

Boston University

The Center for Democracy
1101 15th Street, N.W.
Suite 505
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/429-9141



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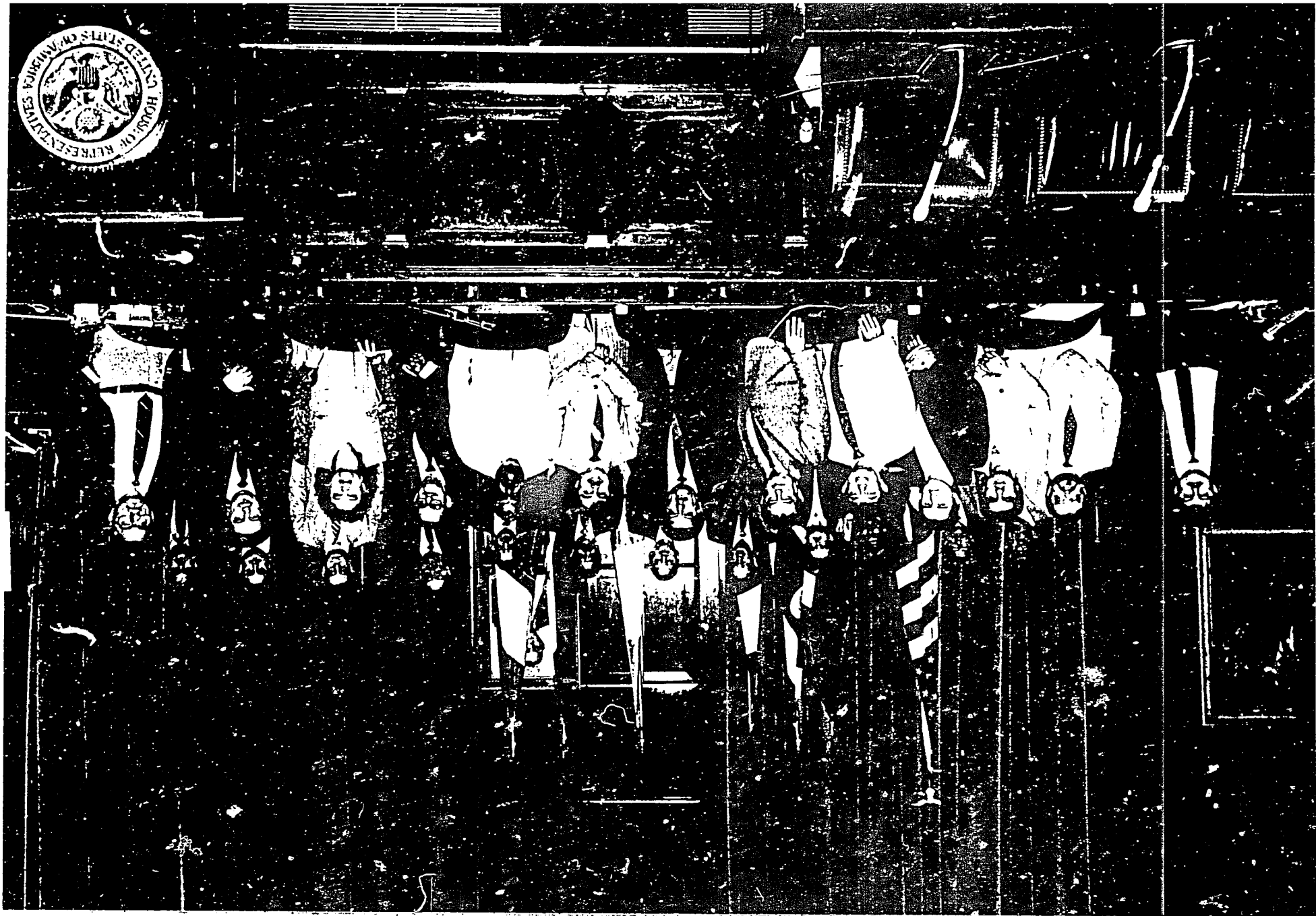
REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ON
THE CENTRAL AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE TRAINING SEMINAR

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REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ON
THE CENTRAL AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE TRAINING SEMINAR

Introduction

From September 21 through 30, 1987, The Center for Democracy implemented the second part of a two stage seminar program designed to provide training for Central American legislators representing twelve government and opposition parties from five democratic countries. Funding for this program was provided by the Office of Democratic Initiatives of the United States Agency for International Development and by Boston University.

Twenty-~~one~~ democratically-elected legislators from Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras participated in the second stage of the Seminar. The program itself was divided into two parts. On September 22-24, the legislators held an informal legislative forum in Washington, D.C. to discuss the role of legislators in the democratization elements of the regional peace plan signed by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua on August 8, 1987 at the Esquipulas II meeting in Guatemala City.

The twenty-~~one~~ democratically-elected legislators were joined at the Washington meeting by a multipartisan legislative delegation from Nicaragua. The cost of including the Nicaraguans was entirely borne by The Center for Democracy of Boston University, but the presence on that delegation of three leading opposition legislators allowed much exchange with other legislators from the region on ways to support genuine political pluralism in that country.

Following the forum, from September 25-30, the legislators gathered in Strasbourg, France to participate in the Second Conference on Parliamentary Democracy convened by the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. The Conference sponsors and the Center deemed it inappropriate for a Nicaraguan delegation to attend this conference of parliamentary democracies. Hence only the delegates from Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras attended among legislators from 43 parliamentary democracies who participated.

The second Stage of the Seminar was intended to foster greater cooperation among the Central American legislators and to strengthen ties between them and their counterparts in Western Europe. The first stage of the Seminar, held in December 1986, examined legislative procedures and practices at the state and federal levels in the United States.

Results of Stage II

The following is a summary of the results of the second stage of the Seminar.

¶ Overall, through the informal legislative forum in Washington and the Central Americans' participation in the Strasbourg Conference on Parliamentary Democracy, the Seminar met its goals of fostering greater cooperation among the Central American legislators and strengthening ties between them and their counterparts in Western Europe.

Washington, D.C.

¶ Prior to convening the Washington forum, the Central American legislators were honored, along with President

Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica, at a luncheon hosted jointly by The Center for Democracy and Representative Jim Wright, the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The luncheon was attended by American and foreign dignitaries and by a bipartisan group of congressional leaders including, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell and Ranking Minority Member William S. Broomfield, Western Hemisphere Subcommittee Ranking Minority Member Robert J. Lagomarsino and Majority Leader Thomas S. Foley. This event uniquely signaled bipartisan congressional support for the democratically-elected legislatures of Central America.

¶ The Central American legislators successfully held the two day forum specifically to discuss the role of legislators in the implementation of the democratization elements of the regional peace plan signed in Guatemala on August 8. The Center, as the convener of this forum, intended that its should serve to strengthen ties among the legislators both between and within the various national delegations. The forum itself became a vehicle for an open exchange of views and positions that allowed the legislators to participate in the Strasbourg Conference in a more effective and serious manner.

¶ The debate at the forum was frank. The first day's deliberations were marked by statements by legislators from the democracies skeptical of Nicaragua's compliance with the democratization elements of the regional peace plan. There was fruitful discussion on democratization, human rights, economic and security issues as they relate to the legislative experience.

¶ At the close of the first day's deliberations, the legislators agreed to direct the Guatemalan delegation to draft the text of a statement to be released at the

forum's close. The second day of the forum was devoted to revising and adopting this statement. The one ground rule set by the Center for the forum was that any statement produced, or decisions taken, should be adopted by consensus. In approving the statement, each delegation recommended changes which were incorporated separately. When consensus on the language of the document was reached, the statement was adopted and the forum closed. The cooperation fostered by this meeting, and significantly augmented by the common experience of the first stage of the Seminar in which thirteen of the twenty-one legislators participated, was instrumental in the adoption of this consensus document. Prior to departing for Strasbourg, the legislators organized a private ceremony at which they signed the statement.

Strasbourg, France

¶ The participation of the Central American legislators in the Second Conference on Parliamentary Democracy as a regional delegation was an important step towards the full integration of the democracies of the region into the international community of democracies. The Conference itself was the first pan-European meeting on parliamentary democracy to include democratically-elected parliamentarians from developing countries. The Central Americans participated thoroughly in the conference's sessions and pursued contacts with their European counterparts at various social events.

¶ Upon arriving in Strasbourg, the Central American legislators submitted the statement approved at the Washington forum to the secretariat of the Conference. The document, distributed to other attending

parliamentarians, strengthened the Central American's participation as representatives of their countries and of their region.

- ¶ Over three hundred participants from forty-three parliamentary democracies took part in the Strasbourg Conference. The Conference was divided into an opening session, closing plenary and seven workshops under two themes: Participation in Democracy and Education for Democracy. The impact of the Central American legislators' participation in the official proceedings of the Conference can be measured by the fact that a Central American, First Vice President Jose Luis Valenciano of the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly, was the only Latin American asked to speak to the closing Plenary Session of the Conference.

- ¶ The Center provided the Central Americans with detailed materials, in Spanish and English, on the conference. The legislators, in turn, were free to attend the workshops of their choice: "Broadening Participation in the Electoral Process," "Forms and Channels of Participation," "Role of Parliamentarians and Relationship with their Electors," "Enhancing the Role of the Parliament," "Education for Democratic Citizenship," "Role of the Media" and "Information activities of Parliaments." Reports on the discussions in the workshops are contained in the attached Official Report of the Plenary Debate.

- ¶ In addition to the far-ranging debate in the workshops, the end results of the Strasbourg Conference were encouraging. The Council of Europe was urged by the assembled participants to establish a "clearing-house" for information on the activities of democratic parliaments throughout the world. The success of the Second Conference has also assured that there will be a third, which the Council of Europe has agreed to organize. In

this connection, The Center for Democracy has been asked to host the first planning meeting for the Conference in mid-1988 in the United States. The Center intends to include a delegation of Central American legislators in the planning of the Third Conference on Parliamentary Democracy.

Other Results of the Seminar

¶ In asking the Central American legislatures to appoint participants for the Seminar, the Center insisted that, where possible, those who participated in the first stage return to complete the program. As indicated earlier, thirteen of the original twenty participants returned. This provided a continuity that greatly enhanced the successful completion of the program. Relationships between the national delegations, begun in Stage I, were further cemented in Stage II. Indeed, several participants confided that prior to participating in the Seminar they had had no contact with other Central American legislators.

¶ The Seminar provided a valuable opportunity for the Central Americans to meet with and discuss common problems with their European counterparts. However, some participants expressed frustration, at the beginning of the Strasbourg Conference, at the apparent lack of understanding of the problems of developing democracies among European delegates of whatever political persuasion. This situation eased as the Conference progressed. Among others, the Canadians took special interest in the presence of the Central Americans. In fact, the United States and Canadian delegations worked effectively together, in an informal manner, to facilitate discussions between Central American and European parliamentarians.

¶ Finally, we are pleased to report that the unprecedented relationship between the Belizean and Guatemalan legislators begun during Stage I of the Seminar progressed significantly during Stage II. September 21, the day the Central Americans arrived in Washington, was Belizean Independence Day. At the welcoming reception hosted by the Center, the Guatemalan delegation took the Belizean delegation aside and offered a celebratory toast.

During the course of the Seminar, the Belizeans and Guatemalans held several private meetings. At the end of the Seminar, the head of the Guatemalan delegation informed the Center that his delegation had invited the Belizeans to attend the Interparliamentary Union meeting to be hosted by the National Congress of Guatemala in June, 1988. The head of the Belizean delegation confirmed their acceptance of the invitation. The presence of the Belizeans at the IPU meeting will mark the first official parliamentary exchange between the two countries. On subsequent trips to Guatemala, that country's parliamentary leaders have informed us of their continuing contacts with Belizean parliamentarians.

A note on the Participation of Nicaraguans

Mindful of the prohibition on the use of USAID funds for Nicaraguans, the Center and Boston University covered the entire cost of including a delegation from Nicaragua in the deliberations of the Washington forum. The Center took the decision of including a Nicaraguan delegation for two reasons. First, the subject of the forum's debate made the inclusion of a Nicaraguan delegation necessary. Secondly, and of greater importance, the Center saw the forum as a sound opportunity to involve civic opposition leaders in the Seminar's networking process. To reflect the multipartisan nature of the other

delegations, only one Sandinist, First Secretary Comandante Rafael Solis, attended along with three members of the civic opposition, Dr. Virgilio Godoy, president of the Independent Liberal Party, Dr. Enrique Sotelo Borgen of the Conservative Party and Assembly Secretary Mauricio Diaz of the "official" opposition People's Social Christian Party.

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DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

Central American Legislative Leaders Forum

Washington, D.C.

September 24, 1987

**The Center for Democracy
Boston University**

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

The participants in the first Central American Legislative Leaders Forum, who gathered in Washington, D.C., the United States of America on September 22-24, 1987, under the auspices of The Center for Democracy,

D E C L A R E :

That on August 7, 1987, the Presidents of the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua agreed to the "Procedure for Establishing Solid and Lasting Peace in Central America," as the result of a common will to see dialogue prevail over armed confrontation and to forge a peaceful destiny for Central America.

That the Peace Plan calls for the fulfillment of certain obligations, such as the creation, in each country, of a national reconciliation commission, the issuance of decrees of amnesty, an end to hostilities, a push for democratization, free elections, an end of aid to irregular forces or insurrectional movements, and an end to the use of [national] territory to attack other States, also to establish the basis for negotiations on security issues, the control, verification and limitation of armaments, attention to refugees and displaced persons, and cooperation to achieve democracy, freedom, peace and development, and the creation of the Central American Parliament as an alternative for generating the conditions inherent to regional democracy.

