Parliamentarians for Global Action

1996 Annual Report
PGA Members Are From:

Africa

Benin
Burkina Faso
Botswana
Burundi*
Cape Verde
Cote d’Ivoire
Egypt
Ghana*
Kenya*
Madagascar
Mali
Mauritius
Namibia
Niger
Senegal*
South Africa
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Jamaica
Mexico*
Panama
Paraguay
Suriname
Trinidad and Tobago
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela*

Asia/Pacific

Australia*
Bangladesh
Cambodia
India*
Indonesia
Israel
Japan*
Jordan
Malaysia
Maldives
Nauru
Nepal
New Zealand*
Philippines*
Pakistan
Singapore
South Korea
Sri Lanka
Thailand

Europe

The European Parliament
Albania
Austria
Belarus
Belgium
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Bulgaria
Czech Republic
Denmark*
Estonia
Finland*
France
Germany*
Greece
Hungary
Iceland
Ireland*
Italy
Macedonia
Malta
Moldova
Netherlands
Norway*
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Russia
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden*
Switzerland*
Ukraine
United Kingdom*

*multi-party
PGA National Groups
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About Parliamentarians for Global Action

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) is a nonprofit organization established in 1979 by concerned parliamentarians from around the world to act jointly on global problems that cannot be solved by any single government or parliament.

PGA's global network of democratically elected legislators is strategically positioned at the nexus of political forces shaping the world. An affiliate of the United Nations, its programs and projects serve:

- **Legislators** by providing an informational and professional network
- **Governments** by mobilizing political will for governmental initiatives
- **The UN system** by coordinating parliamentarians' consensus on UN programmes
- **Civil society** by facilitating interaction among NGOs, civil society, parliament and government.

**PGA's Global Mission**

While it initially focused on disarmament issues, PGA today works on an expanded list of global issues.

- Its broad-based *democracy program* supports both existing and developing democracies through electoral assistance and preventive political action.
- PGA's "Emergency Response" *conflict management* mechanism facilitates political negotiations and communications for members in crisis.
- PGA bolsters democracy through its *economic revitalization* program. It focuses on building a stable global economic environment for human and infrastructure investment; over the next years, PGA-organized regional forums will seek solutions to the challenge of growth with equity.
- To *empower women*, PGA supports female legislators and works for women's and population issues; the organization's current population activities center on Ghana and Senegal.
- PGA organizes parliamentarians to support *international criminal law*, such as the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court.
- PGA played a major role in the *nuclear disarmament* work leading to the summer 1996 signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and received the Indira Gandhi Peace Prize for its work on the Six Nation Initiative for Peace and Disarmament.

**PGA's Structure**

- **Executive Committee**
  - (Board of Directors)
  - Elected members meet at least twice annually.

- **International Council**
  - Policy advisory council meets annually. Members are PGA National Group heads or individually elected.

- **UN Committee**
  - Comprises ambassadors, senior officials, and NGOs

- **Secretariat**
  - Secretary-General, 10 staff members, consultants, and interns

- **Membership**
  - 1,200 members from 97 national legislatures

**PGA's Unique Niche**

PGA's 1,200 members from ninety-seven national legislatures place the organization in a unique position to build multinational cooperation on global issues. With support from private donors, corporations, major philanthropic institutions, and UN and governmental aid agencies, PGA addresses global problems through interparliamentary cooperation at regional, national, and international levels.

Most importantly, through PGA's members, the organization reaches out across the globe to members' constituencies—strengthening the security and well-being of citizens worldwide.
A Message From PGA’s International Presidents: Passing the Torch

Message from 1996 International President,
Mr. Murli Deora (India)

One of PGA’s roles should be to reinforce the principle of accountability that must exist between the international community, the elected representatives and the local stakeholder—the totality of citizens who have an interest in how their government develops economic and social policy for their nation, in what has become a global economy.

At all times, we parliamentarians try to maintain a broad view of the changing domestic political terrain. In order to effectively articulate a vision for social policy, legislators must negotiate equity issues, social mobility issues, and empowerment issues in an environment of political and economic flux.

Parliamentarians are, above all, intermediaries between the executive branch of government and the needs and aspirations of civil society, and, therefore, are uniquely placed to negotiate this balance. We need only look to PGA’s network to recognize the immense influence we can bring to bear on this formidable challenge.

It has been a very rewarding two years presiding over such a dynamic network of parliamentarians as PGA.

I am delighted and, indeed, proud that one of the finest politicians from Africa has been elected to lead PGA in 1997. As I pass the torch to Mr. Moses Katjiuongua (Namibia), I wish him the best luck and offer my commitment to work with PGA as a member of civil society.

Message from 1997 International President,
Mr. Moses Katjiuongua (Namibia)

As we near the dawn of the 21st century, political and economic decision-making has become more complex and more sophisticated than ever before in history. Indeed, the process of governing now needs more vision, conceptualization, communication, and intellect. And governing is still more complicated in a democracy where governments and legislators must satisfy so many diverse segments of society.

Opportunities, risks, and threats are involved. However, democracy, not dictatorship, is a necessary precondition for social and economic development. A free flow of ideas creates a wealthy, healthy, and challenging environment for a fearless and multidirectional interaction between politicians, the business community, the world of academia, and civil society.

It is my fervent belief and hope that our work at PGA will serve as a catalyst for further action on these issues and make a lasting impact on the future of our global community, and that the tradition of personal commitment passed on by my predecessor, Murli Deora, will continue to flourish at PGA.
PGA’s 18th Annual Forum Focuses on Nuclear Disarmament and Democracy in Africa

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his year’s Annual Forum, “Stepping Stones to Security and Democracy,” revolved around two important meetings. Fifty-two parliamentarians from thirty-two countries joined experts and diplomats to discuss political strategies to advance nuclear disarmament and consolidate democracy and development in Africa.

The luncheon session on Day II commemorated Dr. Ólafur Grimsson, President of Iceland, as the longest-serving member of PGA’s Executive Committee.

On Dec. 3, 1996, PGA honoured Iceland’s President, H.E. Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson, for his contribution as the longest-serving member of PGA’s Executive Committee. “My political upbringing in Parliamentarians for Global Action—the training, contact, and experiences—was a crucial factor in my election as President of Iceland. I thank PGA for that,” Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson said when he accepted the award. Pres. Grimsson resigned from PGA due to his election in Spring 1996. Pres. Grimsson received the award from his longtime colleague, the Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada).

Day I: Parliamentary Conclave on Nuclear Disarmament

Political Advancement of Canberra Commission Recommendations

Day I brought together seven members of the Canberra Commission, leading diplomats and experts, and MPs to discuss how parliamentarians could implement the sweeping recommendations made by the Canberra Commission Report on how to reach a nuclear weapons-free world.

Dr. Maj Britt Theorin, MEP (Sweden), the only woman serving on the seventeen-member Commission and Chair of PGA’s Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Programme, and other members of the prestigious commission—Ambassador Richard Butler, Ambassador Celso Amorim, General Lee Butler, Ambassador Nabil Elarby, Mr. Rolf Ekeus, and Mr. Ronald McCoy—gave insightful presentations on the findings of the Canberra Commission.

It was at this Conclave that General Butler explained his view that the only way to reduce nuclear threats is by eliminating nuclear weapons—a stunning position for someone who controlled U.S. strategic nuclear weapons until recently. Gen. Butler’s speech was a preview of the official proclamation he made on this position two days later in Washington, D.C.

The participants also debated and welcomed a position that the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review process should be used to advance the Canberra objectives.

Day II: Special Parliamentary Session on Africa

Inaugurated by H.E. Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General, the Special Parliamentary Session on Africa took place December 2-3, 1996. The conference was convened after African PGA members identified the need for a high-level political meeting on the challenges facing the continent.

The recurring motif that peace and development are interlinked goals reaffirmed the three broad themes of good governance, economic recovery, and conflict management on which the discussion focused. Diverse opinions and reflections were raised as parliamentarians from governing and opposition parties, north and south, men and women, offered their perspectives on the issues.

