoting international peace there is an opposing one undermining global security. Global Action's Peace and Security Programmes strive primarily to reinforce the positive trends, but also to counter the negative ones.

The nuclear weapons issue is a mine-field of conflicting trends. The intense East-West rivalry is virtually extinguished. But news that the nuclear arms race is over does not seem to have reached the runner-ups: the lesser nuclear powers, France, Britain, and China, continue to produce each about one nuclear weapon a week. While refusing to declare when or where they will stop, they have the temerity to demand that all other states forswear the acquisition of nuclear weapons forever.

In 1994, Global Action's Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Programme helped the leading Third World states articulate a practical, "step-by-step" approach to nuclear arms control over the next five to ten years. The focus: reducing the nuclear threat. Building on the success of this effort in the UN General Assembly, the MPs at the UN Parliamentary Forum in January strove to adapt the step-by-step approach to the urgent need for a compromise option that could command broad support at the April Non-Proliferation Treaty Review and Extension Conference, saving it from a sterile confrontation.

The chemical weapons issue was supposed to have been wrapped up with the signing of the Convention in Paris in January 1992. While no land-mines have been encountered on the path to entry into force, there have been a number of stumbling blocks. Global Action's Chemical Weapon Convention Programme

is working to overcome those obstacles so that its exemplary verification regime can begin operating. While hopes for 1994 have faded, Global Action is committed to decisive progress in 1995.

Of course, as long as there are conflicts, the instruments to make war will be found. They may not be weapons of mass destruction, but many lives can be destroyed just the same. Witness the power of the machete in Rwanda. The objective must be to prevent political conflict from turning ugly in the first place, or, failing that, to deploy a peacekeeping operation with as little delay as possible. The United Nations is making significant progress in both regards. Global Action's Peacekeeping and Collective Security Programme is helping in both areas. Early warning of potentially violent conflict and conflict resolution are two areas where parliamentarians can play a more prominent role. And parliamentary support for a more effective peacekeeping capability is essential if peace operations are to help diffuse a crisis before it has escalated beyond the point of control.

The brutality of war sometimes violates all bounds of decency. After World War II, the worst excesses of the German and Japanese military machines could not be left untried. But, it has taken almost 50 years to act upon the knowledge that the horrors of war did not end in 1945. Finally, "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia prompted renewed action. The ground for the Ad Hoc Tribunal had been cleared by the mounting interest in establishing a permanent international criminal court. Global Action's International Law and Human Rights Programme has an important part in the new debate. While supporting the Ad Hoc Tribunal for Rwanda as another stop-gap measure, the programme has kept its sights firmly fixed on establishment of the permanent court. Then the war criminal of tomorrow will suffer from no illusion that the world will turn a blind eye to atrocities as it so consistently did between 1948 and 1994. □



# Nuclear Test Ban & Non-Proliferation

In a six month drive from May to October, Parliamentarians for Global Action succeeded in placing a new approach to nuclear arms control on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. Focusing on the next five to ten years, the proposal seeks to promote the "Step-by-Step Reduction of the Nuclear Threat." Sponsored by twelve of the major non-

superpowers. These ideas, reiterated year after year, became rhetorically calcified. By the time the Cold War ended, only the rhetorical habits remained. Global Action was determined to inject fresh thinking into the arms control debate, convinced that there was much common ground to be cultivated. To this end, Global Action developed the nuclear threat reduction framework with the goal of establishing a general direction and pace for multi-lateral disarmament negotiations over the next five to ten years.



aligned states, the nuclear threat reduction framework should be an important point of reference at the 1995 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Extension Conference and an important point of departure for the 50th General Assembly.

During the Cold War, many creative proposals for reducing the nuclear threat failed to elicit a serious response from the

Initially explored through high-level consultations at the UN Disarmament Commission meetings in New York in 1993 and early in 1994, the Nuclear Threat Reduction framework evolved further during meetings with Foreign Ministers at the March 1994 Non-Aligned Movement meeting in Cairo. Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, MA (Iceland) and Mr. Aaron Tovish (Deputy Secretary-General) secured preliminary



**Parliamentary Convenor:**  
*Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, MA Iceland, is Chairman of the International Council (page 30). First elected to the Icelandic Parliament in 1978, Dr. Grímsson was that country's Finance Minister from 1988 to 1991. He is currently a member of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, Chairman of the People's Alliance Party, and is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Iceland.*

**Programme Officer:**  
*Ms. Annabel Hertz*

*Ambassador Thomas Graham, President Clinton's Special Representative for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Arms Control, addresses the UN Parliamentary Forum. Listening, left to right, are Dr. Grímsson, Mr. Tovish, and Ambassador Miguel Marin-Bosch.*



## Parliamentary Network

*Argentina:*  
 Dip. Manuel Garcia Moreno  
*Australia:*  
 Mr. John Langmore  
*Belgium:*  
 Sen. Paul Pataer  
*Brazil:*  
 Dep. Aloisio Vasconcelos  
*Canada:*  
 Hon. Warren Allmand  
 Mr. David Berger  
*European Union:*  
 Ms. Carole Tongue  
*Finland:*  
 Ms. Saara Maria Paakinen  
*Germany:*  
 Mr. Hermann Scheer  
*India:*  
 Major Sudhir Sawant  
*Indonesia:*  
 Mr. Theo Sambuaga  
*Ireland:*  
 Mr. Michael Finucane  
*Japan:*  
 Sen. Hideo Den  
*Mexico:*  
 Sen. Silvia Hernandez  
*Netherlands:*  
 Mr. Maarten van Traa  
*New Zealand:*  
 Mr. John Robertson  
*Sweden:*  
 Ms. Maj-Britt Theorin  
*Switzerland:*  
 Mr. Roland Wiederkehr  
*United Kingdom:*  
 Mr. Allan Rogers  
 Mr. Menzies Campbell  
*United States:*  
 Sen. Tom Harkin  
 Sen. Jim Jeffords

Dr. Grimsson conferring with  
 H.E. Sardar Asaf Ali,  
 Foreign Minister of Pakistan,  
 at the Non-Aligned  
 Countries' Movement in  
 Cairo.

indications of interest from ten heads of delegation. Global Action then hosted an informal meeting for interested states in New York and extensive consultations in Washington to gauge U.S. support for the approach. At the organisation's urging, the Mexican Mission to the United Nations hosted a series of meetings for states that were becoming involved in drafting the resolution. At all these sessions, Global Action acted as the drafting coordinator for the text of the possible resolution. Global Action was asked to contact the other declared nuclear-weapon states to get their preliminary reactions to the draft. This was done in Geneva, where the organisation had an observer delegation at the third NPT Preparatory Committee meeting composed of Mr. Roland Wiederkehr, NR (Switzerland), Mr. John Robertson, MP (New Zealand), and Mr. Sudhir Sawant, MP (India); and in Beijing during a visit by Dr. Grimsson.

Despite some reservations on the part of the nuclear-weapon states, Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe decided to move ahead with Nuclear Threat Reduction as an item. Ecuador, Tanzania, and Algeria later joined as co-sponsors. The resolution was formally introduced to the United Nations' First

Movement, a very moderate and practical approach to nuclear disarmament. Nuclear Threat Reduction offered the nuclear-weapon states a chance to signal a willingness to discuss their future plans with non-nuclear weapon states. Unfortunately, this opportunity was not taken up immediately. With a decision on extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) coming up in 1995, the nuclear-weapon states were ill-disposed to entertain any new "demands" from the non-aligned countries. Global Action, therefore, examined ways of translating the five-to-ten-year framework for Nuclear Threat Reduction into the NPT context. The treaty's five year review process suggested itself immediately. Mr. Tovish broached the idea of strengthening the NPT's review process during a round of meetings with arms control diplomats in Geneva in December. Then, while the NPT Preparatory Committee was meeting for the fourth and final time, Global Action's Annual Forum (page 1), identified reform of the review process as a crucial issue for states parties to the NPT to consider, both in its own right, and as a possible compromise element in extending the treaty.

A more rigorous review procedure would help maintain the leverage that some states might otherwise seek through frequent periodic extension decisions (an option available under the treaty's provisions) to press for fulfillment of the nuclear-weapon states' obligations regarding nuclear arms control. The Parliamentary Message to the Preparatory Committee stressed that reform of the review should begin in April 1995 and that the

objectives should be set for the next five year period. The entry into force of a test ban, a fissile material cutoff agreement, and -- to close the loophole left open by the NPT on acquisition -- a universal ban on the production of nuclear weapons would be appropriate objectives for the year 2000. Evaluation and



Committee by Ambassador Miguel Marin-Bosch of Mexico. On December 15, it was adopted as General Assembly Resolution A/49/75E, thereby establishing it as an agenda item for 1995.

By historical standards the resolution was, for leading countries of the Non-Aligned



resetting of goals would occur at the next review conference in the year 2000 and every five years thereafter. (See quote on page 3.)

A Forum delegation comprised of Mr. Garrie Gibson, MP (Australia), the Hon. Moyeen Khan (Bangladesh), and Ms. Dianne

negotiations.

Delegates to the test-ban talks took Global Action representatives into their confidence because of the organisation's longstanding record of advocacy and action on test ban issues. The organisation maintains a strong



Yates, MP (New Zealand), delivered the Message, signed by the 34 participants in the Forum, to Sri Lankan Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala, President-Designate of the Extension Conference, who Global Action had kept informed of its effort since meeting in May in Cairo. The organisation will continue to take up the idea with key delegations in Geneva to ensure that a constructive dialogue between nuclear and non-nuclear weapon states emerges through the NPT Review and Extension Conference.

After 14 years of neglect, talks on banning all nuclear explosions opened at the beginning of 1994 in Geneva under the chairmanship of Ambassador Marin-Bosch. High expectations that talks would be concluded prior to the April 1995 NPT Conference had faded by the end of the year, despite an extra negotiating session in December. Neither China nor France were in a hurry to conclude an agreement, each reserving the right to do further testing to ensure the reliability of their nuclear arsenals -- China exercising that "right" several times in 1994. Nonetheless, Global Action delegations that went to Geneva in March, June, and September found that work on a treaty with thorough verification provisions was proceeding in a serious manner. After each visit, updates were sent out to other members of the network recommending action on issues that might stall

advisory role in the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) amendment process. An October meeting with Mr. Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister and President of the 1991 Amendment Conference, explored the possibility of establishing an interim test-ban via the PTBT -- to help insulate the progress in Geneva from adverse outside developments until a permanent prohibition that applied to all nuclear powers could be achieved (China and France not being parties to the PTBT.) It was agreed that this option would be held in reserve, available in case the Geneva talks stagnate.