That the Peace Plan also demands compliance with an agenda for its implementation, within an established time frame, to manifest the faith and political will of the peoples of Central America to fully assume the historic challenge of forging their own destiny based upon, peace, mutual respect, democracy, social justice and political pluralism.

That there have been diverse declarations in favor of these efforts to [secure] peace regionally in Central America by the member nations of the Contadora Group, Support Group, the European Economic Community, the Non-Aligned Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations (UN) which recognize the effort and the exceptional importance that the signing of the Peace Plan has signified.

Grounded in the preceding deeds, within our condition as parliamentarians [who are] members of different political parties of the signatory countries of the Peace Plan, with the support of the Belizean parliamentarians participating in this Forum,

W E R E S O L V E :


First: That we are in solidarity with our governments in their efforts to maintain the obligations secured and permanent dialogue, interpreting the sense of each respective peoples who long for peace, justice and development and to continue with the implementation of the elements of the Peace Plan;

Second: To appeal to the international community so that they may back the ways for Central American reconciliation, promoting cooperation of every character in order to obtain development in the region and to achieve a better standard of living for its inhabitants;

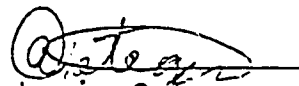
Third: To reaffirm, within our condition as parliamentarians, our obligation to be vigilant of the aspirations for peace, social justice, freedom and reconciliation of the peoples of Central America.

Accorded at the city of Washington, D.C., the United States of America, on the 24th day of September of nineteen hundred and eighty seven, we affix our signatures:

BELIZE

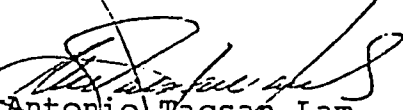

Alfredo Martinez

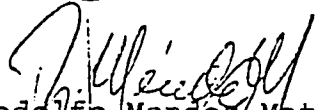

Don. Basilio Ah M.P.
Basilio Ah

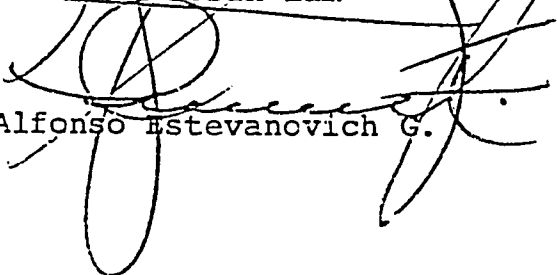

Asterio Ortega

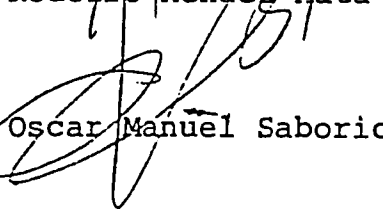

Samuel Waight

COSTA RICA


Antonio Tacsan Lam


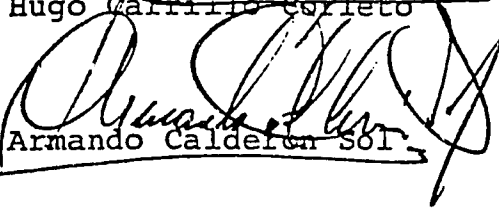

Rodolfo Mendez Mata


Alfonso Estevanovich G.

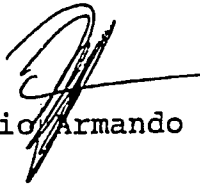

Oscar Manuel Saborio

EL SALVADOR

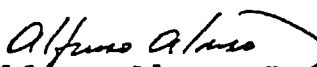

Guillermo Antonio Guevara Lacayo

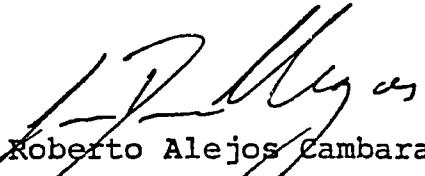

Hugo Carrillo Corleto

Armando Calderon Sol

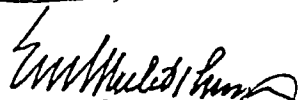
Macla Judith Romero de Torres


Mauricio Armando Mazier

GUATEMALA



Alfonso Alonso Barillas

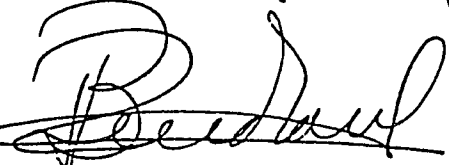

Roberto Alejos Cambara

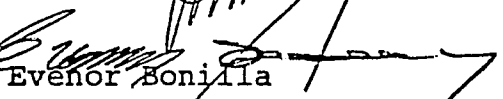

Edmond Mulet Lesieur

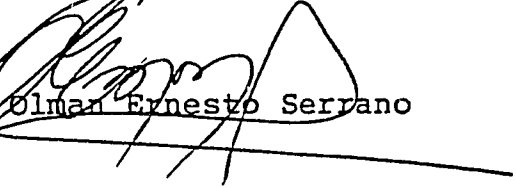

Victor Hugo Godoy

HONDURAS

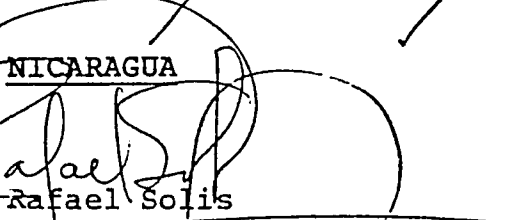

Carlos Orbin Montoya


René Arturo Bendaña


Ezequiel Bonilla


Olman Ernesto Serrano

NICARAGUA


Rafael Solis


Mauricio Diaz


Virgilio Godoy

Enrique Sotelo

CAMPO PAGADO

Boston University

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DECLARACION DE LIDERES PARLAMENTARIOS CENTROAMERICANOS

Foro de Líderes Parlamentarios Centroamericanos

Los participantes en el Primer Foro de Líderes Parlamentarios Centroamericanos, reunidos en la Ciudad de Washington, D.C., Estados Unidos de América, del 22 al 24 de setiembre, de 1987, bajo los auspicios del Centro para la Democracia.

DECLARAMOS

Que el 7 de agosto de 1987, los Presidente de las Repúblicas de Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras y Nicaragua, acordaron el "Procedimiento para Establecer la Paz Firme y duradera en Centroamérica", como resultado de la voluntad común de hacer prevalecer el diálogo sobre la confrontación armada y de forjar un destino de paz para Centroamérica.

Que el Plan de Paz llama a cumplir algunos compromisos, como son la formación, en cada país, de una comisión de reconciliación nacional, la emisión de

decretos de amnistía, el cese de hostilidades, el impulso a la democratización, elecciones libres, cese de ayuda a las fuerzas irregulares o a los movimientos insurreccionales, y el no uso del territorio para agredir a otros Estados, además de establecer las bases para realizar negociaciones en materia de seguridad, verificación, control y limitación de armamento, la atención a los refugiados y desplazados y la cooperación para alcanzar la democracia, la libertad, la paz y el desarrollo, y la creación del Parlamento Centroamericano como alternativa para gene-

rar condiciones inherentes a la democracia regional.

Que también el Plan de Paz demanda el cumplimiento de un calendario de ejecución de los compromisos dentro de plazos establecidos, para manifestar la fe y la voluntad política de los pueblos centroamericanos de asumir plenamente el reto histórico de forjar un destino propio basado en la paz, el respecto mutuo, la democracia, la justicia social y el pluralismo político.

Que se han producido diversas manifestaciones en pro de los esfuerzos de paz en el área centro-

americana por parte de los países miembros del Grupo de Contadora; Grupo de Apoyo, la Comunidad Económica Europea, el Grupo de Países No Alineados, de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU), reconociendo el esfuerzo y la importancia excepcional que ha significado la firma del Plan de Paz.

Con base en los anteriores hechos, en nuestra calidad de parlamentarios miembros de diferentes partidos políticos de los países signatarios del Plan de Paz, más el apoyo de los parlamentarios de Belice asistentes a este Foro,

RESOLVEMOS

Primero:

Solidarizamos con nuestro gobierno en sus esfuerzos por mantener los compromisos adquiridos y el diálogo permanente, interpretando el sentir de sus respectivos pueblos que anhelan la paz, la justicia y el desarrollo, y por continuar con la implementación de los puntos del Plan de Paz;

Segundo:

Apelar a la comunidad internacional para que se respalden las vías de la reconciliación centroamericana, promoviendo la cooperación de toda índole para alcanzar el desarrollo del área, y por lograr un mejor nivel de vida para sus habitantes;

Tercero:

Reafirmar, en nuestra calidad de parlamentarios, nuestro compromiso de velar por las aspiraciones de paz, justicia social, libertad y reconciliación del pueblo centroamericano.

Dado en la ciudad de Washington, D.C., Estados Unidos de América, a los 24 días del mes de setiembre de mil novecientos ochenta y siete, en fe de lo cual firmamos:

BELICE	HONDURAS	COSTA RICA	EL SALVADOR	NICARAGUA	GUATEMALA
Alfredo Martínez UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Carlos Orbán Montoya PRESIDENTE LIBERAL PARTY	Antonio Tacsan Lam NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY	Guillermo Antonio Guevara Lacayo PRESIDENTE DEL CONGRESO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Rafael Solís SECRETARIO NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT	Alfonso Alonso Barillas JEFE DE FRACCION CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
Asterio Ortega UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Evenor Bonilla LIBERAL PARTY	Alfonso Este vanovich G. NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY	Hugo Carrillo Corleto JEFE DE FRACCION NATIONAL CONCILIATION PARTY	Virgilio Godoy DIPUTADO LIBERAL INDEPENDENT PARTY	Edmond Mulet Lesieur UNION OF THE NATIONAL CENTER
Basilio Ah UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY	René Arturo Bedaña NATIONAL PARTY	Rodolfo Méndez Mata UNITED SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY	Mauricio Amrindo Mazier CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY FL SALVADOR	Mauricio Díaz DIPUTADO POPULAR SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY	Roberto Alejos Cambra DIPUTADO INDEPENDIENTE
Samuel Waight PEOPLES UNITED PARTY	Olman Ernesto Serrano NATIONAL PARTY	Oscar Manuel Saborio UNITED SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY	Amando Calderón Sol JEFE DE FRACCION NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ALLIANCE		Victor Hugo Godoy REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
					Firma responsable M. V. J. C. 1-673-856

Participants in the Seminar

Belize

The Honorable Senator Alfredo Martinez
Leader of Government Business
United Democratic Party

The Honorable Basilio Ah
Member of Parliament
United Democratic Party

The Honorable Asterio Ortega
Member of Parliament
United Democratic Party

The Honorable Samuel Waight
Member of Parliament
Peoples United Party

Costa Rica

The Honorable Fernando Volio [Washington luncheon only]
President
National Liberation Party

The Honorable Antonio Tacsan Lam
Secretary
National Liberation Party

The Honorable Alfonso Estevanovich
Majority Whip
National Liberation Party

The Honorable Rodolfo Mendez Mata
Minority Leader
United Social Christian Party

The Honorable Oscar Manuel Saborio
Deputy
United Social Christian Party

El Salvador

The Honorable Guillermo Antonio Guevara Lacayo
President
Christian Democratic Party

The Honorable Macla Judith Romero de Torres
Governing Council
Christian Democratic Party

El Salvador (cont'd)

The Honorable Mauricio Armando Mazier
Deputy
Christian Democratic Party

The Honorable Armando Calderon Sol
Faction Leader
National Republican Alliance

The Honorable Hugo Carillo
Faction Leader
National Conciliation Party

Guatemala

The Honorable Alfonso Alonso
Majority Leader
Christian Democratic Party

The Honorable Roberto Alejos Cambara
Deputy
Independent

The Honorable Edmond Mulet
Vice Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission
Union of the National Center

The Honorable Victor Hugo Godoy
Deputy
Revolutionary Party

Honduras

The Honorable Carlos Orbin Montoya
President
Liberal Party

The Honorable Evenor Bonilla
Deputy
Liberal Party

The Honorable Jacobo Hernandez
Second Vice President
National Party

The Honorable Olman Ernesto Serrano
Deputy
National Party

Nicaragua [Washington forum only]

The Honorable Rafael Solis
Secretary
Sandinista National Liberation Front

The Honorable Mauricio Diaz
Deputy
Popular Social Christian Party

The Honorable Virgilio Godoy
Deputy
Liberal Independent Party

The Honorable Enrique Sotelo Borgen
Deputy
Conservative Party

SCHEDULE FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

Monday, September 21, 1987

Arrival at Washington National Airport
Bus transfer to and check-in at:

The Mayflower Hotel
1127 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
347-3000

8:30 p.m. Reception hosted by The Center for Democracy
The Georgia Room

Tuesday, September 22, 1987

8:30 a.m. Bus transfer to the Capitol
17th Street Entrance, the Mayflower Hotel

9:00 a.m. Arrive at Capitol, escort to House of
Representatives Gallery

10:00 a.m. Speech by His Excellency Oscar Arias Sanchez,
President of the Republic of Costa Rica

11:00 a.m. Tour of the Capitol and grounds

12:30 p.m. Luncheon hosted by the Speaker of the United
States House of Representatives, the Honorable
James C. Wright
Rayburn Office Building, Room 2172

2:00 p.m. Luncheon ends.
Bus Transfer to Mayflower Hotel from Rayburn
Building (Horseshoe entrance)

Afternoon
and Evening: Free for individual meetings and activities.