Most, however, agreed on the essential need for transparency, accountability, greater freedoms, and respect for the rights of women and minorities. The participants, who were divided sharply on how

Dr. Maj Britt Theorin [at left], MEP, Member of the Canberra Commission and of PGA; and Ambassador Richard Butler, Australian Ambassador to the UN, lead player in the 50th UNGA’s resolution for the CTBT (Sept. 1996).
to achieve these desired goals, shared their countries' different approaches to encouraging economic and political development.

The discussion covered sensitive issues such as the role of ethnicity in democratization, correcting the misappropriation and mismanagement of resources, and bridging the donor-recipient divide.

Day III: Strategies for the Great Lakes Region of Africa

Africa's Great Lakes Region was a focal point of PGA's activities in recent years. PGA sent eight missions to Burundi between August 1994 and March 1996 in its efforts toward preventive political action. PGA also supports the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

This strategy session, therefore, examined the region as a whole. Participants debated various strategies to bring peace to the region, finally agreeing that parliamentary support for the ICTR was crucial and that PGA would move forward with a proposed workshop in South Africa in two months.

While sharp disagreements arose, especially over the issue of sanctions imposed against Burundi, the consensus was that the imposition of sanctions was appropriate, because the coup d'état was illegitimate and therefore should be condemned.

The MPs made particular mention of the safety of H.E. Léonce Ngendakumana, Speaker of the Burundi National Assembly, whom de facto authorities prevented from participating in the Forum. The MPs declared that they stand solidly behind the Speaker—despite some nebulous legal charges against him in Burundi—and urged the authorities to respect his rights and ensure his safety.

hon. mosé t'lintendero, speaker of the national assembly (namibia), giving the keynote address at the special parliamentary session on Africa.
H.E. Mr. Mosé Tjitendero (Speaker, Namibian Assembly) confers with Sen. Elie Plancher of Haiti while Mr. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt), looks on.

From left: Dép. Benoît Yobou Djirabou (Côte D’Ivoire); Dép. Victorine Dakou (Mali); Dép. Emmanuel Mpayokurera (Burundi); and Dép. Kafui Kpegba-Dzoti (Togo).

Discussion on the Great Lakes Region. From left: Mr. Kipruto Kirwa, MP (Kenya); Mr. Raila Odinga, MP (Kenya); and Ms. Oppah Rushesha, MP, Minister for Communication (Zimbabwe).

Mr. Paul Rantao, MP (Botswana), left, and Mr. Winright Ngondo, MP (Zambia).

From left: Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland); Mr. Paul Rantao, MP (Botswana); and Amb. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Botswana Ambassador to the UN, making his intervention at the Conflict Management Panel on the first day of the Special Parliamentary Session on Africa.

Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya), left, and Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP, former Minister of State for Internal Affairs (Uganda).

H.E. Prakash Shah, Ambassador, Indian Mission to the UN [left] and Rick Kukuri, MP (Namibia), at the luncheon on Day I of the Annual Forum.

Ms. Shazia Z. Rafi, PGA Secretary-General [right], confers with Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, PGA Senior Programme Officer, over the Special Parliamentary Session on Africa.
H.E. Dr. Nabil Elaraby, Ambassador, Mission of Egypt to the UN, giving his speech at the luncheon on Day I of the Annual Forum.

Top Row (L-R): Mr. Raila Odinga, MP (Kenya); Sen. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada); Mr. Paul Ssemogerere (Uganda); Mr. Paul Rantao, MP (Botswana); Mr. John Connor, TD (Ireland); Dép. Adrien Sibomana (Burundi); Dép. Tito Ruteramara (Rwanda); Mr. Winright Ngondo, MP (Zambia); Hon. Rick Kukuri, MP (Namibia).

Fourth Row (L-R): Ms. Judy Keall, MP (New Zealand); Dép. Victoire Ndikumana (Burundi); [above Dép. Ndikumana] Sen. Elie Plancher (Haiti); Mr. Karl-Göran Blommark, MP (Sweden); Hon. Fremnath Ramnah, MP (Mauritius), Deputy Speaker; Mr. Moses K. Kajjaguruga, MP (Uganda); Dr. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh); Hon. Mosée Tillendero, MP (Namibia), Speaker; Mr. Ralph Willis, MP (Australia); Mr. Juma Akukweti, MP (Tanzania).

Third Row (L-R): Dép. Emmanuel Mpfayokurera (Burundi); Hon. Lesedi Mothibamele, MP (Botswana); Mr. James Orengo, MP (Kenya); Mr. Hermanus Loots, MP (South Africa); Dép. Mamadou Lamine Traore (Mali); Hon. R.T.C. Muyenyembe, MP (Malawi), Speaker; Dép. Famara Sarr (Senegal); Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya); Mr. A.R. Zamharir, MP (Indonesia); Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland).

Second Row (L-R): Hon. Virginia Lesabe, MP (Zimbabwe); Ms. Jabu Sosibo, MP (South Africa); Ms. Chilufya Kapwepwe (Zambia); Dép. Victorie Dakouo (Mali); Ambassador Kristina Svensson (Sweden); Mr. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt); Dép. Kafui Kpegba-Dzoli (Togo); Hon. Laurent Nkongoli, MP (Rwanda), Speaker; Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda).

Front Row (L-R): Dép. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia); Ms. Nalla Jiddawi, MP (Tanzania); Hon. Oppah Rushesha, MP (Zambia); Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada).

Note: Rows are not exact.

From left: Mr. Paul Ssemogerere (Uganda); Ms. Jabu Sosibo, MP (South Africa); and Mr. Hermanus Loots, MP (South Africa).

From left: Mr. John Connor, TD (Ireland); Dép. Manuel Mpfayokurera (Burundi); Mr. Juma Akukweti, MP (Tanzania); Ms. Nalla Jiddawi, MP (Tanzania); and Dr. A. Moyeen Kahn, MP (Bangladesh).

Ambassador Lansana Kouyate, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, giving his speech, "The Changing Role of the UN in Africa: The Secretariat View," at the luncheon on Day II of the Annual Forum.
Transitions at PGA:
A New Secretary-General and a Renewed Mission

PGA’s 18th year was one of transition, starting with a worldwide search for a new Secretary-General. It was a recognition of PGA’s seminal work that 141 outstanding candidates from all over the globe applied for the post. On June 1, 1996, the Board of Directors announced the appointment of PGA’s first woman Secretary-General, Ms. Shazia Z. Rafi. Formerly Deputy Secretary-General, Ms. Rafi, a United States and Pakistani national, succeeded Dr. Kennedy Graham of New Zealand.

“We looked, in making this selection, to the future, to prepare the organization for the next century,” noted 1996 International President Murli Deora. Deora and the Board immediately asked Ms. Rafi to initiate a comprehensive Transition Review. With the end of the Cold War and the completion of the decade of UN Conferences, the organization’s disarmament and development work required a thorough review.

The review commenced in earnest in September 1996 with the selection of an Ad-Hoc Advisory Committee. A number of senior UN officials, senior ambassadors, and foundation officials joined the committee. The group undertook a series of consultations with the Secretary-General of PGA, structurally for the organization as a whole and programme by programme.

The review identified areas requiring drastic change, both structurally and programmatically. Programmatically, the review recommended the merging/closure of several programmes and projects that either had achieved their political goal or no longer fit PGA’s strategic niche. As a result of the review, the Board of Directors at its meeting on December 1, 1996, decided to focus on the following five programmes:

- Democracy, Good Governance & Africa
- International Law & Human Rights
- Economic Revitalization
- Empowerment of Women & Population
- Nuclear Weapons-Free World

Structurally, the review revealed a serious weakness in PGA’s funding: the ratio of unrestricted to restricted funds had fallen to unsustainable lows, the size of average grant had dropped to unworkable levels, and project duration had condensed to a few months. The Board approved several recommendations from the Review that have turned the organization around.

Acting on the Review

Downsizing and reorganizing PGA was easy, compared to the more difficult efforts to not only ensure PGA’s financial viability and sustainability, but also maintain PGA’s strategic edge in the field of political development.

