

*Kinnock on
Europe*

*Satellites: pirates
in space?*



SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Incorporating Socialist International Women Bulletin 1/84

*'We must begin
to build a world of
sharing, justice,
freedom and
peace'*



**Willy Brandt
at 70**

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

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We welcome unsolicited manuscripts, accompanied by author's biographies. Articles for Focus and Horizon sections should be between 2000-2500 words; contributions to Socialist Notebook up to 500 words.

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From this issue forward Longman Group Limited will be responsible for subscription servicing, advertising and printing of Socialist Affairs. It is hoped that Longman's extensive publishing experience will contribute to broadening the readership of Socialist Affairs, without affecting its content.

Longman

A new Socialist Affairs

Although 1984 may not be the most happily anticipated year in all quarters, at SOCIALIST AFFAIRS we've plunged into it with great enthusiasm. Not that we disparage the importance of Orwell's nightmare for socialists, or that we're blind to the continuing deterioration in trust and confidence in international relations. No, our reasons are far simpler, and more parochial. First of all, we have made a number of changes in the magazine which we think mark an important stage in the growth of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. But secondly and perhaps, to be honest, more importantly, for this journal 1984 cannot be any worse than 1983.

May I express my deepest thanks to all the readers who have shown patience and understanding at our somewhat erratic production schedules — to put it delicately — last year. And a special thanks to those of you who took time to send money and words of support. Those letters lifted the grey on the days when the setbacks seemed overwhelming. To those of you who wrote in protest at the failure to receive issues 4/5/6-83, may I say, simply, we apologise and we'll try to make it up this year.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS has undergone many transformations throughout the 120 years of the Socialist International and its predecessor organisations. Since 1980, many changes in the content, structure, style and design of the magazine have been introduced. Circulation has climbed significantly over the past four years.

We hope that today SOCIALIST AFFAIRS can justly call itself a unique source of news and analysis about the events and thinking of democratic socialists around the world. In addition, it has been our practice to open the magazine to topics and people outside the sometimes self-centred world of politics. It was early in 1982, for example, that SOCIALIST AFFAIRS published a pioneering article on acid rain, more than a year before most publications became aware of this staggering new environmental threat.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS continues to report the activities of the Socialist International itself and the congresses, elections and developments of its member parties and organisations around the world. The magazine remains one of the few places where virtually every election in the democratic world and its detailed results and implications are reported.

Despite this growth in recent years SOCIALIST AFFAIRS continues to receive substantial support from the Socialist International. In 1983, when the organisation had to endure a period of prolonged financial retrenchment, the contribution of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS to that process was to forgo publication in the latter half of the year.

We weren't idle during that period of public silence, and we hope that this 84-page issue is some testimony to that. It is our largest issue ever and covers a range of material, authors and events we hope you will enjoy. It is our intention to publish four issues of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS this

year, each substantially larger than previous years' issues. We realise the reduced frequency is a loss and we will weigh the benefits and disadvantages at the end of this year.

For all those readers whose subscription lapsed at the end of last year we are offering this double issue and the subsequent issue in partial compensation.

The subscription rates for SOCIALIST AFFAIRS have remained unchanged for some years, depending on which type of subscription you held. The familiar plaint of magazines everywhere is, sadly, ours as well. Not only have costs risen steeply, our revenues have been badly affected over the years by the vagaries of exchange rates. Consequently we have had to increase our sterling rate.

The change we are most excited about is the new co-ventureship with the Socialist International Women Bulletin. Many readers will have received the Bulletin in the past with SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. From this issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS the Bulletin will form a distinct new section in the magazine. We hope that through a combination of our resources and talents we may produce an even stronger publication.

A second major change is the involvement of the British publishing group Longman in our work. They have agreed to take over all aspects of printing and despatch and business administration for the magazine, leaving the editorial staff to concentrate on the content and design of the publication. All subscription enquiries should in future be referred to Longman.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS itself has a new address, that of the secretariat of the Socialist International. Some of you will no doubt miss the bucolic ring of our old premises in Flowers Mews. It was in fact situated literally in the centre of one of London's busiest and noisiest traffic interchanges! The new joint office will allow the work of the secretariat and the magazine to be more effectively integrated.

