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FORUM



COUNCIL OF EUROPE

4/80 Quarterly



Women

Contents

Editorial

Franco Calamandrei

3

Events

Future shock/Islands in the sun
Saving primeval Europe/
No cause for gloom/Schooling for society
A better life in towns

4—8

Open Forum

Robert Skidelsky: The "menace" of fascism

9—10



Special section: women

I—XXIV

Despite the revolution begun over fifty years ago by the suffragette movement, the status of women in society, whether in public or in family life, is still very much determined by tradition. Laws may change but men are still generally in command. This special section tries to show how women's awareness is everywhere growing and that whatever the difficulties, society will be bound to take this change into account.

Across Europe

Danièle Brison: Sino-European dialogue at the Assembly
Louis Joinet: Computers and human rights

11—14

Documentation

15—19

Write to us

We are glad to receive letters from our readers and will publish them as far as space permits; please be brief, then. The editor of Forum also reserves the right to abridge and condense letters. Only signed letters will be considered for publication.

FORUM

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XXIII *Viva* — Ann Christine Eek
14 *Fotogram* — J. P. Favreau
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FRANCO CALAMANDREI Communist member of the Italian Senate, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

“... the ways and means of countering subversive violence must be compatible with the principles of democracy and human rights but at the same time they must be accompanied and backed by a development of democracy and of citizen participation in every country...”



For the first time the responsibilities and problems involved in defending democracy against terrorism in Europe were discussed in Strasbourg, at the instigation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, from 12 to 14 November 1980, at a conference attended by representatives of the Assembly itself, of the European Parliament, of the Western European Union Assembly and of many national parliaments, as well as by experts designated by numerous member governments, eminent scholars and authoritative spokesmen of legal, social and cultural institutions. This can be seen as a first step towards the broader and more multiple pooling of experience between all the national and international forces of democracy on our side of Europe without which it is henceforth clear that nothing more can be achieved against subversive violence.

Events in recent months in a growing number of member countries have brought out even more the exacerbation and the spread of terrorist bloodshed and violence, the reappearance of its despicable racist and antisemitic overtones and the destructive effects that its escalation can have on democratic freedoms. In the dramatic light of these facts, the conference was unanimous that, whatever name terrorism went by, the one and only purpose of its emissaries in Western Europe is to destroy the representative and pluralist democracy that has grown out of our history together with the possibility of free political, economic and social development it offers.

From this observation the conference derived clear confirmation of the conviction — that the primary and vital duty of our countries in the face of this enemy is to combat it, crush it and put a stop to its criminal action. That is the only way to save democracy, that is the only way to find a democratic solution to the crisis of our society, with its economic, social and nationalistic tensions on which the forces of terrorism play and put pressure.

How then, by what means, can our democratic system defend itself from terrorist subversion and at the same time remain true to itself and guarantee the rights and freedoms that are its very foundation but which terrorism would like to force it to deny and violate? That was the basic problem underlying from start to finish the various “groups of questions” into which the general theme of the conference was subdivided: legal questions, political questions, security questions, responsibility of the mass media and of cultural and educational institutions; co-operation among our countries to combat terrorism.

How can a balance be struck between a resolute and effective riposte by our states to terrorism and a coherent democratic riposte so that — and this is the point — neither of the two carries more weight to the detriment and hindrance of the other?

The deeper and more significant aspect of the success the conference achieved lies perhaps in the very broad consensus throughout the debate regarding the decisive importance of striking such a balance if the repression of terrorism is to have the strength and firmness essential for it to triumph in this part of the world. This means — as was said on many sides — that the ways and means of countering subversive violence must be compatible with the principles of democracy and backed by a development of democracy and of citizen participation in every country as well as by an intensification of international co-operation by Western Europe in the matter of legislation, judicial action, extradition, mass-media policy and operations against the mortal threat that terrorism represents.

These shared convictions that emerged from the conference make it an important stepping-stone to future more effective co-operation against terrorism by the Council of Europe countries. It will be for our Assembly at its January session to consider more specifically the machinery that might be needed to that end.



Eighteenth century architecture by the visionary Claude-Nicolas Ledoux at the royal salt-works, Arc-et-Senans (France)

CULTURE

Future shock

A workshop on "Cultural development, lifestyles and future societies" was held in Arc-et-Senans from 22 to 25 October, organised jointly by the Council of Europe and the magazine "Futuribles".

The workshop reflects an ambition as vast as it is vague. After considering the economic problems of future development at earlier meetings, Mr Hugues de Jouvenel from *Futuribles* suggested that this year the senior civil servants, academics and research workers present should reflect on what was at stake in the Europe of the future: what action should be taken.

The Council of Europe, which is thinking about similar questions is preparing to draft a European Cultural Charter which transcends strictly local concerns and defines a common set of basic cultural values and rights for the average European.

The participants sometimes appeared lacking in enthusiasm, almost as though long-range forecasting and futurology were marking time. Social innovation, in which so many hopes were placed a few years back, seemed perhaps somewhat out-of-date. It appeared that the time had come to abandon futuristic scenarios and concentrate rather on the practical implementation of alternative institutional or similar systems as yet in their infancy.

The closing plenary sitting, conducted with great verve by the organisers, provided an opportunity to assess

how much progress had been made. Mrs Jocelyne Gaudin from the "Work and Society" Centre of the Université Dauphine in Paris, outlining the points of contact between the formal and the informal sectors of the economy, said the latter could provide much sought-after flexibility, since it could open the way to new initiatives and upgrade unconventional forms of work. Flexibility could, however — as Mr Bruno Vinikas, Secretary General of the Regional Economic Council for Brabant pointed out — accentuate existing social inequalities or create new ones and lead to instability. There was therefore a need to devise new forms of control by adapting existing labour laws, introducing programmes for creating jobs of benefit to the community (as had been done in several European countries), and so on.

Changes in the organisation of work were also studied on the basis of concrete examples. It seemed that, surprisingly, the growing tendency among companies to rely on outside rather than in-house services was making them more inflexible. Then, if the latest French Plan was anything to go by, the improvement of working conditions was being seen increasingly as a factor in industrial planning. For it had to be acknowledged that certain kinds of malfunctioning could be expensive. Some women made the point that when it was a matter of striking a new balance one could not ignore a submerged part of human life: that corresponding to female cultural identity. This was received with indifference by the overwhelming majority of the audience.

The crisis of the welfare state, on the other hand, aroused more interest. The

reality of the situation, although not to be exaggerated, could not be denied: there was a financing crisis, there were no results to show and the very legitimacy of the state's actions was beginning to be sapped.

The discussion turned to new forms of solidarity and mutual assistance and new ways of ordering society. The alternative plans did not involve taking over from the state, but perhaps cutting public expenditure and increasing individual responsibility.

The future of public institutions (we should devise "biodegradable" ones according to Mr Brice Lalonde, leader of the French Ecology Party), changing values, and the emergence of a new culture ... all these are problems making for an uncertain future.

Danielle Rouard

TOURISM

Islands in the sun

A new code of conduct should be worked out that strikes a balance between tourism and small island cultures, according to a Council of Europe symposium.

Spain was undoubtedly the ideal place in which to organise this Council of Europe "Symposium on environmental education, tourism and small island cultures", if it is borne in mind that this is the European country which has suffered most as a result of disastrous planning mistakes in tourism over the

ENVIRONMENT

Saving primeval Europe

Measures to stem the destruction of forests bordering on Europe's rivers are to be recommended to governments.

The alluvial forests — also called “riparian” forests, implying liability to frequent flooding — are a paradox in that they are at the same time living features of an extremely ancient ecosystem maintained in the natural state by its very inaccessibility, and one of the en-

was restricted to forty and at the end of the meeting they adopted recommendations which the Council of Europe governments have a moral duty to adopt and support without delay if future generations are to inherit a Europe which is cultured and fit to live in.

Who could object to the “elaboration as a matter of urgency of a code of conduct focused on relations between tourism and the environment, designed to indicate guidelines for public and private organisations playing a leading role in the tourist industry”, as called for in one of the recommendations?

Probably not even the most ruthless private interests if, as stated in the Spanish delegation's report, it is thus possible to offer tourist facilities based “on a knowledge of the natural environment”, by first establishing adequate structures. In any case, no state which is mainly concerned with the defence of general interests should allow tourism to disrupt the natural and cultural environment. That frequently happened in Spain during the so-called “tourist boom”, and the results are obvious to all those who visit any tourist resort on the coast.

Two of the most interesting proposals which emerged from this symposium concern the preparation of educational material designed for children and young people in the member states and the introduction of a new tourist tax to help pay for environmental conservation and management measures. These excellent objectives deserve close attention in governmental circles of the 21.

Antxon Sarasqueta

past fifteen years. And the Canary Islands, one of the most important tourist centres in Europe, provide one of the worst examples of this — despite the fact that it has been possible to conserve certain areas of extraordinary natural beauty. That is partly due to the efforts of private citizens and local authorities, and largely because of the tourist recession.

The symposium, held at Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife, from 12 to 18 October, benefited from the co-operation of the official Spanish bodies and other local authorities. The number of participants

Playa de las Americas on the island of Tenerife



How much longer will the common heron be at home in Europe's alluvial forests?

vironments doomed to destruction from time immemorial by man, who has long since turned these areas into the best pastures for his flocks and herds, and sometimes into first-class agricultural land, to the detriment of their dense and highly varied flora and fauna. The alluvial forests have thus been reduced in many cases to thin green lines bordering on rivers and watercourses.

Yet they constitute an environment that is especially original, productive and diversified. The arboreal species they embody often grow to great heights: ash and elm may reach forty metres, white willows and white poplars thirty-five and hawthorns seventeen. The presence of the otter, one of the most endangered mammals in Europe, and of the beaver, successfully reintroduced in many places, bears witness to the zoological importance of such areas, and among their bird populations we may quote the kingfisher and various species of heron (common heron, night heron) and birds of prey. Moreover, the alluvial forest is undoubtedly a thing of beauty, as is amply demonstrated by the growth of the leisure activities practised there.

Alluvial forests are the last remnants of primeval nature in Europe. For historical reasons, they are among the all-too-rare natural sites situated close to human settlements, sometimes in the very heart of urban or industrialised areas.

Despite their manifold functions, alluvial forests are more and more threatened with total destruction. Their decline is largely due to canalisation and straightening of rivers and other water-courses, the huge reduction in the size of flood plains, the construction of dams, the extension of sand and gravel workings, the lowering of groundwater levels, excessive leisure activities, use of biocides and the partitioning of the landscape through the proliferation of highway systems.

Present methods of forest exploitation also play a part in their destruction, by breaking up their structure, diminishing the rich variety of species and vitiating the composition of both flora and fauna.

Aware of the gravity of this situation, about 100 specialists met at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg from 22 to 24 September 1980 for an International Colloquy on Phytosociology. They began by drawing up a complete inventory of alluvial forests, and went on to demand that priority be given to the conservation of existing flood plains in Europe (more especially along the Rhine and Danube) and if possible also to restoring surfaces recently drained (temporary flooding plays a decisive part in maintaining the originality of this biotype). A plea was also made for suspending the construction of dams, and for instituting a control system whereby the composition and originality of the alluvial forests could be preserved.

The participants showed a lively interest in the work done by the Council of Europe in this field. An exhaustive study on alluvial forests will shortly be published. It will be accompanied by re-

commendations to governments, including the principles to be observed in the interests of healthy management of this type of environment, and will contain a detailed list of the most characteristic sites which may be designated "natural reserves". The protected areas will form part of the European network of biogenetic reserves of the Council of Europe.

Jean-Pierre Ribaut

PUBLISHING

No cause for gloom

How publishers are weathering the economic and technical changes in the trade — a report from this year's Frankfurt Book Fair.

A few years ago it was the done thing, when returning from the Frankfurt Book Fair, to speak of monstrous gigantism. During the last two years the mood has been rather one of gloom: it was said that poor sales reflected the general economic situation, that less business was being done in Frankfurt, and that publishing was going through a bad patch.

The careful observer will find these superficial judgements unacceptable. True, the Book Fair has changed, and one is immediately struck by the calmer atmosphere. Nevertheless, although bus-

iness in Frankfurt is not what it was five years ago, the change is not all for the worse. New trends are emerging in publishing and these will decide the shape of the 1980s.

The gloom, then, is relative. It would be more accurate to speak of a quieter, more serious working atmosphere, which many publishers welcome. Fewer hastily put together projects collapse as soon as the Fair is over. Figures show that the Fair has reached proportions which it would be difficult to exceed: almost 300,000 titles exhibited by 5,000 publishers from a hundred or so countries. World publishing is therefore well represented at Frankfurt, and book production faithfully reflects the contradictions of the 1980s. In the West there is still a hankering after the sensational bestseller, now a thing of the past. In the East, there are the "official" publishers whose shortcomings can no longer be disguised. In the third world remarkable, indeed stirring individual efforts are being made, but they merely reveal all too cruelly what challenges lie ahead.

The impression gained from a visit to the Fair, then, is not so much one of gloom as that the major publishers have changed their policies. Good publishers no longer speak of a crisis but of a new situation, prompting them to move in three directions.

First, the number of international joint publishing projects is increasing. Although fewer "foreign-rights" are being sold in Frankfurt, the Fair is becoming more a place where large-scale joint publication projects are put to-

Frankfurt Book Fair: changed



gether by publishers, "packagers", writers and international organisations. International organisations such as the Council of Europe go there for the same purpose, namely to find out with whom and how a book can be produced simultaneously in several languages. Examples are the Council of Europe's *Threshold Level* series for modern language learning; Unesco's history of Africa; and the proceedings of the European Community's Scientific Colloquies, all discussed at some stage of their production in the crowded corridors of the Fair.

A second new direction concerns scientific publishers. Because of its cost and life-span, a scientific monograph produced to the standards of the 1950s or 1960s can no longer be marketed. Publishers have been turning to "composers" or "Camera-Ready Copy" and are thinking of giving up paper as a medium in favour of the teletext or videotex screen. Among those most affected are publishers of law books. Data banks such as Lexis (United Kingdom and USA), Juris and DATEV (Federal Republic of Germany) and CELEX (EEC) are connected to networks such as the Community's EURONET/DIANE and replace thousands of tomes.

Both these trends primarily concern ever bigger and more internationalised publishing houses and are resulting in standardisation of messages and media; but at the Frankfurt Fair there is also a third, reverse trend to be observed, namely the growth of "cottage-industry" publishing, i.e. a form of publishing whose structure is geared to very specific (ideological, cultural, artistic) aims. With this type of publishing — whether it involves production by hand presses or the roneoing of "samizdat" texts — the only relevant criteria are those which serve the aims in question. Paradoxically, it is among these publishers, who do not profess to be such, that literary and typographical creativity is at its peak.

Thus here, at least, there is no real cause for gloom.

Nicolas de Halleux

EDUCATION

Schooling for society

A firm call for better programmes of social education for teenagers was made at a Council of Europe symposium held in Sölna, Sweden, from 15 to 19 September 1980.



Creating a supportive atmosphere in the school

The participants noted that Western Europe is going through a period of rapid social and economic change. These changes are accompanied by social tensions leading to problems of violence which could endanger the fabric of society and family life. Such tensions also exist in schools, and there were several references during the symposium to problems of absenteeism, vandalism, and violence.

Social education, the participants argued, should help young people to acquire a realistic and positive image of themselves and to play their part in constructive and forward-looking change. They should be encouraged to work for a better society based on the values embodied in the European Convention on Human Rights.

The participants at the Sölna Symposium were careful not to suggest that a new subject called "social education" should be added to the already overloaded school curriculum. Instead, they suggested that much could be achieved through a revision of the content of existing subjects.

A striking feature of the discussions was the importance attached to the creation of a supportive atmosphere in the school. Teaching about such topics as democracy and human rights will not succeed if the atmosphere of the school

contradicts the message which the teacher is trying to impart. The various partners in the school community — head-teachers, teachers, pupils and parents — should work together as a team, and head-teachers in particular should be trained for their new role as "leaders of a participatory school community".

The Sölna Symposium was a contribution by Sweden to the Council of Europe's major project on secondary education, "Preparation for life". The aim of the project is to suggest how secondary education can help to provide young people in the 14—19 age-group with a good all-round preparation for adult life.

In 1981 Austria will contribute a symposium to the Project on "Europe in the secondary school curriculum". This will be followed in May or June by a symposium in Grenoble, France, on "The secondary school and the mass media".

The culminating point of the Project will be a large-scale conference which will probably be held in the Council of Europe from 30 November to 4 December 1981. The participants will adopt a declaration based on the ideas put forward during the Project. This will be submitted to the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation and then to the Committee of Ministers.