In 1995, Global Action will also focus on monitoring progress of the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations in Geneva. If necessary, as was the case in 1993, a Special Meeting of the PTBT states parties may be called -- or a full session of the Amendment Conference. Throughout the year, the Programme will concentrate on promoting the Nuclear Threat Reduction framework in various fora and work to obtain wider sponsorship of the resolution at the UN General Assembly. The challenge for Parliamentarian involvement in these issues is to make 1995 -- the United Nation's 50th anniversary and the atom bomb's -- a watershed year, in which practical steps are taken to realize the objectives of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. □

*Mr. Roland Wiederkehr discussing nuclear non-proliferation policy with the Ukrainian delegation to the third NPT Preparatory Committee meeting in Geneva. On the left, are, Mr. Scherba and Mr. Shamshur of the Ukrainian delegation; to their right, Dr. Ólafur Grímsson, and Mr. Sudhir Sawant.*



# Chemical Weapons Convention



**Parliamentary Convenor:**

*The Hon. Warren Allmand, a 29-year veteran of the Canadian House of Commons, was International President of*

*Parliamentarians for Global Action during 1990-91.*

*Under Prime Minister Trudeau, Mr. Allmand served as Solicitor-General and Minister of Indian Affairs, and was most recently appointed Chair of the Parliament's Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs and Co-Chair of the Standing Committee on Official Languages.*

**Programme Coordinator:**

*Mr. Sotiris Cartsos*

**Ecuadorian Ambassador Sr.**

*Luis Valencia Rodríguez reads a statement in support of the prompt ratification of the CWC before reporters at the United Nations press briefing room. With him from left to right, are, German Ambassador Dr. Gerhard Walter Henze, Mr. Aaron Tovish, and Swedish Ambassador Mr. Henrik Salander.*

As the second anniversary of the Chemical Weapons Convention's (CWC) opening for signature steadily approached, it was clear that the earliest opportunity for entry into force of the Convention had been missed. The international community was largely silent about its inability to fulfill the expectations of early enforcement of the treaty and no activities were planned around the January 13th anniversary date. In an effort to bring the issue of multilateral disarmament to the fore once again, Global Action took the initiative of convening a press conference at the United Nations to mark the Convention's anniversary.

German UN Ambassador Dr. Gerhard W. Henze and Ecuadorian UN Ambassador Luis Valencia-Rodríguez, joined by five top-level officials from other countries, described their unwavering commitment to the CWC and urged states that had not yet done so to ratify the treaty by the next anniversary of the CWC.

The Chemical Weapons Convention, which was opened for signature in January 1993, is the end product of a quarter-century of negotiations and culminates 100 years of international efforts to ban chemical weapons. The Convention prohibits the development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons and mandates the

destruction of current stockpiles within ten years of entry into force of the treaty.

Over the past year, Global Action worked to inform parliamentarians about ratifying this historic treaty and ensuring its proper enforcement. A "Manual for National Implementation Measures for the CWC", prepared by a team of international law experts at DePaul University, in cooperation with Global Action, was disseminated to parliamentarians to assist them in developing legislative measures on export restrictions, inspections, confidential information, environmental and safety obligations, and other important areas in which the CWC requires domestic action.

However, the widely held expectation that sixty-five states would deposit their instruments of ratification in 1994, thereby satisfying the requirements for early entry into force, did not come to fruition. In retrospect, many believe



this estimate was overly optimistic. Most States parties to the CWC required more time



to establish effective National Authorities and to finalise the implementing legislation needed for the treaty's proper enforcement. Currently,



158 states have signed the Convention and seventeen have deposited their instruments of ratification.

In January 1994, Global Action's International President, Senadora Silvia Hernández, presented United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali with the "Parliamentary Declaration in Support of the Chemical Weapons Convention." The Declaration, signed by more than 1200 parliamentarians from 51 countries, calls for the earliest entry into force of the Convention and its full and proper implementation. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Mr. Ian Kenyon, the Executive Secretary of the Provisional Technical Secretariat of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), were each presented with a copy of the Declaration at the Collective Security Workshop sponsored by Global Action in The Hague (page 10).

Parliamentarians for Global Action assembled a distinguished group of United Nations diplomats in September and November of 1994, to evaluate progress in CWC ratification efforts and the preparatory process of the Provisional Technical Secretariat of the OPCW. Representatives from ten Missions to the United Nations worked together with

Global Action to monitor CWC ratification preparations around the world in order to arrive at a sound estimate as to when the Convention would enter into force and to identify the type of assistance needed in various signatory states.

In 1995, the Chemical Weapons Convention Programme will continue assisting Members of Parliament to institute the implementing legislation needed to ensure proper verification and ratification of the treaty. With the concerted action of parliamentarians and governments, Global Action looks forward to entry into force by January 1996. Later in the year, the programme will address the daunting task of the destruction of chemical weapons, and work to resolve disputes among CWC signatories about export controls on chemicals and related technologies, as the focus shifts



from ratification of the treaty to the successful implementation of its provisions. □

## Parliamentary Network

*Argentina:*  
Dip. Carlos Armando Becerra  
*Austria:*  
Ms. Marijana Grandits  
*Bangladesh:*  
Mr. Abdul Matin Khasru  
*Chile:*  
Dip. Arturo Longton  
*Indonesia:*  
Mr. A.R. Zamharir  
*Malta:*  
Mr. Dom Mintoff  
*New Zealand:*  
Rt. Hon. Helen Clark  
*Pakistan:*  
Sen. Wassim Sajjad  
*Philippines:*  
Sen. Orlando Mercado  
*Switzerland:*  
Mr. Roland Wiederkher  
*Thailand:*  
Dr. Krasae Chanawongswe  
*Tunisia:*  
Ms. Houda Kanoun

*Top: Deputy Secretary-General Aaron Tovish with UN Mission officials, discussing the attendance of states parties to the Plenary Sessions of the Preparatory Committee of the OPCW. From left to right, are, Mr. Konan (Côte d'Ivoire), Mr. Griffin (Australia), Mr. Konik (Poland) and Mr. Santaputra (Thailand).*

*Bottom: The Hon. Warren Allmand chairing a group discussion on the prospects for entry into force of the CWC with officials from several Missions to the United Nations. From left to right, are, Sr. Ponce (Ecuador), Mr. Hellbeck (Germany), Mr. Konan (Côte d'Ivoire) and Mr. Popchev (Bulgaria).*



# Peacekeeping & Collective Security



**Parliamentary Convenor:**  
*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid was elected to the Executive Committee in 1992. A member of the Egyptian Parliament, she currently serves on the Foreign Affairs and Education Committees. Prof. Makram-Ebeid is active in several regional and international organisations, including the World Bank and the National Steering Committee for the 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development. She is also a founding member of the Arab Organisation for Human Rights.*

**Programme Officer:**  
*Dr. Jean Krasno*

*Global Action's Kennedy Graham and International President Silvia Hernández confer with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali prior to his address to the Hague Conference, hosted by Dutch Minister of Defence, Mr. Relus ter Beek.*

In a crisis, the difference between two weeks and two months can mean tens of thousands of lives. In 1994, the United Nations strove to dramatically decrease the time required to deploy a peacekeeping operation. Parliamentarians for Global Action was a close ally in that effort. A key to success was the involvement of the United States. At the invitation of Representative James Leach, Dr. Kennedy Graham (Secretary-General) and Dr. Jean Krasno (Programme Officer) accompanied Colonel Gerard Gambiez, then Director of the UN Standby Team, to Washington D.C. on April 12, for a series of high-level meetings on Capitol Hill and at the Pentagon. In response to a press briefing co-organised by Global Action, *The New York Times* reported the successful work the UN team had been undertaking.

The Standby Arrangements Unit was formed in April 1993 to facilitate the logistical coordination of UN peacekeeping operations during times of urgent need. The Standby Unit is compiling a database of potential resources (troops and equipment) provided by member states to be available for peacekeeping operations on an on-call basis. Initially, the response of member states to the Standby request for inventory lists was slow; the United States had been particularly reticent. But Global Action's efforts yielded results; within a few days of the press briefing the United States announced that it would support the Standby initiative. By September, an inventory list was made available to the United Nations by the United States, accompanied by a letter encouraging other nations to do the same. Global Action has continued to keep MPs informed on the initiative and to encourage member states to help peacekeeping become more efficient by supplying the United Nations with a list of available resources.

In January 1994, Parliamentarians for Global Action, in cooperation with the Dutch Ministry of Defence, held a global workshop in







the Hague entitled, "Strengthening Global Security Based on *An Agenda for Peace*." The meeting of 35 MPs from 27 countries around the world was hosted by Dutch Defense Minister Relus ter Beek (a former Global Action President) who expressed his government's total commitment to collective security. The MPs discussed the linkages between peace, security, and development; the need to build a better financial base for peacekeeping activities; being able to provide greater safety for peacekeepers; and how to mobilise the United Nations forces more efficiently in order to prevent the further escalation of conflict.

1994 proved to be a trying year for peacekeeping and collective security. Major successes like the peaceful, UN monitored elections in Mozambique in October had been overshadowed by the quagmire in Bosnia and the withdrawal from the unresolved situation in Somalia. Rwanda demonstrated that the United Nations was powerless to prevent genocide. Global Action spent the year working to enhance the capacity of the international community to identify brewing conflicts before they erupt into violence and activate conflict resolution preventive responses.

The parliamentarians at the Hague, led by a group of Dutch MPs, suggested the creation of an early warning mechanism utilising Global Action's established global network. UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in his address to the gathering, called the early warning mechanism "an excellent idea", adding that the action undertaken by MPs in

order to draw attention to an impending crisis would strengthen his hand, under Article 99 of the UN Charter, so that he could bring such situations to the attention of the Security Council.

In February, members of Global Action's Executive Committee met with Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Chinmaya Gharekhan, at the United Nations. The Secretary-General has called upon ECOSOC and the Department of

Humanitarian Affairs to act as early warning mechanisms within the United Nations system and Mr. Gharekhan suggested that close coordination should be developed between the two bodies and Global Action. In meetings with UN officials associated with early warning, Global Action soon discovered that there was no comprehensive means of identifying organisations which operate in the field of early warning and conflict prevention.

Thus, in December 1994, Global Action held a meeting in New York at the United Nations for such organizations. The participants agreed that greater communication and cooperation is needed among scholars, UN officials, and non-governmental organisations that were involved with early warning. At the request of the participants, Global Action will



compile a comprehensive directory of actors involved in early warning and prevention.

Global Action also worked in 1994 to encourage member states to pay their peacekeeping assessments in full and on time. A number of Global Action members wrote a joint letter to Members of the U.S. Congress,

## Parliamentary Network

*Australia:*  
Sen. Baden Teague  
*Brazil:*  
Dep. Valdir Colatto  
*Canada:*  
Hon. Warren Allmand  
*Denmark:*  
Mr. Niels Ahlmann-Olsen  
*Germany:*  
Mr. Freimut Duve  
*Ghana:*  
Ms. Hawa Ogede  
*India:*  
Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar  
*Indonesia:*  
Mr. Theo Sambuaga  
*Ireland:*  
Sen. Donal Lydon  
*Japan:*  
Mr. Koji Kakizawa  
*Netherlands:*  
Mr. Henk Vos  
*New Zealand:*  
Rt. Hon. David Lange  
*Norway:*  
Mr. Terje Nyberget  
*Poland:*  
Dr. Longin Pastusiak  
*Sweden:*  
Mr. Karl-Erik Svartberg  
*United Kingdom:*  
Mr. Allan Rogers  
*United States:*  
Rep. James Leach

*Top: Leading conference participants escort the UN Secretary-General to the main conference hall in the Defence Ministry in Den Hague.*

*Bottom: Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid introduces H.E. Aftab Shahban Mirani, the Pakistani Minister of Defence and Global Action member, before his address on the prospects for peace in South Asia.*



encouraging them to live up to their duty in supporting the funding of peacekeeping activities. A few weeks later, the U.S. Congress approved for the first time in



many years the full funding of the U.S. peacekeeping assessment, over \$1.2 billion.