There is a host of new names and positions on the masthead, as well. Our new publisher is the general secretary of the International, Pentti Vaananen. The publisher of the Women's Bulletin will be Irmtraut Leirer, the general secretary of Socialist International Women. Managing editor is Harry Drost, who has been with SOCIALIST AFFAIRS since 1980. The new assistant editor is Luis Ayala, the secretary for Latin American and Caribbean affairs of the International. The design and graphics will continue to be in the capable hands of Mike Phillips, the face behind Quivica Graphics.

Thanks again for your patience and support. And we hope that with this issue SOCIALIST AFFAIRS will have started its best year yet.



Editor



Dear Willy,

Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International since 1976 and Federal German chancellor from 1969 to 1974, was 70 on 18 December last year. Among the many who congratulated him was the writer Guenter Grass.

On congratulating you on the occasion of your seventieth birthday, we congratulate ourselves, too. For anyone belonging to your generation, marked by the ruptures and disasters of German history this century, the pattern of your life has clearly been exceptional. This opinion won't be shared by all: what some admire as exemplary, others find annoying. You held your course from the outset, you stayed 'left and free'. And for that I, your friend and – latterly – comrade, thank you.

Only too well do I know and remember the hostility and attacks you faced, and from both German states. Your conduct – however natural it had seemed to you, however little you sought to use it, to teach or even humiliate others – still managed to provoke. It often seemed as if you'd have been more acceptable to the emerging post-war society if you'd had a skeleton in the cupboard. I can't and won't forget that in the fifties and sixties, having a skeleton in the cupboard – complicity/collaboration under the nazis – was to some extent a prerequisite for social acceptability. After the sweeping denazification exercise, anyone who hadn't needed that quick wash and

brushup was an intruder. He embarrassed the newly gained community spirit. He was an outsider: he had all the virtues applauded as honourable and worthy, true, but he lacked the bad odour of the majority, the conspiracy of the hypocrites' knowing looks, their complacent 'we got away with it'.

I experienced it, and wrote about it at the time. Even at you (our) party's local level your image, or the image we had of you, was disconcerting. You were loved, but with reservation – 'if only he hadn't come from outside'! We'd have preferred you lesser in stature. Ironically enough, it was these same comrades who later, when you were 'our chancellor', made you larger than life.

But you put all that behind you. I am thankful that from the beginning of the sixties through to the seventies I was able to do my share of political work alongside you, and for the opportunity it gave me to witness areas of reality normally outside the writer's experience. There were times when I saw you doubting, sometimes even doubted; times when political office, the notorious cabinet rows – and you appointed some prize actors as ministers – weighed heavy on your shoulders, de-

pressed you. Later, when you retired, it sometimes looked as if you were anxious to shrink into the background.

We were wrong. Suddenly, and for many unexpectedly, you were back: as chairman of the party, and also as president of Socialist International. Untiringly, you pointed to the unfairness of the world economic order and the misery of the Third World. And when, in your North-South report, you contrasted the misery of the Third World with the arms race between the two superpowers and their allies, it was no doubt your allusion to this hideous relationship that motivated many individuals to become active in the peace movement and put up democratic resistance to the missile mania that currently prevails in the Federal Republic.

The SPD has once again found peace of mind and the self-esteem gained in the days of August Bebel. It seemed for a long time in danger of adopting mere pragmatism as a substitute ideology, of yielding to force of circumstance. Omniscience was the order of the day. No wonder that the debate between social democrats and writers came to an end, that the forum you once sought and reserved for critical encounters became increasingly empty. This period of loss of substance has now passed, and without a doubt, it is you we have to thank for our return to a democratic socialism.

My wish for you, Willy, and for us, is a future for this development, and above all the wish that you'll stay with us, to help us, too, to be 'left and free'.

Yours,

Guenter

Reprinted with thanks from sozialdemokrat magazine.

Working for understanding: Willy Brandt with President Kennedy in Berlin in 1963; at the war memorial in Warsaw in 1971; with Giuseppe Saragat and Bruno Kreisky at the SI's congress in 1976; with Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow in 1981 (clockwise from top left)





Meeting in Brussels: Pentti Vaananen, Willy Brandt; Walid Jumblatt, Doureid Yaghi; Ernest Glinne (top from left). Enrique Silva Cimma, Anselmo Sule; Hipolito Solari; Dessima Williams; Sachiko Taguchi (bottom from left).