Wednesday, September 23, 1987

7:45 a.m. Bus Transfer to the Rayburn Office Building
(Horseshoe entrance)

8:30 a.m. Opening of the Central American Legislative Leaders Forum in the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing room (Room 2172)

Opening speeches, followed by a general discussion of the subject under consideration

12:00 p.m. Luncheon (the Gold Room, accross the hall from Room 2172)

1:30 p.m. Forum reconvenes. Participants discuss draft communique on the implementation of the democratization elements of the Regional Peace Plan

5:30 p.m. Discussion concludes. Bus transfer to the Mayflower Hotel.

Evening: Free

Thursday, September 24, 1987

8:15 a.m. Bus Transfer to the Rayburn Office Building (Horseshoe entrance)

9:00 p.m. Final discussions and drafting of Communique (Rayburn Office Building Room 2172)

12:00 p.m. Press Briefing (at the discretion of the participants)

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

1:30 p.m. Follow-up discussions

3:00 p.m. Bus transfer to the Mayflower Hotel (Horseshoe entrance)

5:30 p.m. Bus Transfer to the Madison Hotel for Reception hosted by The Center for Democracy

7:30 p.m. Bus Transfer to the Mayflower Hotel

Evening: Free

Friday, September 25, 1987

Morning: Free

3:30 p.m. All participants to assemble in Lobby of Mayflower Hotel for bus transfer to Washington Dulles Airport

6:05 p.m. TWA Flight #890 departs for Paris

UNCLASSIFIED
Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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ACTION EUR-90

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OTHER U.S. NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE INCLUDED THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE COMMITTEE FOR A COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES. END SUMMARY.

ACTION OFFICE EEB-22
INFO PMP-01 EUR-05 PPS-01 PMS-01 RPE-02 EMEA-01 PA-02 FR-01
WE-02 PMS-01 PM-01 FILE-01 /JCL 42 GF

INFO LOQ-00 COP-01 ACS-03 AID-00 IHR-10 SS-00 OIC-02
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AMEMBASSY YAGUDE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

UNCLAS STRASBOURG 0229

EUR/RPE

USIA FOR WALTER RAYMOND

ARA/PPC

PARIS ALSO FOR DCM AND CONGEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUN, COE, PREL

SUBJECT: CONCLAVE OF THE WORLD DEMOCRACIES

1. SUMMARY: PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS FROM FORTY-FOUR PLURALIST DEMOCRACIES MET IN STRASBOURG SEPTEMBER 27-30 TO DISCUSS MEANS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WORLDWIDE. THE CONFERENCE FOCUSED ATTENTION ON PROBLEM AREAS OF DEMOCRACY AND THE NEED TO BETTER ORGANIZE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES TO STIMULATE DEMOCRACY IN THE THIRD WORLD. THE GROUP AGREED TO MAINTAIN CONTINUING CONTACT THROUGH A STEERING COMMITTEE WHICH WAS CHARGED WITH PLANNING A FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE. THE STEERING COMMITTEE WAS ALSO ASKED TO CONSIDER AND DEVELOP PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY CENTER. THE CENTER WOULD SERVE TO BETTER COORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC AND NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN DEMOCRACY BUILDING. COMMENT: THIS CENTER COULD PROVE PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO US EFFORTS TO STIMULATE SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE UNITED STATES WAS ABLY REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE BY CONGRESSMEN MATTHEW MCNUGH (D-NY) AND BEN BLAZ (R-FLA) AND RECEIVED OUTSTANDING SUPPORT FROM THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY, A PRIVATE FOUNDATION

2. THE SECOND STRASBOURG CONFERENCE ON PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY WAS HELD AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE HEADQUARTERS SEPTEMBER 27-30, 1987. PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS FROM 44 COUNTRIES, INCLUDING BOTH DEVELOPED AND THIRD WORLD DEMOCRACIES ATTENDED. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME VIRTUALLY EVERY PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY HAD BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CONFERENCE. THE FIRST STRASBOURG CONFERENCE, HELD IN 1982, WAS LIMITED TO THE OECD COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL. THE AIMS OF THE CONFERENCE WERE TO ESTABLISH CLOSER TIES BETWEEN PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACIES, TO STIMULATE THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AND TO PROMOTE AN OPEN DISCUSSION OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. THE CONFERENCE WAS ALSO DESIGNED TO ENGAGE THE WORLD'S LEADING PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACIES IN AN EFFORT TO STIMULATE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE THIRD WORLD.

3. THE CONFERENCE WAS JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, THE EC EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, AND THE SIX NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS OF THE OECD COUNTRIES (THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND FINLAND). THE ATTENDANCE LIST INCLUDED PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS FROM MORE THAN A DOZEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FROM LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. THE OTHER COUNTRIES WERE REPRESENTED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ORGANISATIONS.

4. THE COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING INCLUDED AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, BELIZE, CAMEROON, CANADA, COSTA RICA, CYPRUS, DENMARK, ECUADOR, EGYPT, EL SALVADOR, FINLAND, FRANCE, FRG, GREECE, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, JAPAN, ICELAND, IRELAND, ISRAEL, ITALY, IVORY COAST, LIECHTENSTEIN, LUXEMBOURG, MALTA, MEXICO, NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, NORWAY, PERU, PORTUGAL, SAN MARINO, SENEGAL, SINGAPORE, SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, THAILAND, TURKEY, UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM, AND URUGUAY. THE ANDEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENTS WERE ALSO REPRESENTED.

5. LEADING SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE INCLUDED FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, GERMAN BUNDESTAG PRESIDENT PHILIPP JENNINGER, ITALIAN SENATE PRESIDENT GIOVANNI SPADOLINI, NORWEGIAN SORTING PRESIDENT JO BERGQVIST, ISRAELI KNESSET PRESIDENT SHLOMO NISSELI, AND HONDURAS PRESIDENT CARLOS ONDINO MONTOYA.

6. THE UNITED STATES WAS REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE BY CONGRESSMEN MATTHEW MCNUGH (D-NY) AND BEN BLAZ (R-FLA). MCNUGH SERVED AS GENERAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY THEME AND BLAZ CHAIRED THE WORKSHOP ON THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR ELECTORS. THEY PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN FORMULATING AND DIRECTING DISCUSSIONS ON STRENGTHENING THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE THIRD WORLD, PARTICULARLY CENTRAL AMERICA. (TEXT OF THEIR STATEMENTS BEING AIRPOUCHED TO EUR/RPE AND NI). THE CONGRESSMEN RECEIVED ASSISTANCE FROM WALTER RAYMOND (USIS), MARSHALL CARTER (INFP) (EUR/RPE), MARGARET BOHANNAN (OFAC) AND MARC PLATTNER (OED). SPECIAL MENTION MUST BE MADE OF THE OUTSTANDING SUPPORT PROVIDED TO THE U.S. DELEGATION BY THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY. CENTER PRESIDENT ALLEN WEINSTEIN * AND BOARD MEMBERS PETER KELLY, JAMES KEENAN, FREDERICK FURTH, SUSAN DAVIS, AND ALLAN SCHAEFER ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE VARIOUS WORKSHOPS IN SUPPORT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES. THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY ALSO CO-HOSTED A MAJOR RECEPTION FOR CONFERENCE DELEGATES. JAMES HUNTLEY OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES ALSO ASSISTED THE U.S. DELEGATIONS.

7. THE CONFERENCE TOOK UP TWO PRINCIPAL THEMES: PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY. THE FIRST THEME COVERED BROADENING PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, FORMS AND CHANNELS OF PARTICIPATION, THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR ELECTORS, AND ENHANCING THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTS. THE SECOND THEME, EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY, COVERED

*Jane Macon listed on later corrected copy

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Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP, THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA, AND INFORMATION ACTIVITIES OF PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES. DESIGN TO TAKE PLACE IN WORKSHOPS ALLOWING FOR AN EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THIRD WORLD REPRESENTATIVES.

STRASB 00009 03 OF 04 0015442 7304 EUR5246
STEERING COMMITTEE PROVIDED US WITH A VALUABLE NEW TOOL FOR PUSHING DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT. IT COULD PROVIDE AN IMPORTANT NEEDED LINK BETWEEN VARIOUS NATIONAL EFFORTS NOW UNDERWAY TO STIMULATE DEMOCRACY IN THE THIRD WORLD.
COMRAS

8. THE PARTICIPANTS PRONOUNCED DEMOCRACY IN RELATIVELY GOOD HEALTH. THE LIST OF STATES COMMITTED TO PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY HAD INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY IN THE LAST DECADE AND EXPECTATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY WERE RISING ON EVERY CONTINENT. HOWEVER, CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED WITH RECENT TRENDS INDICATING GROWING PUBLIC DISINTEREST OR IGNORANCE REGARDING POLITICAL HAPPENINGS IN THE DEVELOPED DEMOCRACIES. A FALL-OFF IN PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTORIAL AND OTHER POLITICAL PROCESSES WAS SEEN AS A WARNING SIGN THAT INCREASED EDUCATION AND OTHER EFFORT WAS NECESSARY TO INVOLVE ORDINARY CITIZENS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. INCREASED EFFORT WAS ALSO NEEDED TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC SUPPORT AND RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. THE FRAGILITY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD MADE THEM PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO CRITICISM OR DISINTEREST, THE DELEGATES CONCLUDED.

9. THERE WAS GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT MORE SHOULD BE DONE TO COORDINATE THE DEMOCRACY BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS. MOST DELEGATES FELT THAT FUTURE CONFERENCES SHOULD BE BROADENED OUT TO INCLUDE MORE ACTIVE NGO PARTICIPATION. THERE WAS ALSO ENTHUSIASM FOR MAINTAINING CLOSER CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING PARLIAMENTS. INCREASED INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION BETWEEN NATIONAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED.

10. UNANIMOUS SUPPORT WAS SHOWN FOR MAINTAINING THE PARLIAMENTARY STEERING COMMITTEE THAT HAD PLANNED THE CONFERENCE AS A PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR SUCH CONTACT AND COOPERATION. THE STEERING COMMITTEE IS COMPOSED OF THREE REPRESENTATIVES (AND THREE ALTERNATES) FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY, TWO MEMBERS (AND TWO ALTERNATES) FROM THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, AND ONE MEMBER (PLUS ALTERNATE) FROM EACH OF THE OTHER SIX MEMBERS OF THE OECD. THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL MEET AGAIN IN ABOUT SIX MONTHS TIME TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR A THIRD CONFERENCE. THIS CONFERENCE WILL BE DEVOTED MORE DIRECTLY TO PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH EMERGING DEMOCRACIES. THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL ALSO ADDRESS THE POSSIBILITY OF A MAJOR COLLOQUY ON DEMOCRACY TO WHICH LEADING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS PARLIAMENTARIANS, WOULD BE INVITED.

11. THE STEERING COMMITTEE WAS ALSO CHARGED WITH CONSIDERING AND DEVELOPING PROPOSALS FOR A CENTER FOR DOCUMENTATION AND REFLECTION ... TO COORDINATE BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EFFORTS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY. SUCH A CENTER COULD BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. STRONG SUPPORT FOR SUCH A CENTER WAS EXPRESSED BY PARTICIPATING PARLIAMENTARIANS AND BY THE NUMEROUS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FOUNDATIONS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE.

12. COMMENT: THE POTENTIAL INFLUENCE OF THE SECOND STRASBOURG CONFERENCE ON THIRD WORLD DEMOCRACY BUILDING WAS ENORMOUS, BUT ONLY MODESTLY REALIZED. THE CONFERENCE CONCENTRATED TOO HEAVILY ON EUROPEAN PROBLEMS. TOO LITTLE TIME WAS DEVOTED TO PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH EMERGING DEMOCRACY. NOT ENOUGH OF THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES ACTUALLY SHOWED UP. BUT THIS WAS THE FIRST SUCH CONFERENCE EVER TO INVITE ALL THE WORLDS (AND ONLY) PLURALIST DEMOCRACIES. THE LESSONS LEARNED WILL BE PARTICULARLY VALUABLE FOR THE NEXT CONFERENCE WHICH WILL TAKE ON THIRD WORLD DEMOCRATIC THEMES DIRECTLY. WE COULD MAKE THIS A VALUABLE EXERCISE IN FURTHERANCE OF OUR OWN OBJECTIVES FOR DEMOCRACY BUILDING IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE. DEMOCRACY IS NOT AN EXCITING NEWS COMMODITY IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD, AND SUBSTANTIAL EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED TO MAKE THE THIRD WORLD AWARE OF THIS IMPORTANT MATTERING.

13. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE STRASBOURG CONFERENCE AND ITS

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**STRASBOURG CONFERENCE
ON
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY**

Strasbourg, 15 June 1987
ASXB10.87

SXB.CONF (II) 1 prov.

PROVISIONAL

PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

28 - 30 September 1987

Palais de l'Europe

STRASBOURG

Participation in Democracy

and

Education for Democracy

AIMS OF THE CONFERENCE

The aims of the Strasbourg Conferences on Parliamentary Democracy are to establish closer ties between pluralistic democracies, to stimulate the growth of democratic parliamentary institutions and to promote an open discussion between parliamentarians on means of strengthening democratic forms of government.