Maitland Stobart



European Foreign Ministers meet in Strasbourg

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the "21", meeting in Strasbourg on 16 October 1980 with the Spanish Minister Mr. José Pedro Perez-Llorca in the chair (*centre*), denounced any action that damages or jeopardises détente. They expressed the wish that the CSCE meeting in Madrid should achieve concrete and balanced progress, including progress in human rights, freedom of movement, the free circulation of information and greater economic co-operation. The Ministers reaffirmed their determination effectively to combat racism, anti-Semitism, fascism, and terrorism. They agreed on the need to extend and strengthen cooperation between the member states, particularly those with common borders, with a view to speeding up implementation of effective measures to stamp out terrorism. The Ministers adopted a declaration on balanced development in Europe (see Documentation, p. 15). They also heard a statement by the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. İller Türkmen, on the recent events in his country. Mr. Türkmen stressed the determination of his Government to restore parliamentary democracy in the shortest possible time and reaffirmed that in the transition period, the Turkish Government would conform fully to the principles of the rule of law, the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

great deal of criticism has been levelled at the way our towns are functioning and when the conditions of life in them, for many countries, are deteriorating." But as the Dutch Minister of Housing, Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland, remarked, it also comes at a time when the strings on the public purse are being tightened, and this seeming inconsistency elicited some pointed questions from seasoned observers at the press conference.

Undeterred, those responsible for the campaign pointed out that it was the very constraints that constituted the challenge. New and exciting possibilities for improving life in towns would have to be found, including innovative methods of attracting private investment, and these were the sort of ideas which should be exchanged between the twenty-two countries (the 21 plus Finland) taking part in the campaign.

The campaign will focus on five main themes: the improvement of urban environmental quality; the renovation of old buildings, housing and areas; the provision of social, educational and cultural facilities, of adequate transport and inner-city employment; the achievement of community consciousness and public participation; and the role of local authorities.

On their first day the ministers discussed how regional planning could help cope with some of the problems overshadowing the last years of this century, such as the worldwide redistribution of industrial production, chronic unemployment, regional imbalances and energy shortages. They agreed that a European Regional Planning Charter or Declaration defining the main objectives of regional planning and the means of their implementation should be submitted for adoption at their next session, to be held in Madrid in 1982.

Simon Newman

REGIONAL PLANNING

A better life in towns

The European Campaign for Urban Renaissance was launched on the occasion of the fifth European Conference

of Ministers responsible for regional planning held at Lancaster House, London on 21 and 22 October.

The campaign is a "bold venture" in the words of a joint declaration adopted by the leaders of the national committees responsible for running it in each country, which "comes at a time when a

A television studio at the Council of Europe

The Council of Europe television studio, set up by decision of the Committee of Ministers, recently came into operation, providing the Council with one of the most effective means of communication in existence today, which will enable it to make part of its work more accessible to the general public, notably by co-operating with television stations in member countries.

The Council of Europe's Audio-visual Service makes the studio available to journalists and television stations for covering events forming part of the Council's activities. As a rule, all assistance is provided free on request as far as premises, equipment and staff resources permit.

The Audio-visual Service can supply video recordings of ministerial and parliamentary sessions, conferences, meetings, etc. Also, in conjunction with TV journalists, it can:

- organise interviews and discussions with prominent people visiting the Council of Europe;
- produce live or recorded news programmes (journalists' reports, interviews and discussions);
- edit video tapes it has itself produced (sometimes in accordance with detailed instructions from the station);
- arrange for broadcasts via the European Broadcasting Union ("Eurovision") network.

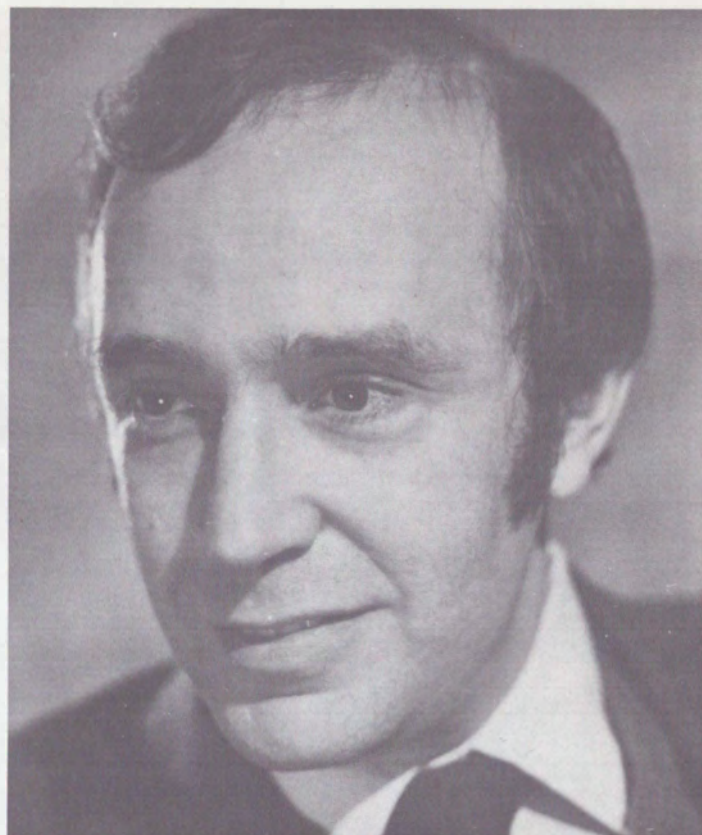
The stations, for their part, deal with the booking of circuits through French television and are responsible for the content of programmes broadcast from the studio.

In the first two months of operation the Council of Europe television studio has enabled about fifteen current affairs programmes to be produced, seven of which were "unilaterally" transmitted (i.e. direct from the Council of Europe to a television station).

ROBERT SKIDELSKY Professor of International Studies,
Warwick University, England

The “menace” of fascism

“The question of what to do about terrorism of the extreme right is a question not about fascism, but about terrorism; to which, alas, there is no ready answer.”



In political, as in other discussions, it is generally helpful to know what question one is trying to answer. Recently, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe discussed, and condemned, the “resurgence” of fascism. Everyone seemed to agree that fascism was indeed resurgent, and that this was a bad thing. And no doubt it would be a bad thing if it were true. But is it true? Or is it rather the case that those who take part in such discussions — in Strasbourg or elsewhere — are simply unable, or unwilling, to formulate precisely the question to which they give such a ready answer?

What many people mean by a “resurgence” of fascism is the apparent increase in terroristic activity by groups of the extreme right. A few dramatic events have hit the headlines — the bomb explosion at Bologna station, the bomb at the Munich beer festival. (The explosion outside a Paris synagogue appears to have had different origins.) Yet what do such outrages signify beyond a (belated) exploitation by right-wing groups of the new technology of violence? That political crimes can now be perpetrated in societies completely impervious to the ideas and purposes of those perpetrating them has been proved not only by the activities of the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany, but also by the organisation of kidnappings, assassinations, hi-jackings, etc., in countries which have no connection at all with the quarrels of the groups concerned.

Unfortunately, we have an incurable tendency to assume that dramatic events must have deep causes. Thus bomb outrages on synagogues must be the tip of a new anti-semitic iceberg. It is true that some terrorist organisations are linked to more or less popular “national liberation” movements. But

when we come to terrorist groups of the extreme right and extreme left we find that they generally operate in a closed circuit, feeding off each other, and picking up publicity not through conversion but through media exposure. The question of what to do about terrorism of the extreme right is a question not about fascism, but about terrorism; to which, alas, there is no ready answer.

The new right

Again, people often mean by the resurgence of fascism the revival of certain ideas historically associated with fascism — élitism, subjectivism, racism, and so on. Here they can point to the appearance of a New Right in France, inspired by Alain de Benoist, editor of *Nouvelle Ecole*, and consisting of a group of intellectuals who see themselves as the vanguard of a philosophic and scientific inegalitarianism.

Clearly, ideas have an enormous influence on politics; so it is natural enough to be suspicious of certain ideas in whose name great crimes have been committed; even to see the revival of such ideas as heralding, or even accompanying, the revival of the movement which drew most liberally from them. Nevertheless, such an inference would be mistaken. First, no social theory can be considered as a mere epiphenomenon of social developments. Its value, in other words, is independent of the immediate social and political needs it may or may not satisfy, and has to be judged by other criteria. Secondly, the use to which a social theory is put is rarely if ever determined by the content of the theory itself. It will depend very largely on how it is combined with other ideas (or values), and the political calculations valid for the given historical epoch.



August 1980: the bomb explosion at Bologna station left over eighty dead

Therefore, to think of some ideas as *intrinsically* fascist, and to equate the “resurgence” of fascism with their rise, is to be guilty of a simple category mistake.

Confused thinking

By a revival of fascism people often mean a revival of what they conceive to be the socio-economic *conditions* which made fascism possible; hence the call to governments to create a prosperous and just society which will remove the “root causes” of fascism’s appeal. The trouble is that what these “root causes” are, and what, if anything, governments can do about them is very unclear. It is often argued that fascism was the product of the Depression of the inter-war years. But Italian fascism came to power before the Depression; and the Depression led to a fascist government only in one country, Germany. It is odd, to say the least, to assign a common cause to two phenomena, one of which preceded the alleged cause, and the other of which failed to reproduce itself in other countries subject to the same conditions.

To the question, therefore, of whether the pre-conditions exist today for a revival of fascism, it is impossible to give a clear answer. On the one hand, no one does (or should) believe any longer that it is within the power of governments in a free society to produce the kind of socio-economic conditions which automatically exclude fascism, any more than they can produce the kind of society which eliminates terrorism.

Such Utopias are for the totalitarians; though in the 1950s and 1960s many economists and social scientists thought that democratic governments could manipulate economic and social variables to produce desirable outcomes.

On the other hand, the political settlement (and economic policies and institutions which supported it) which followed the second world war has been much more successful than the post-1918 arrangements in making it impossible for any European power to contemplate a reversal of the verdict of arms; the possibility of which was the main ground of fascism’s appeal in Italy and Germany, and the organisation of society for which was the chief end of fascist policy.

Scare stories

Having eliminated the other questions, we are now in a position to answer a more precise one: “Are there, or are there not, signs of a revival of fascism in Europe today?” And the answer very clearly is that there are no such signs. Not only have all the surviving quasi-fascist regimes collapsed (though I personally would dispute this label as applied to Franco’s Spain, Salazar’s Portugal and the Colonels’ Greece); but seemingly “explosive” issues such as immigration, or migration, have notably failed to produce any new political movement capable of winning more than a tiny handful of votes. (The idea that the restriction, say, of coloured immigration into England by the established political parties is itself a sign of the revival of fascism is another example of getting the wrong answer by failing to specify the question).

The fear of a “resurgence” of fascism is natural enough; and is bound to be most intense among those groups who suffered most from the original version. Swastika-bedecked “training camps” in which handfuls of romantic, or deranged, adolescents play out their fantasies make good scare stories in the popular press. But solemn discussion of the menace of fascism in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe suggests merely a certain underemployment of time and energy.

The fascist phenomenon

“Although it assumes different external forms, fascism by the combination of certain characteristics is in essence a cast of mind which is permanent and present everywhere: belief in the strong man, putting order above justice, denying the existence of social and economic differences in the community, an irrational reaction of abandoning civil rights in the face of serious peril and the substitution of a single redeeming ideology for pluralism.

What makes fascism particularly odious and dangerous is, firstly, the ostracism of part of the population, and secondly the idea of a providential guide and the tendency to glorify the authority of the leader at all levels.

Discrimination against part of the population on account of its racial origin, language, religion, nationality and particularly its ideology is a feature common to all kinds of fascism and leads to the notion of the enemy of the people, which appears even in legislation. It justifies the oppression, exploitation or even the suppression of minorities alleged to be inferior or enemies of the racial, linguistic, religious or national community which is proclaimed to be superior to others and entrusted with a providential mission. We then naturally find a transplantation and uniformisation of cultures and the resurgence of ideas such as banishment and loss of nationality.

The crystallisation of an ideology around a given community, i.e. the nation, the state or the race, naturally involves the disappearance of the rights of the individual which are looked on as secondary in relation to those of the state, nation, or race. Not only does the will of the guide or chief have force of law but the system requires individual and permanent allegiance to the official ideology by mass plebiscites and repeated declarations of loyalty or militant support.”

(From the Kriepps report on the need to combat resurgent fascist propaganda and its racist aspects)

FORUM



COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONTENTS

Liz Østergaard Copenhagen and after	II
Felicidad Orquin and Yolanda Rebollo Language and socialisation	IV
Suzanne Oschinsky Equal rights	VI
Christiane Olivier Why misogyny?	VIII
Yvonne von Stedingk Quo vadis, Swedish Eva?	X
Interview with Vigdis Finnbogadóttir Women and power	XII
Nermin Abadan Unat The status of women in southern Europe	XIV
Grazia Francescato and Gisella Pandolfo Ending the conspiracy of silence	XVI
Catherine Regnault If architects were women	XVII
Anita Gradin Women and peace	XIX
Yves Mamou Whatever happened to the war between the sexes?	XX
Jane Chandler Feminist consciousness raising	XXIII
Christine Meunier International organisations and women	XXIV



“Women today are in the process of demolishing the myth of femininity; they are beginning to assert their independence in concrete ways; nevertheless it is not without some difficulty that they are managing to live their human condition to the full.”

(Simone de Beauvoir: *The Second Sex*)

LIZ ØSTERGAARD President, World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, Copenhagen

Copenhagen and after

There can be no new world economic order, in the author's view, as long as discrimination against women persists.

The United Nations Women's Conference held last July in Copenhagen demonstrated the need felt by women to define for themselves their own active contribution to the development of a society in which feminine as well as masculine values are fully taken into account. The Conference reviewed the progress made so far towards the goals of the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985), a decade which amounts to a global strategy for the advancement of women.

At Copenhagen the objectives for the first five years — equality, development and peace — were supplemented by an action programme for the second half of the decade stressing employment, health and education.

Particular attention was paid to refugees and displaced women, women in southern Africa and Palestinian women. The needs of rural women and the urban poor were also specifically addressed in

the action programme, as was the situation of migrant women.

The causes of oppression

The review of progress achieved during the past five years indicated that the situation of women in many areas had actually worsened, particularly with respect to the employment and education of women in the rural and the so-called marginal urban sectors. The current

world economic situation has been a factor here.

Instead of improving, the crisis in the world economy has become more acute. This has affected developing countries in particular and it is women who have been worst affected.

What is amazing is how similar are the underlying causes of women's oppression throughout the world. Very strong economic forces and very strong ideological prejudices maintain the economic dependence of women, who in large measure are reduced to unpaid work in or around their homes or to the lowest paid employment in industry. There is in principle no difference between the basic factors which underlie the oppression of women in the developed and the less developed countries, although the constraints are much more serious in the latter.

A dialectic

Efforts to establish a new international economic order must inevitably comprise a new orientation of women's role in development. There must be not only a more just sharing between rich and poor countries, but also greater equality between men and women. One cannot

imagine any real improvement in the living conditions of women without progress towards a new world economic order.

Conversely, one cannot imagine a more just world economic order as long as discrimination against women continues. The two aspects are dialectically related in the process of development. It is to be hoped that as a result of the Copenhagen Conference, decisions about development strategies will no longer be made without regard to their effects on the living conditions of women.

Ultimate goal

For the situation of women to improve rapidly they must be given support through channels other than the traditional ones. This means giving particular encouragement to grass-roots and voluntary organisations working directly with women. The non-governmental organisations concerned have long experience and command a network of national and local affiliates which keep them in close and constant touch with the public. This is indispensable for a realistic approach to action to further the advancement of women.

Furthermore, governments should promote the establishment of women's organisations at the grass-roots and provide them with adequate financial and staff resources.

Presented at first solely in terms of economic inequalities of opportunity in relation to men, women's problems took on a political dimension at Copenhagen: they demanded an equal share in the global management of development and in decision-making at all levels, as well as the participation of men in responsibilities relating to the home and family. The ultimate goal must be the creation of societies characterised by new values which should be developed through a dialogue on equal terms between men and women.

Equality between men and women

On the occasion of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980) the Council of Europe published a 33-page information brochure entitled *Council of Europe action for equality between men and women*. It is available on request, in English or French, from the Council of Europe, Press and Information Services, Room 0125, B.P. 431 R6 67006-Strasbourg Cedex.

They want a fair share in decision-making



Language and socialisation

As a mirror of social intercourse, language reflects the female condition, one of subordination and otherness, thus helping to maintain the patriarchal society. Language is certainly communication, but it is also an ideological message and affective code; that is why a deeply sexist society is bound to use and create thoroughly sexist language. Language is our way of perceiving reality, and as such an extraordinarily important socialising agent.

These days, many parents and teachers are undoubtedly aware of the sexist messages little girls and boys take in from children's literature, television, advertising, songs, schoolbooks even, but there is as yet no social awareness that everyday language is deeply imbued with male dominance and contempt for women.