For this we have turned to the assistance of the foundations that have funded PGA for its programme work. Working with foundation consultants, PGA’s Board of Directors will develop a new Strategic Plan at its 1997 meetings.
PGA has proven that its work holds an enduring value, beyond a single issue or a set of conferences. It continues to set the standard for innovation and boldness in politically sensitive and often controversial issues.

To meet the challenge of the 21st century, PGA will focus its work toward the following goals:

- To effectively develop its network of individual, democratically elected legislators to provide leadership on policy issues and be catalysts for positive change.
- To mobilize political will, nationally and internationally, for implementation of global conference outcomes and development agendas, thus ensuring that they are sustainable, gender-sensitive, and democratic.
- To develop "quality" political leadership, thus enhancing the institutions of governance—local, regional, and international.
- To be a key intervening link between civil society and executive authority through strategic alliances with key civil society organizations on a programme basis.

AD-HOC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Amb. Juan Somavia, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of Chile; Chair, UN Committee for PGA
Hon. Bella Abzug, Co-Chair, Women's Environment & Development Organization
Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, Associate Administrator, UNDP
Mr. Hirofumi Ando, Deputy Executive Director, UNFPA
Prof. Cherif Bassiouni, President, International Human Rights Institute, DePaul University
Amb. Nicolaas Biegman, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of The Netherlands
Ms. Margaret Catley-Carlson, President, The Population Council
Amb. Dr. Nabil A. Elaraby, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of Egypt
Amb. Daudi N. Mwakawago, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of Tanzania
Amb. Mrs. Annette Des Iles, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of Trinidad & Tobago
Amb. Lansana Kouyaté, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Zaire
Amb. Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Ambassador Extraordinary, Mission of Botswana
Mr. Stephen Lewis, Deputy Executive Director, UNICEF
Prof. Roderick Macfarquhar (former Labour Party MP), East Asia Studies, Harvard University
Amb. Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy
Amb. Thomas Pickering, Under Secretary of State, Designate (until January 1997)
Mr. Gowher Rizvi, Deputy Director, The Ford Foundation
Mr. Fred Sai, Former Chair, IPPF, Accra, Ghana
Ms. Sara Seims, Associate Director, Population Sciences, The Rockefeller Foundation
Amb. Kristina Svensson, Ambassador Extraordinary, Embassy of Sweden in Zambia
Ms. Gillian Sorensen, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations

From left: Ms. Gillian Sorensen, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations; Ambassador Daudi N. Mwakawago, Ambassador of Tanzania to the UN; Ambassador Annette des Iles, Ambassador of Trinidad and Tobago to the UN; Ms. Shazia Z. Rafi, PGA Secretary-General; Ambassador Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Ambassador of Botswana to the UN; and Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, Associate Administrator, UNDP.
Conflict Prevention
and Management

Mr. Theo Meyer, MP (Sweden), with children in an internally displaced people's camp near Bujumbura.

Responding to the Coup d'État in Burundi and Mustering Canadian and U.S. Legislative Support for UN Peace-keeping

In the 1980s, Parliamentarians for Global Action pioneered global initiatives for nuclear disarmament. In the 1990s, PGA members are once again devising innovative approaches to conflict prevention and management.

Since the two “Emergency Response Missions” sent to Togo in 1992, PGA's Emergency Response Mechanism has been evolving. PGA employs tools such as election assistance and monitoring, parliamentary appeals, parliamentary exchanges, press conferences, workshops, delegations, and high-level consultations between MPs and government or intergovernmental officials to facilitate preventing or managing crises afflicting transitional democracies.

In March 1996, PGA's newly formed Burundian National Group organized a workshop that sought solutions to the ongoing conflict in Burundi. Entitled “Consolidating Peace and Democracy,” the workshop provided a forum in which political actors could frankly explore how peace could be achieved, giving Burundians a chance to consolidate their new democratic system of governance.

Writing about the workshop, Dép. Nephtali Ndikumana noted that “a frank and sincere dialogue between all the protagonists was the only hope for a peaceful solution to get Burundi out of the crisis in which it found itself. ... The worst could be avoided if we lent an ear to the advice offered by those people who had already lived through, or closely followed, situations similar to that which is taking place in Burundi.”

As observed by Dép. Ndikumana, Burundian parliamentarians greatly appreciated the participation of PGA members from countries such as Haiti, Namibia, Senegal, and Uganda, as well as Albania and Malaysia, from the previous delegation. The Burundians valued their colleagues' experiences in nation-building during difficult transition years.

The coup d'état against the democratically elected President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya on June 24, 1996, by Major Pierre Buyoya, a former President of Burundi, demonstrated that achieving peace and democracy is indeed a long process ridden with setbacks.

PGA's Task Force on Africa leadership immediately condemned the coup, indicating
that as a network of democratically elected parliamentarians, PGA does not tolerate illegal seizures of power. The Parliamentary Appeal was signed by 120 members from 16 countries within days of the coup and was promptly presented to the military regime as well as to the United Nations, demonstrating the international parliamentary community’s resolve. In fact, the largest response came from Burundi’s neighboring countries of Kenya and Tanzania.

PGA’s position was uncommonly definite, as the prevailing attitude among the diplomatic community was “wait and see,” with some leading players hoping Buyoya’s regime would help reduce the level of violence in the strife-stricken Burundi.

As with its work in Haiti, PGA proved to be an invaluable link between the Burundian parliamentarians and the international community. Realizing news coverage of the coup was limited, PGA arranged a teleconference for the UN press corps, so they could speak directly with Burundi’s leading political actors representing both major parties. On July 31, 1996, when a Western diplomat, at whose embassy the Speaker of the Burundi Parliament was in hiding, refused the media contact with the Speaker despite PGA’s previous arrangement with him, it was a telling sign that certain perspectives were blocked from being broadcast.

PGA unequivocally maintained that despite Buyoya’s “dissolution” of the Burundi parliament, the democratically elected legislators remained the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Burundi.

**Meeting With the UN Security Council**

At the UN Security Council, some members realized that immediate and concrete action by the Security Council was needed to resolve the crisis in Burundi.

H.E. Mr. Juan Somavía and H.E. Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Permanent Representatives of Chile and Botswana respectively, in early August asked PGA to arrange a meeting between the UN Security Council and a multi-party Burundian parliamentary delegation.

The Ambassadors believed firsthand presentations by Burundian parliamentarians from the two major parties were needed, because internal conflicts such as Burundi’s require the Council to hear the “internal” voices.

“Arria’s Formula” enabled a full Security Council session to be held outside the Security Council Chamber. The August 21 session was
attended by all the Ambassadors, including then-U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, now Secretary of State. It was the first time the UN Security Council met with national legislators.

The Burundian delegation was high-level and well positioned to represent the two political parties; it comprised Dr. Jean Minani, President of FRODEBU and the leader of the FRODEBU team at the Arusha Peace Talks process; Jean-Marie Ngendahayo (FRODEBU), former Foreign Minister who had fled Burundi after an assassination attempt that killed an OAU Human Rights Observer; Adrien Nshomana (UPRONA), former Prime Minister under Buyoya's last regime; and Anatole Kanyenkiko (UPRONA), former Prime Minister in Ntibantunganya's cabinet formed in 1993.

Five working days later, on August 30, 1996, the Security Council adopted the comprehensive Resolution 1072 (with 22 operative paragraphs), calling for a return to constitutional order and legality; restoration of the National Assembly; and lifting the ban on all political parties and demanding all of Burundi's political parties and factions without exception initiate unconditional negotiations immediately, with a view to reaching a comprehensive political settlement.

Legislative Support for UN Peace-keeping

On the other side of the peace spectrum, support for UN peace-keeping is crucial once the protagonists sign cease-fire agreements. Clearly, despite its mixed record in the new “third-generation” peace-keeping operations in the 1990s, UN peace-keeping operations must have the solid support of the UN Member States to be a success.