The first Conference, held from 4 to 6 October 1983, was devoted to a general debate, the conclusions of which were summarised by the Chairman. In particular, the first Conference agreed on what were to be considered essential elements of a pluralist parliamentary democracy (see Appendix).

THEMES

The second Strasbourg Conference has two themes :

Participation in democracy

and

Education for democracy

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEDURE

Aspects of the themes of the Conference are first discussed in workshops. The General Rapporteurs inform the plenary of the findings of the workshops. The themes of the Conference are debated in plenary. The Chairman closes the Conference summing up the conclusions of the General Rapporteurs.

There will be no voting. Any formal conclusions shall be adopted by consensus.

CALENDAR

Monday 28 September 1987

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 9 - 11 | Steering Committee (Room 11) |
| 9 - 11 | Youth Council (Room 9) |
| 11 - 13 | Opening Session (Hemicycle) |
| 15 - 19 | Workshop I (Room 9) |
| 15 - 19 | Workshop V (Room 5) |
| 19 - 21 | Reception offered by the Steering Committee
(Council of Europe Restaurant) |

Monday 29 September 1987

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 8 - 9 | Steering Committee (Room 11) |
| 9 - 13 | Workshop II (Room 9) |
| 9 - 13 | Workshop VI (Room 5) |
| 15 - 19 | Workshop III (Room 9) |
| 15 - 19 | Workshop VII (Room 5) |
| 20 - | Dinner offered by the Mayor of Strasbourg
(Palais des Congrès) |

Wednesday 30 September 1987

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 8 - 9 | Steering Committee (Room 11) |
| 9 - 13 | Workshop IV (Room 9) |
| 15 - 18 | Plenary Debate (Hemicycle) |
| 18 - 19 | Closing Session (Hemicycle) |
| 19 - 21 | Reception offered by the Chairman of the
Committee of Ministers of the
Council of Europe |

THE PLENARY MEETINGS

Invited Guest Speakers

- At the Opening Session :

Mr MITTERRAND, President of the French Republic

- In the Plenary Debate

Mr DIOUF, President of the Republic of Senegal

- At the Closing Session

Mr BUSH, Vice-President of the United States of America

Presiding Officers and Rapporteurs

- Presiding Officers :

Chairman of the Conference : Mr JUNG (France)

Vice-Chairman : Mr LALOR (European Parliament)

Vice-Chairman : Mr ELLIS (Canada)

- General Rapporteurs :

Theme I

General Rapporteur on
Participation in Democracy : Mrs VAYSSADE (European Parliament)

Theme II

General Rapporteur on
Education for Democracy : A member of the United States
Congress

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THE WORKSHOPS

THEME I : PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY

Workshop I : Broadening participation in the electoral process
Chairman : Mr BROWN (Australia)
Rapporteur : Sir John PAGE (United Kingdom)

The Conference will address problems associated with assuring the active participation of all segments of the population as potential candidates, supporters and voters. It will discuss possible impediments to political participation including such questions as voting age, qualifications for holding office or taking part in elections, gerrymandering of political boundaries or other practices which derogate from the principle of one man, one vote, one value. It will also consider ways and means of ensuring that all members of the public are supplied with full information concerning candidates, issues, voting requirements and methods of voting. This theme will include the question of compulsory voting. Consideration should also be given to how to deal with voter disinterest, apathy or despair.

Workshop II : Forms and Channels of Participation
Chairman : A Member of the Parliament of Finland
Rapporteur : Mr Dupont (Switzerland)

The Conference will discuss the various methods (including use of the latest technologies) by which the popular will can be demonstrated at the trans-national, national, regional and local levels, including the specific situation of various parliaments in Federal States. Each method will be analysed and discussed in terms of both appropriateness and abuse. The possibilities and effects of new technologies on participation (computers, telecommunications etc.) will also be examined.

Workshop III : Role of Parliamentarians and Relationship
with their Electors
Chairman : A member of the United States Congress
Rapporteur : Mr Günther MULLER (Germany)

This section will deal with the personal responsibility of individual Parliamentarians towards the national interest, towards their constituents and towards their political parties and the conflict that can arise. The Conference will examine how best to ensure adequate two-way communication between representative and represented, and adequate representation of both individual and collective interests. The role (and its possible extension) of the parliamentary committees and the problems of relationships between parliamentarians and lobbyists will also be addressed.

Workshop IV : Enhancing the Role of Parliament
Chairman : Mr VERDE (MEP - Spain)
Rapporteur : Mr van der WERPF (Netherlands)

This debate will focus on questions related to the dynamics of governing within a representative democracy. This includes the relationships between the Parliament, Executive and Judiciary. It also includes questions of parliamentary jurisdiction and competence, particularly in the light of recent tendencies favouring the transfer of parliamentary authority to executive and trans-national institutions.

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THEME II : EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Workshop V : Education for democratic citizenship

Chairman : A member of the Japanese Diet

Rapporteur : Mr M.A. MARTINEZ (Spain)

This section will address itself to the problem of fostering, both inside the school system and beyond, the interest of men and women in political issues and institutions. It will discuss methods of involving the various segments of the represented society in the political process through their participation in issue recognition, policy formulation, position advocacy and public communication, and in various political system support activities : party administration, fund raising etc. The role of opinion polls and possible abuse of the education systems for specific political purposes will also be discussed.

Workshop VI : Role of the Media

Chairman : Mr EBAN (Israel)

Rapporteur : Mr EDWARDS (Canada)

The Conference will discuss the crucially important question of a free press and all that a free press entails - including the role of and justification for investigation reporting, and the balance between a legitimate need for secrecy, the public right and need to know the facts and the values of an open Government. Special attention will also be given to the development of new information management and communication technologies and the risks of manipulation inherent in information management.

Workshop VII : Information activities of Parliaments and Political parties

**Chairman : A Parliamentarian of a
guest delegation**

Rapporteur : Mr BIANCO (Italy)

This section will address the role of the Parliament and the Political Parties in keeping the public properly informed : under discussion will be the passive and active responsibilities of both these political institutions in making information available to the public and actively ensuring at the same time that the latter is fully aware of the various issues of local, regional, national or trans-national concern.

THE YOUTH COUNCIL

The first day will start with a general meeting discussing the themes of the Conference between parliamentarians and representatives of the European Political Youth Council grouping four political youth organisations (International Union of Socialist Youth, European Young Christian Democrats, Democratic Youth Community of Europe, International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth).

PARTICIPANTS

Situation on 15 June 1987

I. PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS

A. Council of Europe

Austria
Belgium
Cyprus
Denmark
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Malta
Netherlands
Norway
Portugal
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

Israel (1)
San Marino (1)

B. European Parliament

(1) Observer status in the Parliamentary Assembly

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C. Other host parliaments

Australia
Canada
Finland
Japan
New Zealand
United States of America

D. Delegations having announced their participation

Bolivia
Colombia
Ecuador
Egypt
Kiribati
Mexico
Nauru
Papua New Guinea
Senegal
Singapore
Thailand
Uruguay
Vanuatu
Venezuela

8 invited parliaments have not yet responded to the Steering Committee's invitation.

II. OBSERVER DELEGATIONS

A. International Assemblies

Andean Parliament
Interparliamentary Consultative Council of BENELUX
Joint Assembly ACP-EEC
Latin American Parliament
Nordic Council

B. Parliamentary Associations

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)
International Association of French Speaking
Parliamentarians (AIPLF)

C. Conferences

Standing Conference of Local and
Regional Authorities of Europe

A P P E N D I X

Human freedom and human dignity, freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of conscience, the right to criticse and the right to freedom of movement are indispensable foundations of human co-existence. Their protection and enhancement are central to all action by the state.

This protection is served by :

- the citizen's right to choose and change government in elections conducted under universal suffrage and by secret ballot,
- the responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people,
- the right and duty of those elected representatives to regulate life in society by means of laws and to control the executive.

A democracy is an open society in which all state power is derived from the people. This implies :

- the right to participation and consultation in political decision-making at local, regional and national level,
- free access to information and free choice between different sources of information,
- freedom of the press and the media,
- the freedom to form political parties and to stand for political office,
- freedom of association, including the right to form trade-unions,
- the right to participate in the determination of working conditions,
- freedom from slavery and the exploitation of human labour.

Democracy guarantees human dignity. This implies :

- the right to life, liberty and respect for the human person,
- freedom of speech, thought and conscience,
- freedom of religious observance,
- free movement of persons, goods and information,
- the right to school and post-school education preparing the individual for life in a democratic society.

Equality before the law, regardless of sex, race, colour, creed or birth, requires :

- an independent judiciary,
- the possibility of subjecting all decisions of the executive to judicial scrutiny,
- the subordination of the police and the armed forces to the elected government,
- the right to privacy and protection of personal freedoms.

In a democracy these rights and freedoms are subject to only such restrictions as secure protection of the rights and freedoms of others

Strasbourg Conference on Parliamentary Democracy

28-30 September 1987

SXB.CONF (II) CR

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE PLENARY DEBATE

Wednesday 30 September 1987 at 3 pm

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STRASBOURG CONFERENCE

C O N T E N T S

1. PROCEDURE
2. GENERAL DEBATE:
 - Theme 1: Participation in democracy
 - Theme 2: Education in democracy

SPEAKERS

Mrs VAYSSADE
Mr McHUGH
Sir John PAGE
Mr DUPONT
Mr MULLER
Mr VAN DER WERFF
Mr MARTINEZ
Mr EDWARDS
Mr LALOR
Mrs TAKLA
Mr VALENCIANO
Mr FUSHIMI
Mr BAUME
Mrs GJORV
Mr OREJA
Mr MUSSO

3. CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

The sitting was opened at 3.12 pm with Mr Ellis (Canada)
(Vice-President of the Conference) in the Chair

THE PRESIDENT.- Ladies and Gentlemen, on opening the second plenary session of the second Strasbourg Conference let me say that, while this will be the last plenary session of the Conference, certainly in the opinion of most people it will not be the last Strasbourg Conference.

Let me say how proud I am as a Canadian to chair this last session. I am a Canadian of European extraction, as are the majority of Canadians, and I presume that I am here because I am the only non-European continuing member of the steering committee. I think that I can safely say on behalf of my colleagues from Japan, New Zealand, Australia and the United States how pleased we are all to have been part of the steering committee.

I shall now explain what will happen in accordance with the decisions of the steering committee, which has worked long and hard over these last three years. I shall first call upon the Rapporteurs General. Each will be given a maximum of 15 minutes to present the general conclusions on his or her respective themes of education for democracy and participation in democracy.

After that, by agreement, I shall give the floor to each of the seven workshop rapporteurs who will have the opportunity to complement, where appropriate, the reports of the Rapporteurs General. Each of them will have a maximum of five minutes, but I hasten to add that we shall be delighted if they take four or perhaps even three and a half, so they must not feel put upon if we ask them to take less time. I then intend to hand the chair over to the other Vice President, Mr Lalor, who will give the floor to five participants for short statements not exceeding five minutes each. Those participants will be Mrs Takla of Egypt, Mr Valenciano of Costa Rica, Mr Fushimi of Japan, Mr Baume of Australia and Mrs Gjorv of Norway.

That requires an explanation. Many people wanted to speak during the closing moments of the Conference. On behalf of the President and the steering committee, I apologise to those of you who would have liked to speak but to whom, because of time limitations, we cannot give the floor. We would simply run out of time completely if we let everyone speak. On the other hand, the President felt that there had been sufficient Europeans taking part as chairmen and rapporteurs, and, on behalf of my colleagues from Canada and the United States, I agreed that that was the case for the North Americans.

Therefore the time available for statements will be reserved for those few speakers from Latin America, Africa, Australia and Asia, with the one exception of Mrs Gjorv. I think that you will agree that we made the mistake in the steering committee of not having enough women in those posts. To help correct that imbalance we shall allow Mrs Gjorv to speak this afternoon.

Let me set out for you the rules of the steering committee which allow that anyone who is unable or not allowed to speak this afternoon can hand in the text of his or her intervention to the Secretariat and we shall guarantee that it is reproduced and distributed.

Finally, it has been agreed that our very popular Secretary General, Mr Oreja, will be given a maximum of ten minutes.

The speakers will be speaking not from the rostrum, but from their seats, all of which have microphones, and the interpretation will be carried out from there. That should save us time.

Having said all that, as one who has participated over the years, I wish to say briefly how much I have appreciated the tremendous co-operation that I have received from the staff; from Mr Clavers, the security staff, the interpreters, those who do the writing, and all the unseen people who make our work possible. I am sure that you will agree that they have done their job superbly.

Having said all that - ladies first - I am delighted to give the floor to Mrs Vayssade, the Rapporteur General.

THEME I: PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY

Mrs VAYSSADE (France) (Rapporteur General for Theme I: Democratic Participation), expressed her pleasure at speaking as a woman, not only for herself but for women everywhere.

She began by introducing the proceedings of the Workshop on Participation in Electoral Processes. This workshop had ascribed the declining participation in electoral processes to the economic and social situation, particularly unemployment and poverty; to increased geographical mobility and to a lack of belief that parliaments could solve problems faced by ordinary people. This last view was exacerbated by the fact that it was frequently the most theatrical aspects of parliaments which were reported. Nevertheless, collective causes, such as those to give aid to the third world, still attracted enormous support. The workshop had felt that the level of elections had an effect on the level of involvement; for example, local elections, which were in theory closest to everyday life, were frequently badly supported. The electoral system involved was also undoubtedly a factor.