The Peacekeeping and Collective Security Programme at Global Action has also begun a Conflict Resolution Project. The project began in 1994, in South Asia, with a Steering Committee planning meeting, to be followed by two training

workshops in 1995 on building negotiation and mediation skills for parliamentarians. The project is planned as the first in a series of conflict resolution skills development workshops which will later be held in Africa, the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe. The Steering Committee, which met in Kathmandu, Nepal in May 1994, included distinguished leaders and parliamentarians from six South Asian countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. With the help of the Steering Committee, the agenda and political focus of the workshops are being developed. Global Action is working with the Inter-

national Peace Academy and the International Centre for Peace Initiatives in Bombay, India, on the Conflict Resolution Project. The Centre's Director, Mr. Sundeep Waslekar, who serves as a liaison for Parliamentarians for Global Action on a range of issues in Asia, will continue to play a coordinating role in the Conflict Resolution Project. □

*Top: Mr. Pramod Mahajan and Professor K.B. Singh participating in the Conflict Resolution Project in Kathmandu.*



*Bottom: Mr. Sundeep Waslekar, Director of the International Centre for Peace Initiatives, speaking at the Kathmandu meeting. On the right, is, Global Action member Hon. A. Moyeen Khan, Minister for State Planning of Bangladesh.*



# International Law & Human Rights

A year of progress toward the establishment of an international criminal court was imperiled by a sudden shift in the position of the United States. The International Law Commission (ILC) had submitted to the UN General Assembly a completed draft statute for such a court, ready for final negotiation and adoption by a United Nations diplomatic conference. The United States, however, was opposed to going forward on the initiative.

News of this development began to filter through the diplomatic community just as Global Action commenced a one-day roundtable, attended by members of the ILC, UN Sixth Committee delegates, and several expert advisers including Prof. Cherif Bassiouni, a member of the UN Commission of Experts on crimes committed in the Former Yugoslavia. The Convenor of Global Action's International Law and Human Rights Programme, Dip. Emma Bonino (Italy), immediately noted that without U.S. leadership, it would be difficult for any consensus to be reached. The deliberations at the roundtable then evolved into a consideration of compromise options which might be advanced to ensure that the political momentum would not fracture when it came time for the Sixth Committee to craft a resolution on the permanent court proposal. The roundtable concluded with a general agreement that the matter of the U.S. position had to be taken up directly in Washington.

Shortly thereafter, a Global Action delegation met with Under-Secretary of State for Global Affairs Tim Wirth. Members of the delegation impressed upon him that to block progress at this stage could set back the effort permanently. Several of the ideas raised at the roundtable in New York were presented to Under-Secretary Wirth. Three weeks later, the Sixth Committee passed a consensus resolution reflecting several elements of compromise options tabled at Global Action's roundtable.

Global Action's 1994 efforts on the international criminal court began with successive parliamentary delegations to consult with ILC members. In May, Dip. Emma Bonino and Secretary-General Kennedy Graham travelled to Geneva in order to assess work on the completion of a draft statute for a permanent court, begun in 1993. The ILC commenced its 46th Session seeking to build on the rapid progress it had made during the previous year, but signalled to Global Action's delegation that work might proceed at a slower pace primarily because the general "enthusiasm" for the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia had the unintended effect of muting political interest in the more general goal of a permanent court.

Dip. Bonino, nevertheless, conveyed the view that a permanent adjudicating institution would be vastly more effective as a deterrent to transnational crime and violations of international law than the intermittent application of international criminal sanctions through ad hoc tribunals. Moreover, the delegation insisted that the technical and legalistic considerations of the statute had been sufficiently addressed and that, if the initiative were to advance to the next negotiating phase, it was important to begin clarifying the political context of matters such as the court's jurisdiction and applicable international law.

In July, another delegation to Geneva was arranged, this time led by William Powell, MP (United Kingdom), another long-time advocate of an international criminal court. The delegation, anticipating delays on completion of the draft statute prior to the close of the ILC Session, was pleased to learn that a completed draft statute was indeed imminent. Further, the ILC noted its intention to call for -- in its final report -- a plenipotentiary (diplomatic) conference in due course, to adopt a statute and bring an international criminal court into existence.

At the General Assembly in September, many governments called for an "early" plenipotentiary timetable -- targeting mid-1996 for the convening of a diplomatic conference -- while others, led by the United States, favoured



**Parliamentary Convenor:**  
*James A. Leach, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1976, was first elected to Global Action's Executive Committee in 1989. From 1993 to 1994 Mr. Leach was one of the organisation's Presidents. Before entering politics, Mr. Leach served in the U.S. Foreign Service and in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He is currently the Chairman of the House Banking Committee. During 1991-92, Mr. Leach was also co-chair of the U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, a body established by the U.S. Congress as a result of legislation which he introduced.*

**Programme Officer:**  
*Mr. Paul Nuti*





#### **Parliamentary Convenor**

*Emma Bonino assumed convenorship of the programme in March when Rep. Leach stepped down because of increased demands on his time in Washington, DC. Ms. Bonino is a former Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies where she served on the Social Affairs, Human Rights and Foreign Affairs Committees. She has twice been elected to the European Parliament and, in 1993, became Secretary of the Trans-national Radical Party. A President of Parliamentarians for Global Action, Ms. Bonino was appointed a Commissioner of the European Union with responsibility for the fisheries and humanitarian affairs portfolios in 1994.*

*The Hon. ANR Robinson addresses a group of legal experts, parliamentarians, and Justice Ministry officials at the Conference on International Criminal Justice in Syracuse, Italy. To his right is programme convenor Emma Bonino. At his left is Secretary-General Kennedy Graham.*

a more deliberate approach, preferring to "study" the draft statute further or citing domestic political obstacles. It was at this time, in early October, that the aforementioned roundtable was held, chaired by Global Action's two leading members on the permanent court, Former Prime Minister Hon. A. N. R. Robinson (Trinidad & Tobago)

Robinson, Hon. Amadou Mactar N'dao (Senegal) and Secretary-General Kennedy Graham, suggested that the Administration's leadership on the issue would be critical to sustain the momentum built up for the permanent court over the past three years. However, Under-Secretary Wirth provided assurances that the United States had no



and Dip. Bonino.

Pressing the point that discussions on the creation of an international legal regime had never progressed as far and that it was critically important to preserve consensus, MPs Robinson and Bonino stressed the need for the UN General Assembly to pass a consensus resolution endorsing the proposed court's movement to the next negotiating forum. In a broader context, the discussion succeeded in highlighting the political imperative of demonstrating multilateral support for a framework of collaboration in the fight against crime at the international level.

To keep the Clinton Administration engaged in efforts to establish an international criminal court, Global Action met, as mentioned above, with U.S. Under-Secretary of State Tim Wirth on November 9. The delegation, which included Hon. A. N. R.

interest in burying the issue, and hinted that a decision on a plenipotentiary conference could be taken at the 1995 General Assembly.

Late in November, elements of the "middle ground" position which had been developed at Global Action's roundtable, emerged in a French-sponsored resolution which was passed by the General Assembly. The resolution set up an *ad hoc* committee to review the draft statute at two sessions in 1995, and most importantly, issued an open-ended call to the United Nations to consider arrangements for convening a diplomatic conference to adopt the statute. Global Action's strategic focus on ensuring political consensus contributed, in the end, to the adoption of a resolution which kept the initiative on a forward course.

The Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal stands as a contemporary affirmation of the Nuremberg principles, which demanded



individual responsibility for atrocities committed during World War II. The Tribunal, therefore, must serve the broad purpose, of reinforcing the compact that was made by the community of nations 50 years ago -- that all are accountable to international law.

Given the Tribunal's connection to the establishment of a permanent international criminal court and its status as a benchmark development in the evolution and application of international legal standards with respect to war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, Global Action has continued to make the Tribunal a priority of its work.

William Powell and Emma Bonino elicited responses from, respectively, the British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, and the former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, regarding the Tribunal's important role as a precursor to a permanent tribunal and as an effective means of securing justice in the Balkans. And Dip. Bonino was instrumental in generating media attention to the Tribunal's efforts through circulation of appeals calling for international support and insisting that a Chief Prosecutor be named.

The organisation furthered its cooperation with the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Science (ISISC) in Sicily. Serving as a co-sponsor for an international conference hosted by ISISC in early December, Global Action was able to facilitate the participation of several of its members in discussions on the Yugoslav Tribunal which resulted in a resolution sent to governments around the world. The resolution requested, among other things, that states provide the Yugoslav Tribunal with the requisite resources (funding, personnel, etc.) by enacting domestic legislation to facilitate the implementation of UN resolution 827, which established the Tribunal.

In 1995, Global Action hopes to contribute to the work of the Tribunal by engaging its members with legal training in observing national trials regarding war crimes committed in the Former Yugoslavia. This should permit the Tribunal to make informed decisions on whether or not to assert its jurisdiction in particular cases.

The creation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda by Security Council Resolution

955 in November offers Parliamentarians for Global Action an opportunity to extend its work on promoting the elaboration of an international criminal jurisdiction. The decision by the Security Council to link the Tribunal with the Yugoslav Tribunal will ensure that evolving international legal norms are interpreted and applied consistently by both of these precedent-setting bodies. The net result will most certainly be a strengthened and clarified regime of international law with respect to war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Global Action members Emma Bonino and William Powell were quick to point out, in parliamentary debate, in the media, and at international fora, that the extraordinary violence and lawlessness in Rwanda is symptomatic of the need for multilateral institutions capable of deterring such situations. Global Action is exploring the idea of mounting a factfinding mission to Rwanda as a means of laying political groundwork with Rwanda's political leadership. Building on its successful preventive diplomatic missions to neighbouring Burundi in 1994 (see page 22), the organisation would position itself to collaborate with the Tribunal administration. Securing the fairness of these trials will be of vital importance to the Tribunal's credibility, in the eyes of Rwanda's shattered civil society. □