In the socialisation of young girls, the specific aim is consistently to instil a sense of inferiority which, once internalised, will enable the adult woman to accept the "female role" assigned to her in the patriarchal scheme. This role defines

woman in terms of her complementarity to the male, exalted motherhood and domestic chores, which are central to the sexual division of labour in modern-day society.

The whole educational process — i.e. the family, school, the media and language (the socialiser par excellence) — tends to instil this "women's role". As Simone de Beauvoir realised, "women are made, not born"; in other words, social behaviour is not biologically ordained and there is no safe distinction between the innate and the

acquired in the individual make-up, except of course as regards the purely biological function of reproduction.

Biological destiny nevertheless underlies sexist ideology, which endeavours to justify sexual discrimination on the grounds of male superiority. Idealist philosophy tried to legitimise this ideology by seeking to establish, for each sex, the existence of its own peculiar *essence*, in which its underlying quiddity consisted. To the "female essence" were once assigned supposedly innate characteristics, until anthropology demonstrated how false was the distinction

"Women are made, not born" (Simone de Beauvoir)





Language: determined by sex from childhood

posited between innate and acquired characteristics so as to explain the differences between the roles of the respective sexes, which were simply the outcome of history and culture.

Comparative anthropology's discoveries provided an empirical basis for relativism as applied to social values. Writing about the beliefs of certain exclusively oral cultures, Margaret Mead cites a tribe in the Philippines who thought men incapable of keeping a secret, and the Manus Island belief that men alone enjoy playing with children, so that only the men of the island play with dolls, exhibiting typically maternal behaviour in the process.

In primitive societies, words possess an aura of transcendent magic and the use of language is entirely codified, which has given rise to many language taboos affecting women more than men. Here, Evans-Pritchard mentions an African tribe whose womenfolk sing obscene songs at men's funerals, whereas in everyday life they are forbidden to use obscene or erotic language in men's company.

Naming things has been a male prerogative for centuries, which is why, in our culture, the word *man* is used to denote the entire human species. The structure of our vocabulary makes

woman a subordinate being, made into an object by man the subject. In dictionaries, for instance, women are the *weaker sex* in contradistinction to their "stronger" companions, and dictionaries, like everyday usage, equate *feminine* with weakness and frailty, whereas *masculine* stands for energy, bravery and strength. Spanish has no feminine equivalent for the concept of *hombria* (meaning "outstanding qualities as a man"), just as it has no masculine equivalent for the word *mujerio*, denoting "all the women of a locality". The reason for that is that men are always perceived as individuals, whereas women are assimilated to a group or gender. This depersonalisation process greatly assists the propagation of female stereotypes which deprive women of all individuality.

Wealth of intonation

Language behaviour is sexually differentiated from childhood on, the logical adulthood extension of this being a clear differentiation between women and men as regards socio-verbal communication. The favourite area for communication between women is everyday life, in the shape of gossip. As regards the niceties of language, more is asked of little girls than of little boys: boys get away with uncouth language, girls are

punished for it; conditioning results, with the "virile", sexist properties of all obscene language helping to differentiate the male and female registers. That is why women resort so readily to circumlocutions, euphemisms and hints as regards all things sexual.

As a rule, social pressure on the individual to acquire good manners is brought to bear on girls more than on boys, and it is accepted that women opt for "educated", correct language, whereas men favour language which is more precise, albeit less correct. Women employ an especial wealth of intonation. Tones expressing deference, surprise, uncertainty and slightly childish enthusiasm are peculiarly female, as are the nonsense language used with children and (in Spanish) routine use of diminutives.

Many feminists wonder if there is not in fact a "women's language" and, since the language is a debased one, also ask themselves this: should the aim be to learn to speak like men or rather to validate female language by claiming it as equal and different? Here, all is possible, but to our mind the difference of the ghetto may not be a good idea. Better, in our view, would be an attempt to influence the socialisation of children through language.

Equal rights

Not long ago it was almost universally acknowledged that men and women did not have equal rights but that men had more rights than women, even unmarried ones. One of the Council of Europe's objectives is to eliminate this form of discrimination.

In our countries it was only recently, as part of a general trend towards giving the weak and the poor the same rights as those previously enjoyed only by the strong and the rich, that women acquired the political and social rights

they had been denied — the right to vote and stand for election, the right to carry on any occupation (from that of airline pilot to that of prison warden), the right to exercise public authority (as a judge, police officer, etc.).

As regards civil rights, however, women and men had long been roughly equal, but only until marriage. As a general rule, the effect of marriage was to confer superiority on the husband in his position as head of household; it deprived the wife of some of the civil rights she had previously enjoyed and, moreover, gave her but few rights over the couple's joint possessions and over any of their children who were under age.

Throughout the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, despite isolated demonstrations by courageous women and certain men, this situation was regarded as natural, even in progressive circles.

Things have changed, however — particularly since the second world war. The feeling has grown up in all our countries, especially in the Nordic ones, that these forms of legal discrimination are unjust and should be eliminated, even if customs in some regions are still very akin to those of the nineteenth century.

Legal instrument

The subject has been taken up by international organisations, such as the United Nations and the Council of Europe. In the Council of Europe, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, dating from 1950, stipulates (in Article 14) that the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in the convention shall be secured without discrimination on various grounds, including that of sex.

However, this provision seemed too general to ensure that the European countries would act promptly to remove any remaining discriminatory rules from their legislation. The Committee of Ministers therefore decided to set up a com-



The right to engage in any occupation



mittee of experts, of which I had the honour to be chairman, to prepare a legal instrument aimed at getting rid of such discrimination in respect of married women. The committee's terms of reference were confined to certain

aspects of the civil law, but the committee did note the existence of discrimination in other branches of the law, viz. constitutional, administrative, fiscal, criminal, social and labour law.

In the text it drew up, the committee, after recommending states to take steps to ensure that the civil law no longer contained provisions designating one of the spouses as head of family, proposed some specific ways of establishing equality in the following fields: personal relations between spouses (freedom of movement, carrying on of an occupation, choice of residence, spouses' names); property and financial relations (household expenses, rights and obligations in respect of maintenance and assistance, rights concerning the family home, laws governing marriage contracts, etc.); and relations between spouses and their children (children's names, spouses' obligations and rights in respect of their children).

A new protocol?

The text is only in the form of a resolution (some of the committee would have preferred it to be a convention); it is therefore incomplete and imperfect like many compromises and will need to be reviewed. As it now stands, it was adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 17 September 1978 (Resolution (78) 37). Even while the committee was deliberating, and apparently under the impetus of its work, some positive results were achieved in several countries.

A new Council of Europe committee on the law relating to spouses is now looking into such matters as the family home and post-divorce maintenance. Women's status in general is also being

dealt with by another recently-created committee (see box). The Committee of Experts on Human Rights is apparently contemplating the drawing-up of a new protocol to the Convention on Human Rights, dealing with discrimination between the sexes.

It should be noted in this context that the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women was signed by fifty countries on 17 July 1980 at the opening ceremony of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, in Copenhagen, and in other international frameworks studies and negotiations are also in progress. But it will probably be a long time yet before discrimination ceases to exist in practice.

Committee women

A Council of Europe Committee of Experts on the status of women has been set up with a view to ending discrimination against women. Its recently adopted six-year work programme covers many areas including human rights, the law, social welfare, public health, education, and the mass media. The Committee will be dealing with such topics as violence, rape and incest. It will propose new rights for inclusion in the European Convention on Human Rights, to which the non-discrimination clause (Article 14) would of course apply. It will promote recognition of women's civil and political rights and their participation in decision-making. A comparative survey of the latter subject will be conducted in the member states of the Council of Europe, and the situation of unpaid working women will be studied. The Committee will also provide a particularly appropriate forum for the discussion of migrant women's problems, since the Council of Europe includes both host countries and countries of origin.





Devoured by the evils of comparison and jealousy of her mother?

CHRISTIANE OLIVIER Psychoanalyst, Aix-en-Provence

Why misogyny?

Is motherhood about to fall from its hallowed pedestal? In the author's view, boys' and girls' attitudes to their mothers explain and nourish the antagonism that exists not only between men and women but also between women themselves.

The word *misogyny* occurred seldom or never in the French language until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It means hatred of women, and we may well wonder why the word *misandry*, which would be its masculine counterpart signifying hatred of men, should not also exist. Is hatred directed only at women? For them, at least, the question is fraught with anguish, and it demands an answer.

We may still not know the exact causes of the affliction, but we can certainly measure its effects upon women's lives, and we have discovered the antidote: feminism. Feminism is the vaccine against the assault of misogyny, however camouflaged it may be. And if it has taken women so long to defend themselves against it, the reason is that

the evil could often be mistaken for a good.

On the assumption that prevention is better than cure, I should like now to consider the ways of preventing misogyny, by studying its causes, its effects and its carriers (feminists may be rather hasty in attributing the ailment exclusively to men, forgetting that although women may not hate men, that does not necessarily mean they love women).

Fear of women

From the very beginning, a boy is in contact with the other sex. At birth he falls into the hands of the woman whose job it is to mother him, and he remains there for several years (0 to 12, depending on the country). At first this does not seem

to create any great problems for him because like every other human being, he supposes that all the rest, including his mother, are built on the same design as himself (*dixit* Freud). So he imagines his mother with a visible penis, and it takes him some time to realise that "she hasn't got one", either because he sees her naked or starts asking questions, which she answers by saying she hasn't got one because she is a woman. Proceeding from his initial belief in the identity of all human beings, he then thinks "she'll grow one", but she doesn't.

He then understands that some people, his mother being one, are "without". At the same time he is well aware that power, as far as his early learning is concerned, is in the hands of

those who "haven't got one", and a dangerous equation takes shape in his mind, between penis and power: those who do not have a penis do have power and because of that power, maybe they can take away his penis. The equation lives on in the fantasies of the adult male, who believes that women are guessing his thoughts, manipulating him, trying to trap him. And women can't believe their eyes when they see themselves draped in all these illusory powers, which come to them straight from the male imagination, branded by the domination of mother. The man's chief obsession is to prevent the process from being repeated, to prevent woman from recapturing power in any form.

She must therefore be removed from the male's pathway, confined to very specific places from which she must not escape. And so men make war upon women because of their encounter with the first woman, mother.

But aren't there any men at all in this tale? No, there are not; because men have deserted the place in which they have installed women — the nursery, and are willing to assume all kinds of "masculine" inaptitudes, provided that doing so will enable them to remain far from the cradle.

At the side of the cradle there is only a mother, because men do not want to spend their time with women, and it is just too bad if their sons become misogynists in their turn. The process comes full circle, thus; the absentee father has a goodly share in the responsibility for his son's misogyny.

Women need to know that raising maternity to the level of a vocation is a man's manoeuvre, the result of his determination to avoid women, and that its most immediate effect is the transmission of misogyny. "One woman ploughs the furrow of misogyny for another."

Jealousy

In the past, everybody thought that only men hated women, but in recent years, to the general amazement, we have been hearing more or less hair-raising tales told by women about their lives with their mothers. Is there some hidden evil here too? At first one is inclined to disbelieve it, because the mother is of the same sex as the child; the little girl, unlike the little boy, does not have to be afraid that her mother is going to steal something from her. But this time, of course, the envy is not on the mother's side but on that of the little girl, who is devoured by the evils of comparison and jealousy of her mother; because the dis-

tance between a woman's body and that of a little girl is so immense — the one subtly drawn, sexed, full of curves, and the other flat, bare with just a slit in the middle. Nothing could look less like a woman than a little girl, and the little girl's desire is to be in mother's place; and ever after she will long to be some other woman, more sexually defined and outlined. The woman's obsession is to change her body for another one, and men have no trouble chaining her to the merry-go-round of everchanging fashion.

Envy and jealousy characterise the unconscious relationship between daughter and mother, and envy and jealousy survive to mar the relationships between adult women. The sisterhood for which the feminists have clamoured so loudly is not easy to achieve, it requires the negotiation of a lengthy path between the hatred felt for the first woman and the love one would like to feel for other women.

It is this tale of failed love between mother and daughter that so many women writers are telling us now, and if women have long since detected men's hatred of them, they are only now discovering, in pain and chagrin, that between women there is no love either.

Little by little, the woman learns that she is an object of resentment to both sexes, but what she does not know is that she owes it all to herself. If she accepts her role as first and only force in the lives of her children, she will be gratified initially by boundless love, followed by unending hidden resentment.

Women have to understand that maternity, which men have so magnified and to which women so aspire, must be used not to separate the sexes but to bring them together, in sharing the upbringing of the baby. Otherwise, maternity as woman's "privilege" all too often becomes a curse laid upon her.



A power relationship he will always resent?

Quo vadis, Swedish Eva?

Sweden enjoys some of the most advanced social legislation in Europe. Are women's problems there any different?

Facts and figures — however brief and dry — are sometimes more descriptive than words, and what is more, they are necessary if one wants to illustrate the enormous changes which have taken place in Sweden since the 1930s in the field of social and family policy, changes which in turn have fundamentally influenced the situation of the Swedish woman of today.

Where would she have been without society's support for families with children in the form of general child allowance, housing allowance, prophylactic mother and child care, school meals, national health insurance schemes, social home-help schemes, comprehensive child care facilities, parental insurance schemes and pensions of various kinds, to mention just a few. Add to this

the legal framework affecting social policy in general, such as the new abortion law (1975), the individual taxation law (1971), and the divorce law (1974), not forgetting the new law on equality between women and men in working life (1976).

Naturally, this jungle of reforms affects not only the Swedish woman, but society at large, a society made up of slightly more than eight million people, more than half of whom are of the female sex. The majority of the grown-up population is married. A general increase in marriages was noted from 1974 onwards, a trend which continued for those over thirty, but which has been reversed for those under that age. More or less in the same period, however, i.e. 1970-74, divorces doubled while more and more couples started to live together without being married. Here Sweden sets a peculiar world record, closely followed by Denmark! As a direct consequence, the number of single parents increased considerably. Thus, a third of all children born in Sweden today have unwed parents.

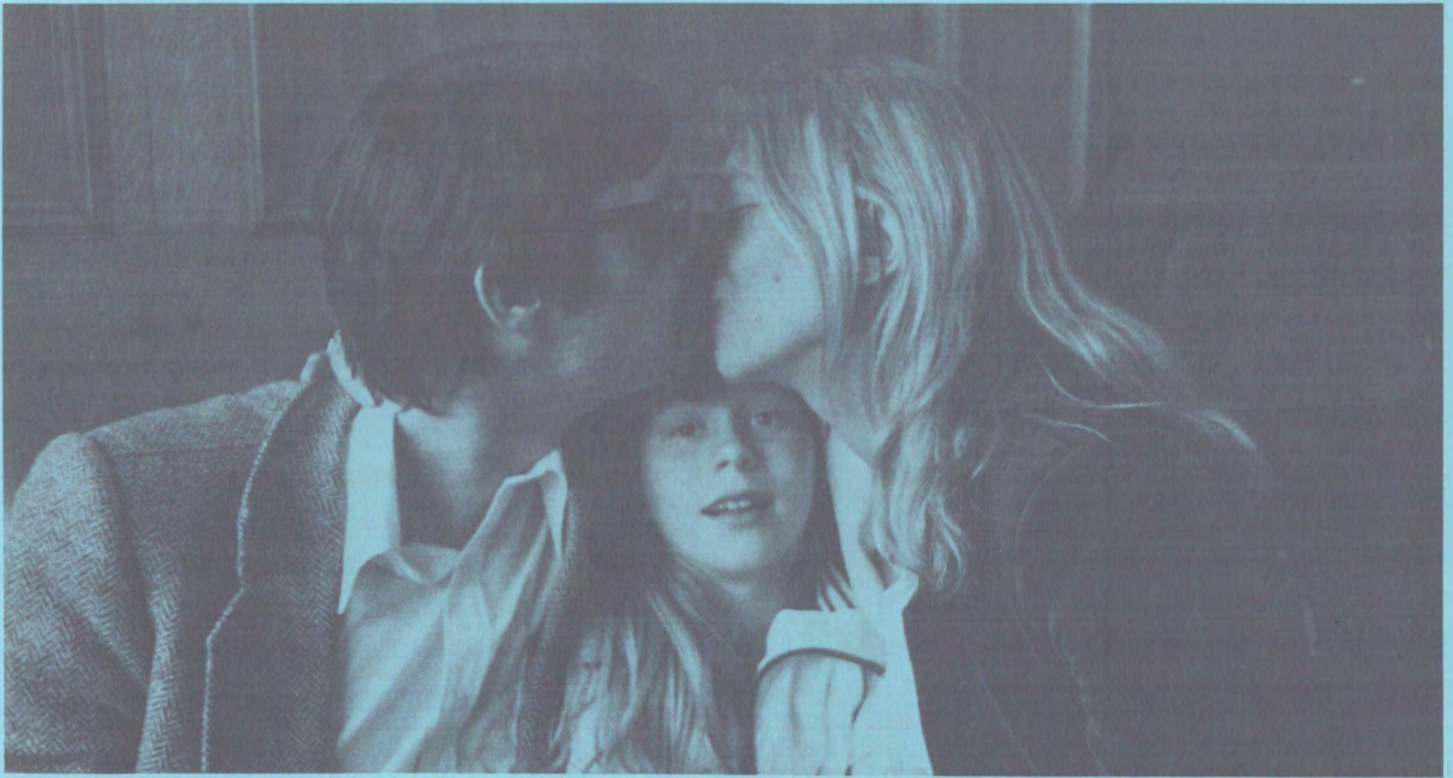
And finally some figures concerning working mothers: two-thirds of all mothers with children under seven work. The trend is towards starting work even when the child is a baby. New statistics indicate that eight out of ten gainfully employed women have resumed their jobs within twelve months after a child has been born.