Mrs Vayssade then turned to means of improving the situation. Compulsory voting was a possibility, and it was significant that in countries where this had been abandoned, turnout had fallen by some 10 per cent. The possibility of automatic registration of electors, thus relieving the individual of the task of registration, might also be considered. The means whereby candidates were chosen undoubtedly had a part to play; but although the role of primaries and a reduced influence for political parties had been discussed, the workshop had reached no conclusion. Similarly, although the possibility of reducing voting age to sixteen had been scouted, no agreement had been reached. One course might be to extend the vote to those who had been "marginalised" - for example, migrant workers who were resident but had not been naturalised; some countries already did this.

There had been general agreement that half the citizenship of most countries - that is, women - was under-represented, particularly in elected assemblies. Although greater awareness would go some way towards improving the situation, the possibility of quotas, as in Norway, might be borne in mind.

The workshop on forms and channels of participation had considered ways of maintaining interest and participation other than at election times. In particular, it had examined the question of direct involvement through referenda. In this context, it had noted that in representative democracy there could frequently be a conflict of view between the electorate and the elected. There was agreement that the over-riding need was for the accessible information in a language readily understood by those concerned; otherwise manipulation of the electorate might be a risk. Nevertheless, it was essential in order to maintain the confidence of the electorate to weigh up the information available and to come to a decision. The influence of opinion polls, particularly with the development of computerised techniques, should not be under-estimated.

They had also discussed federalism and the way in which this could assist or hinder participation. The second overall theme they had discussed was the role of MPs and parliaments themselves. MPs had a number of roles: the legislative function, the role of informing and being informed by their constituents, their position vis-à-vis the media and their position in their party. To perform these roles members needed to keep up with new technology and needed adequate financial support. As for parliaments themselves, it was thought that there had been a decline in their role. This stemmed to some extent from an increase in the part played by governments. The role of

supra-national parliaments was also discussed: the European Parliament was particularly well aware of the difficulties that could arise in the relationships between such a parliament and the parliaments and governments of the member states. The point made by a Thai delegate, that it was sometimes difficult to formulate a proper role for a parliament in a country whose freedom of international manoeuvre was limited, had been noted. Mrs Vayssade concluded by repeating that there could be no one model for a parliament or a democracy.

THE PRESIDENT.- I am delighted to report that Mrs Vayssade concluded her remarks just 40 seconds under the limit. I hope that our colleague from the United States, Mr McHugh, will do the same.

Mr McHUGH, (United States), (Rapporteur General for Theme II: Education for Democracy).- Mr President, parliamentary colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to serve as General Rapporteur for the workshops on education for democracy. The three workshops have considered various aspects of this theme over the past two days and I have a summary of their major conclusions to report to this plenary session. Before presenting it I want to say how much I have enjoyed being here in this lovely city and at the Council, with so many interesting delegates from around the world. It has been an education in democracy for me to listen to you all and thereby to gain a deeper appreciation of your problems and views. I wish to express my appreciation to each and every one of you. I have a special word of thanks to the three rapporteurs for workshops 5, 6 and 7, Messrs Martinez, Edwards and Bianco, as well as to the chairs and participants. They made my job this afternoon very easy.

I hope that my general report will capture the major themes that we are developing together. However, where it falls short, I know that our capable workshop rapporteurs, who will address you later in the programme, ladies and gentlemen, will fully compensate.

It must be said at the outset that most people will judge democracy by how effectively it responds to their prime interests. If they are hungry, without work or without housing, or if they lack hope in their future, our various forms of democracy will not suffice. In this sense democracy must be seen as competent and relevant. For democracy to work, however, there must be a fundamental base of knowledge and of understanding. Ignorance may be bliss, but it is not especially conducive to democracy. Voters who are kept in the dark about their governments' activities have no hope of influencing them. By the same token, representatives who do not comprehend the interests of their constituents cannot adequately respond to them. More basic still, if the members of society do not appreciate the values underlying democracy, they will have no reason to defend democracy when it is threatened. Knowledge is power, and sustaining democracy

requires everyone to be equipped with as much knowledge as possible. Many elements in society must be involved, - for example, the family, the schools and the media. Those of us in political leadership must also educate. Thus in all our workshops we deliberated about how education could be promoted to support democracy.

Permit me now, ladies and gentlemen, to refer to Workshop 5, our first workshop. Its deliberations were ably summarised by its Rapporteur, Mr Miguel Martinez, whose presentation was subsequently endorsed by the workshop's participants. Mr Martinez noted that, despite enormous differences among participating countries in size, region and political history, their statements all reflected certain common themes, most notably the need to provide better education to enable citizens to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities. Our success in improving civic education will have a direct impact on the health of our democratic systems. If we fail to provide that education, democracy itself will be in danger. Citizens will be unprepared to withstand attempted coups d'état or other crises to which democratic regimes, especially in the developing world are sometimes exposed.

A low level of knowledge, awareness and motivation in respect of political affairs exists among young and even among more mature citizens. That provides an early warning. Many young people are ignorant about such towering figures of recent history as Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin.

We should not overstate the failings of our democratic system. Though democracy may be in low repute in some of the countries in which it is firmly established, people in non-democratic or newly democratic countries continue to dedicate their lives to its attainment and consolidation. Perhaps politicians in the advanced countries are somewhat to blame because of the excessive rhetoric with which they attack their political opponents. Parliamentarians should seek to improve the environment for democracy in their countries and to enhance the credibility and image of politicians.

I turn to the media and Workshop No. 6. Free media are fundamental to a democratic society and strengthening their institution is a key to any functioning democracy. The media wield enormous power in a democratic society. In totalitarian states there is little criticism of the regime. In democracies, however, whether well established or newly emergent, the press plays an important role. The fragility of new political institutions is such that special responsibility must be exercised by the media. In a democracy, self-regulation by the press is preferable to government regulation.

The parallel questions of how political reporters can better serve democracy and how parliamentarians can facilitate that result provoked many shades of opinion. The media should develop professional standards. Such standards should seek above all to emphasise honest news reporting and comment. Objectivity may not always be possible, but an honest commitment to presenting the truth is vital. Encouraging professionalism requires appropriate training and education. The press should seek to avoid trivialisation and excessive personalisation of issues. The development of multiple sources of information was also cited as an important goal.

Parliaments must make their own contributions by communicating more effectively and particularly by seeking to lay out more precisely the goals and objectives of their programmes. Greater effort should be made, particularly with our young people, to promote a better understanding of the role of the media.

Special considerations arise where the media are state owned. It was noted that in those circumstances several democracies had taken steps to ensure that all political voices, including the opposition, were given fair access to the media. Newspaper mergers and the elimination of competition and variety within the press can also be worrying. Competition and private ownership of the media provide additional insurance that state influence will not dominate, but private ownership is not a solution in itself. The key is competition and a multiplicity of views. In developing countries there may be

a need to provide technical facilities to individuals and groups that might not otherwise be heard, but that should be done in a manner that does not compromise the integrity of a free press.

The relationship between government and independent media during incidents of terrorism is a vexed issue. In our discussions, the majority view acknowledged that there could be circumstances in which police action to save innocent people might be frustrated if the story were fully reported by the media. Publicity via the media can also provide incentives for terrorist activities. Many people felt that, while certain terrorist acts could necessitate some reporting restrictions, in most circumstances the press could be counted on to exercise self-discipline.

The discussion in Workshop No. 7 is perhaps best summarised in the remark of one participant: it dealt with information from the parliament about the parliament and to the parliament. There were two levels reviewing the broad historical development of parliaments as a channel for information and examining practical means of implementing parliament's powers and responsibilities.

There are many useful mechanisms to inform the public about the activities of parliament. Many of those tools are traditional, and various parliaments have accumulated years or even centuries of experience in their use. Written forms range from reporting by the print media to daily records made widely available, specialised reports, newsletters and other communications from individual legislators or their parties. Many legislators also hold small-scale meetings with their constituents, which serve to inform both themselves and the constituents.

Other mechanisms are newer and there is considerable uncertainty about using some of them. Here the most important question was raised by the Chairman: what role is there for television? Will the presence of television distort the work of the parliaments? Will the presentation of parliamentary debate by a government-owned broadcasting network give rise to suspicions of behind-the-scenes manipulation? Will the public become cynical or more confident about its representatives if it can see them at work?

We discussed these matters at some length and considered the experience in several countries, including the United States, where there is now gavel to gavel coverage. These sessions are available through cable television and there is no government involvement in their presentation. This system appears to have worked successfully in the United States. The Australian parliament, on the other hand, decided that there were too many disadvantages and chose to limit broadcasting to major debates, which are carried by the government

network and that, too, seems to have worked well. In Italy, televised parliamentary proceedings have drawn larger audiences than entertainment programmes, and that among the 20 to 30-year-olds.

One thing is certain: television has taught us the need to make our parliamentary presentations intelligible to the public at large. It is the responsibility of the parliament to ensure that its work is done in terms that the average citizen and not just the specialist can understand. Parliament should present explanatory materials along with proposed legislation so that the interested citizen can assess the proposal. The media can also be very helpful in sorting out the information available. They can often simplify or reduce it to manageable form for the average citizen.

That points up a new sort of problem for democracy - having too much rather than too little information. At its worst this situation differs only slightly from deliberate secrecy. Confronted with too much information and with no guide to sort out the biased from the objective material, the citizen may withdraw in confusion. That makes information into a kind of disinformation. Parliamentarians have a responsibility to help shape the flow of information so that it does not overwhelm the citizen.

Perhaps we can conclude by returning to the first of our propositions. Education is a foundation of democracy. Information is the life blood of democracy. Responsibility is the hallmark of a democracy. Let us all return home committed to share with our colleagues our greater awareness of these issues and our resolve to stimulate education for democracy in our own societies. Beyond that, let us resolve to continue, each of us, to pursue these questions with those who are in the process of democracy-building, or who continue to aspire to the creation of democracy in their own countries.

THE PRESIDENT.- I am sure that you will all agree with me that the quality of the two presentations of the general rapporteurs certainly justified the confidence that the steering committee placed in these two individuals. We thank you both very much for the quality of your addresses, and for staying on time so well.

Now we go to the workshop rapporteurs. There will be five minutes for each, although it could be less. We begin with the United Kingdom and Workshop 1 and hear from the very shy and retiring Sir John Page.

SIR JOHN PAGE (United Kingdom).- Mr President, parliamentary colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, our Chairman, Bob Brown of Australia, who is sitting beside me, and I are very proud indeed to have participated in Workshop No. 1. Our debate was lively and dynamic. Perhaps we were all inspired by the marvellous speech of President Mitterrand a few hours earlier.

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The General Rapporteur, Madame Vayssade, has already spoken eloquently about our work. I am only a "corporal" rapporteur and I will hope to underline just three points that were made in our workshop, although the full report that I have produced will be available for collection before you leave.

First, we all recognise the strange phenomenon that, although half of our population consists of women, not nearly enough women participate in most democratically organised parliaments. We ask the Council of Europe and the other countries represented here to look again at this phenomenon and to turn the spotlight upon this issue to see how participation by women and ethnic minorities can be increased. Our workshop also feels that those living abroad - and this affects members of the Secretariat here in Strasbourg - or those abroad on holiday should not be denied a vote in elections that take place in their home countries.

Secondly, our workshop appreciated that there is a danger in times of unemployment that young people may be disillusioned, frustrated, and possibly alienated from the ideals of democracy. They may feel that those democratic ideals do not work. That aspect will be more exhaustively discussed by the rapporteur of the education workshop. We believe that it should continue to be examined.

Finally, I am persuaded by our discussions in Workshop 1 and in the others that I have attended that all of us at this great Conference believe that it is necessary for democracy to be explained, encouraged, and defended. Every football team needs a supporters' club. We at the Strasbourg Conference are the supporters' club of democracy.

Two of our speakers from emerging democracies with first-hand experience have emphasised to us the need for encouragement and advice on the working of democratic processes, a point raised very interestingly by Mr McHugh in his speech from the other workshop. Such emerging democracies have nowhere to turn to other than the Strasbourg Conference. Our workshop therefore sincerely hopes that the steering committee led by the Council of Europe and the European Parliament will set up some kind of information centre or clearing-house here in Strasbourg - not needing some great new bureaucracy but using the existing facilities of the Council of Europe - where information on proven democratic electoral systems, franchise registration, boundary procedures and voting rights can be recorded and disseminated. It would be of immense value to democracies old and new.

Do not look at your watch, Mr President, because I am about to conclude. Now that I have retired from the British parliament - and that I may stress was an entirely voluntary act - this is the last speech I shall make in this great chamber.

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I have been a member of the Council of Europe for 14 years and have been at Westminster for 27 years. As a result of all of that experience I am convinced that you in this hall have a very special responsibility today. I beg you earnestly to use this occasion to ask no, to urge, no, to demand, from the steering committee under our dedicated President that it adopts a higher profile and dominating approach and, by showing its lively faith and continuing belief, prove that this great city could indeed deserve to be known as "Strasbourg, world capital of democracy".

THE PRESIDENT.- Exceptionally well done, Sir John, and, given that it was a last speech, those few extra seconds were well earned.

Now we move to the country that is the time-keeper of the world, Switzerland. I am sure that we all want to hear from Mr Dupont.

MR DUPONT (Switzerland) speaking as Rapporteur of Workshop 2: Forms and Channels of Participation, pointed out the difficulty in making a choice between a representative democratic system and a direct democratic system. It should never be forgotten that the people themselves were sovereign but for this statement to have meaning a permanent debate between ruled and rulers had to be maintained at all levels. There was a need for verifiable information which indicated a respect for the electorate. Participation had to be channelled through the existing multiplicity of structures in society. He stressed the importance of the media though regretted that at a time when so much information was available so much intolerance especially in the forms of terrorism and racism existed. Democracy needed time and patience, it should not be forgotten by the technologically advanced democracies that poverty and hunger were the first violations of human liberty.