Photographs by Gonzalo Caceres

Bureau debates Euro-missiles and Grenada

The first meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist International since the Congress in Albufeira, Portugal, in April 1983, was held in Brussels in November 1983 and grappled with the dilemmas posed by the stationing of new intermediate-range nuclear weapons and the tragedy of Grenada.

The meeting was hosted by the Socialist Group of the European Parliament and opened with a report by group chairman Ernest Glinne on the plans for the European elections

to be held in June 1984. He stressed the challenge of unemployment to the left in Europe.

The impending stationing of new intermediate weapons in Europe dominated much of the first day of the deliberations, with efforts to arrive at a common position on the question led by Kalevi Sorsa and the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC).

Although representatives of the French and Italian member parties supported the imminent deployments as legitimate security responses, there was a wide measure of agreement among delegates about the need to guarantee the continuation of negotiations, and to avoid further deployment. The Bureau gave its approval to a call for a ban on the use of weapons in outer space, the enactment of nuclear-free zones, a commitment to 'no first use', and a prohibition on the use of chemical weapons. The Bureau referred to SIDAC, for its consideration, the question of French nuclear testing in the Pacific, at the request of the

Australian Labor Party, the New Zealand Labour Party and the Japan Democratic Socialist Party. A text opposing any installation of cruise, Pershing, or SS 21-23 missiles was signed by a number of party delegations but not adopted by the Bureau as an official document. (The resolution on security issues is published on page 7.)

The second main theme of the meeting was the world economy. Despite an extensive discussion of the first deliberations of the new Socialist International Committee on Economy Policy, SICEP, the other issue which dominated discussion was the invasion of Grenada, and the tragic events which both preceded and followed it.

Michael Manley, leader of the People's National Party, Jamaica, who with Carlos Andres Perez, of Democratic Action, Venezuela, had been asked by President Brandt to look into the events in Grenada, opened the discussion. Also important were the contributions by Dessima Williams, the former Grenadan ambassador to

the Organisation of American States in Washington, and Henry Forde, the leader of the Barbados Labour Party delegation.

Manley informed the Bureau of the circumstances surrounding the invasion, and expressed his strong condemnation of the murder of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues, and the US intervention. Henry Forde defended what he called the 'rescue mission' as essential to restoring law and order.

The Bureau discussion focused on four central questions flowing from the horror of the previous months' events: the invasion itself; the role played by all those involved in the events; the issues which still face the international community arising from them; and what role the Socialist International should now play in attempting to alleviate the pain suffered by the people of Grenada. Although no new text was adopted on the subject, in order to give the five-person commission of inquiry, and the Socialist International and its Committee for Latin America and the Carib-

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BRUSSELS BUREAU MEETING

bean, an opportunity to conduct further inquiries, the Bureau did declare that the two statements issued by the president and general secretary would remain the position of the Bureau until its meeting in April. (They are published on page 11.) The five people named to continue investigating the situation were Michael Manley, Carlos Andres Perez, Jose Fran-

cisco Pena Gomez, and representatives of the Norwegian Labour Party, DNA, and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE.

The Socialist International conference on Southern Africa received the go-ahead from the Brussels Bureau, after the regrettable postponement of the scheduled 1983 dates. The

new programme called for a final meeting of the preparatory committee, followed by a meeting of officials in the region in March, and a high-level conference later this year.

(Following the March 5-7, 1984 meetings in Dar-es-Salaam, the front-line states and the Socialist International issued a statement saying that the conference would take place

in Arusha during the first part of September 1984).

The Economic Policy Committee and the Middle East Committee both presented reports to the meeting on their work since the Albufeira Congress. Michael Manley, chairman of the SICEP, reported on preliminary discussions held in London in June 1983, and the first full meeting of the Commit-

List of participants

Socialist International Bureau Meeting Brussels, 24-25 November 1983

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Giuseppe Scanni
Walter Marossi

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Malta Labour Party
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New Zealand Labour Party
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Jacqui Drollet
Bulent Ecevit
Dessima Williams

tee held on the eve of the Bureau. He outlined its first aims as breaking the North-South impasse, and examining the interlinked issues of debt, trade and the monetary system.

Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist Party, Portugal, outlined his continuing efforts where the Middle East situation was concerned on behalf of the Socialist International. He reviewed events in the region and the deliberations of the Committee in recent months and expressed the hope that a new mission to the region would take place soon. He also expressed his personal concern for the safety of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat, then under siege in Tripoli.