## **Parliamentary Network**

*Austria:*

*Dr. Madeline Petrovic*

*European Union:*

*Mr. Gianfranco Dell'Alba*

*Germany:*

*Mr. Burkhard Zurheide*

*Hungary:*

*Dr. István Meszáros*

*Senegal:*

*Hon. Amadou Moctar N'dao*

*Switzerland:*

*Ms. Gret Haller*

*Tanzania:*

*Mr. Philip Marmo*

*Trinidad and Tobago:*

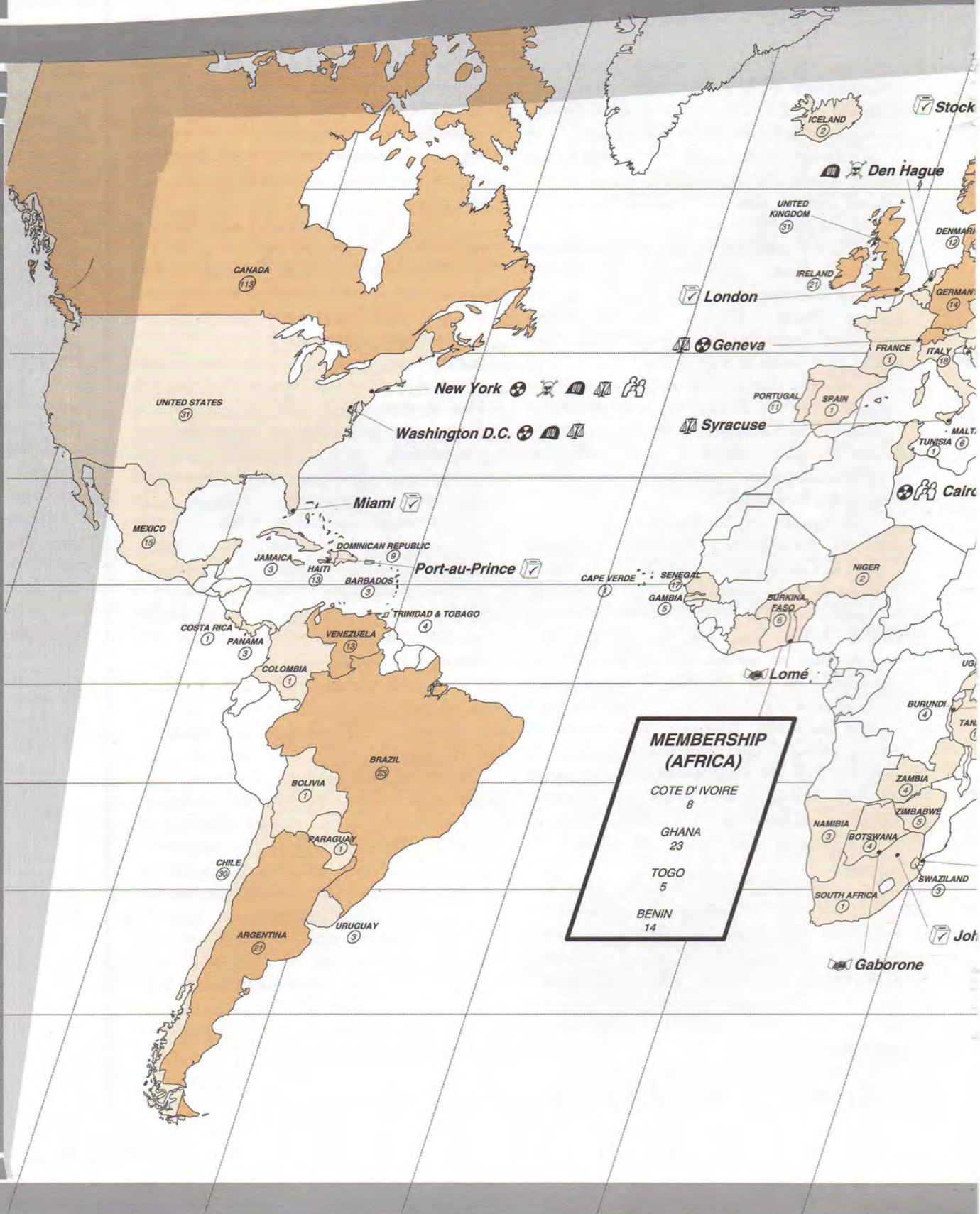
*Hon. A.N.R. Robinson*

*United Kingdom:*

*Mr. William Powell*

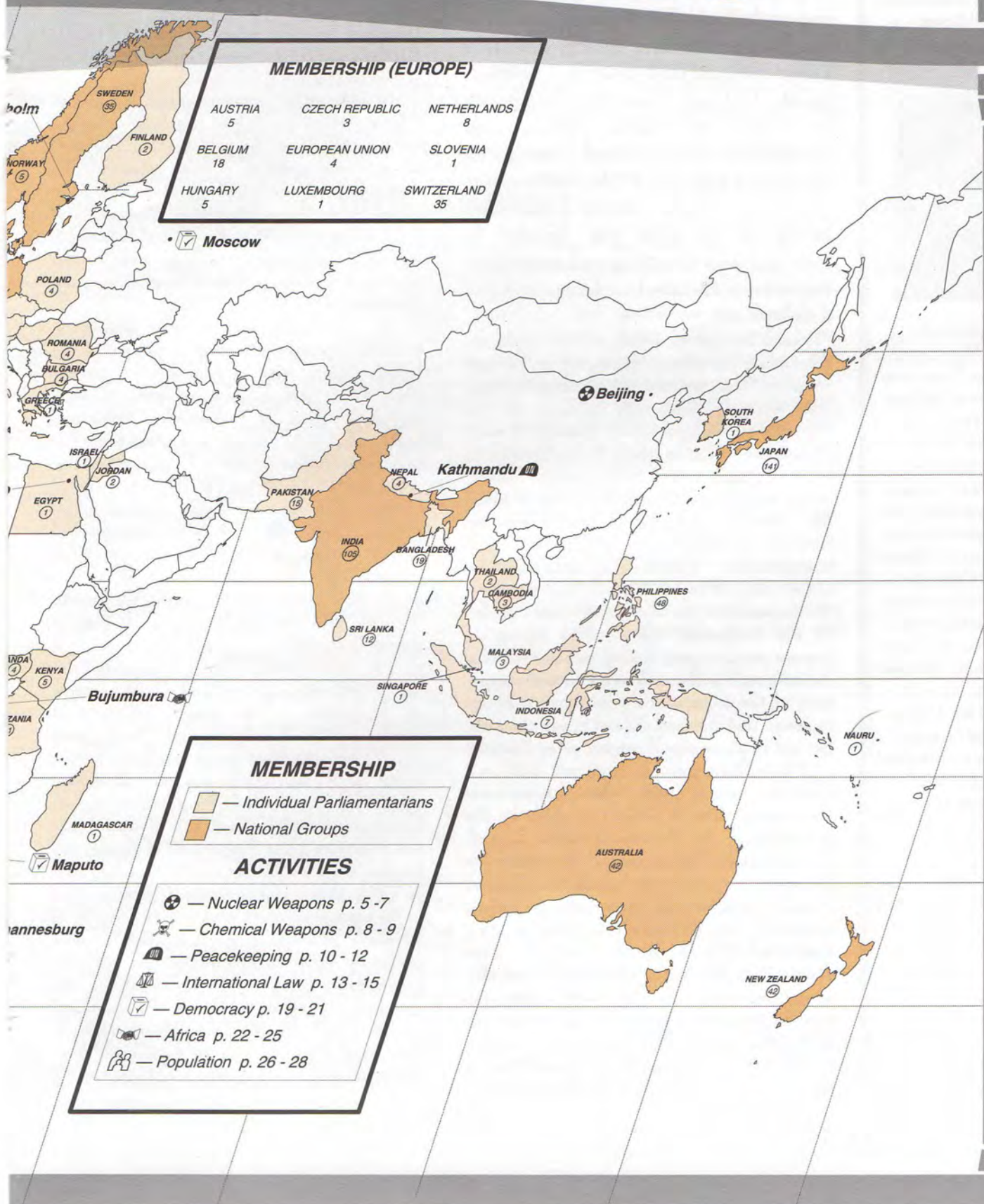


# Global Action





# n at a Glance





# Democracy & Development Section

## Parliamentary Convenors:

Mr. Murli Deora

Mr. Koji Kakizawa

Hon. Moses Katjiuongua



## Section Director:

*Ms. Shazia Rafi has served as Director of the Democracy and Development Section since 1993. Prior to her work with Global Action, she worked as a free-lance journalist and served as a consultant on economic and social development issues for the Women's Action Alliance and the UN Center for Transnational Corporations. Ms. Rafi is also the former representative to the United Nations of the All Pakistan Women's Association. Ms. Rafi received her M.A. in International Political Economy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1983.*

It was particularly tempting at the end of the Cold War to imagine a "One Way" sign directing traffic smoothly forward toward democracy and development. But sign or no sign, traffic can be slowed by stalled vehicles and disrupted by the occasional driver going the wrong way. In 1994, Parliamentarians for Global Action found that much of its work was devoted to fostering understanding and respect for the rules of the road to democracy and development.

Toward the end of 1994, a deadlock in the Burundian parliament threatened to obstruct progress. The international community found this worrying since the collapse of the Burundian parliament would eliminate the sole democratic forum in which Burundians could talk through their deep-rooted ethnic antagonisms, rather than resort to violence. The Special Task Force on Africa was created expressly to deal with such contingencies. With the invaluable assistance of the Office of the UN Special Representative, the impasse over the election of a new Speaker of the Parliament was resolved during an intense six-hour negotiating session. Global Action's work in Burundi was a critical component of the international community's efforts to ensure that Burundi did not follow the reckless and tragic course of neighbouring Rwanda.

The military junta in Haiti put itself on a collision course with the international community when it refused to abide by the provisions of the Governor's Island Accord. Global Action's **Parliamentary Initiative for Democracy** stood firmly behind the efforts of Haitian Members of Parliament to restore democratic rule. At times, this meant assisting blacklisted MPs to flee the country. Less dramatically, but just as importantly, this also meant ensuring that they were active and represented in the international community despite the fact that they were denied the right to fulfill their democratic responsibilities at home. It was thus very gratifying when a

Global Action delegation was able to address the newly restored Parliament in Port-au-Prince. President Aristide's warm reception of Global Action's parliamentarians, so soon after his return to Haiti, was a special honour.

In addition to preventative political action, Global Action has helped countries along the road to democracy by participating in several international electoral observer missions. To date, members have helped monitor elections in Gabon, Mozambique, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, Togo, and Uganda. Global Action has also received requests to help monitor the upcoming elections in Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, and Suriname.

As nations move ahead with democratic reforms, it is imperative that all citizens are on board. People must be empowered to change their social and political situation through organised action by guaranteeing access and equal opportunity. Global Action has forged an alliance with the Women's Environment Development Organization (WEDO) to combine Global Action's worldwide parliamentary membership with WEDO's network of dedicated women activists and advocates. Joint activities for the empowerment of women centre on building momentum for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

The trend toward greater democratisation will not be sustainable without a basic measure of prosperity. The Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) brought these issues into focus for the world. Global Action's **Sustainable Development and Population Programme** worked intensively through the ICPD to ensure that the objectives of its Programme of Action will be advanced in parliaments in the coming years. In 1995, these pressing issues, will be revisited in the urban context at the Habitat Summit in Istanbul. Many Global Action members who represent urban constituencies will bring an important perspective to the work of the Summit. Global Action's International President for 1995, Mr. Murli Deora, a former Mayor of Bombay, will be instrumental in coordinating the organisation's contribution. □



# Parliamentary Initiative for Democracy

On October 19, 1994 in front of Haitian national television, Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden) rose to speak to a joint session of parliament. In the Presidential Palace, just a few blocks away, Jean-Bertrand Aristide set aside his work to watch the proceedings. Concerned that the Haitian Parliament should be in the forefront of national reconciliation, the President hoped that the leader of Global Action's delegation would underscore the challenge facing his colleagues. He was not disappointed with what he heard and saw. The next day, he invited the delegation to the palace for a face-to-face meeting -- just five days after reclaiming leadership of his country.