UN Member States, in turn, must have the support of the legislative branches. Canada and the U.S., two of the largest contributors to the UN’s peace operations, offer contrasting approaches to UN peace-keeping.

The U.S., which contributes 30 percent of the UN peace-keeping budget, became increasingly reluctant to stay involved in UN peace-keeping after the debacle in Somalia, whereas Canada, besides financial contributions, contributes troops regularly, and the public and parliament largely support UN peace operations. It is against this backdrop that PGA organized a unique briefing orientation to UN peace-keeping for American and Canadian legislators.

The “Orientation Programme on UN Peace-keeping and Peace-Building: A Necessary

The participants were briefed by senior military and civilian staff of the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations (DPKO), including then Under Secretary-General for Peace-keeping, Mr. Kofi Annan (who has since been elected Secretary-General of the UN).

A main goal of the orientation was to provide the legislators with a firsthand look at the activities of the DPKO headquarters operations with a view toward how peace-keeping operations are actually managed. Among the challenges facing DPKO, legislators were often told, was the level of commitment of Member States in terms of funds and troops.

Mr. Annan focused his remarks on his recent visit to the Former Yugoslavia and his brief term as the Secretary-General’s Special Representative there at the close of the UN peace-keeping mission. He expressed his concern over the end-state for the I-FOR peace-keeping mission (by NATO), because military success cannot exist with civilian failure. He said he appreciated the rare opportunity to directly address the legislators whose decisions make a huge impact on the daily activities of the UN.

The participants were thoroughly briefed by other high-level officials, including Col. Peter Leentjes, Chief of the Training Division, and Maj. Gen. Van Kappen, who remarked on the changing nature of UN peace-keeping. Lt. Gen. Manfred Eisele also spoke on the importance of cooperation between DPKO, Departments of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA), and Departments of Political Affairs (DPA) in planning and supporting peace-keeping operations. Mr. Franz Baumann discussed UN financing and the commitments of Member States.

To provide the U.S. perspective, the programme included a luncheon presentation by Ms. Sarah Sewall, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Peacekeeping and Peace-Enforcement. Demonstrating that not all U.S. Congresspersons oppose UN peace-keeping, U.S. Congressman Major Owens praised the DPKO for its success in Haiti.

UNESCO, which funded this orientation, contributed greatly by highlighting the importance of peace-building. At the orientation, UNESCO’s Director for Culture of Peace, Mr. Leslie Atherly, introduced its Culture of Peace Programme.

As the title of the orientation programme suggests, sustainable peace can only grow from a partnership between peace-keeping and peace-building.

Following each presentation, the parliamentarians discussed the political side of UN peace-keeping and how the UN intended to take steps to improve Member States’ contributions in troops and materiel. They provided many suggestions for the DPKO to improve its operations. Congressman Owens, for example, recommended the establishment of an “International West Point” to help develop a new international mindset among military officers. Mr. Herb Dhaliwal, MP (Canada), suggested that the UN should consider new means of receiving financing beyond Member State contributions.

Each participant promised to do whatever is possible to maintain his or her respective nation’s level of commitment to UN peace-keeping. PGA, in turn, will continue to monitor UN peace-keeping developments from a comprehensive view of activities to promote and facilitate peace, and keep its members informed.
Advancing the Rule of International Criminal Law

Parliamentary Convenor:
Hon. A.N.R. Robinson, MP
(Trinidad & Tobago)

Secretariat Officers:
Paul Nuti, Programme Officer
(until May)
Tanya Karanasios,
Programme Officer
(since May)

PGA's international law and human rights network, comprising parliamentarians who are lawyers, judges, constitutional experts, attorney generals, and ministers of justice, continued to work in 1996 to advance the rule of law.

Implementing Legislation to Support the Ad Hoc Tribunals

The June 1996 PGA-Council of Europe conference in Strasbourg, France, entitled “Securing State Cooperation and Compliance: The Ad Hoc Tribunals,” brought together twenty-five participants from Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America to address the terms of cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (ICTY and ICTR respectively), and related problems and solutions.

Participants examined factors affecting legislative responses to genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, as well as the diplomatic and political steps needed to ensure political will and action.

The discussions, over the period of two days, fell into three sessions:

- Member State Obligations Under Security Council Resolutions, Statutes of International Tribunals & Rules of Evidence;
- Practical Cooperation With the Tribunals: Common Obstacles; and
- Overcoming Common Obstacles to Drafting Legislation: Summaries by Countries That Have and Have Not Adopted Legislation.

Mr. Orengo opened the luncheon with a provocative discussion of the Kenyan government's resistance to the idea of bringing war criminals to trial. Domestic pressure had mounted on President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya in 1995, when opposition members of Parliament, including Mr. Orengo, made a formal visit to Rwanda and reported back to the parliament. They found that the Rwandan Government had been consistently frustrated in its request to the Kenyan Government to help bring fugitives to justice. International pressure on President Moi also mounted through diplomatic and UN channels.

Amos Wako was quick to point out that within the year, President Moi had pledged his government's full cooperation with the Tribunal. Participants warned that vigilance should be maintained against delaying tactics, and that the Kenyan Government still resisted direct cooperation with Rwanda. The situation, however, is an example of domestic and international pressure bringing a recalcitrant state from total resistance to total cooperation.

Trial Observation Missions Completed in the Former Yugoslavia

In 1996, PGA arranged trial observation missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina on behalf of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The project was effected in cooperation with the Lawyers
During the August session, Hon. A.N.R. Robinson, MP (Trinidad and Tobago), drew respectful silence in the UN Trusteeship Chamber when Chairman Bos of the Netherlands called on the distinguished representative to make his intervention. Mr. Robinson, convener of PGA’s International Law and Human Rights Program, noted, “A danger to be avoided is the perception that the institution is being shaped as an instrument to meet the concerns of the powerful, while disregarding those of the powerless.”

PGA, with support from the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court, brought members from Kenya, Colombia, and Senegal to the UN Preparatory Committee discussions. Mr. James Orengo led an informal working group session on Africa involving UN delegates from Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, and Tanzania, as well as various NGOs.

Mr. Orengo spoke of the need for a permanent international criminal court. He emphasized that the Great Lakes Region is in an area of instability and total collapse of judicial systems and cited Burundi, Southern Sudan, Zaire, and Somalia as examples of places that could benefit from a permanent International Criminal Court.

In October, the Sixth Committee of the UN General Assembly followed the recommendation of the preparatory committees and the draft conclusions with a call for “an additional nine weeks of preparatory work with a view to convening a diplomatic conference in April 1998.” Until then, PGA and its members will continue to work toward a fair and effective, permanent International Criminal Court.
**Stockholm, Sweden:**
- National Group Meeting (November 1996)
- Advisory Committee Meeting: PGA Secretary-General meets with Advisory Committee Member Amb. Kristina Svensson (November 1996)

**The Hague, The Netherlands:**
- Delegation, OPCW (May 1-2, 1996)
- Presence at the trial of Dusan Tadic before the ICTFY (May 7, 1996)

**London, U.K.:**
- National Group Meeting (November 1996)
- Advisory Committee Meeting: PGA Secretary-General meets with Dr. Fred Sai (November 1996)

**New York City, U.S.A.:**
- "Platform for Women": Rep. Carolyn Maloney (U.S.) organized a forum for women constituents

**United Nations Headquarters, New York City, U.S.A.:**
- "Orientation Programme on UN Peace-keeping and Peace-Building: A Necessary Partnership" (April 9-10, 1996)
- ICC PrepCom (March 25 - April 12)
- ICC PrepCom (August 12-30, 1996)
- Three Advisory Committee Meetings
- Press Conferences on Burundi (July 31 and August 22)
- PGA's 18th Annual Forum (December 2-4, 1996)

**Washington, D.C., U.S.A.:**
- Advisory Committee Meeting: Shazia Rafi meets with Amb. Thomas Pickering (December 1996)

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti:**
- Delegation: Opening of Democracy Office (October 14-16, 1996)

**Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic:**
- Election Observation (May/June 1996)

**Strasbourg, France:**
- Conference on International Tribunals (June 18-19, 1996)

**Geneva, Switzerland:**
- UN Conference on Disarmament (Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson and Aaron Tovish, March 1996)

**PGA Membership in the Americas:**
- Argentina: 29 (5)
- Barbados: 3
- Bolivia: 1
- Brazil: 33 (2)
- Canada: 107 (32)
- Chile: 31 (4)
- Colombia: 58 (12)
- Costa Rica: 2
- Dominican Republic: 2
- Haiti: 19 (1)
- Jamaica: 3 (1)
- Mexico: 18 (8)
- Panama: 3
- Paraguay: 1
- Suriname: 3 (3)
- Trinidad & Tobago: 4
- United States: 31 (4)
- Uruguay: 3
- Venezuela: 14 (2)

**PGA's 1996 Membership by Country (Members Who Are Women):**
- Argentina: 29 (5)
- Barbados: 3
- Bolivia: 1
- Brazil: 33 (2)
- Canada: 107 (32)
- Chile: 31 (4)
- Colombia: 58 (12)
- Costa Rica: 2
- Dominican Republic: 2
- Haiti: 19 (1)
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- Mexico: 18 (8)
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- Trinidad & Tobago: 4
- United States: 31 (4)
- Uruguay: 3
- Venezuela: 14 (2)

**Shaded nations indicate PGA members**

**PGA's Areas of Involvement During 1996**
Promoting Democracy in East/Central Europe and Haiti

Parliamentary Convenors:
Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia)
Dép. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal)
Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria)

Secretariat Officers:
Ayaka Suzuki, Senior Programme Officer
Sotiris Cartsos, Project Officer
Catherine Orenstein, Consultant, Haiti

To open the constructive dialogue PGA sees as the basis for resolving conflict and transitioning to democracy around the world, PGA in 1996 organized a major conference on democracy in East/Central Europe in Sofia, Bulgaria. Additionally, PAG's role in opening the Democracy Office in the heart of Port-au-Prince placed the organization squarely within a new chapter in the history of Haitian democracy.

The Sofia Conference, entitled "Europe: Partnership in Transition," was a significant step in consolidating democracy in the region, most notably because it was the stage for the first meeting between high-level parliamentarians from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, even before the two countries established formal relations. The conference, convened with the leadership of Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria), brought together thirty-eight participants representing eleven multi-party democracies of Eastern Europe, as well as leaders of PGA's Democracy Program from Finland, Namibia, and Switzerland.

The presence of the Western European MPs reinforced the theme that the transition must be carried out in partnership with the West, while Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP from Namibia and Mr. Ahmed Dogan, MP from Bulgaria, emphasized the need for a united, integrated Europe. Because part of the struggle for democracy.

Ms. Elena Poptodorova [center right], MP (Bulgaria), Parliamentary Convenor of the East and Central Europe Project at PGA, chairing the panel discussion on Interparliamentary Cooperation for the Protection of Minorities. Also pictured, from left: Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia); Blagovest Sendov, President of the Bulgarian National Assembly; and Atanas Zhelezhev, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Parliament.

Dr. Abdullah Konjicija, left, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in discussions with Mr. Milutin Ojdanic of Yugoslavia.

Commemorating the first meeting of Bosnian and Yugoslavian parliamentarians: Bulgarian Prime Minister Jean Videnov [center left]; Dr. Abdullah Konjicija [center right], President of the House of Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Mr. Milutin Ojdanic [right], Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and Freedoms of Yugoslavia; and Mr. Milos Filipovic [left], opposition Member of Parliament (Yugoslavia).

ALBANIA:
Ms. Liri Abazi, MP
Mr. Maqo Lakori, MP

BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA:
Mr. Boro Bjelobrk, MP
Dr. Abdullah Konjicija, MP

BULGARIA:
Mr. Assen Agov, MP
Mr. Philip Bokov, MP
Mr. Stojan Denchev, MP

ESTONIA:
Ms. Lita Hanni, MP
Mr. Elmar Truu, MP

FINLAND:
Dr. Ramin Kiljunen, MP

MACEDONIA:
Mr. Lubomir Cadicovski, MP
Mr. Sandro Duvrov, MP

MOLDOVA:
Mr. Ion Galea, MP

NAMIBIA:
Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP

NORTH MACEDONIA:
Mr. Emil Stojanov, MP
Mr. Nikolai Karnov, MP

RWANDA:
Ms. Anastasia Moser, MP

RUSSIA:
Ms. Nina Korpachova, MP

SWITZERLAND:
Ms. Ana Mindicanu, MP

UKRAINE:
Mr. Sabin Ghilea, MP

YUGOSLAVIA:
Mr. Ahmed Dogan, MP
Mr. Nikolai Karnov, MP
Mr. Chavdar Kiuranov, MP
Mr. Vladimir Sotirov, MP
Mr. Vladimir Zhelezchev, MP

Estonia: Ms. Lita Hanni, MP
Finland: Dr. Ramin Kiljunen, MP
Macedonia: Mr. Lubomir Cadicovski, MP
Moldova: Mr. Ion Galea, MP
Namibia: Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP
North Macedonia: Mr. Emil Stojanov, MP
Russia: Ms. Nina Korpachova, MP
Switzerland: Ms. Ana Mindicanu, MP
Ukraine: Mr. Igor Kolushko, MP
Yugoslavia: Mr. Ahmed Dogan, MP

Conference Participants
integration means renunciation of nationalism, our own nationalism."

Many participants underscored the importance of protecting minority rights. Mr. Philip Bokov, MP (Bulgaria), for instance, stated, "The principle of safeguarding the rights of minorities is one of the most basic tenets of democracy. ... Without protections guaranteeing the rights of the minority, there can be no genuine democracy. We should start from there."

Mr. Katjiuongua reiterated the point and said, "The suppression of minorities, be they ethnic or political, could be a source of instability."

Ms. Poptodorova concurred, suggesting, "What we need is a very sober-minded ... formulation of rights and obligations, rights and responsibilities, because this is the key to a harmonious existence between a minority and majority in a country. This is to be achieved through the respective legislative regulations, which are not easy or quick to arrive at, but should become the purpose of consistent work on the part of legislators."

Dr. Abdulah Konjicija, MP (Bosnia and Herzegovina), speaker of the Bosnian Parliament, also addressed other challenges of the transition period, beyond the fundamental question of majority-minority rights: economic recovery and progress. He noted, "Since nobody has had a salary during the war, people have lived on insufficient humanitarian aid. The reconstruction of the totally destroyed country is the most important issue in the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. For without the recovery of the economy and the raising of the standard of living above the limit of mere survival, there is no hope for the establishment of lasting peace."

Nowhere is the devastated economy's effect on democracy's precarious status more apparent than Haiti, where democracy was restored in October 1994. Since then, Haiti has successfully organized and held Presidential, Parliamentary, and Municipal Elections. In fact, in the election of President Rene Preval, Haiti witnessed its first peaceful and democratic transfer of power. The new Haitian National Assembly assumed the daunting issue of the economy as the foremost issue on its legislative agenda.

After the elections, Haitian PGA members requested a space where they could discuss contentious issues—such as privatization and multilateral loans—to help their National Assembly function properly and democratically. Swedish PGA member Mr. Karl-Goran Biörsmark, MP, championed the cause, which led to the opening of the Democracy Office in Port-au-Prince on October 15, 1996.

The inauguration's timing was appropriate, as it occurred on the second anniversary of the

At the Office of the President of the Senate and National Assembly. From left: Dép. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal); Sen. Edgard Leblanc Fils, President of the Senate and National Assembly; Mr. Karl-Goran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden); Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti).
Promoting Democracy in East/Central Europe and Haiti (cont.)

Restoration of Democracy in Haiti. Thus, the PGA Mission sent to take part in the Inauguration Ceremony of the Democracy Office—Mr. Karl-Göran Biörmark, MP (Sweden); Mr. Ibrahima Fall, MP (Senegal); Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, PGA Senior Programme Officer; and Ms. Catherine Orenstein, Consultant—also participated in the Restoration of Democracy ceremony at the Presidential Palace and visited both chambers of the National Assembly.