The Bureau adopted several resolutions on developments in Latin America and the Caribbean; and in particular on Central America and the Southern Cone. Nils Castro, of the Democratic Revolutionary of Panama, PRD, a guest of the Bureau, presented a report on the efforts of his party and country to bring peace to Central America through the Contadora process. The Bureau received the greetings of Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen, the personal representative of recently elected Argentinian president, Raul Alfonsin. The decisions of the Bureau as proposed by the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, and its member parties, are published below.

Financial and organisational questions occupied significant parts of the Bureau agenda. Following a review of the heavy drain on the Socialist International finances that the events and activities of 1983 had meant, the Bureau adopted a 25 per cent increase in member party contributions, as well as a special contributions fund. The Bureau also renewed the mandate of the committees of the Socialist International for the next inter-congress period.

The next meeting of the Bureau will take place in Slangerup, Denmark, near Copenhagen, at the invitation of the Danish Social Democratic Party, on 25-26 April 1984, at the educational centre of the Danish Metal Workers' Union.

Resolution on Disarmament

1. The Socialist International deeply regrets the failure of the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces. The Socialist International strongly appeals to the Soviet Union and the United States to create conditions under which the negotiations can be resumed at the earliest possible date.

2. The Soviet Union and the United States should now consider merging or effectively coordinating all negotiations concerning strategic and eurostrategic nuclear weapons.

3. The principal goal of the disarmament negotiations must be the halting of the development, testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons; the same is to apply to new weapons technologies. This must be followed by the gradual elimination of the existing nuclear arsenals all over the world under effective international control.

4. Negotiations on the elimination of nuclear arsenals can produce ultimate results only when other nuclear powers join them, at the earliest possible date.

5. A comprehensive freeze of all nuclear weapons testing must be immediately observed. A treaty for renunciation of force between NATO and the Warsaw Pact should include obligations of no first use of conventional and nuclear weapons. Nuclear-weapon-free zones and corridors should be established in regions where the countries concerned can agree on such measures. Agreements on the prohibition of all chemical and other mass-destruction weapons should be concluded without delay.

6. In view of the worsening of East-West relations, it is of the utmost importance that the Stockholm Conference should work constructively on the development of confidence-building measures and disarmament. Such a conference may also achieve the important aim of reestablishing — on the basis of mutual confidence — a political climate allowing the renewal of a positive dialogue leading to detente.

7. The Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces should be continued and brought to a positive conclusion.

8. An agreement should be negotiated on a ban on all types of weapons in outer space.

9. Alarmed by the growing danger of war in various parts of the world and shocked by the increasing resort to the use of force by major and minor powers, the Socialist International appeals to all its member parties, whether in government or in opposition, and beyond that, to all parties and people of good will, to do everything in their power to promote the reduction of existing weapons arsenals and to create conditions of security and mutual confidence. The present balance of terror must be replaced by a balance of sanity and the concept of common security.

Resolution on Central America

The Socialist International reiterates its deep concern about the situation in Central America and demands that the US administration adopt a positive attitude towards a negotiated settlement in the region.

In particular the Socialist International is very disturbed about a possible military intervention by the US in El Salvador and Nicaragua that would seriously aggravate the already explosive situation in the region and could have devastating effects not only in inter-American but also in international relations as well.

The Socialist International welcomes the efforts of the Salvadorean opposition, in particular the fundamental role of its member party, the MNR, in the search for a negotiated settlement. The Socialist International urges the US administration and the US-backed Salvadorean regime to respond seriously and in good faith to these initiatives.

The Socialist International welcomes the positive initiatives recently proposed by the Nicaraguan government as efforts to find negotiated

political solutions to the conflicts of the region.

A negotiation process involves compromise, and is therefore more time-consuming and complex than the use of force as a means of seeking solutions. The Socialist International therefore suggests to those who have expressed impatience at the pace of negotiations to consider this reality and to examine the extent and sincerity of their commitment to the success of such a process. In this context the Socialist International supports the efforts of the Contadora group for peace, negotiations and stability in Central America.

The Socialist International condemns the role being played by the Honduran government and demands an end to the military manoeuvres that have only increased existing tensions.

The Socialist International expresses its great concern at the revival of the so-called Central America Defence Council (CONDECA) by the armies of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras and views this development as against a pursuit of a negotiated solution to the regional crisis.