President Aristide thanked Global Action not only for its performance of the preceding day but also for the previous two years of efforts on behalf of Haitian democracy. Having been thwarted by the military regime from sending a delegation into Haiti in

1993, this was a fitting climax to Global Action's work for Haiti in 1994.

Beginning in January, on Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, the then President-in-exile called a conference in Miami to determine the political direction of Haiti. Parliamentarians from the National Assembly and Senate flew in from Port-au-Prince, including six of Global Action's members, for consultations with the President and supporters. Representatives from the United States, Canada, France, the Organisation of American States and the Global Action Secretariat attended as observers.

Speakers included the Rev. Jesse Jackson, U.S. Reps. Joe Kennedy, Major Owen, Charles Rangel, Carrie Meeks and Corinne Brown. Global Action's Haitian members Sen. Turneb Delpe, Dep. Samuel Madistin, Dep. Joseph Fignole Jean-Louis, Dep. Gary Guiteau, Dep. Raoul Kessa, and Dep. Jean Mandenave actively

debated with other deputies the issues of amnesty for the military coup leaders, economic embargoes, and the process of naming a Prime Minister.

The Global Action members returned to Port-au-Prince to revive domestic political pressure for the restoration of the democratically-elected government of Haiti. The organisation continued to support the



**Parliamentary Convenor:**  
*Mr. Koji Kakizawa served as the Foreign Minister in the Hosokawa Administration in 1994. Prior to holding this position, he was Parliamentary Vice-President for Foreign Affairs. He joined Global Action's Executive Committee in 1994 and served as President of the PGA-Japan National Group.*

**Programme Coordinators:**  
*Ms. Ayaka Suzuki (Oct-Dec)  
Mr. Aly Jetha (Jan-Mar)*

**Programme Assistant:**  
*Ms. Fatimé Dam (Apr-Sept)*

*Mr. Biörsmark, the head of Global Action's delegation to Port-au-Prince, visiting President Aristide at the Presidential Palace with Haitian members of Global Action, from left to right, Dr. Plancher, Mr. Madistan, and Mr. Guiteau.*



## Parliamentary Network

### Australia:

Mr. Warren Snowdon

### Bangladesh:

Dr. Abdul Moyeen Khan

Mr. Abul Hasan Chowdhury

### Brazil:

Mr. Valdir Colatto

### Cambodia:

Mr. Om Radsady

### Canada:

Mr. Svend Robinson

### Côte d'Ivoire:

Hon. Laurent Gbagbo

### Germany:

Ms. Ingrid Walz

### Ghana:

Ms. Hawa Ogede

### Haiti:

Dr. Elie Plancher

### India:

Mr. Pramod Mahajan

### Indonesia:

Dep. Markus Wauran

### Italy:

Dep. Mario Raffaelli

### Jordan:

Hon. Taher Masri

### Kenya:

Ms. Charity K. Ngilu

### Malaysia:

Mr. Jawah Ak Gerang

### Mexico:

Sen. Ricardo Monreal

### Netherlands:

Mr. Gerrit de Jong

*Members of the newly restored Haitian Parliament attending the special session addressed by international members of Parliamentarians for Global Action.*

stand of its Haitian members for a full restoration of the legitimate government. Updates on the developing situation in Haiti were sent to the Parliamentary Network and meetings with senior UN officials for briefings continued.



In May 1994, as the Haitian military moved to install an illegitimate regime and ousted the UN/OAS human rights monitors, the repression and threats against Global Action's members increased. International sanctions, including a total flight ban, were set to go effect on July 30, 1994. As the country was sealed off from the outside world, Global Action members Deputes Samuel Milord, Gary Guiteau, and Joseph Fignole Jean-Louis, who were among a few at the top of the "hit list" of the military junta, escaped Port-au-Prince at short notice. Unable to cross the border with the Dominican Republic by land, Global Action helped to arrange their safe passage on the last flight out to Canada via Guadeloupe. There they joined Depute Samuel Madistin, Head of the Justice Commission who had escaped to Montreal two days earlier. "I am glad Global Action exists," said Dep. Fignole, on arrival in Montreal, "its work for democracy and parliamentarians in Haiti is more than fine words . . . the outrage in Haiti has to stop."

While they were in exile in Canada, the Haitian MPs remained active in world politics by participating in major events sponsored by Global Action. As a member of Global Action's first mission to Burundi, Depute Madistin made an important contribution to the peace process in that country (page 22).

Depute Guiteau joined Global Action's Delegation to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) which took place in Cairo in September (page 26). Their participation in these major international endeavours established an active profile for the legitimately elected parliamentarians of Haiti in the international political arena.

Global Action was invited to be the first parliamentary delegation to visit Haiti after the ouster of the military regime. The mission was comprised of Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, Mr. Robert Bertrand, MP, (Canada), and Dr. Kennedy Graham (Secretary-General). The mission met with leaders of the major political blocs, the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and leaders of the Senate. It also met with the head of the UN human

rights team in Haiti and held a televised press conference and a radio interview before departing.

"We wanted to go in very quickly, to show that the world will remain concerned over Haiti, and not turn its back on the people now that the military regime is finished," explained Biörsmark. Global Action's Democracy Network will continue to help Haitian parliamentarians work to build a multi-party democracy in the country.

As an immediate result of Global Action's involvement in Haiti, Haitian members have formed a multi-party national group with Depute Samuel Madistin as President and designated Depute Elie Plancher to be the Haitian representative to the International Council. The Haitian national group has requested that Global Action send a delegation for the legislative and presidential elections, to be held in the Spring of 1995, which will be crucial to Haiti's democratic future. Global Action will work closely with the Organisation of American States to coordinate a parliamentary delegation of electoral observers.

Concurrently, during 1994, the Democracy Programme worked closely with the Swedish Initiative for an Independent Electoral Institute. In May 1994, a Global Action delegation attended the Stockholm conference organised



by the Institute. Participating were Sen. Silvia Hernández (Mexico), Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP, (Namibia), Mr. Petre Roman, MP, (Romania), Dr. Kennedy Graham (Secretary-General) and Ms. Shazia Rafi (Section Director). Global Action presented its reports from the three regional conferences on Democratic Transition that had taken place in Namibia, Venezuela and Bangladesh in 1993 and reiterated its support for the work of the Institute.

The Working Group of the Institute, on which International Councillor, Sir David Steel, MP (UK), serves as a member, met in London in July 1994 to finalise the work programme of the Institute. Dr. Graham attended the meeting on behalf of Global Action.

Members also participated in several electoral missions during 1994, including the Russian elections in which Mr. Warren Allmand, MP, (Canada) and Dr. Ólafur Grimsson, MP (Iceland) participated.

In April, the Parliamentary Initiative for Democracy and the Special Task Force on Africa (page 22) participated in the historic multiracial elections of South Africa. Global Action cooperated with the UN Electoral Assistance Division to include a delegation of

"It was humbling to see how South African blacks were so eager to vote, to mark their 'X'," described Katjiuongua. "An old



man in his eighties refused to sleep the night before the election because he feared he might die while sleeping and miss the chance to vote for the first time in his life." The parliamentary presence from other African countries underscored how South Africa was joining the burgeoning democratic movement on their continent.

The Special Task Force on Africa also participated in the UN Observer Mission to Mozambique in October. Women parliamentarians from Cape Verde, Namibia, Portugal, Senegal, and Uganda played a leading role in the 16 member Global Action team.

Due to the overlapping nature of the Parliamentary Initiative for Democracy and the Special Task Force on Africa, the Executive Committee decided in October 1994 to merge the two Programmes. The Hon. Moses Katjiuongua will be the Convenor of the new Africa and Democracy Programme. The Special Task Force on Africa will continue its work on democracy and economic recovery in Africa. The Democracy Network will continue its activities relating to democracy in regions other than Africa.

Activities of the Democracy and Africa Programmes in 1995 will include: an increase in on-site electoral missions; working towards the creation of global standards for electoral assistance through an international electoral institute; and preventive political action in support of democracy throughout the world. □

New Zealand:  
Mr. David Caygill  
Pakistan:  
Mr. Makhdoom Shahabuddin  
Panama:  
Mr. Marco Ameglio S.  
Philippines:  
Mr. Magdaleno Palacol  
Senegal:  
Mr. Ibrahima Fall  
Sweden:  
Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark  
Trinidad and Tobago:  
Hon. A.N.R. Robinson  
Uganda:  
Mr. Paul Ssemogerere  
United Kingdom:  
Mr. George Robertson  
United States:  
Rep. Bill Richardson  
Venezuela:  
Mr. German Gebres



parliamentarians in the UN Electoral Observation Mission. This was the first time parliamentarians participated in a UN mission in their own right; rather than as members of a government delegation. The delegation was led by the Hon. Moses Katjiuongua and included Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal), Ms. Hawa Ogede, MP (Ghana), and H.E. Paul Ssemogerere (Uganda).

*Top: The Global Action delegation addressing the Haitian parliament on October 18, 1994.*

*Bottom: Global Action member Canadian Robert Bertrand discussing the role of the National Assembly in political reconciliation with Haitian MPs.*



# Special Task Force on Africa



## **Parliamentary Convenor:**

*The Hon. Moses Katjuongua joined Global Action's Executive Committee in 1993. He has been Co-Chair of the Special Task Force on Africa since 1991. Mr. Katjuongua was a leader in the struggle to establish an independent, democratic Namibia. During that country's transition to democracy (1985-89), he was appointed Minister of Manpower and Civic Affairs, and Minister of National Health and Welfare. He also served on the committee that drafted Namibia's constitution. Mr. Katjuongua is President and Chair of the National Patriotic Front of Namibia.*

## **Programme Coordinators:**

*Ms. Ayaka Suzuki (Oct-Dec)  
Mr. Aly Jetha (Jan-Mar)*

## **Programme Assistant:**

*Ms. Fatime Dam*

*President Ntibantunganya welcomes Mr. Meyer to his residence in Bujumbura. Looking on are delegation members Mr. Katjuongua and Mr. Martin.*

The main Burundian political parties had not sat down together since the Tutsi oriented UPRONA party walked out of the Parliament in November 1994. With the parliament paralysed, all progress toward democracy was stalled. So when the representatives sat



down with the Global Action delegation, the future of Burundi hung in the balance. The meeting lasted six hours. Under the careful guidance of Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia) and the steady pressure of Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland), a framework to deal with the crisis was found that allowed the parties to reach a compromise. The National Assembly reconvened and elected Mr. Léonce Ngendakumana, a Global Action member, as the new Speaker.

The Africa Programme's most crucial and effective initiatives in 1994 were its missions to Burundi, August 26-31, 1994 and January 8-12, 1995. In October 1993, a day after Tutsi military officers killed the first democratically elected Hutu President, Mr. Ndadaye, in an attempted coup, Global Action received an urgent appeal from Ugandan MP, the Hon.

Manuel Pinto. "Africans must not wait for America or the EEC to take action but we must now urgently take action to save further bloodshed in Burundi," urged Mr. Pinto. This call to action was reiterated by members from Tanzanian and Togo Meshak Maganga, MP and Kango Lare-Lantone.