In Bulgaria and in Haiti, PGA in 1996 worked with members of new democracies to develop new ways to secure democracy and ensure broad-based participation and discourse.

In Haiti, the PGA Mission members were struck by the display of the sepia-colored portraits of all the historical presidents of the National Assembly, extending back to the nineteenth century, in the Office of the President. As PGA member Dép. Fritz-Robert Saint-Paul said, “Haiti may be a new democracy, but it has a very long parliamentary history.”

PGA’s work helps build a foundation to maintain that long history—and to cultivate strong roots for emerging democracies around the world.
UN Conferences and Follow-Up Work

"Will Copenhagen and Beijing do anything about empowerment of women? So many promises made at international conferences remain unfulfilled. We, as women legislators, must ensure that governments are held accountable. We, as women legislators, also have the responsibility of leading our countries—I'm in the process of introducing a motion for the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action."

— Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya)


Clearly, these conferences addressed overlapping issues, but each highlighted the importance of, and achieved global policy consensus on, these issues. Some conferences resulted in conventions such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, while others resulted in agreements on sweeping policy goals on protecting the environment, reproductive rights, empowering women, and alleviating poverty.

PGA has been active in the preparatory as well as the conference processes, acting as a bridge between civil society—represented by NGOs—and the official delegations at the conferences.

The 1996 HABITAT II, held in Istanbul June 3-14, presented an opportunity to integrate some of the commitments made in prior conferences. At “The City Summit,” PGA was represented by Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen, MP (Finland), former Minister of Environment. Ms. Pietikainen gave an address in the inauguration ceremony of the Global Forum of Parliamentarians on HABITAT, pointing out three cornerstones of HABITAT-related work—sustainable development, partnership at the local and international levels, and empowering people—noting that "urbanization is a great challenge as well as a positive opportunity."

Part of PGA’s 1996 activities focused on follow-up to the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994). PGA, in its push for the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by all the

(continued on page 21)
participating governments in Cairo, held a series of meetings and consultations with several NGOs, foundations and UN agencies.

As a result of these activities, PGA will launch a pilot project in Ghana and Senegal to strengthen the role of parliamentary committees on population and development, and to advocate for and influence the adoption of population-related laws and policies. This project will be supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

### Moving Beyond Paper Commitments: PGA’s Follow-Up Work

PGA’s Delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, in September 1995 was the largest PGA Delegation to a UN conference, with more than sixty women legislators.

When they left, they were determined to bring home the promises made in Beijing. Many took action, as did Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya), who introduced the motion for the Kenyan government to implement the Beijing Platform for Action. Both houses of the parliament passed the motion—not an easy accomplishment for an opposition MP in an assembly with only 3 percent women parliamentarians.

U.S. Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.) invited her constituents and NGO activists to a one-day public forum entitled “Platform for Women” on May 13, 1996. In her efforts to link the diverse issues that affect women, Rep. Maloney focused on economic equality, violence against women, reproductive choice, and political empowerment.

Also on this day, PGA launched its legislative bulletin, *Women Legislators in Action: Weaving the Future Together*, featuring the legislative initiatives of PGA members from countries such as Australia, India, Japan, South Africa, and the U.S. This quarterly bulletin, which will be compiled by the PGA Secretariat, will chronicle not just women’s successes, but their struggle for empowerment at every stage—resulting in a valuable history of women’s parliamentary leadership on the “12 Critical Issues” of the Beijing Platform for Action.
In another major arms control achievement, on October 31, 1996, the 65th instrument of ratification by a signatory state was deposited to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). The CWC aims to stem the proliferation of an entire class of weapons of mass destruction by prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling, transfer, and use of chemical weapons and mandates the destruction of current stockpiles within ten years of entry into force.

Coinciding with the January 1993 Convention Signing Conference in Paris, PGA held a Parliamentary Symposium on the Implementation of the CWC. At the Symposium, PGA issued a Declaration in support of the Convention and a Statement on its implementation. However, during the following three years, the conditions for the CWC's entry into force went unmet, as the necessary 65 ratifications were yet to be deposited.

The Chemical Weapons Convention Project at PGA, under the direction of Parliamentary Convenor Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada), catalyzed action on the CWC. Its goals were to support the speedy ratification of the CWC by as many states as possible; the prompt entry into force of the Convention; and the successful implementation of enabling legislation.

During 1996, assisted by Drs. Jan Hoekema, MP, and Bert Koenders, Advisor to an EU Commissioner, PGA worked with officials of the Dutch Government, the designated host of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). PGA also maintained close working contact with Mr. Sergei Batsanov, Director for External Relations of the Provisional Technical Secretariat (PTS) of the OPCW, to coordinate efforts for entry into force of the CWC.

Additionally, PGA met with officials of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA); the French Foreign Ministry and Parliament (with valuable advice from former Prime Minister Michel Rocard); the Indian Foreign Ministry's Director for Disarmament; and the head of the Disarmament Section of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

In February, Minister Extraordinaire Mr. A.N.R. Robinson (Trinidad and Tobago) initiated contacts to help pave the way for the May 1-2 PGA delegation to The Hague, led by the Hon. Mr. Allmand and Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria). The delegation, which also included Mr. Aaron Tovish, PGA's Director of Peace & Security, and Mr. Ike Gonzalez, CWC Project Officer, met with the Executive Secretary of the OPCW, Dr. Ian Kenyon, and the head of its verification division; representatives of the Dutch Foreign and Defence Ministries; and Maarten van Traa, MP, and officials of the parliament. During these meetings, they discussed the impact of the delay in the CWC's entry into force, its causes, and options to prevent further delay.

Throughout 1996, PGA members worked to expedite the ratification processes in their countries. In certain instances, parliaments were not according the implementing legislation a high enough priority; in other cases, government bureaucracies held up action on the treaty. With the CWC entering into force on April 29, 1997, efforts must be directed toward ensuring the universality of the CWC and the effective implementation of its provisions within the allotted ten-year period.
Toward a Nuclear-Free World

In 1996, a year of rapid progress in arms control, Parliamentarians for Global Action (Parliamentarians for Global Action) renamed the Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation Program the Nuclear Weapons-Free World Program.

The change reflected, first, great satisfaction at the September 24 achievement of the landmark Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) banning nuclear explosions, for which PGA had worked for so long, and second, the determination to ensure that the test ban was just the first of many resolute steps toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In January and February, Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson, MP (Iceland), Parliamentary Convenor for the Program, met in India with top officials to discuss India's attitude toward the CTBT negotiations. With the assistance of Mr. Murli Deora, International President of PGA, he met with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao expressly to discuss rumors that India was preparing to conduct a nuclear test explosion. Dr. Grimsson told the Prime Minister that India would receive no support for its positions in the negotiations, and that a test by India would lead to universal condemnation.

Dr. Grimsson also met with Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the leader of the Hindu Party, the BJP, widely seen as the leading contender in the upcoming April elections. This meeting convinced Dr. Grimsson that political support for a test ban was dwindling rapidly in India. The only chance for keeping India on board the test ban effort would be for the nuclear weapons states to make a dramatic concession on the issue of nuclear weapons elimination before the elections.

Dr. Grimsson then visited Geneva for extensive meetings in early March. The most telling meeting was with Sir Michael Weston, Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the Conference on Disarmament (CD). The Ambassador insisted a test ban had value for Britain only as a non-proliferation measure. At the same time he dismissed the idea that any concession the Western powers might make on the issue of nuclear weapons elimination would be enough to interest India.

Toward the end of the CD's Spring Session, after France and the U.S. had pronounced in favor of a "zero yield" test ban, entry-into-force and India's demands were the only major unresolved issues. The battle lines were drawn: Britain, China, and India insisted that all threshold states be original parties to the treaty; India was determined to stay outside the treaty if no concession was reached on pursuing complete nuclear disarmament within a "time-bound framework." Mr. Aaron Tovish, PGA's Director for Peace and Security, visited Geneva to further assess the situation.