Resolution on Chile

The Socialist International supports the efforts that are being made by the people of Chile and by the political parties in that country, particularly its member party the Radical Party, for a rapid return to democracy in Chile.

The Socialist International appeals for the broadest expression of solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle to put an end to dictatorship and to reestablish freedom and democracy.

Resolution on Argentina

The Socialist International expresses its deep satisfaction with the victory of democracy in Argentina and avails itself of this opportunity to congratulate the party that won the elections by

an overwhelming majority: Radical Civic Union, and its winning ticket headed by comrade Raul Alfonsin.

The Socialist International also expresses its deep satisfaction with the presence of a representative from the Radical Party at this Bureau meeting.

The Socialist International is confident that this democratic triumph in Argentina will become the first step towards the restoration of democracy and human rights in the remaining countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America under the military regimes.

Resolution on Costa Rica

The Socialist International endorses the statement made by the president of Costa Rica, comrade Luis Alberto Monge, reaffirming the status of neutrality of that country.

In that connection, the Socialist International urges all countries to acknowledge the neutrality declaration, taking into account the fact that it has been made by a country lacking an army and involved in development efforts, guided by the principles of peace, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights and which struggles to stay out of the conflicts that affect the Central American region.

Costa Rica aims to contribute to the struggle for peace and political stability in Central America by utilising its scarce resources in investments in education, culture, health and social welfare instead of allocating such resources to military purposes. These efforts are endorsed by the Socialist International.

Resolution on Guatemala

The Socialist International condemns the continuous violations of human rights and increased repression in Guatemala. The Socialist International fully supports the Democratic Socialist Party's struggle to bring about a democratic government and social and economic justice in Guatemala.

Chile mission proposed

The Socialist International Chile Committee, at its meeting in London on 9 November 1983, proposed, to the Bureau the sending of a mission to Chile in 1984.

The meeting, chaired by Reulf Steen of the Norwegian Labour Party, was attended by delegations from ten member parties of the Socialist International, including as delegates of the Radical Party of Chile a vice-president, Patricio Morales, and Anselmo Sule, the first secretary of the party and a vice-president of the Socialist International.

The meeting heard a report

from Morales, who had travelled from Santiago especially for the meeting. He outlined the growth and development and increasing unity of the opposition forces in Chile, and the success of the protests and mass demonstrations held throughout the year. The Democratic Alliance, in which the Radical Party plays a central role, was one of the leading forces in the protests. The opposition demanded the resignation of the Pinochet government, the establishment of a government of transition, and the election of a constitutional assembly.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the overthrow of democracy in Chile, the Socialist International issued the following declaration:

On the tenth anniversary of the overthrow of the legitimate constitutional government of Chile, presided over by Salvador Allende, the Socialist International expresses once again its full support for and solidarity with the democratic forces of that country.

The military regime which acceded to power by means of force on 11 September 1973 has, over the past years, been the subject of universal condemnation.

In addition to the thousands who fell victim to the violence of the military coup, the Chilean dictatorship has been respon-

sible, over the past ten years, for the massive and systematic violation of human rights.

The existence of political prisoners, of political prisoners who have 'disappeared', of arbitrary arrests, the use of torture, and the expulsion and forced exile from national territory of thousands of people, have been some of the characteristics of an institutionalised policy of repression against the Chilean people.

To all this must be added the dramatic consequences of a disastrous economic policy which has led to mass unemployment, the breakdown and closure of industries, the

persecution of union organisations and their leaders, and the imposition of a constitution designed by the regime to perpetuate its power.

Nevertheless, the Chilean people has maintained its determination and its desire to regain the freedom and democracy which, in the past, were a symbol of the nation's pride.

The recent peaceful demonstrations during the national days of protest have been met with a violent response from Chile's security forces. These demonstrations and the declarations of prominent Chilean political figures, institutions and political parties in favour of a return to democracy, are definitive proof of the continuing aspirations of the people of that country.

The Socialist International has expressed on numerous occasions its support for the struggle for a return to democracy and the reestablishment of the Chilean people's political and social institutions. It has also raised its voice, and will continue to do so, in the defence of human rights in Chile.