Frightening perfection

What conclusions can be drawn from all this? First and foremost perhaps that Swedish society is one in transition and also one full of contradictions. While on the one hand the modernistic struggle, particularly among women, to break loose from all traditional ties, e.g. marriage, is evident, there is on the other hand a definite trend towards the old established values. And as a red thread through it all goes the increasingly inde-

Fathercare





"The human factor, which somehow appeared forgotten, does count after all"

pendent woman who besides her role as mother and sometimes even as wife of the father of her child, very much tends to lead a life of her own in which work and career play a dominant role — a woman who plans her life, the "arrival" of her children, and the "status" of her partner, none of which must be allowed to interfere with her own self-realisation and wish to get what she wants out of life.

Now, where does all this lead us? For an outsider with some insight, a picture of almost frightening perfection presents itself, one where no aspect of life seems to have been left to chance, where literally everything seems to have been almost clinically analysed and then, but only then, accepted or rejected. All so well thought through, so beautifully planned and, alas, so deadly serious! And the one question which one would like to ask oneself is whether the Swedish woman, living in Sweden today and benefiting from it all, is happy, happier and more satisfied than she used to be.

Of course this is an oversimplification of a far more complex set of questions which cannot simply be answered "yes" or "no". Most certainly she is happier in the sense that she is now free to choose; i.e. the overall technical framework has been provided for her to do so. She is no longer tied to house and children if she does not want to be. Yet is she really all that free? Sometimes it would seem that the pressure of society is such that some women, maybe unconsciously, choose to work, since stay-

ing at home, running a household with all that implies, is not, not yet, considered "real" work. Has this, maybe, to be rediscovered?

And what about life on the labour market? The situation of the working woman is not, even in Sweden, all that ideal. Although many aspects have been more or less resolved on paper, reality in Sweden, like in most other countries, looks a great deal different. Sweden is still a country very much governed by men, and the labour market is still very much sex-divided. Whilst the number of working women approaches that of men, large differences still exist between the sexes in conditions of employment, particularly with regard to occupational choice, pay and hours of work. Women are numerous in occupations which are traditionally little esteemed and paid. For instance, eighty per cent of all working women are found in only twenty five of the some 290 existing occupations.

And the day nurseries? Many more places are needed to enable mothers to work outside the home. The traditional grandmother who used to take over is no longer there. She has become a great deal younger in the course of events, and now she too is working . . . All in all, perhaps the situation of the working woman, and the working mother in particular, is not so rosy?

Human factor

And the Swedish man, where does he stand in all this? If allowed to generalise

one might sum it up by saying that whereas the Swedish woman has found her way out of the home, the man is now slowly finding his way in — a consequence, maybe, of losing ground on the one side, and trying to gain on the other? As a direct consequence of this whole development, the new parenthood insurance scheme can be seen as encouraging shared responsibility for the children. The fact that more and more fathers are making use of the various provisions of this scheme could be interpreted as a sign of the trend away from the traditional male-dominated society towards a kind of joint-partnership society. And it would appear that a new kind of relationship between man and woman in Sweden is slowly gaining ground, one with more flexibility, with more sharing in and understanding for each other's problems at home as well as at work.

Yet the eternal struggle between the sexes goes on and is likely to do so for quite some time. It might be said that the first part of the battle, for reforms and legal improvements, has more or less been won, while the more time-consuming psychological battle remains. And although one would wish for Swedish men and women, particularly the women, a speedy solution to all their unresolved problems at whatever level, it is somehow comforting to think that in the midst of so much perfection, or near perfection, the human factor, which somehow appeared forgotten, does count after all. Even in Sweden.



Vigdis Finnbogadóttir

Interview by Nicole Rontchevsky Acting Editor in Chief, Forum

Women and power

Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, President of the Republic of Iceland since 1 August 1980, is the first woman in the world to be elected head of state.

NR: Until recently, you were director of the Reykjavik theatre. You switched to politics; was power the attraction?

VF: No, power doesn't attract me — it can be misused. Our Viking ancestors, who came here in the ninth century and were accustomed to royal power, founded a democracy in Iceland. The head of state recited the law, but had no power. It's not a good thing for power to be concentrated in the hands of one person.

NR: Power is also the opportunity to exert influence.

VF: True. I'm a woman with indirect power. For one thing, people attach importance to what the head of state says. To that extent, I have power, but it isn't strictly political power. Culture is my special interest and a source of what power I have. During the election campaign I talked to Icelanders about their cultural and national identity; I explained how and in what kind of society we are living. That's an example of influence through power.

NR: Has the fact of being elected head of state changed you?

VF: No, I'm still exactly the same.

NR: Do you think a woman can wield power in the same way as a man, or does she have to get away from the male approach?

VF: To my mind, a woman who takes on responsibilities mustn't start playing at being a man. Far too often you see women MPs, bankers or managers imitating men. It's a mistake. Women, with their different view and understanding of the world, ought to assert them as a complement to men's.

NR: Are the public woman and the real you two different people?

VF: I don't think so. Obviously one is more careful about what one says. I enjoy life as much as ever.

NR: You don't belong to any political party. On principle? Or do you think that feminism is a possible substitute?

VF: On principle. I don't want to be bound by any party political rules. I'm just like that. (No reply on feminism).

NR: It's been said you owe your election to the women's vote.

VF: Not so. If I'd got the women's vote, I

would have polled 50 per cent of the votes cast. I got 34 per cent, around 43,000 votes, and I think half of them were men's. The young and the old voted for me, but not the women of my own generation.

NR: Was it apathy that made women react that way?

VF: Apathy, no. Women don't have any confidence in themselves, so they don't have any in other women. That's why we have only three women MPs — in the parliamentary elections, women voted for the men at the top of the list. The Icelandic Feminist Union didn't support; they didn't think there was anything odd about a woman standing for election and therefore not needing any special support. That seemed to me to make sense.

NR: But you were competing with three men and your being a woman was bound to be a factor.

VF: Yes, of course, but, man or woman, it was the person that counted.

NR: What changes would you like to see in the society we are living in?

VF: For one thing, I would like to see women having more self-confidence, being braver about shouldering their responsibilities. I'm convinced that in their hearts men (under so much strain, incidentally, that they have more heart attacks than us) want women to share responsibility with them.

NR: But past experience has shown that they are none too willing when it comes to surrendering power.

VF: Indeed, and that's what I'd like to change: It should be normal for women to be allowed to share responsibilities, for them not to need to be much more highly qualified and for their qualifications to be recognised as a matter of course. There's a story I could tell you: at a meeting for next year's International Year of the Disabled, someone said: "He can't find a job because he's handicapped": I remarked, "Just like us women", and someone joked back: "But women ought to have been classified as handicapped long ago". That just about sums up women's situation.

NR: How do you account for Iceland's not having any women ministers?

VF: Because ministers are chosen from among MPs and only three of these are women. One or other could have got a post, but they didn't have enough political experience.

NR: Their inexperience might have been compensated by originality and creativeness — these can be a real asset too.

VF: I quite agree, but this time things didn't work out that way.

NR: Do you think the women's movement can bring about a social revolution and what do you think women have to contribute?

VF: Revolution? I don't think so, because a woman's early years will always be taken up with motherhood. Children are necessary. But women could change a lot of things in society, if only they had a mind to. Very early on they should be more determined about choosing their situation and should look to the future. Before even thinking about setting up a home.

NR: Do you think there is any particular age-group we can rely on for social change?

VF: Yes, the young have different ideas about life. If I had been a married woman for instance, I don't think a man would have given up his job to follow me around the country, because that's the way society is just now. That's something the young are busy changing. Many couples accept that it can be either the one or the other who goes out to work. That's something new.

NR: Your chosen lifestyle (as a divorcee who has adopted a little girl) shows a

liberated approach to institutions. Has it been held against you?

VF: On the contrary. It's been much admired. I was the first woman, over here at least, to expressly request a child yet to be born. I knew the baby was due in October. Two hours after its birth they told me it had arrived; I went to fetch it three days later, having said I would take it just as it was, even deformed or handicapped. Run exactly the same risks as any mother.

NR: What would you like to do for the women in your country?

VF: Instil self-confidence and ambition — ambition is a good thing — so that they won't be satisfied with a second rate education.

NR: Do you think you can exert an influence in Europe?

VF: If we've got something to say at home, we can say it abroad. I shall be a representative of Iceland and I hope to get a hearing abroad.

NR: What's your basic ideal or ideology?

VF: Optimism. Deliberate optimism, because looking on the bright side isn't fashionable. When you open the newspapers, five headlines out of seven are gloomy. Optimism gives me the strength to fight and believe in what I'm doing; otherwise what's the point?

NR: You've turned culture into a mode of action. What connection do you see between politics and culture?

VF: Culture helps you understand the world about you. You can't govern if you don't know the history of your country, a people, a nation. If you don't know where you're from, you lose your identity. How can you tell where you're going if you don't know where you've got to or what basis you're speaking on.

NR: What do you think of the women's movement in Iran, in Islam? Where do culture, politics and tradition come in here?

VF: Every people must be free to realise its culture in its own way. Personally, as an Icelander, I couldn't have accepted a return to an older lifestyle. You've got to start out from tradition, but not cling to it. You regress, if you don't go forward.

NR: In a national budget, would you give culture priority?

VF: Education, I think, because it takes in culture. But you've got to be able to adapt choices to circumstances.

NR: What would you like to do to improve the lives of working women, since they provide the home and children with the essentials that society doesn't supply?

VF: I'd like them not to be worrying about home when they're at work. That means organisation, help with looking after children or the sick. In each neighbourhood, it should be possible to find

people who would like to do that kind of work and would be paid for doing it.

NR: What do you understand by quality of life?

VF: Living in an environment which keeps me alert, gives me inspiration, gives me ideas.

NR: You don't see it in terms of comfort?

VF: You can get by without comfort. It's better having both. If I had to choose one, I'd go for the stimulating environment.

NR: Do you think that, if they had more power, women would be able to prevent wars?

VF: I'm convinced that if they had, it could only be for the good of mankind. At all events, it couldn't make things any worse.

NR: What makes you say that?

VF: Women would bring men their intelligence, their understanding and their vision of the world. That couldn't fail to improve things and broaden minds. Women and men work so much better together.

NR: Do you think there is any other basis for relations between states and men than brute force?

VF: Scientific research has succeeded in changing many things this century. In medicine, for instance, supposedly incurable diseases have been conquered. Why shouldn't research succeed in changing those relations?

NR: Yet, we know very well that those relations have their origin in the individual and in his aggressiveness. It is confrontation with others that generates the urge to dominate and — between countries — power politics.

VF: Yes, but we need to do some plain talking, find the root causes. Why can't we get on better together? The facts have to be faced. Too many people dodge the real issues.

NR: Isn't that rather Utopian? As if states' strength weren't based on arms?

VF: We must work towards Utopia. You never get there, but you must move in that direction. Otherwise you regress.

NR: What, to you, is the main quality required of a head of state?

VF: Love of country and of the people living in it, awareness that everyone has a right to be there.

NR: Has politics never struck you as being "theatre"?

VF: That's not for me to say . . . All the same, the theatre I came from is opposite Parliament and the people from the two buildings often meet in the street. They often used to ask me: "How's your theatre doing?" "Not bad", I'd answer, and they'd reply, "I wish I could say the same for mine". The street is called Hope Street.

The status of women in southern Europe

Whether we define southern Europe in a broad sense as the totality of Mediterranean people or in a more restrictive way as countries belonging to the northern shores of the Mediterranean, a number of characteristics differentiate the area from northern Europe. This applies as much to general features such as industrialisation, urbanisation and advanced technology as to specific ones like the situation of women.

The socio-economic structure of many southern European countries is still strongly dominated by agriculture. Domestic migration toward industrial centres has not come to an end, and disparities between village and city life in terms of education, health care, working conditions, and leisure activities are still quite sharp. These structural imbalances exercise a notable impact upon the life style and general situation of women. Thus with respect to many

issues and problems, it seems erroneous to treat European women in a standard way.

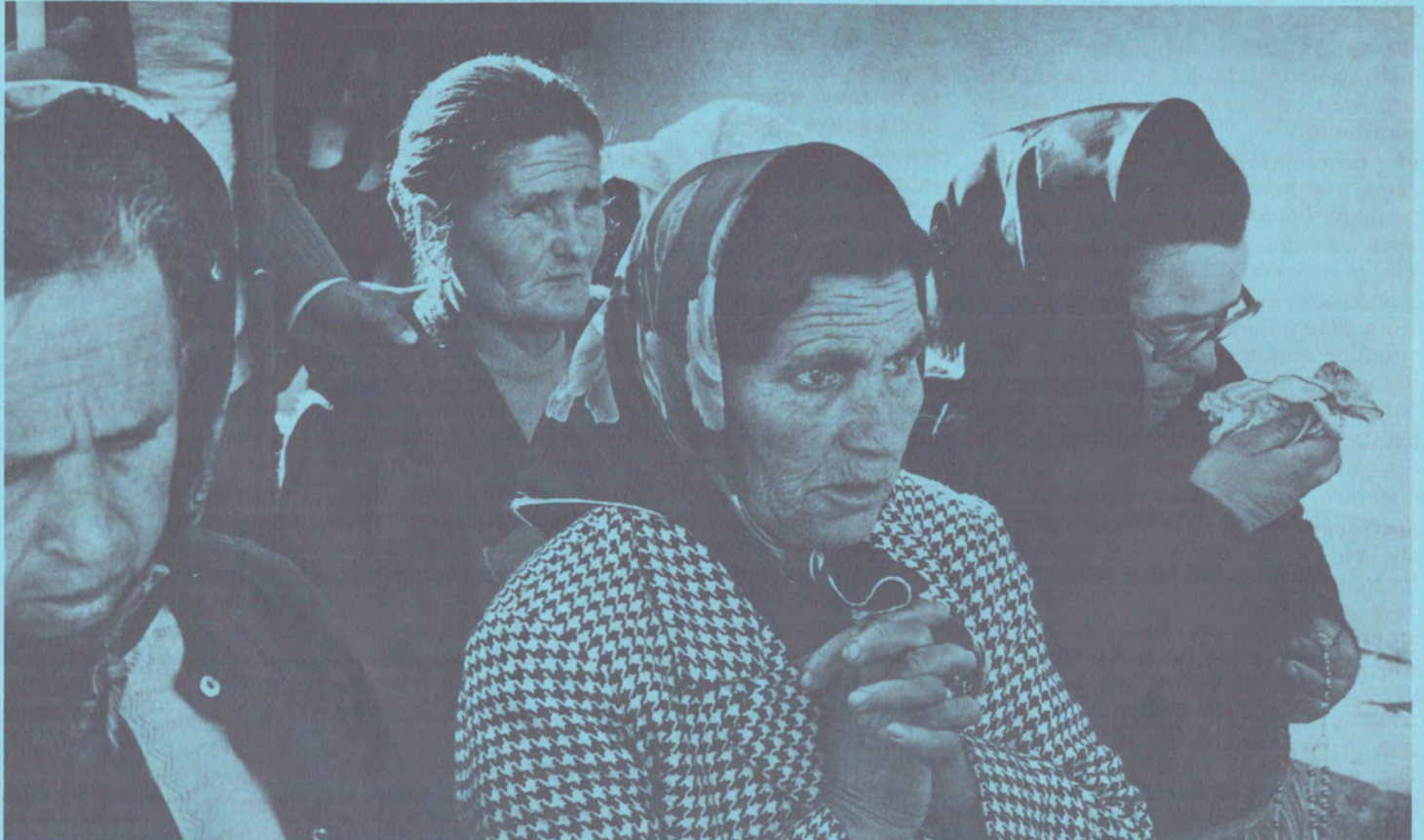
Right from the beginning of the socialisation process, girls are predestined by their education. Their orientation toward manual or intellectual work, their preparation for marriage (trousseau making, dowry, etc.), the attitude of parents and relatives as to partner choice, their expectations in regard to sex roles in society and egalitarian treatment within

the family and work place, finally, opportunities for employment: all these crucial questions seem to be handled differently in northern and southern Europe.