At the time of this request, Parliamentarians for Global Action was unable to send a delegation to Burundi due to lack of financial support. The Africa Programme, however, continued to monitor

the situation in Burundi by consulting with relevant UN officials and other international actors. Following the UN Secretary-General's appointment of Ambassador A. Ould Abdallah as his Special Representative for Burundi in November 1993, Global Action kept in close contact with the Ambassador. In January, an agreement was reached to organise a new civilian government with the appointment of Cyprien Ntaryamira as Acting President, easing the tension in the country for the moment.

The political situation deteriorated again in March and Global Action alerted its Task Force. Ms. Shazia Rafi (Programme Director) held a series of informal meetings with senior



UN officials to discuss the possibility of a parliamentary emergency mission. Realising the very real possibility of Burundi turning into another Rwanda, Ambassador Abdallah, in an attempt to stabilise and strengthen Burundi's fragile democracy, helped develop the idea of a parliamentary mission composed of African leaders from across the continent, particularly those from countries that had also undergone difficult political transitions.

In May, the formal request for Global Action's involvement was given to Ms. Kristina Svensson, MP (Sweden), an active Task Force member, by Ambassador Abdallah at a meeting in Bujumbura. Back in Stockholm, Ms. Svensson met with Mr. Katjuongua and Ms. Shazia Rafi to finalise plans for the mission.

The first mission, led by the Hon. Moses Katjuongua, comprised Albert Acakpovi (Benin), Gerrit de Jong (Netherlands), Ibrahima Fall (Senegal), Laurent Gbagbo (Cote d'Ivoire), Houde Kanoun (Tunisia), Samuel Madistin (Haiti), Kristina Svensson (Sweden) and Dr. Kennedy Graham (Secretary-General).



This first mission met with virtually all of the country's significant political figures, such as the Acting President, the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Defence Ministers, two former Presidents, the leaders of 11 of the 13 political parties, and the principal convenor of negotiations that led to the January agreement. It also met with the Parliament in plenary session.

"Our purpose in going was to convince all Burundians, especially the extremists, that the world is a transparent place today, that we are all watching closely and will form our own judgements of actions and behaviour there.", explained Mr. Katjuongua. The main goal of the mission was to support the parliament, the only functioning democratic institution in Burundi. Within that mandate the mission offered its views on the restoration of democracy, namely the need for the affirmation of a multi-party democracy with universal franchise; full protection of minority rights, constitutionally enshrined and judicially enforced; liability for all criminal acts committed since 1993; and recognition of the legitimacy and sanctity of parliament.

The mission was a crucial part of the multi-faceted, international effort at preventing Burundi's descent into civil war.

In early December, in a letter to Global Action, Ambassador Abdallah stated: "The continued support of Parliamentarians for Global Action for the process of democracy

within Burundi is greatly appreciated by our Mission and we look forward to continuing our collaboration. In this connection, I would like once again to congratulate you for the successful visit undertaken this summer." But it would not be long before the need for further collaboration would arise.

As the year began, Burundi was on knife's-

## ***The Task Force***

*Belgium:*  
*Sen. Suzette Verhoeven*  
*Benin:*  
*Hon. Albert Acakpovi*  
*Botswana:*  
*Hon. Festus Mogae*  
*Hon. Lesedi Mothibamele*  
*Burkina Faso:*  
*Dep. Maria-Goretti Adoua*  
*Cape Verde:*  
*H.E. Amilcar Spencer Lopes*  
*Cote d'Ivoire:*  
*Hon. Laurent Gbagbo*  
*Hon. Marie-Therese Ziguehi*  
*Hon. Berthe Sawadogo*  
*Denmark:*  
*Ms. Helen Beim*  
*Egypt:*  
*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid*  
*Ghana:*  
*Hon. Hawa Yakuba Ogede*  
*Hon. Mohammed*  
*Ibn Chambas*  
*Haiti:*  
*Dep. Samuel Madistin*  
*Kenya:*  
*Hon. Charity Ngilu*  
*Hon. Pheobe Muga Asiyio*  
*Hon. Amos Waco*  
*Namibia:*  
*Hon. Michaela Hubschle*  
*Hon. Rick Kukuri*  
*Netherlands:*  
*Mr. Gerrit de Jong*  
*Senegal:*  
*Hon. Ibrahima Fall*  
*South Africa:*  
*Hon. Manto E. Tshbalala*

*Representatives of the key political parties meet to overcome differences on the process for selecting the Speaker of the Burundian National Assembly. Mr. Katjuongua, head of the Global Action delegation, leads the discussion.*



Sweden:  
 Mr. Karl-Goran Biorsmark  
 Ms. Kristina Svensson  
 Switzerland:  
 Mr. Theo Meyer  
 Tanzania:  
 Hon. Maria Kamm  
 Hon. Meshack A. Maganga  
 Hon. Rafael Shempemba  
 Tunisia:  
 Hon. Houda Kanoun  
 Uganda:  
 Hn. Paul Kawanga Ssemogere  
 Hon. Manuel Pinto  
 United Kingdom:  
 Mr. Donald Anderson  
 United States:  
 Sen. Paul Simon  
 Zambia:  
 Hon. Winright Ken Ngondo  
 Hon. Bennie H.W. Mwiinga  
 Zimbabwe:  
 Hon. Bernard Chidzero  
 Hon. Oppah Rushesha

*Top: Mr. Meyer, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Katjiuongua discuss the impact of the political crisis in Burundi on its international relations with Minister of External Relations and Cooperation, H.E. Jean-Marie Ngendahayo.*

*Bottom: Mr. Katjiuongua and Ms. Rafi discuss the progress of the first mission to Burundi with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Burundi, Mr. A. Ould Abdallah.*

edge again: parliament was deadlocked over then newly-elected Speaker Jean Minani who represented the majority FRODEBU party under the constitution. The opposition UPRONA refused to endorse his Speakership and pressure was again mounting from extremists on both sides to harden stands. In the middle of December, H.E. Mr. T rence Sinunguruza and Ambassador Abdallah requested that another delegation be sent to Burundi as quickly as possible. This crisis vividly illustrated the depth of the problems Burundi faces. The transfer of power from the minority Tutsis to the majority Hutus is rife with obstacles. The crisis over Dr. Minani arose at the time of his nomination because UPRONA alleged that in October 1993, he made a speech on Radio Kigali inciting Hutus to carry out massive violence against Tutsis. On this basis, UPRONA refused to accept his candidacy and began a boycott of the Assembly. The election of Dr. Minani, which took place in the absence of all UPRONA members, intensified the hostility which led to outbursts of violence in Bujumbura in mid-December.

Ambassador Abdallah told Global Action that although Dr. Minani had offered to

12, consisting of Mr. Katjiuongua and Mr. Meyer, was accompanied by Ms. Rafi and Mr. Gilbert Martin (Consultant). Through the considerable assistance of the office of



Ambassador Abdallah, the mission met with all the political parties, the President, the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Assembly, various ministers, the head of the Constitutional Court, and the Civic Forum.

As mentioned above, the most crucial meeting was with the political parties which had signed the Convention of the Government. At this meeting, Global Action was able to provide a constructive forum through which FRODEBU and UPRONA members could exchange their views and ideas. The meeting brought to the fore the political deadlock in the parliament and provided a framework for negotiating through this deadlock. Mr. Katjiuongua, addressing the political party leaders, urged them towards moderation and compromise, "We think in a democracy, the majority must respect the minority, but the minority while being critical should cooperate, should not paralyse the system. You have used the example of South Africa. You know that Slovo was seen as a killer of other whites but they had to deal with him. De Klerk also realized that the whites after 352 years in power couldn't drag their feet anymore."

The negotiations eventually came down to an open exchange between FRODEBU and UPRONA over the resolution of the Speaker deadlock. FRODEBU's spokesperson, Foreign Minister Jean-Marie Ngendahayo, asked UPRONA's spokesperson, Martin Sindabizera, whether, if Dr. Minani resigned, they would accept the next candidate. Global Action seconded the question: "UPRONA has already rejected two people [for the Speakership of the



withdraw, there had been no action from Dr. Minani's party, FRODEBU. Parliamentarians for Global Action, therefore, was asked to assist with the withdrawal of Dr. Minani and the acceptance of a new candidate. Global Action immediately sent an urgent parliamentary appeal to the Burundian Parliament. The second mission, smaller because of the urgency of the crisis, was sent to Burundi in January 8-



Assembly]. Are you not likely to reject No. 3, 4, 5, etc.? Is it a strategy to delay the process?"

UPRONA's initial reply to this question was: "it depends on who they are... we want a candidate who can reassure us." However, when urged by Global Action to engage in private consultation with FRODEBU, UPRONA indicated that they would accept the next nominee. UPRONA's parliamentary leader, Mr. Nicolas Mayugi, accepted that "the Speaker is chosen by the majority party; we are only asking to be part of the decision."

On 12 January 1995, at the end of the delegation's visit, the plenary session of the Assembly elected Mr. Léonce Ngendakumana, as the new Speaker of the Assembly, while Dr. Minani withdrew from the position and was elected as President of FRODEBU.

Later in January, barely a week after the resolution of the Minani Crisis, Global Action welcomed two Burundian MPs, Mr. Mayugi and Mr. Nephtali Ndikumana (FRODEBU), to its 16th Annual Parliamentary Forum at the United Nations (page 1).

Global Action plans to remain actively engaged in Burundi in 1995. A cross-party delegation of Burundi parliamentarians will visit selected countries of Western and Southern Africa, to exchange views on parliamentary and party matters. A Global Action delegation will participate in a workshop in Bujumbura with the Burundian Parliament on the principles of democracy in multi-ethnic societies, and the role of parliamentary commissions. A National Debate is planned for 1995 to pave the way for a new constitution; Global Action hopes to contribute to this debate as well.

Pursuant to Global Action's previous work in promoting democratic governance in Togo, the African Task Force on Democracy was requested, by the opposition in that country, to observe Togo's legislative elections of February 1994. The government of Togo refused to extend invitations, preventing Global Action from assisting. This was not unanticipated since international observers had withdrawn from the 1993 Presidential elections due to

unacceptable restrictions on their monitoring role. Among the international observers prevented from completing their task were Global Action members Dep. Jean-Louis (Haiti) and Donald Anderson (United Kingdom).

"The parliamentary elections were fought under [similarly] very difficult circumstances. Despite threats, harassment and deliberate violence and political assassination by the government, the opposition won the election,"



reported the Hon. Amokoe H. Ajavon, now Political Counsellor to the Prime Minister Edem Kodjo.

In early February 1994, Task Force members Vice-President Festus Mogae (Botswana), Lesedi Mothibamele (Botswana), Maria Kamm (Tanzania), Meshak Maganga (Tanzania), Winright Ken Ngondo (Zambia), Oppah Rusesha (Zimbabwe), Eric Silwamba (Zambia) and Phanie Wilson (Togo) attended a conference in Gaborone, Botswana on African democracy convened by the International Republican Institute (United States).