Mr. Tovish began exploring with a number of countries the possibility of using an existing treaty structure that already included the undeclared nuclear powers to achieve a comprehensive prohibition on nuclear testing. The vehicle would be the Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment Conference (PTBT), which had convened for two weeks in 1991 and was still available under the chairmanship of its President, Hon. Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister of Indonesia.

Although the PTBT provided the surest mechanism for bringing a prohibition into force widely, participants still wanted to give the new-treaty route the benefit of the doubt. Nevertheless, several officials encouraged Mr. Tovish to continue developing the idea in case the CD became hopelessly stalemated.

In June, at the time of Dr. Grimsson's pending Presidency of Iceland, leadership of the Program passed to Dr. Maj Britt Theorin, MEP (Sweden), a member of the prestigious Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons set up by the Australian Government.

On August 22, Mr. Tovish and the President's Special Representative on Nuclear Arms Control
and Non-Proliferation, Ambassador Thomas Graham, discussed reviving the Amendment Conference. While granting several advantages to exploiting the PTBT's amendment provisions, the Ambassador believed the diplomatic ground that would need to be covered was simply too daunting.

France and China would have to be won over, or their status as non-parties to the PTBT would become highly problematical. Britain, Russia, and China would have to accept that the amendment would remain in force even if India withdrew from the treaty after it had been converted into a comprehensive ban. India would to be willing to let the process go forward, despite the likelihood of the outcome still being unsatisfactory from their point of view. Nonetheless, they agreed to keep the amendment approach at a high state of readiness as a last resort.

Within a week, however, it was clear that momentum was mounting for the General Assembly to approve opening the new Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty for signature. The PTBT option would not be needed.

Some experts have suggested that the PTBT amendment process could be used in three years if the treaty still has not entered into force because of an Indian boycott. PGA, however, believes that if India has resisted international pressure to join the CTBT for that long, it would have no trouble denouncing resort to the PTBT approach, at that late date, as a ploy. PGA thus concludes that the PTBT can be set aside permanently.

Achievement of the CTBT clears the deck for more far-reaching arms control measures. PGA plans to put its future multilateral efforts into the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), where India's influence is very indirect. Some parliamentarians will attend the PrepComs as members of their government delegations; however, most will need help to follow PrepCom developments from their capitals and to coordinate with local NGOs.

A "Parliamentary Conclave on Nuclear Disarmament" centered on the Canberra Commission's work and the political advancement of its recommendations was held December 2, 1996, in the UNICEF House at UN Headquarters, New York. Seven Canberra Commissioners took part, including the featured speaker, retired U.S. General George "Lee" Butler, former Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Strategic Nuclear Weapons. At the Conclave, parliamentarians welcomed the idea, presented by NGO observers, to use the NPT review process beginning in 1997 to advance the Canberra objectives. Also, the parliamentarians issued a declaration calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons, based on a petition initiated by former U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, and agreed to help circulate the petition in their parliaments.

Tribute to Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson

"My political upbringing in Parliamentarians for Global Action—the training, contact, and experiences—was a crucial factor in my election as President of Iceland. I thank PGA for that," noted Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson with his trademark eloquence at the luncheon on December 3, 1996, that honored him as the longest-serving member of PGA's Executive Committee. Indeed, Dr. Grimsson was among the founders of PGA who shaped the organization and positioned it as a leading actor in the international political landscape. Dr. Grimsson's achievements were many, but everyone who worked with him is aware of his determination and his unshakeable commitment to nuclear disarmament.

It was through his leadership and countless efforts that PGA organized the Six-Nation Initiative, a landmark initiative spanning several years in the 1980s, involving six heads of state from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania, to halt the nuclear arms race and move toward disarmament, calling for a complete halt in the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. As a result of this initiative, PGA won the prestigious Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development in 1986.

Dr. Grimsson also pioneered the 1991 Partial Test Ban Treaty amendment conference, which helped bring about multilateral Test Ban negotiations in 1996. His other achievements include drafting a 1994 UN Resolution calling for a step-by-step reduction of the nuclear threat. In 1994-95, the organization proposed and promoted ways to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty's review process. This proposal became an integral part of the 1995 decision on extension of the NPT period in force. PGA wishes Dr. Grimsson all the best in his new responsibility as President of Iceland.

PGA also wishes to pay tribute to Mr. Aaron Tovish, Deputy Secretary-General and a long-time associate of Dr. Grimsson in PGA's endeavors for nuclear disarmament, who announced his resignation in December 1996.

* The Heads of State from these countries at the time were H.E. Raúl Alfonsín, President of Argentina; H.E. Indira Gandhi, then H.E. Rajiv Gandhi (who succeeded Mrs. Indira Gandhi after her assassination), Prime Ministers of India; H.E. Miguel de la Madrid, President of Mexico; H.E. Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania; Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden; and H.E. Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece.
## 1996 Executive Committee

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<th>International President:</th>
<th>Members-at-Large:</th>
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<td>Mr. Murli Deora, MP (India)</td>
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<td>Dép. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal)</td>
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<td>Presidents:</td>
<td>Dr. Ólafur Ragnar Grimsson, MA (Iceland)</td>
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<td>Mr. Koji Kakizawa, MP (Japan)</td>
<td>Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria)</td>
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<td>Hon. Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia)</td>
<td>Ms. Hawa Yakubu, MP (Ghana)</td>
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<td>Prof. Mona Makram-Ebeid, MP (Egypt)</td>
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<td>Mr. George Foulkes, MP (United Kingdom)</td>
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<td>Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada)</td>
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<td>Mr. Karl-Göran Börsmark, MP (Sweden)</td>
<td>Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand)</td>
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<td>Dr. Herta Däubler-Gmelin, MdB (Germany)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Past President:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada)</td>
<td>[until his resignation in March 1997]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1996 International Council

Chair:
Sen. Ernesto Maceda (Philippines)

Vice-Chairs:
Dip. Valdir Colatto (Brazil)
Mr. Garrie Gibson, MP (Australia)
Sen. Tom Harkin (U.S.)
Hon. A. Moyeen Khan (Bangladesh)
Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland)

Councillors:
Sen. Sartaj Aziz (Pakistan)
Sen. Rodolfo Becerril (Mexico)
Ms. Helen Beim, MP (Denmark)
Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden)
Mr. John Connor, TD (Ireland)
Mr. Otohiko Endo, MP (Japan)

1997 Executive Committee:
All Executive Committee members (see page 25) also sit on the International Council.

1997 International Council

Chair:
Hon. Ernesto Maceda (Philippines)

Vice-Chairs:
Dip. Carlos Becerra (Argentina)
Sen. Rodolfo Becerril (Mexico)
Dep. Valdir Colatto (Brazil)
Dr. Kimmo Kiljunen, MP (Finland)
Ms. Lena Klevenäs, MP (Sweden)

Councillors:
Sen. Rahim Baba (Malaysia)
Sen. Vicki Bourne (Australia)
Mr. John Connor, TD (Ireland)
Hon. Jose de Venecia, Jr., MP (Philippines)
Sen. Tom Harkin (United States)

1997 Executive Committee:
Dr. Jan Hoekema, MP (Netherlands)
Mr. Koji Kakizawa, MP (Japan)
Dr. Istvan Meszaros, MP (Hungary)
Ms. Sirpa Pietikainen, MP (Finland)
Prof. J. Feu Rosa, MP (Brazil)
Hon. Dr. Manto Tshabalala, MP (South Africa)
Sen. Gabriel Valdes (Chile)
Dép. Suzette Verhoeven (Belgium)
Mr. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB (Germany)
Ms. Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand)
Mr. A.R. Zamharir, MP (Indonesia)

Executive Committee:
All Executive Committee members (see page 25) also sit on the International Council.
EXHIBIT A

PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR GLOBAL ACTION
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION
AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASSETS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 14,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and contributions receivable</td>
<td>238,724</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other receivable</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepaid expense</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Current Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 257,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fixed Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed assets, at cost, net of accumulated depreciation of $146,772</td>
<td>17,667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Asset</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security deposits</td>
<td></td>
<td>14,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>$ 289,301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LIABILITIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current Liability</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts and accrued expenses payable</td>
<td>$ 54,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Liability</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenants' security deposits payable</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Liabilities</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ 56,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NET ASSETS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Assets–Unrestricted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ 38,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Assets–Temporarily Restricted</td>
<td>194,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Net Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ 232,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Liabilities and Net Assets</strong></td>
<td>$ 289,301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## EXHIBIT B

**PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR GLOBAL ACTION**  
**STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES**  
**FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1996**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPPORT AND REVENUE</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Total All Funds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—foundations</td>
<td>$ 50,000</td>
<td>$ 276,500</td>
<td>$ 326,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—corporations</td>
<td>13,721</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>13,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—individuals</td>
<td>15,579</td>
<td>397,787</td>
<td>413,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—U.N. and governments</td>
<td>15,181</td>
<td>13,181</td>
<td>28,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct mail</td>
<td>25,726</td>
<td>25,726</td>
<td>25,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>1,360</td>
<td>1,360</td>
<td>1,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent income (net of direct rental expenses of $15,805)</td>
<td>3,094</td>
<td>3,094</td>
<td>3,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest income</td>
<td>9,002</td>
<td>9,002</td>
<td>9,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>2,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Support and Revenue</strong></td>
<td>$ 120,497</td>
<td>$ 787,468</td>
<td>$ 907,965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net assets released from restrictions:
- Satisfaction of program restrictions | $ | 919,780 | ($ 919,780) |
- Satisfaction of time restrictions | 27,500 | 27,500 |
| **Total Net Assets Released from Restrictions** | $ 947,280 | ($ 947,280) |

| Total Support and Revenue | $1,067,777 | ($ 159,812) | $ 907,965 |

## EXPENSES

**Program Services**
- Nuclear Test Ban & Non-Proliferation | $ 146,961 | 146,961 |
- U.N. Peacekeeping | 52,625 | 52,625 |
- Chemical Weapon Convention | 27,100 | 27,100 |
- International Law | 113,168 | 113,168 |
- Sustainable Development and Population | 43,265 | 43,265 |
- Economic Revitalization | 17,597 | 17,597 |
- Central and Eastern Europe | 35,769 | 35,769 |
- Africa | 250,567 | 250,567 |
- Haiti | 55,511 | 55,511 |
| **Total Program Services** | $ 742,563 | $ 742,563 |

**Supporting Services**
- Administrative and general | $ 251,066 | 251,066 |
- Fund raising | 24,221 | 24,221 |
| **Total Supporting Services** | $ 275,287 | $ 275,287 |

| Total Expenses | $1,017,850 | $1,017,850 |

Changes in Net Assets | $ 49,927 | ($ 159,812) | ($ 109,885) |
Net Assets at December 31, 1995 | ($ 11,702) | $ 354,475 | $ 342,773 |
Net Assets at December 31, 1996 | $ 38,225 | $ 194,663 | $ 232,888 |
Finances (cont.)

Winnie Tam & Co., P.C.,
member of the American
Institute of Certified Public
Accountants and the New
York State Society of
Certified Public Accountants,
conducts the annual audit of
Parliamentarians for Global
Action.

The complete financial state­
ments are available upon
request by writing to:

Financial Officer
Parliamentarians for Global
Action
211 East 43rd Street
Suite 1604
New York, New York 10017
USA

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS’ REPORT

To the Board of Directors

We have audited, in accordance with generally accepted auditing
standards, the statement of financial position of Parliamentarians for
Global Action as of December 31, 1996, and the related statements of
activities and cash flows for the year then ended (not presented herein);
and in our report dated February 18, 1997, 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 18, 1997

Financial Administrator:
Mr. Michael Agbeko

Development Officer:
Mr. Henry Grossberg
1996 Donors to Parliamentarians for Global Action

Contributions to Parliamentarians for Global Action in 1996 — $2500 or more

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN Agencies and Co-operating Agencies</th>
<th>Foundations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)</td>
<td>Raymond &amp; Elizabeth Bloch Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)</td>
<td>Boehm Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>Compton Foundation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governments</th>
<th>Ford Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Commission</td>
<td>Miriam &amp; Ira D. Wallach Philanthropic Fund of the Jewish Communal Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanton Basel (Switzerland)</td>
<td>Rockefeller Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss Agency for Development &amp; Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corporations</th>
<th>Institutions/NGOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muriel Siebert &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Canadian Council for International Peace &amp; Security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1996 Major Individual Donors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donors — $5,000 or more</th>
<th>Donors — $100 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Elizabeth P.S. Anthony</td>
<td>Mr. Irving Hollingshead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. James Arnold</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Proctor Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Edwina M. Bachr</td>
<td>Mr. Hunter Ingalls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Frank Bauman</td>
<td>Mr. H.D. Leighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. &amp; Mrs. Alden Besse</td>
<td>Mr. Bertram N. Linder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Richard P. Brown, Jr.</td>
<td>Ms. Margaret H. Lloyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Asho I. Craine</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Charles Michener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Stephen T. Crary</td>
<td>Ms. Marjorie Milbourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Demas T. Craw</td>
<td>Ms. Katharine B. Mountcastle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Joan Crowell</td>
<td>Mr. Kenneth F. Mountcastle, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Carol L. Neuman De Vegvar</td>
<td>Ms. Anne M. Orton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Cornelius K. Dunbar</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. David Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Thomas Eekman</td>
<td>Mr. Robert C. Putnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mary T. Emeny</td>
<td>Mrs. Frances J. Ross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Sam Felton</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Peter Schenck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Doris B. Ferm</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Joseph Schwartzberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Mary Lecon Foster</td>
<td>Mr. Lloyd G. Shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Marie Lee Gaillard</td>
<td>Ms. Susan W. Stachelberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Virginia M. Galpin</td>
<td>Sr. Margaret Stallmeyer, C.D.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Walter W. Haines</td>
<td>Dr. Huntington Terrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Helen W. Hartley</td>
<td>Mr. Alan M. Thorndike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Edward B. Hodge</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Edgar Wyman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Sidney Hollander, Jr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parliamentarians for Global Action
Secretariat—New York

Secretary-General .............................................. Ms. Shazia Z. Rafi
Deputy Secretary-General ...................................... Mr. Aaron Tovish
Senior Programme Officer ..................................... Ms. Ayaka Suzuki
Programme Officers ..............................................
  Mr. Mark Clark
  Ms. Begoña Esteller
  Ms. Tanya Karanasios/Mr. Paul Nuci

Project Officers .................................................
  Mr. Sotiris Cartsos
  Mr. Ike Gonzalez

Section Assistants ..............................................
  Ms. Mary Greaney
  Ms. Amy Shuffelton

Director for Publications and Membership .............. Ms. Liz Rubin/Mr. Henry Grossberg
Development Officer ........................................... Mr. Henry Grossberg
Financial Officer ................................................ Mr. Michael Agbeko
Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General .......... Ms. May Harwood
Administrative Assistants .................................... Ms. Fatimé Dam/Ms. Isabell Smyth


Missing from this picture are staff members who have moved on to new assignments: Aaron Tovish; Mark Clark; Paul Nuci; Mary Greaney; Fatimé Dam; and Isabell Smyth.

Bokhara carpet (behind staff members) was presented to PGA by Deputy Chair, Senate of Pakistan, Dr. Noor Jehan Panezai, 1993.

1996 Interns/Volunteers
Mr. Alain Biloa
Ms. Birgit Brueggemann
Mr. Ryan Ginn
Ms. Priscilla González
Mr. Ilmi Granoff
Ms. Barbara Kaplan
Ms. Juliet Kim
Ms. Grace Ryu
Mr. Robert Schupp
Ms. Nikki Syms
Ms. Isabell Smyth
Ms. Dorothy Wisniowski
Ms. Sian Halladay