The weight of tradition

While north European women have set out to conquer the former bastions of male domination, south European women — even where rapid modernisation and legal reforms have substantially altered their status — are still ob-

A passivity reinforced by the weight of tradition



liged to fight for the enforcement of these rights. Furthermore, in some of these countries the traditional upbringing has produced a generation of young women who are still unable completely to grasp the meaning of the progressive legislation. An example is resistance to the divorce law in Italy.

Not only pre-industrial structures but also traditions, mores and religious practices contribute significantly to a difference in the behaviour of the average southern European woman. In this respect there is a striking resemblance between Catholic countries such as Portugal, Spain, Italy and Orthodox Greece on one hand and Islamic countries such as Turkey on the other.

Religious belief systems do form a barrier reinforcing the passivity of women. Even such a progressive church leader as Pope John XXIII was "saddened that woman's fundamental rights as a person are still not respected everywhere, but adjured woman never to forget that the end to which the Creator has ordained her whole being is maternity" (Encyclical *Gaudium et Spes*, 1962). In Islam the status of women, compared to other monotheistic religions, is one of almost complete subjugation to the authority of men. Although Turkey adopted the principle of secularism fifty years ago, thus separating religion from public life, nevertheless the Civil Code borrowed from Switzerland in 1926 (very similar to the



Turkey family planning methods have been disseminated only in metropolitan areas owing to lack of political support.

The penal codes of Turkey and Italy strongly emphasise female passivity and proprietary rights. Male infidelity as ground for legal separation was granted in Italy until 1968 only if the husband installed a mistress under the marital roof. All these examples and many others, admirably described in Kazantzakis's novel *Zorba the Greek*, indicate that on subjects such as adultery, seduction and crimes of honour, the mores of Sicily, in other words of a continuing feudal order, still co-exist with the social order of highly industrialised societies or societies in rapid transition.

The impact of these remnants of the past are reflected in many instances of daily life. In rural Turkey parents still arrange a large majority of marriages. These inter-family alliances have two important consequences: compensation paid to the bride's family for the loss of the unpaid worker, and a high rate of marriage among relatives.

Token levels

These manifold discrepancies bring us finally to the important topic of education and employment. Women in southern Europe, although in principle beneficiary of constitutionally guaranteed equal rights of education, are encouraged "de facto" to limit the horizon

of their expectations and to embrace rather "feminine" occupations. Their environment pushes them strongly to adopt the values making woman an accomplished housewife and a devoted wife/mother rather than a successful career woman. Indeed in almost all Mediterranean countries, a large number of women and girls are heavily engaged in unpaid agricultural work. In the statistics they appear as "unpaid family members". The educational level of a great majority of these women does not exceed primary school. This is why a disproportionate number of women workers are to be found in the peripheral labour market (temporary work, part-time work, clandestine work and a kind of return to cottage industries) with its legal and social disadvantages.

These characteristics also explain why, in spite of their strong interest in political and public issues, as reflected by the mass media (especially television), and their high electoral participation, women's membership in political and elective bodies remains at token levels.

Thus as Mübeccel B. Kiray rightly remarks, the women and mothers of Eregli — an Anatolian small town typical of southern European settlements — are not like Nora in Ibsen's *Doll's House*, but play an important part in changing the resistant sex roles of a traditional society with the least possible friction.

The Social Charter

The eleven member states of the Council of Europe who are bound by the European Social Charter, in force since 1965, undertake in Article 4 "to recognise the right of men and women workers to equal pay for work of equal value". Article 17 guarantees the right of mothers and children to social and economic protection, while Article 8 sets out standards for the protection of employed women, making it unlawful, for example, for an employer to dismiss a woman during absence on maternity leave.

one in force in Italy) is still based on the relative superiority of the husband. Furthermore, the penal codes in many Mediterranean countries strongly underline these inequalities. Issues such as legitimisation of abortion under certain circumstances, as introduced in Italy on 18 February 1975 and in Turkey in 1965 by amendment of the Penal Code, have not received sufficient public support. While in both Italy and Turkey officials report alarming numbers of illegally performed abortions, endangering the life of thousands of mothers (more than 25,000 a year are killed in Turkey), "pro-birth" elements have attacked family planning clinics in Florence. Similarly in

Ending the conspiracy of silence

In taking stock of the reported cases of violence against women in Italy, one is only scratching the surface. Behind the taboos, the silence and the private and social shame which still haunts the victims, there lies the reality of everyday life — a reality interwoven with acts of violence which are not confined to rape and which relentlessly punctuate the lives of millions of women.

According to a nation-wide survey conducted by the Italian Women's Liberation Movement in 1978 covering 3,000 women in Italy (although only 1,872 valid questionnaires were returned), 92 per cent of those interviewed had been subjected to some form of violence, and they were not all members of the working classes or living a fringe existence

— 42 per cent came from middle-class backgrounds.

The survey covered three categories of violence: moral, physical and sexual. 78 per cent of those questioned said they had been subjected to moral violence: discrimination in the family (70 per cent), at school (28 per cent), on account

of a repressive education (63 per cent) or at work (62 per cent).

The women admit that their response to this most subtle but deeply conditioning of all forms of violence is one of submission and passivity. "Moral and psychological violence has countless nuances", said one of the interviewees, "not least our own complicity."

As for physical violence, 48 per cent of the sample had been struck or physically ill-treated. It is within the family that violence is most common: 45 per cent had been hit by their mothers (which raises the issue of unwanted children on whom the mothers vent their own frustration), 48 per cent by their fathers and 14 per cent by their brothers. Then there is a fact which seems incredible: women are even ill-treated at work: over 1 per cent by their employers and 2 per cent by colleagues. 24 per cent of the women questioned are battered by their husbands, although many do not admit to this as they consider it "normal".

Humiliating procedure

The data on sexual violence proper show that rape is not something committed by "monsters", "maniacs" or "perverts". Here again we find normality interwoven with the pathological. Although it is true that a large percentage (54 per cent) of rapes are committed by strangers, it is equally true that the "monster" is to be found in the woman's own home in the form of her husband (12 per cent), fiancé (18 per cent) or friends (16 per cent). Abuse often starts in childhood and is perpetrated by the father (3 per cent), brothers (2 per cent) or other relations (5 per cent). One seventeen-year old girl living in the Milan area revealed that she had been raped by her father from the age of nine, with the knowledge of her mother, who did nothing about it.

Even within marriage a substantial proportion of women are forced to have intercourse against their will: 28 per cent had been raped by their husbands, as one woman said, "while I was asleep



in bed". It is only in the United States and Australia that rape by the husband is a legally recognised offence. In Britain an Advisory Group on the Law of Rape was set up in 1976 to study the issue.

In the large majority of cases the victims do not report acts of violence because it would mean further humiliation and abuse. In Italy, for instance, rape victims are subjected to a humiliating bureaucratic procedure: they undergo repeated gynaecological examinations and exhausting interrogation conducted disrespectfully by police officers used to dealing with ordinary offenders.

The survey by the *Women's Liberation Movement* shows that the police did their duty in only 14 per cent of cases. In 48 per cent the women were ill-treated, in 28 per cent they were made to feel guilty and in 25 per cent they were persuaded not to press charges.

Legal reform

There have been mixed reactions from feminist movements to this depressing situation. These range from detailed analyses of the relationship between "woman's destiny" and violence to demonstrations, conferences, and the establishment of "defence centres" (the

first one was set up in Rome in 1976 and others have opened in several other cities both north and south).

The movement has also been active on the legal front. In 1979 a committee representing various feminist organisations was set up to promote a law at the instigation of the public. Over 160,000 signatures were collected and the bill was submitted to the Italian Parliament after a demonstration by 15,000 women.

Various political parties spurred on by the women's commitment, felt bound to submit their own bills to amend the existing law, which made provision for light sentences for rape, ranging from three to ten years, whereas the penalty can be as much as twenty years in Switzerland and France and life imprisonment in certain English-speaking countries. When violence is accompanied by robbery, it is the offence against property which is the more severely punished in Italy.

The distinctive features of the feminist bill are the requests that the women's movement be allowed to apply for damages in the criminal proceedings, alongside the victim, that the hearings should be public unless the victim objects, that the proceedings should be

summary and that the authorities should proceed with the case even in the absence of a complaint on the part of the victim.

In Italy the women's movement has succeeded in its campaign to end the conspiracy of silence surrounding the crime of rape and has begun to raise the issue as a social and political problem. Things are changing in other European countries too.

In Britain, for instance, the number of reported cases of rape rose from 187 in 1977 to 275 in 1979 — a 50 per cent increase — while reports of sexual assault rose from 197 to 262 over the same period. Centres for the defence of rape victims and refuges for battered wives have opened in Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Britain.

Even the law is changing. On 12 April last, for example, the French National Assembly adopted a new definition of rape better reflecting the need to afford women legal protection and the principle of equality between the sexes.

Yet if we consider how serious and widespread such violence is, what has been done so far in "civilised" Europe under the impetus of a new consciousness among women has merely scratched the surface of the barbarities to which women are subjected daily.

CATHERINE REGNAULT Town planning researcher, Université des sciences humaines, Strasbourg

If architects were women

Few homes are designed specifically for, let alone with, the women who spend most of their time in them. Planning with women in mind could both improve their living conditions and transform their role.

Town planning has been going through a crisis in the past few years. Theorists have begun to recognise its defects — lack of space, unhealthy conditions, overcrowding. It has been pointed out that in these respects France lags behind the other European countries. For example the average size of new dwellings in France is three rooms, or 76 square metres, whereas in Germany the average is 90 square metres and in Belgium and Denmark 110 square metres. But isn't this putting the cart before the horse? How many people have paid any attention to the concept of internal or personal space? How many people remember Bachelard's insistence, when studying thirty years ago the import-

ance of privacy, on the influence of light, the degree of crowding in rooms, peace and quiet, the importance of the attic . . . The reason for the neglect of such essentials clearly lies in the fact that only the needs of the so-called "active" population are taken into account in planning.

No one thinks to consult the people who for one reason or another are obliged to live in badly designed housing whether they realise it or not. It is obvious that the whole concept of town planning would change if the architects were suddenly women, children, old or disabled people. It is paradoxical and in anyone's terms illogical that housing should be built without thought for the

people who will spend most time in it. In Europe a large majority of women are kept at home because of the economic situation, shortage of child care facilities and prejudice. These women spend twenty-four hours a day in a built environment which for some people is symbolised by no more than trees and pedestrian precincts, but which for them means stairs to be negotiated with the pram and shopping, the bus-stop far away, the sandpit ten floors down . . .

A room of one's own

When the theorists talk about the crucial importance of privacy in the built environment, have they considered

women's opportunities for privacy and withdrawal, when in every room they are confronted with housework and, by extension, everything in the neighbourhood — school, shops, etc. — reminds them of their domestic chores? Have they realised that what is condemned as unacceptable for humanity in general is not so condemned in the case of women, who have to spend all day and every day, year in, year out, at their place of work? (Seeing in the kitchen only the meals to be cooked, in the living room only the meals to be planned, in the bathroom only the piles of laundry). Where can a woman be alone with herself? If she tries to withdraw, she is at best permitted to do so in thought: but it is an unpardonable offence if she goes to centres, meeting places exclusively for women — albeit a very meagre compensation for the total lack of a territory of her own.

In 1930 when Virginia Woolf wrote about the need for "A room of one's own" she was met with indifference or indignation. In 1979 Evelyne le Garrec, in her book *Un lit à soi* ("A bed of one's own") returns to the question of a personal sanctum. She starts with the question of the conjugal bed — the ultimate in sharing — and goes further than Virginia Woolf, affirming the primordial importance for women not only of a bed, a room of one's own, but also of personal territory. She shows that this is the only way to safeguard women's living environment and ensure that they can express themselves fully in relationships with men. Her book reveals the considerable impact which the concept of personal territory would have, if generally accepted, on traditional notions of the family. We realise that genuine reshaping of the environment raises problems which go beyond mere financial and architectural constraints: it also raises the question of reshaping the values of a whole civilisation.

If the planners allowed women to live fully as complete individuals, it would transform their living conditions and at the same time their impact and their role, both within the social microcosm of the family and in society in general. Such a process involves risks. How could any male policy countenance such a deathblow to established patriarchal values?

Communist practice

The most revolutionary experiments in the built environment are the communal dwellings of communist practice, described by Alexandra Kollontai. Like Fourier's phalansteries, the communal dwelling is designed for efficiency in



countering fuel shortages and economising the expenditure of human energy on housework: all cooking, cleaning and heating appliances are communal.

Alexandra Kollontai sees communal dwellings as the most rational answer to the problems of the urban economy: incidentally they enable women to cope with family responsibilities and work outside the home. These experiments do not exclude the concept of "full-time housewives", however, still a "woman's" function. Furthermore this collectivisation of living space, which takes operational efficiency in housing design to the extreme, takes no account of the need for privacy.

What ideal arrangement, while not contributing to the economy of waste

encouraged by individual dwellings, would allow women to live within a more communal organisation which enabled the burden of housework to be shared and respected the need for privacy?

Exciting

Some architects have tried to find a third way between the two extremes of ill-designed private houses and flats and the frustrations of communal living. Guislain's *Maison des Jardies* at Meudon exemplifies a form of architecture which encourages human contact without restricting personal fulfilment. It contains ten flats, and each family was closely involved in the design of the whole, indicating its preferences, lifestyle and wishes. Women's and chil-

dren's opinions were listened to. The result is exciting: an integrated complex surrounded by trees, with individual flats, each different but respecting official building standards. There are premises where people can get together: a television room, a communal workshop, a room for games and discussion . . . The children know each other and there are rota arrangements for looking after them; the women have more freedom; and everyone has the privacy they need. The concept of housing has to be reassessed, not so much in terms of cultural mode, which would lead to the repetition of existing patterns, as in terms of new needs and new social trends and in ways which respect individual aspirations.

ANITA GRADIN Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Social Democrat, Sweden

Women and peace

World military expenditure amounted in 1980 to 500 billion dollars. The warning time for a nuclear attack has been reduced from perhaps thirty to four minutes. In the face of such facts many women, in particular, are organising for peace and disarmament. Some, in Northern Ireland for example, have already been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and this year a group of Argentinian women has been nominated for the award.

Peace and security policy are the concern of all, quite as much as family policy and all the other things we vote for when we elect our representatives to our parliaments and our local assemblies.

Throughout the length and breadth of Sweden, more and more women are taking an active part in peace and disarmament work. We want, above all, to show the leaders of the superpowers that the people of our earth need peace and decent living conditions — not war, destruction and death. This involvement has assumed new and unconventional forms. In autumn 1978, for example, a new organisation was formed in Sweden under the name *Women's Struggle for Peace*, bringing together women from every section of society, of all ages and all shades of political opinion. Prior to the UN Women's Conference in Copenhagen this summer, the organisation collected four hundred thousand signatures in the Nordic countries and handed them over to the UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim. The campaign backed the demand to spend the arms billions on food.

In my own organisation — the Social Democratic Women's Movement — we have a long history of involvement on behalf of peace and disarmament. At our last congress in 1978, we decided to draw up a special defence and security policy programme. We believe that defence and security will be among the questions to dominate political discussion in the 1980s, not least because we are now beginning to connect disarmament with third world development questions on a broad front.

One tank = 1,000 classrooms

War is often regarded as a matter of military conflict. But nowadays there is a growing awareness that chaos resulting from mass starvation, economic disaster, environmental catastrophe, terrorism, is equally dangerous. So it is important not only to reduce the traditional threats to peace, but also to see the need for a change from chaos to order — an order based on equitable economic distribution and equality between

groups. This is why it is important to compare the enormous waste on military expenditure with what we spend on international development aid.

The truth is that peaceful development work in the world has stagnated. It corresponds to 5 per cent of military spending. At the same time we can use our weapons arsenals to kill each other about a hundred times over. Do we need an overkill capacity of this magnitude?

A single tank costs as much as classrooms for 30,000 children. A single fighter aircraft costs as much as 40,000 drug-stores. Half a per cent of military spending would suffice to pay for all the machines and all the equipment needed to help the developing countries achieve adequate food production.

A "reserve of intelligence"

Military research costs more than all the research in the world on medical care, food production, energy and environmental protection put together. Half a million scientists (about half the total) are engaged in developing weapons sys-



Copenhagen: "No more war"

tems and military technology. The suggestions put forward by the Alva Myrdal Group to the UN concerning the re-deployment of military research resources to vital survival areas might well be studied in this context. A stop to further development of new generations

of weapons would release a "reserve of intelligence" which could raise the rate of development of the poorer countries.