The main focus of the conference was the electoral process including the design of electoral districts, voter registration, civic education campaigns, the electoral campaign, political party regulation, the role of domestic and international observers, and the administration of the ballot and polling stations. □

*Dep. Nephtali Ndikumana, of the Burundian FRODEBU party and Dep. Nicolas Mayugi, from the UPRONA party, at right, conferring with Ms. Shazia Rafi at the United Nations Parliamentary Forum.*



# Sustainable Development & Population



## **Parliamentary Convenor:**

*Mr. Murli S. Deora, the newly elected International President of Global Action, became a national legislator in 1984. Before joining parliament, Mr. Deora had a long civic career which culminated with his election as mayor of Bombay with the highest majority ever. Mr. Deora currently sits on the Finance Committee of the Lok Sabha (lower house of the Indian Parliament) and is the President of the Bombay Regional Committee for the ruling Congress party. Mr. Deora is committed to the issues of democracy and development, population planning, water and energy conservation and urban planning.*

## **Programme Officer:**

*Ms. Mercedes Mas de Xaxas*

## **Programme Assistants:**

*Mr. Jeremy Mushlin  
Ms. Asha Sha*

*In a traditional welcoming ceremony, participants to the ICPD are led in procession to the Population and Development Summit in Cairo.*

Three hundred parliamentarians from one hundred countries spoke with one voice, "Action we take now to overcome the population and development problems of today, will decide the future course of humanity." The gathering in Cairo, just two days before the International Conference on Population and Development, was the largest parliamentary meeting on this subject ever held. It was also the largest meeting of parliamentarians Global Action had ever co-sponsored. Because of the presence of the parliamentarians in Cairo, not to mention a full year of political preparations, the inter-governmental conference echoed many of the parliamentarians' views. Indeed, the Cairo Declaration stated that "Members of national legislatures can have a major role to play, especially in enacting domestic legislation for implementing the present Programme of Action." That Programme of Action issued by the

governments would be a hollow shell without parliaments "allocating appropriate financial resources, ensuring accountability, and raising public awareness of population issues."

The active participation of legislators in the third meeting of the preparatory committee (PrepCom III) to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which was held at the United Nations in New York on 4-21 April, 1994. It was essential that agreement on the draft Programme of Action's basic points be reached at PrepCom III. Global Action contacted governments and ICPD decision-makers in various key countries to ensure that high-level delegations were sent to PrepCom III and that legislators were included in those delegations. In order to further facilitate the active participation of parliamentarians in the meeting, Global Action organised an international parliamentary workshop at the United Nations on 6-8 April, 1994. The first day of the workshop was devoted to meetings with the heads of delegation to PrepCom III. Mr. Tim Wirth, U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Global Affairs and head of the American delegation,





discussed with Global Action members the American position vis-à-vis issues such as abortion and reproductive rights. Legislators also had an opportunity to exchange views with Bangladeshi, Canadian, Indonesian, Pakistani, Swedish and British leaders.

The workshop allowed parliamentarians to discuss specific courses of action on the main issues addressed by the Cairo document. "A Statement and Recommendations" was issued by the 25 workshop participants and was distributed among delegates attending PrepCom III.

The language used by Global Action on the role of legislators was introduced into the Programme of Action by Australia and was supported by the United States, Bangladesh, Benin, the European Union, Ghana, Nepal and Pakistan. Senator Margaret Reynolds, MP (Australia), Hon. A. M. Khan, MP, and Minister of State for Planning (Bangladesh) and Hon. Hawa Ogede, MP (Ghana) were instrumental in getting their delegations' support for such inclusion.

From May to September, Global Action launched a campaign to include leading legislators in the area of population and development in each countries' official delegations to the ICPD. As key players in the future implementation of the Programme of Action, Global Action felt that parliamentarians could not be excluded from the final stage of the negotiation process. For many countries this was not an easy task since the inclusion of parliamentarians in national delegations depended on the availability of funds after having provided for the expenses of all governmental officials. The campaign included political contacts at all levels of government made through the organisation's parliamentary network. Some twenty countries included Global Action members in their official delegations.

In the months leading up to Cairo, Global Action was concerned not only with having its members actively participating in the ICPD but also, in the words of Murli S. Deora, MP

(India), "in having a strong and cohesive parliamentary presence in Cairo. [I want to invite all] parliamentary networks to cooperate



together to avoid duplication of efforts and to ensure that we talk at the ICPD with a firm, clear and united voice." To that end, talks were held with the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, the Global Committee of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, the Inter-American Parliamentary Group on Population and Development, and the International Medical Parliamentary Organisation.

In May, Global Action decided to co-sponsor the International Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (ICPPD) in Cairo on 3-4 September, 1995. As mentioned, 300 parliamentarians responded to this unified call to action. Its contribution to the success of the ICPD was clearly expressed by Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Secretary-General of the ICPD. In her opening statement to the ICPPD, she noted, "The organised parliamentary movement contributed greatly to the International Conference on Population in 1984, most importantly by encouraging parliamentarians to participate in their countries delegations. From the sheer size of the turnout, I know it will do so again -- with even greater impact." UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, also sent an inspiring message to the participants in the parliamentary conference.

## Parliamentary Network

*Australia:*  
Sen. Margaret Reynolds  
*Bangladesh:*  
Dr. Abdul Moyeen Khan  
*Botswana:*  
Mr. Lesedi Mothibamele  
*Bulgaria:*  
Ms. Elena Poptodorova  
*Burkina Faso:*  
Dep. Marie-Goretti Agaloue Adoua  
*Brazil:*  
Dep. Valdir Colatto  
Sen. Benedita da Silva  
*Canada:*  
Mr. Rey Pagtakhan  
*Chile:*  
Dip. Andres Palma  
*Cote d'Ivoire:*  
Dep. Marie-Therese Ziguehi  
*Dominican Republic:*  
Sen. Jaime Fernandez Miraba  
*Egypt:*  
Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid  
*European Union:*  
Ms. Antoinette Fouque  
*Germany:*  
Ms. Ingrid Walz  
*Ghana:*  
Ms. Hawa Ogede

*Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid introducing Ms. Bella Abzug, co-chair of WEDO and former Member of the U.S. Congress, to the Parliamentary Workshop on Population and Development at the UN Headquarters in New York.*



*India:*  
 Ms. Jayanti Natajaran  
 Ms. Rita Verma  
 Ms. Malini Bhe Hacharya  
*Indonesia:*  
 Dr. Irma Alamsyah Putra  
 Dr. W.M. Sudjoko  
*Japan:*  
 Ms. Takashi Kosugi  
 Ms. Akiko Domoto  
*Kenya:*  
 Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu  
*Mexico:*  
 Dip. Cuathemoc Lopez Sanchez  
 Ms. Paloma Villasenor  
*Nepal:*  
 Ms. Sahana Pradhan  
*Netherlands:*  
 Mr. Gerritt de Jong  
*Norway:*  
 Ms. R.Q. Haarstad  
*Panama:*  
 Dip. Marco A. Samudio  
*Phillipines:*  
 Ms. Nerissa C. Soon Ruiz  
 Sen. Ernesto Maceda  
 Ms. Daisy Fuentes  
*Poland:*  
 Dr. Longin Pastusiak  
*Thailand:*  
 Dr. Krasae Chanawongse  
*Tunisia:*  
 Ms. Houda Kanoun  
*United Kingdom:*  
 Mr. Tony Worthington  
*United States:*  
 Rep. Connie Morella  
 Rep. Pat Schroeder  
*Venezuela:*  
 Dip. L. Rosendo Hernandez  
*Zimbabwe:*  
 Hon. Oppah Ruesha

Ms. Hawa Ogede, flanked by  
 Reps. Schroeder and  
 Morella, describes the  
 conditions of women living in  
 the countryside in Ghana and  
 their bearing on population  
 issues.

Participants at the ICPPD signed a parliamentary declaration on the issues of gender equality, reproductive health and family planning, financial resources, and health and mortality. The declaration was officially presented at the plenary session of the Cairo Conference and became part of its official documentation.

Twenty members of Global Action stayed on in Cairo after the parliamentary conference to attend the ICPD as members of their countries official delegations, thus participating actively in the final negotiation of the Programme of Action.

One of the main concerns of the Sustainable Development and Population Programme has been to actively involve women parliamentarians in its work; especially those leading politicians from developing countries. In 1993, Global Action established a target of achieving gender balance in all of its programme activities. By 1994, women represented 50% of the participants in all population workshops organised by Global Action. Women members of Global Action were especially active during the ICPPD. U.S. members Reps. Connie Morella and Pat Schroeder convened an informal session in which they discussed, with other Global Action colleagues strategies to facilitate women's access to all levels of decision-making.

Global Action's commitment to population issues goes well beyond Cairo, since it is in the

aftermath of the ICPD that action is most needed. From September to December, Global Action finalised a strategy for parliamentary implementation of the Cairo Programme of Action during 1995 and onwards. The Sustainable Development and Population Programme sent delegations to three "Global Human Security" regional workshops organised by the Society for International Development (SID) in Indonesia, Zimbabwe, and Brazil. These meetings and the Annual Forum helped to point the way to the World Summit for Social Development to be held in Copenhagen on 6-12 March, 1995.

It is all too easy to think of population growth in terms of abstract numbers: Today we are thousands more than yesterday and a billion fewer than we will be in a decade. But behind the numbers there are human beings with rights and needs that must be recognised and satisfied. This was made clear at the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development. It was essential to have parliamentarians actively participating in the Cairo conference and its preparatory process because population is a "people" issue and parliamentarians are the direct representatives of the people and, thus, uniquely placed to identify and respond to their needs. The post-Cold War reality demands that people and their needs are placed at the forefront of all governmental agendas. □





## Executive Committee

<i>International President</i> . . . . .	<i>Senadora Silvia Hernández, Mexico</i>
<i>Presidents</i> . . . . .	<i>Dip. Jorge Arguello, Argentina</i> <i>Dep. Emma Bonino, Italy</i> <i>Mr. Murli Deora, MP, India</i> <i>Hon. Koji Kakizawa, MP, Japan</i> <i>Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP Namibia</i>
<i>Members-at-Large.</i> . . . . .	<i>Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid, MP, Egypt</i> <i>Rep. James A. Leach, United States</i>
<i>Treasurer</i> . . . . .	<i>Mr. George Foulkes, MP, United Kingdom</i>
<i>Past President</i> . . . . .	<i>Hon. Warren Allmand, PC, MP, Canada</i>
<i>Council Chairman (ex-officio)</i> . . . . .	<i>Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson, MA, Iceland</i>
<i>Secretary-General (non-voting).</i> . . . . .	<i>Dr. Kennedy Graham</i>

### New 1995 Executive Committee Members



*Rep. Gary Ackerman,  
United States*



*Senator Ernesto  
Maceda, Philippines*



*Ms. Maj-Britt Theorin,  
MEP, Sweden*



*Ms. Elena  
Poptodorova,  
MP Bulgaria*



*The Hon. A.N.R.  
Robinson,  
Trinidad & Tobago*



*Senadora Silvia Hernández has led Global Action as International President since the beginning of 1992. First elected to the Mexican Congress in 1973, she has chaired several legislative committees, including the Committee on Planning and Management, the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Senate Human Rights Committee. In addition to her work with Global Action, her international positions have included the presidency of World Women Parliamentarians for Peace. Senadora Hernández was recently appointed Minister of Tourism in Mexico.*