Hunger and famine led to dictatorship, and there could be no democracy until the economic fate of the third world was sorted out. Democracy would never be something that was complete but it was the conscience of the people and it could defend itself and its citizens. He hoped the Conference would conclude on an optimistic note because this meant that there would be hope that democracy could perpetually be re-born.

Mr Gunther MULLER (Federal Republic of Germany) said that ideal democracy such as might have been thought to exist in Athens was no longer possible and that the modern form was representative democracy. He did not feel however that there had been much significant change in the 200 years since Burke had expressed his views on the position of the representative and the electorate. The elected representative was still an intermediary. He might have problems if he could not fulfil his function as the transmitter of the wishes of his electorate, but he also had a role as a social worker. The media had a role in this respect but unlike a

representative the media could not give the electorate a direct answer or clarify their problems for them. Political parties were also important but they could not replace the individual who could convey ideas to the electorate to the same extent that he received ideas from them. It was also part of the representative's role to prepare people for the future and to do this he needed the best possible technical support. The workshop had also raised the question of whether people themselves had changed. He thought that they had not but that circumstances had. Aristotle had said that in an ideal world looms would weave automatically so that there would be time for people to involve themselves in culture and politics and he felt that such a time had now arrived.

Mr VAN DER WERFF (Netherlands).- I should like to express my appreciation of Mrs Vayssade's summing up. It practically covers all the points that were dealt with in Workshop 4, so I shall be very brief. Mr Verde as Chairman, myself and all the participants had an interesting morning, particularly because the discussion was started by several members of parliament from the mother of parliaments. They tended to be fairly humourous on one side, with a rather sad undertone. We took up the practical and realistic aspects of democracy, the problem of government and Ministers on one side, administration, bureaucracy and competition on another side and parliament as a third.

Everyone, more or less, came to that conclusion that the original balance of power had been shifted by party machinery and the technocrats.

Members of parliament are increasingly involving national governments in work that is already part of an over-heated administration, work regulations, subventions and so on that should and could be dealt with on other levels, for instance, by town and community authorities.

Bureaucracy runs rampant because MPs do not want the executive to be involved as a busybody with the details. I believe that that is one of the reasons why MPs are not enhancing their stature. They are constantly dealing at too low a level. That observation more or less contradicts the last speaker. A member of parliament is not and should not want to function as a social welfare worker. He should take care not to allow himself and his working time to be preoccupied with details. Surely a member of parliament is a bit of a schizophrenic because of his difficulty in remaining, on the one hand, in permanent contact with his constituency and his voters while, on the other, refusing to help them on minor matters. This issue impinges on the question of enhancing our image.

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In Workshop 4 the suggestion was made that a centre for democracy should be established, and Strasbourg would be a good location for it. There would be an annual meeting of a steering committee with a report on the state of democracy. The members of Workshop 4 were sceptical about the possibility of enhancing our role as parliamentarians. The only way to upgrade parliament and the esteem of individual members is by our own actions. That is our job. Let me quote from the book "Letter to a Young Politician" by Vyvyan Adams, written directly after the second world war. The only way is to "Use your own judgment".

THE PRESIDENT.- Thank you Mr Van der Werff. I now call the quiet and unassuming Mr Martinez.

Mr MARTINEZ (Spain), said how satisfying and gratifying it had been to participate in this workshop under the able chairmanship of Mr Kosugi of Japan, and with Mr McHugh as general rapporteur. Although members of the workshop approached the subject from fundamentally different conditions and backgrounds, they shared a strong determination to advance the cause of democracy in their countries. In particular, they had the same view on the importance of education in this process. All those who took part expressed alarm at the low level of interest, knowledge and trust in democratic institutions in their respective countries.

Any improvement in the situation depended crucially on education, in terms both of wider availability and higher standards. Schools and universities bore a major responsibility for familiarising young people with democratic institutions and practices, and for training them to respect tolerance and rationality, allied with the cause of peace. However, educational systems alone could not replace the prime role which should be played by the family; and those who came from disadvantaged families were at particular risk of becoming second-class citizens for whom democratic institutions were an irrelevance. The media and public organisations also had their part to play, but could not do so without adequate economic resources. The whole workshop had been aware that it was not possible to instil into young people enthusiasm for democracy if all that one could say was to echo Churchill's words, that democracy was the worst form of government - except for all the others.

He ended by summarising the three main conclusions of the workshop. First, greater attempts than ever before had to be made to educate for democracy. Second, it was essential that democracy should not be seen as bureaucracy; not only was there a duty to show it as working better than other systems of government, but there was a duty to make it work better than other systems. Last, it was the duty of all parliamentarians to increase the standing of democratic institutions. To decry or insult opponents was to undermine their own position.

(Mr ELLIS in the Chair)

THE PRESIDENT.- You will all understand when I say that I am not surprised that my dear friend went slightly over the limit. Now I introduce a name that is not well known in Europe but is known in every household in Canada - Mr Edwards.

Mr EDWARDS (Canada).- Mr Chairman, for a Canadian you have a singularly Andalusian predilection for exaggeration.

Continuing in French, he expressed his thanks to his European hosts for the warm welcome that he and all delegates had received in Strasbourg. He paid particular tribute to delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America for their daily nurturing of democracy in their countries.

Continuing in English, he said we North American appendages to the Council appreciate participating. We are particularly impressed by the sincerity and the passionate commitment to the daily nurturing of democracy that are shown by the Asian, African and Latin American delegates and observers. I was particularly impressed by the interest and the tremendous attention that was shown by the youth observers and delegates. I wish to thank the staff of our delegation and of the Council for their assistance. I wish to acknowledge the strong leadership shown by a member of the Knessett, Sarah Doron, of our workshop, which I think was rather successful. I wish to thank Congressman McHugh, who did such a marvellous job of summing up the work of our workshop that I am left with little left to do now. With your permission, Mr President, however, there is one point on which I should like to dwell, and that is the issue of reform of the media, in a context in which space and time limitations of coverage of political and legislative events leave the public with little but titillation and superficial treatment. My own interest in this subject arose through the disenchantment and, indeed, the alienation that I encountered in my electoral campaign of 1984. I thought that this was a unique Canadian phenomenon until I discovered that it was universally shared here. There is a feeling among the electorate that the democratic and legislative process is removed from their lives. We have to bring it back. One measure towards bringing it back, our workshop has felt, is the reform of reporting, reform of coverage, alternatives to trivia such as political debates. That reform should be carried out not, of course, by the state, because that strikes at the heart of the great freedoms that we hold dear - among them, the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression - but be initiated by the media themselves through development of standards and, if necessary, self-regulation, better education among legislators about media and, indeed, better education among media about legislators and their activity.

There was a minority opinion that some state action might be desirable in three strictly delimited areas. First, financial and other support for minority groups might be considered for them to get their messages out. There might be some restrictions on the media to protect the rights of the accused. There might be a reduction or a prevention of concentration of media ownership or control. There was a strong feeling that diversity of ownership and plurality of expression went hand in hand.

It would be a worthy project for this Council or for a counterpart non-governmental organisation to initiate an international conference of political and legislative reporters and journalists from the democracies to take the first step to addressing this issue. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT.- Do I have Mr Bianco? I have been looking and I have not seen him. Mr Bianco is to be our last Rapporteur. I somehow have not noticed him. If he is not here, I shall turn the meeting over to the co-Vice-President, Mr Lalor. Perhaps Mr Lalor might see Mr Bianco if he comes into the room in a few moments. Thank you for your attention, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr LALOR (Vice-President) in the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT.- Thank you, Mr Ellis. Thank you delegates. Let me say at this stage that, in accordance with what was said earlier by my co-Chairman Mr Ellis, I now propose to give the floor to Mrs Takla from Egypt.

Mrs TAKLA (Egypt).- Mr President, dear colleagues, allow me at this point to make three brief comments. The first, naturally, is to express my appreciation and admiration of the participants, organisers, administrators, interpreters and all those who help to make this Conference what it is. I was especially impressed by the principle and content of youth participation. The quality of life that we shall leave is the quality of life that they shall live. It is therefore imperative always to take into consideration their views, opinions and reactions. It would be presumptuous and undemocratic to decide for them the shape of their years. I believe that we always learn from them just as much as we believe that they learn from us.

I was also impressed and relieved that we did not lose sight of the fact that parliamentary democracy is only a vehicle to democratic life, and we were basically not dragged into discussing just the systems or the mechanisms forgetting that all of them are only the means to a further and more important goal. The second comment is rather a wish. I often wish that we could add to the basic human rights "the right to know", the right of each and every citizen to know the truth about his country, his government, and his parliament and to know the facts relating to problems and national crises, what decisions are made, why, when and by whom. But prior to that the citizen should know that he has that right, in other words, to know that he has the right to know.

The need for that knowledge was one of the reasons why, in June, Cairo University Faculty of Law organised a seminar on education of human rights, stressing always the basic human right to democracy and to parliamentary democracy.

Democracy is not just a theory, issue or principle; it is, above all, a way of life. It is to know that you have a say in deciding the quality of life that you are to live and to participate in the processes of parliamentary democracy. Often, when we discuss democratic participation and education in democracy, we assume that democracy as a basic human right is a fact that is known to and accepted by all. Unfortunately, that is not always the case. A prerequisite is that people - all people - citizens - all citizens - know that they have the basic right to that way of life that is called democracy.

I do not mean freedom of the press, freedom of information acts or availability of information. Above all that, I mean inoculating every free citizen with his basic human right to know.

My third comment is related to the fact that democracy is a right, duty and responsibility. Practising it means that we should participate, be aware, follow issues, study matters, express opinions, criticise, approve, comment and refuse. Far too many people - more than we like to admit - find themselves too busy or too burdened to want to carry these responsibilities. We all want democracy, but are we all willing to carry the obligations and responsibilities that accompany it?

The only way to promote active participation is to taste or savour the rewarding quality of life that democracy can provide. I believe strongly that it is for us parliamentarians and representatives to persuade people by promoting their interests and consolidating their beliefs, and the most effective means of convincing and educating is education by example.

Parliamentary democracy is judged by what we do and not by what we say. The media, the school and the family, for example, all play an important role but in the final analysis the fate of parliamentary democracy rests in the hands of parliamentarians and representatives. It is for them to bring to life systems, procedures and goals.

Are we carrying out what we preach and giving what we owe? Do we reflect a positive image? Are we true advocates of the system? A question which for too long has been vibrating in my mind is whether we are up to all that. Being here and listening to what has been said in the form of reports, statements, comments and interventions, and understanding the keen interest of you all, ladies and gentlemen, in making the system work and grow - I have felt your sincere concern for all peoples and for the problems facing remote societies - has convinced me that this conference has been extremely useful. I came here, I saw and I believed. Thanks to you all, I shall return to my country with my question answered: yes, parliamentary democracy is in good hands.

THE PRESIDENT.- Thank you, Mrs Takla. Your remarks were most encouraging.

Mr VALENCIANO (Costa Rica) said that he spoke for many of the people and countries of Central America, which he noted was an area with many social economic and political difficulties. The recent political developments in the process of attempting to establish peace and reconciliation in Central America reflected the principles of democracy and political freedom. The work of Amnesty International and other organisations working in Central America for the promotion of these principles should be supported. The establishment of the Central American Parliament was an important contribution to the furthering of democratic principles in the region. Central America looked to the countries represented at this conference for support for this democratic process and for support in particular for the current Central American peace process.

THE PRESIDENT.- Thank you very much, Mr Valenciano. I know that I speak for all here when I join you in expressing the hope that there will be an expansion of democracy in the central American area.

Mr FUSHIMI (Japan) said that the discussions in Workshop 5, in which he had participated, had been excellent but had covered one aspect insufficiently. This was the fact that the foundation of a democracy was the readiness of the elector to act as an individualist. This did not always happen in Japan where the cultural and educational background encouraged conformity rather than individualism.

The quality of the individual was the basis of all democracy and he regretted that the Assembly had not the time to look at that point in greater depth.

THE PRESIDENT.- Thank you, Mr Fushimi. I know that the steering committee will be especially pleased with your concluding remarks. Let us hope that we can continue to learn from those conferences.

I now have pleasure in giving the floor to Mr Baume of Australia.

Mr BAUME (Australia).- Mr President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Australian delegation, among whom I stand, are grateful for the many courtesies that have been shown to each of us by the steering committee, the organising committees, the Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the working parties and by the City of Strasbourg. My colleagues and I offer our thanks to you all.

Before this plenum there is a statement for adoption later today, a statement which endorses democracy, the democratic ideal and the ideal of a parliamentary model for the operation of democracy. It was suggested earlier today that we should establish some continuing body - a standing committee, as it were - to disseminate information about democracy and to monitor events. So far, so good, but that is not enough on its own. What action are we proponents of democracy, gathered here from so many countries, prepared to take to maintain the democracies that exist today and to protect and preserve democracy whenever it faces peril?

It is proper to wonder what action this Conference would consider, what views this Conference might express in case of the overthrow of a legitimate working democracy.

We from a Pacific nation ask you to consider for a moment the specific case before us today in the Pacific, the case of the overthrow of the democracy in Fiji. The facts are stark and simple. Our parliamentary colleagues from Fiji are not here. They cannot speak, so let us speak for them. Since decolonisation 17 years ago, Fiji has been a parliamentary democracy. For years it was called the model of multiracial democracy in the Pacific.