Everyone agrees that the arms race is out of control. The Swedish Peace Research Institute says in its latest year-book that nuclear disarmament or nu-

clear war are the only two alternatives. Because time is short, we must all help solve the problem of our own survival. In this respect, women are beginning to take a special responsibility and to act more as a driving force in the disarmament debate.

YVES MAMOU Journalist, Le Monde, Paris

Whatever happened to the war between the sexes?

While women are advancing on every front, many men are wondering what their role should be in the family and in society.

In less than twenty years, men have lost everything that made up their particular, separate identities. The massive entrance of women into the working world and their accession to positions of responsibility have shattered the rigorously programmed framework of traditional marriage. In France, over a million women took jobs between 1968 and 1975 alone. That simple fact has bereft men of the authority and prestige conferred by tradition upon the "head of the family". From now on, men are increasingly sharing both money and their place in society with their wives.

What has been the result of this disruption of the old relationship between

the sexes? A masculine identity crisis for one thing. Some of the stereotypes — man-as-protector, man-as-source-of-livelihood — and the sentiments that correspond to them, have fallen by the wayside. The untying of the knots that linked together money, power and virility has shaken many men to the core.

Orphan-like

Cross-currents have further complicated matters. While women were setting off in hot pursuit of their social autonomy, men began to pour their energies back into the family and its values. This emotional floodtide, occurring in an economically unstable context, broke

the last threads of their traditional ties of solidarity with the social group. Having lost the sense that they were captains of their individual destinies within the community, men have begun to glorify the couple.

And woman has, thereby, become the central focus for the male identity. The result is a paradox: increased vulnerability in men to changes affecting the status of women in general, and of their individual wives in particular. At best, this is expressed as, "women's liberation is great, as long as my wife doesn't try it on me".

Of course, it would be quite wrong to generalise about this masculine mal-

aise. Nevertheless, many men have had, willy-nilly, to look hard and deep at their ideas about themselves; and they have been singularly unprepared to do so. The classic man-woman relationship was simply an extension of the mother-son relationship. The traditional wife performed for her husband the same services as his mother had done before her: she completed him (my "other half"), waited on him and reassured him. If his modern companion refuses to play this part, the man feels himself, literally, an orphan.

The first pill

This crisis in the male identity has been aggravated by the ambivalent behaviour of women. The "new woman" will not yield an inch in regard to her newly-won freedom, but at the same time she wants more emotional security than before, with the result that it seems to the men that women are simultaneously rejecting and imploring them. Women want none of them as protectors, but insist upon the right, from time to time, to take refuge in their arms. Hence the agonising question: what is a man today?

There is no answer, partly because men no longer have a physical place of their own in which they can rest and recover. Even in the homes to which they have returned for protection, women wield the authority. Chemical contraception has relieved them of their responsibility for birth control — the latest research has established that the reason why the husband possessed pa-

ternal and conjugal authority was because he was also responsible for contraception.

The overthrow of his power is not just a natural outcome of technical progress. It has been deliberate. The first contraceptive pill was demanded and paid for by American feminists, chief among them Margaret Sanger's Family Planning Movement. At the same time, the legalisation of abortion has given women fuller command over their own bodies. Another sign of their new power is that many married women nowadays are claiming the right to give their own names to their children; and some young women want children with no fathers.

Father-love

In other words, women have made it quite plain that they could not only compete with men socially, but could also dispense with them in the family. And yet this crushing victory of a formerly subservient sex is not final. All it has done is shift the battlefield. Today men are trying to find a place for themselves within the couple by means of the children. By insisting that the father be pre-

Feminist economics

Throughout the world, women bear the main responsibility for children, the sick and the elderly. Women are also more or less excluded from the economic system. This point emerges clearly from a working document submitted to the Copenhagen Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women, in which women's economic situation is outlined:

- women make up half the world's population
- women account for a third of the recognised labour force (those in paid employment);
- women do more than sixty per cent of all hours worked;
- women receive only ten per cent of all wage and salary income in the world;
- women own less than one per cent of the world's wealth (land, capital, etc.).

Fathers must learn to cope too



sent at the child's birth and transferring part of the burden of caring for it to his shoulders (for the sake of equality in the allocation of household chores), women have contributed involuntarily to the new importance of the father as parent.

As yet, few men feel as involved with their children as with their professional lives. But many of them are now giving

bottles, changing nappies and fondling their babies. Father-love is no longer ashamed to say its name, and attitudes are changing. These days, fathers proudly pushing prams are not greeted with sarcastic sniggers.

But in the event of divorce, chaos returns; in 85 per cent of all cases the child or children are entrusted entirely

to the care of the mother, the father being granted penitentiary-like "visiting rights". Joint or alternating custody is scarcely heard of. This raises a very large question. If the new relationship between father and child were to become widespread, would women be prepared to reconsider and share their parental monopoly?



Dr. Letitia Obeng, Director of the United Nations Regional Office for Africa

Cultural arrogance

As an African, a partisan of Third World interests, I cannot sit back and calmly accept the constant aggression directed against my culture, my way of thinking, by a world lulled by its economic and financial dominance into the self-satisfied belief that it has a monopoly of culture and a duty to teach us, the "wretched of the earth", a few lessons.

It started with female circumcision, admittedly a practice which degrades and mutilates African women. And straight away the modern-day missionaries and crusaders are up in arms against the heathen savages, fulminating against cultures which — of course — are never their own.

But is it necessary to remind those women who constantly need to appease their conscience by creating good causes, conveniently blinding themselves to their own situation, that culture is the exact reflection and expression of an economic situation and a mode of production?

Seen in this light, traditional culture also means the African women who once enjoyed the use of the land, who once occupied a not insignificant rank in society and who have been reduced by the capitalist system, under the pretext of "introducing Civilisation", to the level of the exploited and rejected, the level of slaves in the food production industry. Today, though they work, they have no rights, they are the object of sexual blackmail and persecution.

All that is your culture, not ours! Aggression has become part of our everyday selves, it has made its way in with the "tough man's" cigarettes and the soap "to make your skin so soft". That too is your culture.

But let us look for a moment at your society, the one which keeps us underdeveloped. Which of you has spoken up for the battered wives, the mistreated children, the victims of rape? It is not for us to speak about these evils in your place, but you can

be sure of our solidarity. When will you give us the same assurance?

When will you examine your consciences about Iran, which you condemn because its women are veiled in the chador? Did the West ever give the Iranian people any other choice than to organise in the mosques, under the leadership of the ayatollahs and mullahs, the only places and people beyond the reach of your interference?

Which of you, women with power, think about the thousands of women in Latin America, in South Africa and elsewhere who are tortured, first because they reject a barbarous oppression and secondly because they are "only women"? And all that in the name of the "Christian West"! That too is your culture!

**Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, Journalist,
"Afrique Nouvelle", Senegal**

JANE CHANDLER Director, Hood College, Strasbourg

Feminist consciousness raising

More and more women are finding support, trust and respect, for themselves and others, in feminist consciousness raising groups.

Recently during the worship service for the English Speaking Community of Strasbourg, the minister spent a few minutes speaking with the children. "Have you ever wished to be someone or something else?", he asked. Boys wanted to be bears and eagles. At least half of the girls said they would be happy to be boys. Psychological studies in the US reveal similar attitudes among young children. Many of the girls wished to be boys but virtually none of the boys preferred to have been born female. In fact, one boy answered, "Anything but a girl!"

Why do boys imagine that life as a puppy dog might be more fun but nothing could be worse than being a girl? Is it coincidental that calling a girl a "tom-boy" (boy-like) carries no negative connotations whereas calling a boy a "sissy" (girl-like) is a definite insult? In spite of the advances women have made, apparently being male is still more advantageous and valued in our society and this message is clear even to very young children.

Awareness

If it is true that by the time they reach adulthood, most women don't entertain fantasies of being male, childhood attitudes are revealed in common expressions such as, "I really prefer men for friends" and "I don't want to work for a woman boss". The result of our conditioning is that many women have little respect for other women and therefore cannot fully respect themselves. This along with their alienation from one

another helps perpetuate women's powerless position in society. One way in which the Feminist Movement has tried to break through this pervasive conditioning that keeps women acquiescent and convinced of their own inherent inferiority is through Consciousness Raising (CR).

Activists in the Feminist Movement realised that women's attitudes towards each other kept them from developing necessary feelings of cooperation and group identity. After much trial and error, specific methods for successful CR were developed and published in *Guidelines for Feminist CR*, by Abarbanell and Perl. The process and ground rules for CR may vary with each group depending on the nationalities of the women and the corresponding cultural traditions and attitudes.

However for CR to be truly *feminist*, the goals must be to increase women's complete awareness of their oppression and conditioning in a sexist society and to foster bonds of friendship, trust and cooperation among women. Topics of discussion are chosen for their feminist potential. Some suggestions are 'Do Women Like Other Women?' 'Women and Anger', 'Sexual Oppression', 'Rape and Violence', 'Mothers and Daughters', 'Dependence and Independence'.

Towards political action

Many of the elements of CR are designed to create a supportive and secure climate where women can develop trust and respect for each other and themselves. Each participant must make

a commitment to arrive on time for the ten meetings which take place on the same day each week. Late arrivals and chronic absences of one member implies lack of respect for the others and suggests that the group has no important priority in her life.

Sessions begin with time for each woman to praise herself for something she has done well. Society teaches women to encourage and praise their families but to be self-effacing when it comes to their own accomplishments, so this activity helps them recognise their own good qualities and add a dimension of self-definition.

Confrontation during CR is forbidden. Each woman should be able to express her own truth without fear of ridicule. With CR she might change her mind but the decision must be made freely and not forced on her by others. Of utmost importance is the requirement of complete confidentiality. Women are trustworthy and this is one way we can prove it to all who know us.

Most women find that CR is a richly rewarding experience. For some, taking action to solve personal problems will use all of their energy and courage. Hopefully, most will be ready to move from the "personal to the political" and become active in contributing to permanent social changes to improve the lives of all women. Many women lack the confidence to attempt this but perhaps each must ask herself the questions of Hillel, "If I am not for myself, who will be? And if I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?"





CHRISTINE MEUNIER Administrative Officer, Council of Europe, Strasbourg

International organisations and women

Even apart from International Women's Year 1975, and the many specific actions it gave rise to, women's interests have always been a concern of international organisations, which have not forgotten them in their proclamations of principles and declarations of fundamental rights.

The principle of non-discrimination between men and women has been proclaimed by most international organisations (Art. 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights; preamble to the Council of Europe's Social Charter; Art. 2 of the United Nations Universal Declaration; Philadelphia Declaration, etc.), which endeavoured to provide women with protection in relation to such specifically "female" events as pregnancy and motherhood (Arts. 8 and 16 of the Social Charter; Art. 25 (2) of the Universal Declaration; and Art. 10 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Nor have women been neglected in their capacity as workers, for their right to maternity leave has been recognised (Art. 8 of the Social Charter) and night work as well as certain dangerous or unhealthy jobs have been forbidden in their case. International organisations have also condemned and tried to remedy the most glaring injustice to which women have been — and still are — subjected, namely inequalities in pay (ILO Convention No. 100; Art. 4 (3) of the Social Charter; Art. 119 of the Treaty of Rome and EEC Directive 75/117).

Some international instruments are aimed at extending the principle of equal treatment to areas where discrimination is more insidious and often unin-

tentional. For example, ILO Convention No. 111 seeks to encourage equality of opportunity and treatment regarding access to vocational training and employment as well as the conditions on which women are employed. Directive 76/207 of the Council of the European Communities covers a similar field but also refers to occupational advancement and stipulates that the principle of non-discrimination on the ground of sex should afford women protection from any reference to their marital or family status.

The Council of Europe, in its Resolution (77) 1, asked its member states to do their utmost to give women every opportunity to exercise their right to work. It also adopted Resolution (78) 37 on equal rights.

Contradictions

These efforts are not inconsiderable, even if their practical impact has not always been appreciable. The following figures, for example, give an idea of women's position in various international organisations:

UN: 22 per cent of P (professional) grade staff are women.

Unesco: 21.3 per cent of P grade staff are women.

ILO: 14 per cent of P grade staff are women.

European Communities' Commission: 498 men but only 6 women in the three highest A (administrative) grades. The proportion of women in the lower A grades is 30 per cent.

Council of Europe: There are no women in the three highest A grades. In A grades as a whole there are 35 women and 178 men.

Most international organisations, aware of the contradiction between their avowed principles and the present position of women on their own staffs, have drawn up plans for rectifying matters.

The United Nations General Assembly, for instance, has set itself the goal of raising the proportion of women in the "intellectual workers" category to 25 per cent over the next four years. Half the vacancies occurring in the International Labour Office in the next two years will be reserved for women. In Unesco, annual statistics will be compiled to show a breakdown of staff by grade, sex and sector. The criterion of geographical distribution will be applied with a certain degree of flexibility to enable women to be recruited from countries which are already slightly over-represented.

Sino-European dialogue at the Assembly

Two VIP guest speakers, the Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Huang Hua and Raymond Barre, Prime Minister of France, highlighted the autumn session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. It also provided the opportunity for a broad-ranging review of a European and world situation that increasingly gives grounds for alarm.

The Chinese option was to advocate tranquillity and to make more of friendship than of tension. This at any rate was the burden of what Mr Huang Hua had to say. This is the sine qua non for China's industrialisation and modernisation, its new grand design. But tranquillity must not exclude vigilance and readiness. While Mr Huang Hua's country is "genuinely socialist, and therefore peace-loving", this principle, regarded in Peking as elementary, had been flouted by others, or rather one other country, to wit the Soviet Union, referred to most frequently in the colourful imagery employed by Chinese diplomacy as the "Polar bear". A "bear" whose lethargy is only apparent, of which Western Europe should be wary. With the start of the Madrid Conference only a matter of weeks away, the Chinese warning was no empty utterance.

By a timetabling coincidence Mr Raymond Barre followed immediately after Mr Huang Hua, and echoing as it were his remarks spoke in a very clear-cut vein. Détente had suffered a blow with the military occupation of Afghanistan which troubled the Madrid horizon, and would continue to do so. The thirty-five delegations present in Madrid would have to be careful not to indulge in fruitless comparisons of political systems or ideologies, although it was equally important for them not to be taken in by pseudo-solutions. For France, détente had to be a living and indivisible reality. It was a straight and narrow path but the only one that could lead to a dialogue between equals with the USSR.

Mr. Huang Hua, the Chinese Deputy Prime Minister, with Mr. Hans de Koster, President of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly





Mr. Raymond Barre, Prime Minister of France, meets Mr. Huang Hua, the Chinese Deputy Prime Minister, at the Council of Europe

The Madrid stakes

This hard-line definition was extremely timely since the Assembly had considered just that question at considerable length the previous day, when debating a report by MM Jacques Baumel (France) and Lopez-Henares (Spain) in the presence of Mr José Pedro Perez-Llorca, Spain's Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Committee of Ministers. The report spelt out clearly the stakes at Madrid: consolidation of the peace process, but not regardless of cost, as Mr Perez-Llorca said during the debate, in which members could not fail to note with disquiet the gradual widening of ideological differences between East and West since 1975, that is to say since Helsinki. Hence a certain pessimism about the prospects for Madrid, where some people are afraid a bad bargain will be struck.

23 million jobless

A further subject for preoccupation at the session was the economy, and its corollary, the social situation. This debate was attended by Mr Emile Van Lennep, OECD Secretary General, and delegates from the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Finland. There were grounds for satis-

faction on just one question, since according to Mr Van Lennep despite the catastrophic blows sustained when oil prices had twice risen steeply some progress had been made and there were encouraging signs for the economic future of the OECD countries.

There was still one fearful and unrelieved blot on the economic horizon, namely unemployment, a problem which parliamentarians from the 21 countries increasingly faced in their own constituencies. It was probable that there would be a minimum of 23 million jobless in the OECD countries in a year's time. It was therefore urgently necessary for politicians, employers and unions in Europe and the industrialised nations to devise new forms of work — something that would inevitably mean radically different patterns of daily living. This issue is one that will provide considerable food for thought, at any event, and could well be scheduled for debate at a forthcoming Council of Europe session.

Walk-out

There were two further particularly noteworthy points covered in the lengthy, heavily-charged autumn session, to wit the debate and vote, in which tempers rose, on the situation in Turkey, and the discussion of the report by Mr Krieps

(Luxembourg) on the resurgence of fascism in Europe.

The parliamentarians sounded a warning note in the direction of the military regime in Ankara after considering a report by Mr Steiner (Austria) containing a recommendation which was adopted, referring to the necessity of a speedy return to democracy under penalty of measures applicable under the Council of Europe statute. The Assembly stand prompted a sharp reaction on the part of Mr Toran Günes, who bitterly criticised his colleagues from the other member countries before walking out of the Chamber together with his three fellow-Turks who had come to attend the session.