# International Council



*Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, was the Council Chairman in 1984 and 1994. He has been re-elected to the position for 1995. Dr. Grímsson has been a member of the Executive Committee since 1984, and was International President from 1986 to 1989. He is the convenor of the Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Programme (page 5).*

## Chairman

*Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, MA (Iceland)*

## Vice-Chairs

*Dep. Bertin Borna, (Benin)  
Rep. Mike Kopetski (United States)  
Senator Ernesto Maceda (Philippines)  
Hon. A.N.R. Robinson, MP (Trinidad and Tobago)  
Ms. Maj-Britt Theorin, MP (Sweden)*

## Councillors

*Mr. Niels Ahlmann-Ohlsen, MP (Denmark)  
Sen. Jaime Fernandez Mirabal (Dominican Republic)  
Rep. Garrie Gibson (Australia)  
Hon. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh)  
Mr. Jon Lilletun, Representant (Norway)  
Hon. Meshack Maganga, MP (Tanzania)  
Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland)  
Hon. Lesedi Mothibamele, MP (Botswana)  
Mr. M.J. Nolan, MP (Ireland)  
Dip. Andres Palma (Chile)  
Dep. Elie Plancher (Haiti)  
Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand)  
Mr. Theo Sambuaga, MP (Indonesia)  
Sir David Steel, KBE, MP (United Kingdom)  
Dip. Gustavo Tarre (Venezuela)  
Dep. Aloisio Vasconcelos (Brazil)  
Hon. Michael Wamalwa, MP (Kenya)  
Mr. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB (Germany)*

## Executive Committee

*All members of the Executive Committee are also members of the International Council. They are listed on the preceding page.*

## New Vice-Chairs of the 1995 International Council



*Mr. Valdir Colatto, MP  
Brazil*



*Mr. Ibrahima Fall, MP  
Senegal*



*Senator Tom Harkin, United States*



*Dr. Moyeen Khan, MP  
Bangladesh*



*Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP  
Kenya*



# The Secretariat, New York City

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Development Officer . . . . .	Mr. Henry Grossberg
Financial Administrator . . . . .	Ms. Janice Johnson
Administrative Assistants . . . . .	Ms. Stacey Parker Ms. Mirtille Romegialli



Dr. Kennedy Graham is Secretary-General of Parliamentarians for Global Action.

A special thanks to all the volunteers and interns who assisted in the programme areas and with the administration of the office: Inna Baykova, Garvin Brown, Clarissa Cañades, Genevieve Drewes, Andrew Fried, Ike Gonzalez, Jennifer Harris, Bouhdan M'Bembo, Yuri Maltser, Cecilie Reid, Mathew Schecter, Jackie Smith, and Wendy Wheaton.



The Secretariat staff in January 1995 at Global Action's New York City offices. From left to right: Annabel Hertz, Jean Krasno, Garvin Brown, Shazia Rafi, Mercedes Mas de Xaxas, Aaron Tovish, Mirtille Romegialli, Janice Johnson, Paul Nuti, Ayaka Suzuki, Henry Grossberg, and Sotiris Cartsos.



# Finances



## Treasurer:

*George Foulkes, Labour MP for Carrick, Cumnock & Doon Valley from 1979 to the present, was elected Treasurer of Global Action in 1992. Mr. Foulkes has been a delegate to the Council of Europe and the Western European Union and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. He is currently a member of the Executive Committee of the UK Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the British section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Mr. Foulkes was a Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1983 to 1992, and for Defence from 1993 to 1994.*

## Financial Administrator:

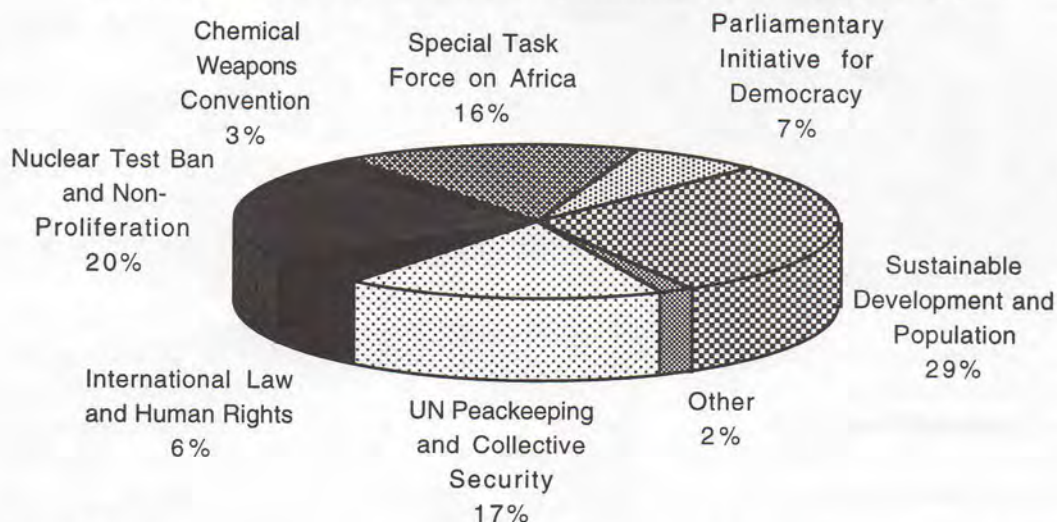
*Ms. Janice Johnson*

## Development Officer:

*Mr. Henry Grossberg*

For the first time since 1987, Global Action has had two consecutive years in which its budget has topped a million dollars. The continuing confidence of the many foundations, institutions, UN agencies, and governments in Global Action is the mainstay of the organisation. Hundreds of individual contributions are received by the organisation as acts of generosity and solidarity.

## DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES FOR PROGRAMME SERVICES



Financial Position	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total 1994
Total Assets	129,605	181,900	311,505
Total Liabilities	146,589	181,900	328,489
Fund Balance (Deficit)	(16,984)	—	(16,984)

## Statement of Activities

General support and revenue:			
Individual contributions	65,111	19,000	84,111
Foundation and institutional grants	125,100	506,290	631,390
UN agency and government grants	—	247,957	247,957
Other	15,789	—	15,789
<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>206,000</b>	<b>773,247</b>	<b>979,247</b>
Expenses:			
Programme Services	106,443	717,910	824,353
Supporting Services			
Administrative and general	207,211	55,337	262,548
Fundraising	33,392	—	33,392
	<b>347,046</b>	<b>773,247</b>	<b>1,120,293</b>
(Deficiency) of general support and revenue over expenses	(141,046)	—	(141,046)
Fund balance, beginning of year	124,062	—	124,062
Fund balance, end of year	(16,984)	—	(16,984)



## 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, 1994, and the related statements of activities and changes in fund balance/(deficit) and cash flows for the year then ended; and in our report dated February 15, 1995, 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  
February 15, 1995

*Winnie Tam & Co., P.C.,  
members of the American  
Institute of Certified Public  
Accountants and the New York  
State Society of Certified  
Public Accountants, conduct  
the annual audit of  
Parliamentarians for Global  
Action. The complete  
financial statements are  
available upon request or by  
writing to: New York State  
Department of State, Office of  
Charities Registration  
162 Washington Avenue,  
Albany, New York 12231.*

### ***Contributors to Parliamentarians for Global Action in 1994***

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Boehm Foundation  
Bydale Foundation  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
W. Alton Jones Foundation  
Henry P. Kendall Foundation  
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur  
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New Land Foundation  
Ploughshares Fund  
Rockefeller Foundation  
Miriam G. and Ira D. Wallach Foundation  
Winston Foundation for World Peace

#### **Institutions**

African-American Institute  
International Republican Institute  
Society for International Development

#### **UN Agencies**

United Nations Development Fund for  
Women (UNIFEM)  
United Nations Population Fund  
(UNFPA)

#### **Governments**

Dutch Ministry of Defence  
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Norwegian Royal Ministry of Foreign  
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Overseas Development Administration  
[United Kingdom]  
Swedish International Development  
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Swiss Development Cooperation

#### **Individuals (see next page)**



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*UN Secretary-General  
Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
receives a commemorative  
plate from Mr. Murli Deora,  
the President of the India  
PGA Group during his  
visit to New Delhi on  
September 10, 1994.*





# *A Message from the 1995 International President*

As impressive as the accomplishments of 1994 have been, I firmly believe that Global Action's 1995 will not suffer by comparison. We are off to a stunning start with the January United Nations Forum and Secretary O'Leary's Thorsson Lecture. With hardly a chance to catch our breath, we are plunging into the Social Summit in March and the Non-Proliferation Treaty Extension Conference in April-May. As for other inter-governmental conferences, we have our sights on Beijing for the Fourth Conference on Women in September and the Habitat Summit in Istanbul in 1996. These international meetings provide us with an opportunity to influence the global debate on the vital issues of the day. The results of these conferences -- although not necessarily perfect -- help to set the tone of our national, parliamentary debates. They also provide an objective measure of performance to which we can hold our governments accountable.

But no children are going to be fed by the fine words agreed to by winned-and-dined statesmen in distant capitals. No buildings built -- other than more conference halls. Education and health care will only be reliable and available for young and old when our societies prosper. To flourish, our societies must be spared the scourge of war. We have no use for nuclear or chemical weapons; they can only destroy the social progress of this century. The laws against genocide have been consistently flouted since World War II. They must be enforced by an International Criminal Court. The United Nations, which was established to rid the world of the scourge of war must be allowed to get on with the job. When a peacekeeping operation is needed, the need is immediate, not three months later.

The Peace and Security Programmes will address these concerns directly in 1995.

Security from without is only half the equation. To prosper, our societies need peace within as well. Parliament is the proper place to overcome our internal differences. A society without a viable parliament is headed for trouble. Its internal differences will either tear it apart or drag it down. But this does not mean the democratic road is always smooth. Our parliamentary network will be alert to early signs of trouble, be it internal paralysis or a stand-off with the government. Our reputation for interceding constructively has grown over recent years. Unfortunately, one can safely predict that there will be more work to do in 1995; already we have had a call from the United Nations to go into Suriname. The Democracy and Development Programmes are ready for action.

We are now one-thousand strong, but I am not so concerned about heading a large organisation. Size does not necessarily equate with effectiveness. We are all parliamentarians, but we were not born parliamentarians and we will not die parliamentarians. As our careers develop, leaving parliament rarely means the end of politics. An invisible contribution of Parliamentarians for Global Action to the world's well-being is the practical experience that its members take with them into decision-making positions -- in national governmental and international organizations. This network of influential current and former members is growing constantly, my predecessor's appointment in Mexico being but one example. These many friends can help to ensure that our proposals and initiatives are carefully considered, supported, and acted upon by governments and international organisations.

The outlook for 1995 is bright, but it is just an inkling of the extraordinary promise of this organisation in the decade ahead. It has been said of the United Nations, that if it did not exist, it would have to be reinvented immediately because the world simply cannot do without it. I suspect that the same is true of Parliamentarians for Global Action. □



*Mr. Murli Deora, an Executive Committee member for three years, is the new International President of Parliamentarians for Global Action. In 1994, he served as Convenor of the Sustainable Development Programme. See page 26.*



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