At a general election earlier this year an alliance between Fijians of Melanesian and Indian background voted to change the government. Now, for democracy, for what we are met here to consider, for what we have been discussing in the past few days, this is surely the real test, the moment of truth. Can there occur the transfer of power from one group to another as a result of an election properly held? This election held in Fiji we have no reason to doubt was an entirely fair election, free from serious flaw or defect. A government headed by Dr. Timoci Bavandra became the properly elected and democratic government in Fiji this year.

Within one month there was a military coup in which that properly elected Prime Minister was removed and the government were out. After four months a new representative structure of government appeared ready to emerge. But, two weeks ago, or was it three weeks ago, there was a second military intervention by the same military commander, with arrests of many of those who had been involved in the negotiations to restore some form of civil government.

Fiji is now under authoritarian military rule. It is no longer the model democracy that it was six months ago. From the news we have heard yesterday and today it will not be so again. This Conference, by a cruel irony, almost coincided with the second military intervention and has failed to mention Fiji in its documents that have outlined and extolled the benefits of need for democracy. There has not even been a passing reference to the only concrete case in the world this year of the overthrow, the loss, the destruction, of a good working democracy.

We from the Pacific urge you, our colleagues from so many countries met here to talk about democracy, met here to celebrate democracy and the democratic process, to ensure that in any final communiqué or any final document that emerges from the Conference we deplore and address the overthrow of this model democratic government. We should show that we care, that we are not willing to ignore or close our eyes to this tragedy, which is a tragedy not only for Fiji but for democracy. Is this too much to ask?

The PRESIDENT.- Thank you Mr Baume. We have noted what you say. Finally I call on Mrs Gjørv from Norway.

Mrs GJORV (Norway).- Mr President, dear colleagues. I should like to devote most of my intervention in this final plenary debate to women's participation in political life. I begin by drawing your attention to the fact that in this conference on democracy only about 13 per cent of the participants are women. It becomes even more unsatisfactory when we appreciate that this low percentage reflects the weak representation of women in most parliaments and other elected bodies.

I hope that we can all agree upon one conclusion: as long as the number of women in elected assemblies does not reflect the fact that women represent half of the population - and of the voters - our democracy remains unfinished in an important respect.

I have some encouraging news from my part of the world. In the Nordic countries women's representation on elected bodies is considerably higher than the world average and it increases with each election. I am proud to say that in my country of Norway there is at present the highest percentage of women's representation on elected bodies. Let me give some examples. Out of a total of 18 Cabinet Ministers, eight are women. That is 44 per cent. The female share of State Secretaries is 40 per cent. In our parliament the percentage of women representatives is 34.4 per cent. In the parliamentary group of my party, the Labour party, the female share is 42.2 per cent.

How has that been achieved? Most of the explanation is to be found in the so-called quota system. From 1983 the statutes of the Labour Party have included the following sentence:

"In all elections and nominations at least 40 per cent of each sex must be elected."

The reason for including this sentence was that many years of effort to get more women elected had led us to conclude that we would not achieve a representative female participation in political life until after the year 2000 unless we used this specific measure.

Within the Labour party the quota system is now accepted as an instrument to obtain genuine equality between the sexes, and, even more important, the quota system is gradually being accepted by Norwegian society in general, and women's participation in several parties has increased radically in recent years. For example, after the last general election the female share of the Conservative party parliamentary group increased from 26 per cent to 30 per cent. We may contemplate the possibility that in years to come it could be the men who will need the quota system.

In my experience, women do their jobs as well as men. I should add, "of course".

As a general conclusion, I should like to state that the democratic decision process will improve when men and women are well represented, because the two sexes have different backgrounds and experience on which to draw. I should therefore like to recommend that other countries take a look at the quota system that is used in Norway to see whether it could be adopted within their political systems.

On behalf of the Nordic countries I should like to make some brief additional remarks. In a market oriented world, democracy has become an expensive enterprise. Elections are costly affairs, as is the process of communication between representatives and their voters. Yesterday we heard that the price for standing as a candidate for the United States Congress is 1 million US\$ or more. We are told that money does not smell, but its origin has a peculiar way of influencing our priorities and choices.

In the Nordic countries it is therefore felt that the financing of elections and party work should not be a matter for market forces only. In our countries public financial support to political parties is considered to be a more transparent and democratic solution. I think that our experiences in this respect are encouraging and that public support is an expression of the importance that we attach to the political parties as a dynamic element in the communication process within a democracy. The large number of members in such organisations strengthens the legitimacy of parliamentary democracy, particularly with regard to the nomination of candidates and their participation in the formulation of party policies. We would prefer the accusation of party organisations having too great an impact on the democratic process to having to accept that various non-governmental organisations usurp a role as a link between representatives and their constituencies.

Our interest in pluralistic democracy also has a bearing on the Nordic attitude to the mass media. We are uneasy about the trend towards multimedia conglomerates. One way of securing pluralism in the media sector is to grant public support to newspapers that represent various political opinions - newspapers that cannot attract the interest of advertisers. That will not solve all of the problems, but it may slow the progress towards oligarchy..

I should like to end this intervention with a personal remark. Democracy needs to be defended, but not with anxiety in our voices or with clenched fists. Working for democracy is a stimulating, joyful and challenging exercise. Democracy is a matter of changing and improving our society and of building a better and more just world for everybody. I wish us all good luck in our work.

Mr Edward BEYSEN, Leader of the Belgium Delegation,
Mr Charles McDONALD, Deputy Chairman of Seanad Eireann,
Mr Cheng Bock THAN, Member of Parliament of Singapore and
Mr BERTIL, Deputy Speaker of the Riksdag, handed the text of
their speeches, which could not be delivered for lack of time, to
the Secretariat. These texts will be published verbatim in
the Conference official records.

THE PRESIDENT.- It is most appropriate that the ladies should have the last word. As Mrs Gjorv said, Norway's parliament has the world's highest level of female representation.

I am more than grateful to all of you for your co-operation. Nobody is more conscious than I of the desire of many others to give us the benefit of their contribution, particularly in the light of the very productive outcome of the seven workshops. However, I must terminate the plenary debate.

The Conference has been most worthwhile and productive. We are particularly indebted for the contribution from the youth. I was privileged, as an Irishman, to have been one of the Vice Presidents who were nominated by the European Parliament.

I now hand back to President Jung to resume.

Mr JUNG, President of the Council of Europe, in the Chair.

Mr OREJA (Secretary General of the Council of Europe) said that true democracy required participation, which was impossible without education. Universal suffrage was now recognised but major sections of the population were not involved in the democratic process, whether as a result of abstentions or because they were excluded. Abstention was a particularly big problem. It had often been linked to lack of education in the importance of various civil duties. There were always certain people such as foreigners, who were excluded even in a democracy. Our various societies were becoming increasingly multi-cultural, and the question therefore arose as to whether citizenship should be applied equally. The Council of Europe was looking into this question. Women too were facing serious problems in entering public life, as was evident from the make-up of the Conference itself. The Council was devoting much time to the question of the position of women in public life. He had greatly enjoyed the participation in the Conference of so many young people but he was also aware of the disinterest which some young people had in democracy generally. The Council wanted to set up a centre to look at possible initiatives for increasing the involvement of young people.

Democracy could not accept a position where a certain fringe of society found itself excluded, whether as a result of unemployment, racism or some other factor. It was hardly surprising that people who were denied such a bare minimum chose not to participate. Democracy was something for all members of society. The citizen had to be given the opportunity to have his say. This view had led to recent moves towards, and interest in the decentralisation of government. Local democracy was the best training ground for those who wished to be involved in public life.

He emphasised the importance of education in enabling citizens to play a full part in the democratic process. The task of educating the people in this way belonged to families, an aspect which the Council of Europe had been active in supporting, and to schools, which should educate young people in the importance of democracy both through the curriculum and through more practical steps. It was also very much the task of the media. He concluded with the point made by Mr Mitterrand to the Conference that while there could be no true democracy without a parliament, nevertheless too much parliament would threaten the state while too little parliament could threaten democracy. One of the important lessons of this Conference was that parliamentary democracy was not the exclusive prerogative of the advanced countries.

The PRESIDENT thanked Mr Oreja for his most instructive presentation, which had illustrated the importance of inter-parliamentary co-operation.

Mr MUSSO (European Parliament) noted that while representatives of 40 nations had been able to gather in Strasbourg and contribute to this Conference there were many parts of the world where democratic rights and parliamentary democracy did not exist. This was a situation to which all present must strive to put an end. He thanked President Jung and the Council of Europe for their role in arranging the Conference.

3. CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

THE PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, this evening we will have reached the conclusion of our work. The 2nd Strasbourg Conference on Parliamentary Democracy has given rise to extremely lively discussions in the workshops, which have been getting to grips with the two themes of participation in democracy and education for democracy. The very many interesting and often original thoughts here expressed will fuel further thought for years to come.

I will shortly resume in a few sentences the Conference Chairman's feelings about these past three days and the principles he has derived from them for future action.

However, I would first like to thank all of you for participating so unflaggingly and attentively in the discussions, and even in the social events which have been curtailing your nights. Some uncharitable people would have it that the only quality required of a politician is a cast-iron constitution. You have at least demonstrated that you fulfil this first condition. I will be having another chance to test you this evening.

I would of course thank the delegations of the parliaments of the 21 member states of the Council of Europe and the delegation of that excellent institution the European Parliament. They are all well acquainted with this building and have been rediscovering their old habits and sometimes comforts. I reserve even warmer thanks for the delegation members, organisers, participants and observers who have travelled far, and sometimes very far, to come to Strasbourg. In a few moments I will reiterate that this Conference is the second in a continuing series. We may therefore hope that the friendships forged over the three days will carry on over coming years.

Democracy is not only a political system. It is nowadays acknowledged that democracy is the best framework for any society to achieve economic and social progress, justice for all, and peace among the nations.

Democracy is based on the state governed by the rule of law and the guarantee of human rights. We must struggle to set up this form of state wherever it does not exist. The people alone can maintain such a state by reconstituting it daily.

Democracy is constructed around participation by the citizen. At the root of any open society is the principle of majority decision accompanied by respect of minorities.

The difference between democracy and dictatorship is not any absence of public authority but rather the restrictions the law sets on such authority. The difference between it and anarchy is not any lack of freedom but the restrictions each individual's freedom imposes on that of his neighbour.

Democracy is no final solution; it is rather the best institution that can be set up at a given point despite human failings. It is no ideal, but rather a form of society striving to correct its mistakes.

Yet democracy can live and prosper only in a society based on law and human rights and, at the risk of committing a tautology, the existence of a parliament. Grounded on all of this, each state has institutions corresponding to its own cultural, social, and economic specificities. This amounts to saying that there is no Platonic model for democracy for us to consult. It also means that all democratic systems are imperfect and therefore perfectible. We are well aware - and this awareness has dictated the choice of one of our themes - that many of the imperfections have to do with our fellow citizens' participation in democratic political life.

Some participants from other continents have given us to understand that our view of democratic participation is perhaps too introverted. An honest assessment will have to be made of their proposed solutions. In some countries of what we call the Third World, however, democracy's backwardness is often related to serious economic difficulties, if not destitution and famine. Parliamentarians in prosperous countries should be aware of this and bring home to their electorate that the promotion of democracy implies a duty of solidarity.

We also know that participation requires of citizens a knowledge of the institutions and machinery of democracy. This knowledge is passed on to them, or should be, by school, whose place is subsequently taken by the media, voluntary associations and political parties. Through them, citizens should be able to be sure that the decisions concerning them - and I am not speaking only of political decisions - are taken in broad daylight.

With this in mind, I should like to offer some thoughts which I believe are suggested by our conference with an eye to the future:

- Democracies should encourage participation in political life by all citizens, who should be able to exercise their electoral rights and engage in active politics at local, regional, national and international level. That presupposes the creation of institutional conditions conducive to greater participation, particularly by women.

- These conditions might concern the voting age and eligibility, methods of voting, the operation and funding of political parties, parliamentarians' means of action, registration on electoral rolls, procedures for appointing candidates, the holding of more than one office concurrently and the participation of minorities, and also other aspects of life in a democracy which will have to be catalogued.

- Participation is an aspect of the operation of democracy in which great progress remains possible: it will call for intensive reflection and research in the years ahead.
- Democratic participation can only develop in a well-informed society. School curricula at all levels will have to be improved, especially with regard to the teaching of civics, which should lay particular emphasis on education in democracy and human rights. Education should also develop a critical mind, tolerance and a perception of the solidarity and interdependence which link all the peoples of the world together. The family should contribute to this educational effort.
- Public information also depends on the work of the media, which should be aware of their responsibilities and refrain from any dramatisation of events, as this tends to distort information, and especially political information. Parliaments themselves, both national and international, must contribute to this progress by publicising their debates more widely and making them more open. The political pluralism of the media is an essential prerequisite for the smooth running of democracy.
- In education for democracy, voluntary associations, and especially those for young people, also play a vital role, in particular by preparing for life in society, and hence political life. Their work should be encouraged and supported.

On the basis of these few observations, it is clear that future Strasbourg conferences will have plenty to do. There are enough topics to keep them busy well into the next millenium. In the meantime, national parliaments and international institutions must take their cue from such conferences and continue discussion on specific topics, as was recommended by the first Strasbourg Conference.

The Steering Committee was unanimous in considering that a third Strasbourg Conference should be held within a few years. It must reflect on the topics to be discussed. In all these matters your suggestions will be welcome and I ask you to send them to me in the coming week and months.