Members also supported Mr Krieps when he urged member governments to leave no stone unturned in combating the alarming activities of right-wing extremists who were disseminating racist theories, with the aid of blind violence on occasion, which could well deal a death-blow to democracy, if allowed to do so. The Socialist member from Luxembourg attempted to analyse the fascist phenomenon in his report, taking as one example the rise of racial hatred in France. Two days later a bomb exploded, fatally, outside the synagogue in Rue Copernic, Paris.

LOUIS JOINET Judge, Director of the French National Commission for Data Processing and Freedoms, Paris

Computers and human rights

A further step forward was taken in the human rights field when a convention for the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data was recently adopted by the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers after four years' work.

A society that is becoming computerised "consumes" an ever-increasing quantity of information about people's private lives: data cards for all purposes (credit, direct debit, identification), telephone bills, various welfare benefits, medical and police data banks, personnel files ... the list is potentially endless if it is assumed that the computerisation of society is only in its infancy.

The Council of Europe has just taken a first step in dealing with the social problems this raises. At a meeting in Strasbourg on 17 September 1980 the Committee of Ministers adopted a "Convention for the protection of individuals with regard to automatic processing of personal data". This was a major landmark in the work the Council of Europe has been doing since its inception in the field of human rights. The experts who drew up the convention tried to answer three questions:

- What can be done to ensure that people in different countries enjoy practically the same safeguards?
- What can be done to reconcile, on the one hand, the protection of privacy which necessitates placing legal restrictions on certain uses of personal files, and, on the other, the safeguarding of freedom of expression, which presupposes a free flow of information between peoples?
- How can administrative co-operation between countries be facilitated so that people protected by the convention can effectively exercise their

rights in cases where information about them is held in files abroad?

Towards a uniform law

Harmonisation of existing laws is a slow and complex process, and almost total lack of laws on "computers and freedom" proved to be an advantage. As long ago as 1970 the Council of Europe turned this "legal vacuum" to account by providing a European framework for the protection of freedoms in the form of guidelines set out in two resolutions: Resolution (73) 22 (private files) and Resolution (74) 29 (public files). The first national laws adopted on the subject in the 1970s (in Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, France, Luxembourg, Denmark and Norway) were largely based on these principles.

The convention recently adopted has, as it were, consolidated these principles. In addition to the principles of *data quality* (data must be accurate and up to date) and *security* (measures must be taken to protect information from destruction and ensure its confidentiality), the following rules should be noted.

- The purpose of compiling a personal data file should be decided on in advance and publicly announced, so that it can be ascertained that any data processed are in fact relevant to the file's aim, and are not used for any other purpose or kept after the aim has been achieved, except in a form which precludes identification of the person concerned.

- Everyone has the right to be informed of the existence and purpose of any personal data file as well as the identity of the authority in charge of the file. This is essential if an individual is

Film biennale

The first biennial "European Environmental Film Festival", on the theme "Habitat and Landscape", will take place at Chartreuse de Villeneuve-les-Avignon (France) from 23 to 29 March 1981. It will be held under the patronage of the President of the European Parliament, the French Minister of Culture, the French Minister and State Secretary for the Environment, the European Communities' Commissioner for the Environment and the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. Part of the festival will consist in a competition open to all high quality European films (cinema, television, video) on the habitat and landscape theme. The winners will be chosen by an international jury and prizes will be given by the European Parliament, the European Communities Commission, the Council of Europe and the European Cultural Foundation, which initiated the festival. The Festival will help promote the winning films. Throughout the festival there will also be an "environmental forum" — discussions, debates, exhibitions, etc. — on aspects of the main theme.

Further information may be obtained from the Festival Secretariat, 55 rue de Varenne, F-75007 Paris Cédex.

to have genuine access to information concerning him and, if necessary, have it corrected.

A law without frontiers

For example, as soon as someone has made a booking on a flight from Paris to Stockholm, any agency linked to the computerised airline reservations network, anywhere in the world, can call up his name on a terminal screen. The internationalisation of credit cards and the proliferation of multinational data files are further evidence of the development of a computerised society which knows no frontiers. To reconcile a free flow of information with respect for privacy, the convention offers the following solution:

- By becoming parties to the convention, states commit themselves to provide for practically identical forms of protection in their domestic laws. At the same time they undertake not to subject transfrontier flows of data to any prior authorisation or supervision.

- However, supervision may, as an exception, be exercised in cases where national sovereignty is at stake or there

is a danger of the law being broken. This is to prevent the appearance of "data havens" or, more accurately, "transit havens", for there is a risk of information being transferred from one signatory state via another signatory state (serving merely as a "letter-box") to a country which has not acceded to the convention and does not therefore offer equivalent safeguards.

Under a flexible system of administrative co-operation, a committee or individual appointed in each state for monitoring data files is responsible for forwarding requests for access to data or ensuring that they are met.

Playing the game

The spirit in which the convention was drawn up offers grounds for hoping that all concerned will play the game. The Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, which first took up these matters in 1968 (Resolution 509), followed the negotiations attentively and did much to guide them, even expressing the wish that the above-mentioned principles be directly incorporated in the European Convention on Human Rights.

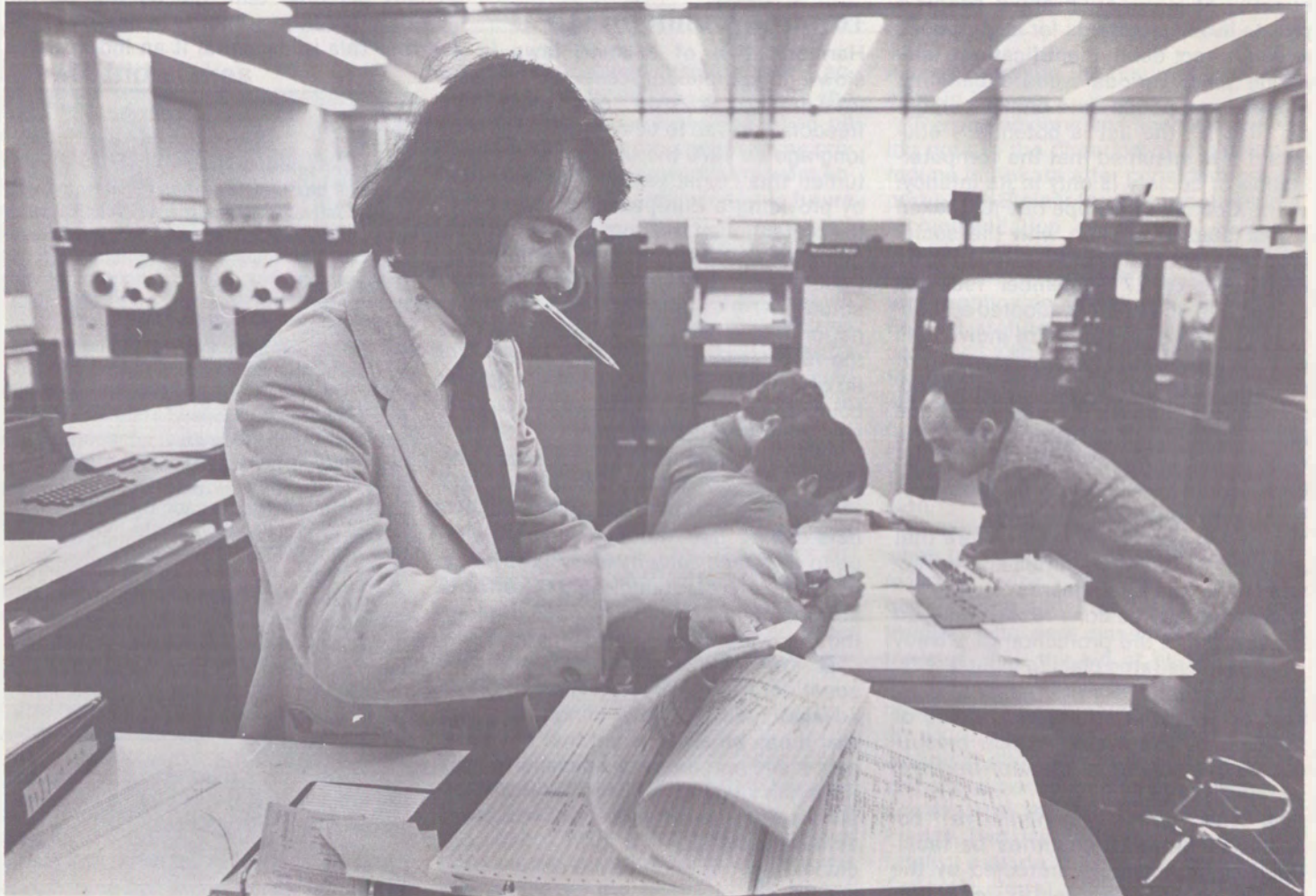
This suggestion has been temporarily discarded for technical reasons, but it ought to be reconsidered later in the light of experience so that it may be made clear how fundamental the principles are.

Many institutions took part in the preparatory work as observers. The most active ones included the Commission of the European Communities, the European Parliament, OECD, WHO, the Hague Conference and the European Science Foundation. An unusual event was that five states not belonging to the Council of Europe (Australia, Canada, the United States, Finland and Japan) also asked to take part in the work as observers.

This international interest in the convention had one direct consequence: the Committee of Ministers decided to open the convention for signature by non-member countries too.

There is now therefore a reference framework for authorities in charge of data banks (as well as for ordinary citizens). It is up to them to shoulder their responsibilities so as to ensure that the "computerised" society retains control over its future and that democracy prevails.

Is a computer society compatible with individual freedoms?



DOCUMENTATION

This section reports briefly on areas in which the Council of Europe is currently active, outlining recent activities, future meetings, documentation, etc.

The details are presented according to the different themes.

The section on publications features items that have appeared since the last number of Forum.

Unless otherwise indicated, all documents and publications referred to in this section (press releases, resolutions, recommendations, reports, periodicals and books) exist in English and French and are available as long as stocks last.

Application for copies should be made to:

● Council of Europe, Directorate of Press and Information B. P. 431 R6 F-67006 Strasbourg Cedex, France

● the publishers, when indicated.

Political questions

Proceedings of the Committee of Ministers

● *Declaration on balanced development in Europe*, adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 1980 at its 67th session:

The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe,

Recalling that it has decided to take steps in the name of European solidarity to reduce the economic and social imbalances between member States;

Expressing the wish that the Council of Europe should play a more active role in the pursuit of this objective;

Taking into consideration the wishes expressed by the Assembly and the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe,

Declares that it is determined:

- 1. To support the reinforcement of the Resettlement Fund of the Council of Europe;*
- 2. To make greater use of the Medium Term Plan of intergovernmental activities of the Council of Europe;*
- 3. To continue its examination of other means to be developed within the Council of Europe.*

The Committee of Ministers,

A. As regards the Resettlement Fund,

i. Welcomes the adoption by the Governing Body of the Fund of the Resolution 149 (80) by which the latter undertakes to contribute to reducing imbalances in Europe and encourages the organs of the Fund to pursue their current studies aiming at increasing the Fund's resources appropriately and to adapt its activities to the needs of balanced development in Europe;

ii. Looks forward to the information from the Chairman of the Governing Body and the Governor of the Resettlement Fund on the results of these studies;

iii. Notes that the wish has been expressed that all member States of the Council of Europe should join the Resettlement Fund in due course.

B. As regards the intergovernmental activity of the Council of Europe in the framework of the Medium Term Plan,

Welcomes the efforts currently being made to give a greater place in the 2nd Medium Term Plan to objectives aimed at reducing imbalances in Europe and expresses the hope that a larger share of financial resources will be devoted to activities of this nature in the annual programmes of activities.

C. As regards other means to be developed within the Council of Europe to reduce economic and social imbalances,

Decides to continue the study of the possibility of introducing further projects linked to those in the annual programmes of activities of the Organisation, especially designed to reduce imbalances in Europe and, taking into account the needs felt by the less privileged regions, to elaborate appropriate proposals for this purpose.

Proceedings of the Parliamentary Assembly

● *Situation in Turkey*, Recommendation 904, adopted on 1 October 1980.

See also the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 4621).

Disturbed by the military intervention in Turkey, the Assembly appeals to the present Turkish Government to ensure an early return to a democratic system. It also exhorts it to observe the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and to release without delay all politicians who have not breached a law in force before the state of siege was decreed. At the same time the Assembly recommends that the Committee of Ministers closely follow developments in Turkey and warn the Turkish Government against any departure from the principles governing membership of the Council of Europe.

In its order No. 392, adopted on 1 October 1980, the Assembly instructs its Political Affairs Committee to ensure that no member of the Turkish delegation is prevented from participating in the Assembly's work.

● *Human rights in the Soviet Union and freedom of peaceful assembly and of association in Eastern Europe*, Resolution 739, adopted on 27 September 1980.

See also the reports of the Committee on Relations with European Non-member Countries (Doc. 4581 and 4582).

The Council of Europe member states must take a common stand in support of respect for human rights in the East European countries. The Assembly encourages them in particular to urge the East European governments to respect the freedom of trade unions and release all imprisoned members of the Helsinki Final Act watch groups on the occasion of the CSCE meeting in Madrid. The Assembly also suggests that the United Nations study the possibility of drawing up a convention against the abuse of psychiatry for political pur-

poses and expresses the hope that observers from Council of Europe countries might attend criminal trials in the Soviet Union.

● *Situation of the Jewish communities in the Soviet Union*, Resolution 740, adopted on 27 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Relations with European Non-member Countries (Doc. 4581 and 4582).

The Soviet authorities are urged to speed up the processing of applications from Soviet Jews for emigration visas before the CSCE meeting in Madrid and foster a relaxed atmosphere at that meeting by releasing people imprisoned for trying to exercise their right to emigrate, such as Anatoli Shcharansky, Ida Nudel and Joseph Men-delevich. The Assembly calls for an end to all racial discrimination in the USSR, particularly in the educational sphere, and calls on its members to approach their governments and national parliaments with a view to these matters being raised in Madrid.

● *Situation in Bolivia*, Resolution 742, adopted on 30 September 1980.

Condemning the military coup d'état in Bolivia and the persistent violations of human rights in that country, the Assembly expresses its sympathy with the Bolivian people and urges member states not to recognise the dictatorial regime in Bolivia. It also appeals to them to cut off all economic and cultural aid until a legal government has been restored and to facilitate the resettlement of Bolivian political refugees and exiles.

● *Resurgent fascist propaganda and its racist aspects*, Resolution 743, adopted on 1 October 1980.

See also the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 4590).

The proliferation of racist acts of violence should induce governments to take steps to combat propaganda which, taking advantage of a period of social and economic uncertainty, is seeking to rehabilitate fascist theories in several Council of Europe member countries. The Assembly calls for the introduction of legislation in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as well as with the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers' resolution on the prohibition of racial, national and religious discrimination. It urges member states to sign and ratify the 1974 European Convention on the Nonapplicability of Statutory Limitation to Crimes against Humanity and War Crimes.

Meetings

● *3rd part of the 32nd session of the Parliamentary Assembly*, Strasbourg, 26–30 January 1981.

Publications

- *Report on the activities of the Council of Europe*, September 1979/August 1980. Price: £ 3.10, FF 25.
- *Situation in the Middle-East, Statements by Mr. Dayan and Mr. Boutros-Ghali followed by questions and answers*, Strasbourg, 1979 (Doc. AS/Inf (79) 9).
- *The Parliamentary Assembly*.
- *Parliamentarians of the Council of Europe – biographies*, July 1980.

Human rights

Cases before the Court

The following cases are pending before the Court:

- *Airey case concerning Ireland*
- *Winterwerp case concerning the Netherlands*
Both cases concern the application of Article 50 of the Convention.
- *Le Compte, Van Leuven and De Meyere case concerning Belgium*
The applicants are Belgian medical practitioners. They allege that various disciplinary sanctions imposed on them violate Articles 6 and 11 of the Convention.
See press releases C (78) 53 and C (80) 12.
- *Young, James and Webster case concerning the United Kingdom*
The applicants were dismissed by British Rail for refusing to join a recognised trade union. They claim interference with their freedom of thought, conscience, expression and association with others, and hence violation of Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the Convention.
See press releases C (79) 21, C (80) 24 and C (80) 25.
- *Dudgeon case concerning the United Kingdom*
The applicant complains of the laws in force in Northern Ireland which prohibit homosexual activities between males (issues under Articles 8 and 14 of the Convention).
See press releases C (79) 20, C (80) 29 and C (80) 32.
- *Buchholz case concerning the Federal Republic of Germany*
The applicant submits that the length of proceedings before the labour court represents an infringement of Article 6, paragraph 1, and Articles 3, 8 and 12 of the Convention.
See press release C (80) 33.
- *Campbell and Cosans case concerning the United Kingdom*
This case is concerned with corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in Scottish schools. The applicants submit that the use of such punishment infringes Article 3 of

the Convention. They also allege violation of Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 to the Convention.

See press releases C (80) 35 and C (80) 43.

- *X case concerning the United Kingdom*
After conviction by a criminal court, and initial detainment in a special mental hospital, the applicant complained of the conditions of his further internment following arrest, alleging infringement of Article 5 of the Convention (paragraphs 1, 2 and 4).
See press releases C (80) 35 and C (80) 44.

Applications

The European Commission of Human Rights has declared admissible the following applications, the merits of which will therefore be examined.

At its 144th session:

- *Seven appeals concerning disciplinary arrests in the army in Switzerland*
The applicants complain of decisions ruling their detention as measures of military discipline (issues under Article 5 of the Convention).
- *E. A. Arrondelle against the United Kingdom*
The applicant owns a house close to Gatwick Airport. She maintains that the noise from the airport and a motorway seriously impaired her health, that she was unable to sell her property at a reasonable price and that under English law she has no effective remedy (issues under Articles 8 and 13 of the Convention and Article 1 of Protocol No. 1).
- *X against Belgium*
The applicant complains of being sentenced by a court presided over by the first substitute in the Public Prosecutor's Office, who had taken part in the investigation (issues under Article 6 of the Convention).

At its 145th session:

- *Van Marle, Van Zomeren, Flantua and De Bruijn against the Netherlands*
The four applicants were not given authority to call themselves "accountants" and exercise the profession of accountancy as such, within the meaning of the law in force in the Netherlands since 1972. They maintain that the disputes affecting their civil rights were not settled fairly and in public by an independent and impartial tribunal, and that the judgments passed were deleterious to their entitlement to peaceful enjoyment of their possessions (issues under Article 6 of the Convention and Article 1 of the additional Protocol).
- *Jespers against Belgium*
On charges of attempting to murder his wife, aggravated theft and forgery, the applicant was sentenced to twenty years hard labour. He alleges that certain documents were not

presented as evidence when the preliminary investigations took place or when the case was tried before the Court of Assizes of Eastern Flanders and that the right to defence was accordingly infringed (issues under Article 6, paragraph 1, of the Convention).

Elections

The Assembly elected the following to the office of judge of the *European Court of Human Rights* on 29 September 1980:

- *Mr St John MacDonald* (Canadian nationality), for Liechtenstein;
- *Sir Vincent Evans* (British nationality) for the United Kingdom.

Meetings

- *147th session of the European Commission of Human Rights*
Strasbourg, 9–20 March 1981.

Publications

- *Yearbook of the European Convention on Human Rights*, Volume 22 (1979), bilingual (English/French). Obtainable from Kluwer Academic Publishers Group, Distribution Centre, P. O. Box 322, 3300 AH Dordrecht, Netherlands. Price: Dfl. 250.
- *European Convention on Human Rights* (pocket edition). Available in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Dutch.
- *Decisions and reports of the European Commission of Human Rights*, Volume 17, bilingual (English/French). Price: £ 2.50, FF 20.00.
- *The Deweer case*, Series A (*Judgments and decisions of the European Court of Human Rights*), Volume 35. Obtainable from Carl Heymanns Verlag, Gereonstrasse 18–32, D-5000 Köln 1. Price: DM 12.20.
- *The case of Luedicke, Belkacem and Koc and the König case*, Series A (*Judgments and decisions of the European Court of Human Rights*), Volume 36. Obtainable from Carl Heymanns Verlag, Gereonstrasse 18–32, D-5000 Köln 1. Price: DM 7.90.
- *The Artico case*, Series A (*Judgments and decisions of the European Court of Human Rights*), Volume 37. Obtainable from Carl Heymanns Verlag, Gereonstrasse 18–32, D-5000 Köln 1. Price: DM 7.90.
- *The case of Ireland v. the United Kingdom*, Series B (*Pleadings, Oral Arguments and Documents of the European Court of Human Rights*), Volume 23-I. Obtainable from Carl Heymanns Verlag, Gereonstrasse 18–32, D-5000 Köln 1. Price: DM 469.50.

Economic and social affairs

Proceedings of the Committee of Ministers

● *Vocational reintegration of migrant workers returning to their countries of origin*, Recommendation R (80) 14 adopted on 18 September 1980 (the United Kingdom Representative having reserved the right of her government to comply with it or not). The Committee of Ministers invites the governments of the countries concerned by migratory movements jointly to seek satisfactory solutions to the problems affecting migrant workers returning to their countries of origin. The measures proposed cover not only vocational training and occupational and social reintegration of migrant workers and their families, but also more balanced industrial and economic development of the different regions in the member states concerned. The recommendation calls for further international co-operation between host countries and countries of origin, particularly through bilateral and multilateral agreements, and greater use of the funding possibilities afforded by the Council of Europe Resettlement Fund.

Proceedings of the Parliamentary Assembly

● *Palestinian Refugees and the activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)*, Recommendation 901 adopted on 26 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography (Doc. 4583).

UNRWA, whose work on behalf of Palestinian refugees is purely humanitarian, is at present in the throes of a grave financial crisis. While encouraging the member states to contribute towards a political solution of the Palestinian problem, the recommendation urges them to increase their regular contributions to UNRWA and to make special donations at once to enable it to continue its education programme. The Assembly also calls for political approaches to the oil-producing Arab countries to persuade them to increase their regular contributions to the UNRWA budget, and for the USSR and other East European states to be asked to reverse their policy of non-contribution in view of the purely humanitarian and non-political nature of the organisation's activities.

● *The right of aliens to vote and stand in local authority elections*, Recommendation 903 adopted on 30 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography (Doc. 4586).

The Assembly recommends the immediate implementation of the conclusions of the Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government, held in Madrid last May. The main point in those conclusions is the launching of a study leading to

a multilateral legal instrument defining the minimum civic rights (including the right to vote and stand for election) to be granted to the nationals of a Council of Europe member state living in another member state.

● *Compulsory visas for Turkish nationals*, Recommendation 906 adopted on 2 October 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography (Doc. 4625).

The Assembly disapproves of the decision taken by the Federal Republic of Germany and France to introduce compulsory visas for Turkish nationals as from 5 October 1980. It recommends that the Committee of Ministers should urge the governments applying these measures to review their decisions (and repeal the measures) without delay, and ask the governments of other member states not to take similar measures against Turkish nationals.

● *Co-operation between the countries of northern and southern Europe*, Recommendation 905 adopted on 2 October 1980.

See also the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development (Doc. 4574). In Recommendation 861, adopted in 1979, the Assembly expressed its profound conviction that the Council of Europe should play a more active part in strengthening co-operation between the countries of northern and southern Europe. Believing that the various actions proposed in that text are still valid, and indeed rendered even more urgent by worsening economic and social imbalances in Europe, the Assembly reiterates its request to the Committee of Ministers to establish closer political co-operation among all the member states and to give high priority to projects for north-south co-operation in the second Medium-Term Plan for the intergovernmental activities of the Council of Europe (1981-86). It emphasises the need for a programme of technical co-operation in favour of the countries of southern Europe to be implemented as a matter of urgency. In addition, the Assembly believes that the Resettlement Fund should have greater financial resources so as to play a more active role in promoting more balanced European development.

Finally, the various European conferences of specialist ministers could be asked to contribute in their own specific fields to redressing the balance in Europe.

● *Report on the activities of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1979*, Resolution 737 adopted on 25 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development (Doc. 4592).

According to the Assembly, the priority objectives of economic policy in OECD member states should be to combat unemployment and stimulate renewed economic activity by encouraging investment and al-

lowing consumption to pick up. The member states are also invited to persevere with their efforts to promote energy saving at all levels and develop every alternative energy source. Regarding environmental protection, the Assembly recommends improved co-ordination between OECD and the Council of Europe so as to ensure better use of the resources available to the two organisations in this sphere. On agriculture, the Assembly encourages the OECD member states to aim at "safety margins" in a number of important crops for internal needs, increased food aid and future export opportunities. The resolution further invites the OECD member states to adopt a common approach to fisheries and encourages OECD to continue its work on the specific problems facing agriculture in southern Europe. Finally, the Assembly expresses the hope that close co-operation will be maintained between the Council of Europe and OECD in the field of education.

Publications

● *Effects on employment of large-scale use of microprocessors*.

● *Patterns of unemployment in Europe*. Price: £ 3.00, FF 25.00.

● *Records of the Conference of European Ministers responsible for migration affairs*.

● *The activities of the Committee on migration, refugees and demography of the Parliamentary Assembly in the field of migration* (Doc. AS/inf (80) 3).

● *7th Seminar on International Voluntary Service*, Strasbourg, 29-30 October 1979: "The role of voluntary service in the 3rd development decade" (Doc. IVS/Sem (7) Concl.).

● *Social services: new forms in structure and organisation*. Price: £ 1.10, FF 9.00.

● *New trends in European mortality, Population studies*, no. 5. Price: £ 1.75, FF 14.00.

● *The comparative costs of health care given inside and outside hospitals*. Price: £ 1.10, FF 9.00.

● *The patient as an active participant in his own treatment*. Price: £ 1.10, FF 9.00.

Education, science and culture

On these questions, see also the specialised bulletins compiled by the Directorate of Education, Culture and Sport:

● *News-letter/Faits Nouveaux*

Contains information on educational developments (legislation, general policy statements, committee reports, etc.) in the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC). Articles are in English or French depending on the country concerned. Published five times a year.

● *Cultural Policy*

Council of Europe information notes on cultural policy trends and innovations, containing news of other organisations and member countries as well as an annotated bibliography. This bulletin is also published in German (apply to Europa Union Verlag, Bachstrasse 32, Postfach 1529, D-5300 Bonn 1). No. 2/3-80 deals with the state's role vis-à-vis the culture industries.

● *New Trends*

News bulletin of the European network of adult education interaction projects. Informs network participants and interested circles of relevant events (visits, meetings, publications, etc.). Published three or four times a year. No. 6 (October 1980) is devoted to the network's activities during the first half of 1980.

● *EUDISED R & D (Research and Development) Bulletin*

Continuous survey of major educational research projects in progress or already completed in Council of Europe member states. Abstracts in English, French or German, depending on the country concerned. Subscription: £ 15 for four issues: issues 9-12, 1980-81. Apply to NFER Publishing Company Ltd, Darville House, 2 Oxford Road East, GB-Windsor SL4 1 DF.

Proceedings of the Parliamentary Assembly

● *The Olympic Games and the outlook for their future*, Resolution 738 and Recommendation 900, adopted on 26 September 1980.

See also report of the Committee on Culture and Education (Doc. 4585).

After outlining the principles on which the Games were based in Antiquity, the Assembly looks at the different factors posing a threat to their survival (increasingly political element, scale, commercial emphasis, professionalism, etc.). It calls for the summer Olympic Games to return to their country of origin, to a site close to Olympia, and urges member governments to realise this objective in consultation with the International Olympic Committee.

● *Youth Co-operation in Europe*, Recommendation 902 adopted on 27 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Culture and Education (Doc. 4587). The recommendation voices the Assembly's anxiety that the views and concerns of young people shall be reflected in all parts of the Council of Europe's intergovernmental work programme. It emphasises the importance of making the fullest possible use of the European Youth Centre and the European Youth Foundation in seeking to promote the activities of young people on a Europe-wide scale, and calls on the member states to make available the funds that are needed, at both national and European levels, in order to permit genuine youth co-operation.

● *Air traffic control*, Resolution 741 adopted on 30 September 1980.

See also the report of the Committee on Science and Technology (Doc. 4610).

The Assembly notes the increasing difficulties of air traffic in Europe, despite the existence for over twenty years of an organisation responsible for the security of air traffic, "Eurocontrol". It deplores the inadequacy of the means at the organisation's disposal, and calls on member governments to take joint action to make it easier for new members to join, and to bring pressure to bear on the relevant Eurocontrol bodies so that they enlarge its range of activities.

Publications

● *The State's role vis-à-vis the culture industries*. Documents relating to the Conference held in Strasbourg from 28 to 30 April 1980 (Doc. CC-CONF-IC 5).

● *Children and culture*, Cultural Policy, Studies Series no. 1. Price: £ 1.50, FF 12.00.

● *Community media*, Cultural Policy, Studies Series no. 2. Price: £ 1.50, FF 12.00.

● *Reflections on language needs in the school*. Price: £ 0.60, FF 5.00.

● *Development of adult education*. Final report. Price: £ 1.90, \$ 10.00, FF 15.00.

● *The Olympic Games and the outlook for their future*.

● *Prohibition of the use of chlorofluorocarbons and other measures to preserve the ozone layer*.

Youth

Study sessions organised at the European Youth Centre (EYC) in Strasbourg:

● *European Trade Union Confederation* (E. T. U. C.), 25 January-1 February 1981. Theme: The situation of young workers in Europe and the duties and aims of European youth institutions.

● *World Scout Organization - European Regional Office*, 25-31 January 1981. Theme: Role and managerial skills of professional scouts.

● *European Committee for Young farmers and 4H clubs*, 8-15 February 1981. Theme: Personal development for rural youth in the Europe of the eighties.

● *International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International* (I. F. M. - S. E. I.), 8-15 February 1981. Theme: The role of children's camps in socialist education.

● *Council of European National Youth Committees* (C. E. N. Y. C.), 22 February - 1 March 1981.

Theme: The role of European youth organisations vis-à-vis Latin America.

● *World Federalist Youth - New International Order* (W. F. Y. - N. I. O.), 22 February - 1 March 1981.

Theme: Technological choices and the new international order.

● *European Confederation of Youth Club Organisations* (E. C. Y. C.), 8-15 March 1981).

Theme: Youth and creativity.

Colloquies:

● *European Federation for Intercultural Learning* (E. F. I. L.), 18-23 January 1981. Theme: Cultural literacy and intercultural communication.

● *Democrat Youth Community of Europe* (D. E. M. Y. C.), 16-21 March 1981. Theme: US - European relations: with particular emphasis on youth questions.

Publications

● *Information Bulletin no. 3/80 of the European Youth Centre*.

Environment, Regional planning and Local authorities

Readers should also consult the following specialised periodicals prepared by the Directorate of the Environment and Local Authorities:

● *Information Bulletin on Municipal and Regional Matters*. Quarterly in English and French; summary versions in German and Italian.

● *Information Bulletin on Transfrontier Co-operation*. Quarterly offprint from the above bulletin.

● *A Future for our Past*. Information bulletin concerned with monuments and sites. No. 16 is a special issue devoted to the Fulda Congress on craftsman-ship and conservation (June 1980).

● *Newsletter - Nature*. Published eleven times a year in English, French, German, Italian, Greek, Dutch, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish.

● *Naturopa*. Illustrated quarterly review published in English, French, German and Italian. No. 36 is given over to nature in towns, a contribution to the European urban renaissance campaign.

● *Campaign launched by the European Information Centre for Nature Conservation: "Protection of wildlife and natural habitats"* A sticker bearing the slogan "Conserve Nature" is available in French, English and German.

Protected animals and plants are featured on three stamp issues. The third is a set of stamps specially issued in connection with the campaign by the Irish and Turkish post offices.

Publications

● *Selective bibliography on agriculture and the environment*, Documentary Series, no. 4, bilingual (English/French).

● *Official report of debates of the XIVth session of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe*, Strasbourg, 16–18 October 1979. Price: £ 3.75, FF 30.00.

● *Texts adopted by the XVth session of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe*, Strasbourg, 10–12 June 1980, bilingual (English/French).

● *Promoting democracy and balanced development in Europe. The local and regional contribution.*

● *The strengthening of local structures, with special reference to amalgamation and co-operation between municipalities in Council of Europe member states*, Study Series *Local and Regional Authorities in Europe*, no. 10 (revised version incorporating changes up to April 1980). Price: £ 1.10, FF 9.00.

● *Constitutional and legislative provisions concerning the organisation of regional government*, Document Series *Länder, Cantons and Regions in Europe*. Document no. 1: Federal Republic of Germany. Document no. 2: Spain.

● *Reviving rural Europe*, by Graham Moss, in the Series *European Regional Planning*, no. 29. Price: £ 0.75, FF 6.00.

● *Definition and measurement of the factors that cause urban expansion and their influence on each other*, by Aldo Cuzzer and Paolo Avarello, in the Series *European Regional Planning*, no. 30. Price: £ 0.75, FF 6.00.

● *The Pyrenees: their role in European integration and the requirements of trans-frontier co-operation*, by Jacques Robert, in the Series *European Regional Planning*, no. 31. Price: £ 0.75, FF 6.00.

● *Report on building costs.*

Legal affairs

Documentation on legal affairs will appear in the next issue of Forum (1/81).

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