It has also been suggested that a centre for documentation and reflection should be set up to co-ordinate both public and private efforts to promote democracy. There again, it will be for the Steering Committee to consider the value of such a proposition and, if necessary, draw up terms of reference which should aim in particular to increase the effectiveness of parliamentary democracy and the solidarity of parliaments with peoples struggling for democracy throughout the world.

This second conference has acquired a universal character since all the continents are represented here. I should like to express our wish that throughout the world the progress of democracy which we have witnessed over these last few years will continue and that consequently future conferences will be able to welcome a still greater number of delegates from the five continents. If our wishes become reality, I do not despair of seeing Strasbourg, which has a claim to be the parliamentary capital of Europe, become also the world capital of democracy.

I believe that this conference has clearly shown that democracy is not a luxury but a necessity, the only means and the most effective means of enabling all the sectors of the population to contribute to a solution of the problems of society. Democracy is a necessity which becomes increasingly evident as society evolves and technology unifies the world.

Consequently, democracy is not a thing of the past, it belongs to the future. Time is on our side if we know how to use it. This does not release us from our duty to do our utmost to promote, to perfect and to expand democracy. In this belief we may return to our countries and work in our parliaments, in our societies throughout the world, conscious that we are at the dawn and not the twilight of democracy. Long live democracy.

The sitting closed at 5.40 pm

Strasbourg Conference on Parliamentary Democracy

28-30 September 1987 -

Conférence de Strasbourg sur la démocratie parlementaire

SXB.CONF (II) 3 prov. 2

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Rua da Constituição, 2146-r/c Esq.
P - 4200 PORTO

M. Carlos CARVALHAS (Communiste)
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P - 1500 LISBONNE

M. Narana COISSORO (Centre démocrate et social)
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M. José GAMA (Centre démocrate et social)
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M. Joaquim MAGALHAES MOTA (P.R.D)
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Rua Filipe Folque, 5-1°. Esq.
P - 1000 LISBONNE

PORTUGAL (cont./suite)

M. João MALATO CORREIA (Social démocrate)
Député
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P - 2685 SCAVEM

M. José MARQUES (Social démocrate)
Député
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P - 1200 LISBONNE

M. Licinio MOREIRA (Social démocrate)
Député
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Mme Odette SANTOS (Communiste)
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Secrétariat :

Mme Maria-Teresa BORGES
Bureau des missions parlementaires internationales
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SPAIN / ESPAGNE

M. Miguel Angel MARTINEZ MARTINEZ (Socialiste)
Député
Chef de la délégation
Congreso de los Diputados
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M. Alfons ALBERT SANJOSE (Socialiste)
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Asensi 33, 2°
E - 12002 CASTELLON

M. Juan ARESPACOHAGA FELIPE (Coalition populaire)
Sénateur
Camino Sur 37
La Moraleja Alcobendas
E - MADRID

M. Juan Antonio AREVALO (Socialiste)
Sénateur
Antonio Lorenzo Hurtado, 1
E - 47014 VALLADOLID

M. Gonzalo ARGUILE LAGUARTA (Socialiste)
Sénateur
Viento 3
Ontinar.
E - ZARAGOZA

M. Llibert CUATRECASAS MEMBRADO (Minorité catalane)
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M. Alfons CUCO GINER (Socialiste)
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M. Luis FAJARDO SPINOLA (Socialiste)
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Congreso de los Diputados
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- M. Miguel MARTINEZ CUADRADO (Centre dém. soc.)
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- M. Manuel NUNEZ ENCABO (Socialiste)
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E - 48276 PLAZACOLA -MARQUINA (Viscaya)
- M. Marcelo PALACIOS ALONSO (Socialiste)
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- Mme Adela PLA PASTOR (Socialiste)
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- M. Lluís Maria PUIG I OLIVE (Socialiste)
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- M. José Luis ROBLES CANIBE (Nat. basque)
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Mrs Kerstin EKMAN (Liberal)
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Mrs Doris HÅVIK (Social Democratic Party)
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Secretariat :

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Conseiller National
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M. Massimo PINI (Rad. dém.)
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Conseiller :

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Secrétariat :

Mme Christine STUESSI
Secrétariat de l'Assemblée fédérale
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TURKEY / TURQUIE

M. Kâmrân INAN (Parti Mère patrie)
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T.B.M.M.
TR - ANKARA

Mrs Tûlay ONEY (Soc. dem. populist)
Deputy
T.B.M.M.
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Secrétariat :

M. Ali Cen ILHAN
Dis Iliskiler Müdürlüğü
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UNITED KINGDOM / ROYAUME-UNI

Mr David ATKINSON, M.P. (Conservative)
House of Commons
GB - LONDON SW1A OAA

Sir Geoffrey FINSBERG, M.P. (Conservative)
House of Commons
GB - LONDON SW1A OAA

Mr Peter HARDY, M.P. (Labour)
House of Commons
GB - LONDON SW1A OAA

Mr James HILL, M.P. (Conservative)
House of Commons
GB - LONDON SW1A OAA

Sir John PAGE, M.P. (Conservative)
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Secretary :

Mr Clive BENNETT
Overseas Office (European Section)
House of Commons
GB- LONDON SW1A OAA

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- b. Parliaments with observer status to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
Parlements dotés du statut d'observateur auprès de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe

ISRAEL

M. Shlomo HILLEL
Président de la Knesset
Chef de la délégation
Knesset
IL - JERUSALEM

M. Jacques AMIR (Travailliste)
Membre de la Knesset
Knesset
IL - JERUSALEM

Mme Sarah DORON (Likoud)
Membre de la Knesset
Knesset
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Conseiller :

M. Joseph AMIHOUD
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SAN MARINO / SAINT MARIN*

* List not yet communicated
Liste non encore communiquée

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M. Alfredo di STEFANO
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C. PARLIAMENTS OF COUNTRIES NOT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE
PARLEMENTS DES PAYS NON MEMBRES DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

AUSTRALIA / AUSTRALIE

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Leader of the Delegation
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AUS - CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

Senator The Hon. Peter BAUME
Member of Parliament
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AUS - CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

Hon. Ian McPHEE, M.P.
Member of Parliament
Parliament House
AUS - CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

Mr Allan R. MORRIS, M.P.
Member of Parliament
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AUS - CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

Senator N. SANDERS
Member of Parliament
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Senator Alice O. ZAKHAROV
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Mr Jim EDWARDS (Progressive Conservative Party)
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Mr Gaime FUSTER
Member of the US Congress
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Mr Mathew McHUGH
Member of the US Congress
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WASHINGTON D.C. 20515
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Mr James SCHEUER
Member of the US Congress
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Advisers :

Mr Walter RAYMOND
Assistant Director
United States Information Agency

Mrs Margaret DONOVAN
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Mrs Marshall CARTER-TRIPP
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Mr Allan WEINSTEIN
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Mr Peter G. KELLY
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Chambre des députés
Congreso Nacional
Palacio Legislativo
LA PAZ
BOLIVIE

M. Guillermo TINEO LEIGUE
Vice-Président du Parlement Andin
LA PAZ
BOLIVIE

COSTA RICA

Mr Jose Luis VALENCIANO (National Liberation Party (PLN))
First Vice President
Leader of the Delegation
COSTA RICA

Mr Antonio Tacsan LAM (National Liberation Party (PLN))
First Secretary
COSTA RICA

Mr Rodolfo Mendez MATA (Social Christian Unity Party (UNIDAD))
Minority Leader
Secretary General of UNIDAD
COSTA RICA

Mr Oscar Manuel SABORIO (Social Christian Unity Party (UNIDAD))
Deputy
COSTA RICA

ECUADOR / EQUATEUR

M. Juan CUEVA (Parti de la gauche démocratique)
Député
Congreso Nacional
QUITO
EQUATEUR

M. Fernando RODRIGUEZ (Parti socialiste)
Député
Congreso Nacional
QUITO
EQUATEUR

M. Andrés VALLEJO (Parti de la gauche démocratique)
Député
Congreso Nacional
QUITO
EQUATEUR

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EGYPT / EGYPTE

M. Mohamed ABDELLA
Chef de la délégation
Président de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères à
l'Assemblée du Peuple
LE CAIRE
EGYPTE

Dr Laïla TAKLA
Membre de l'Assemblée du Peuple
LE CAIRE
EGYPTE

M. Salah TAWFIK
Membre de l'Assemblée du Peuple
LE CAIRE
EGYPTE

HONDURAS

Mr Carlos Orbin MONTOYA (Liberal Party (PL))
President
Leader of the Delegation
Congreso Nacional
TECUCIGALPA
HONDURAS

Mr Evenor BONILLA (Liberal Party (PL))
Deputy
Congreso Nacional
TECUCIGALPA
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Mr Jacobo HERNANDEZ (National Party (PN))
Second Vice President
Congreso Nacional
TECUCIGALPA
HONDURAS

Mr Olman Ernesto SERRANO (National Party (PN))
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Congreso Nacional
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M. Francisco CONTRERAS CONTRERAS
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M. Enrique Gabriel JIMENEZ REMUS
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NAURU

Hon. President Nimes EKWONA
Speaker of the Nauru Parliament
NAURU ISLAND
Central Pacific

PERU / PEROU

Sénateur René NUÑEZ DEL PRADO
Président de la Commission Interparlementaire
du Sénat
Senado
Plaza Bolivar, s/n
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M. Enrique CHIPOCO TOVAR
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EL SALVADOR

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SAN SALVADOR
EL SALVADOR

Mr Mauricio Armando MAZIER ANDINO (Christian Democratic Party (PDC))
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Mr Armando Calderon SOL (Republican National Alliance (ARENA))
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SENEGAL

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Conseiller :

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Directeur des relations internationales
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Assemblée Nationale
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THAILAND / THAILANDE

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Deputy Leader of the Delegation
The Thai National Assembly
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THAILAND

Mr Sompong AMORNVIVAT, M.P. (National Democracy Party)
The Thai National Assembly
BANGKOK
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Pol. Lt. Chaowarin LATTHASAKSIRI, M.P. (Chartthei Party)
The Thai National Assembly
BANGKOK
THAILAND

Mr Jarus PUACHNEY, M.P. (Community Action Party)
The Thai National Assembly
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Chambre des Représentants
MONTEVIDEO
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M. Yamandu RODRIGUEZ
Député
Parlement
MONTEVIDEO
URUGUAY

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III. INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES AND INTERNATIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS
ASSEMBLEES PARLEMENTAIRES INTERNATIONALES ET ASSOCIATIONS
INTERNATIONALES DE PARLEMENTAIRES

ACP-EEC JOINT ASSEMBLY / ASSEMBLEE PARITAIRE ACP-CEE

BELIZE

Senator Alfredo MARTINEZ (United Democratic Party (UDP))
Leader of Government Business
Leader of the Delegation
BELIZE

Mr Basilio AH (United Democratic Party (UDP))
Member of Parliament
BELIZE

Mr Asterio ORTEGA (United Democratic Party (UDP))
Member of Parliament
BELIZE

Mr Samuel WAIGHT (Peoples United Party (PUP))
Deputy Opposition Leader
BELIZE

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M. Andrés VALLEJO
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QUITO
EQUATEUR

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LA PAZ
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Président
Conseil Interparlementaire Consultatif de Bénélux
Palais de la Nation
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M. Joz WYNINCKX (Socialiste belge)
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Conseil Interparlementaire Consultatif de Bénélux
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M. Mamadou BOUMBA
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M. Théodore GRAHBIALE
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Conseillers :

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IV. STANDING CONFERENCE OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITIES OF EUROPE
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Me Bernard LOITRON
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VI. DISTINGUISHED GUESTS / INVITES D'HONNEUR

M. José-Maria de AREILZA
Comte de Motrico
Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères d'Espagne
Ancien Président de l'Assemblée parlementaire
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Ancien Président de l'Assemblée parlementaire
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Ancien Président du Parlement Européen
Maire honoraire de la ville de Strasbourg
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VII. STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE
COMITE DIRECTEUR DE LA CONFERENCE

ASSEMBLEE PARLEMENTAIRE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

MM. Louis JUNG, Président	France	Dém. chr.
Karl AHRENS	R.F.A.	Soc.
Jacques BAUMEL	France	Dém. eur.
Gerardo BIANCO	Italie	Dém. chr.
Anders BJÖRCK	Suède	Dém. eur.
Mrs Kerstin EKMAN	Suède	Lib.
MM. Peter HARDY	Royaume-Uni	Soc.
Miguel Angel MARTINEZ MARTINEZ	Espagne	Soc.
Mrs Doris MORF	Suisse	Soc.
MM. Günther MULLER	R.F.A.	Dém. chr.
Peter SAGER	Suisse	Lib.
Peter STOFFELEN	Pays-Bas	Soc.

PARLEMENT EUROPEEN

M. François MUSSO
Mme Marie-Claude VAYSSADE
M. Sergio ERCINI

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M. Patrick J. LALOR

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MM. Robert J. BROWN	Australie
Jack R. ELLIS	Canada
James L. OBERSTAR	Etats-Unis
Ingvar S. MELIN	Finlande
Takashi KOSUGI	Japon
Darryl DUNN (Conseiller)	Nouvelle-Zélande

Composition du Groupe de contact

MM. Ken WARD	Australie
Robert RICHARD	Canada
Victor D. COMRAS	Etats-Unis
Risto MURTO	Finlande
Kazuhiko FUJITA	Japon
Darryl DUNN	Nouvelle-Zélande

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