On this the tenth anniversary, we again confirm our support for the Radical Party of Chile, a member party of the Socialist International, and for all the democratic forces in that country, and we reiterate our demand for the establishment of a free and democratic Chile. ☐

The face of Chile



an overwhelming majority: Radical Civic Union, and its winning ticket headed by comrade Raul Alfonsin.

The Socialist International also expresses its deep satisfaction with the presence of a representative from the Radical Party at this Bureau meeting.

The Socialist International is confident that this democratic triumph in Argentina will become the first step towards the restoration of democracy and human rights in the remaining countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America under the military regimes.

Resolution on Costa Rica

The Socialist International endorses the statement made by the president of Costa Rica, comrade Luis Alberto Monge, reaffirming the status of neutrality of that country.

In that connection, the Socialist International urges all countries to acknowledge the neutrality declaration, taking into account the fact that it has been made by a country lacking an army and involved in development efforts, guided by the principles of peace, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights and which struggles to stay out of the conflicts that affect the Central American region.

Costa Rica aims to contribute to the struggle for peace and political stability in Central America by utilising its scarce resources in investments in education, culture, health and social welfare instead of allocating such resources to military purposes. These efforts are endorsed by the Socialist International.

Resolution on Guatemala

The Socialist International condemns the continuous violations of human rights and increased repression in Guatemala. The Socialist International fully supports the Democratic Socialist Party's struggle to bring about a democratic government and social and economic justice in Guatemala.

Chile mission proposed

The Socialist International Chile Committee, at its meeting in London on 9 November 1983, proposed, to the Bureau the sending of a mission to Chile in 1984.

The meeting, chaired by Reiulf Steen of the Norwegian Labour Party, was attended by delegations from ten member parties of the Socialist International, including as delegates of the Radical Party of Chile a vice-president, Patricio Morales, and Anselmo Sule, the first secretary of the party and a vice-president of the Socialist International.

The meeting heard a report

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The face of Chile





Socialist International holds first meeting in Brazil

The Socialist International Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean held its second meeting of 1983 in Rio de Janeiro on 19-21 August – the first time the Socialist International or any of its bodies had met in Brazil.

Participating in the meeting were more than fifty delegates from seventeen member parties of the Socialist International, as well as representatives of thirteen parties and organisations seated as observers. Among them were the principal opposition parties in Brazil, representatives of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT), the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), and the Workers' Party (PT).

Leonel Brizola, the governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro and leader of the PDT, under whose auspices the meeting was held, said that the timing was opportune, because his country was now entering a new era and because democratic socialism in Latin America was assuming a new and more significant dimension.

Concerning Brazil itself, he said, 'as each day passed, the majority of the Brazilian people were becoming aware that the country would be able to overcome its present stalemate only by opening avenues to democratic socialism'.

The meeting's agenda included discussion of the several processes of struggle for democracy in South America, Central America and the Caribbean, the political and socioeconomic obstacles to implementing democracy in the region, and perspectives and prospects for democratic socialism in Latin America and the Caribbean. The main document approved by the committee, the Rio Declaration, is published below.

The Declaration of Rio de Janeiro

The inexorable process of decline and decay in the dictatorships of various types, and the continuing strengthening of the struggle for democracy, is bringing closer the aspirations for progress, peace

and freedom in Latin America.

'In the Southern Cone, Brazil plays a privileged role. In Brazil there is a process of 'abertura', which we hope will evolve day to day into an effective democratic system. It is our hope that this process is consolidated through direct popular elections, which will culminate in the election of a constitutional assembly. As Brazil becomes democratic, it will be an example that will be influential in solving the problems of the people of the region. The Chilean people are confronting, in vigorous days of protest and sacrifice, the most cruel and hated dictatorship on the continent. In Argentina, the struggle of its people and the failure of the military regime have dictated the current electoral process. The heroic struggle of Bolivia, in successive efforts, has resulted in a triumph for democracy. Uruguay has deepened and intensified its offensive for freedom, weakening the power of the authoritarian regime.

'Central America presents dramatic challenges. The Nicaraguan revolution is being threatened by an intolerable invasion openly directed by the Republican administration of Ronald Reagan. The attempted invasion, by the somocista mercenaries, from Honduran territory, having been repelled, the United States navy, responsible for so many interventions in

the Caribbean, is once again using the oceans of the region as a field of manoeuvres, resulting in a de facto blockade and an effective threat of invasion of Nicaragua.

'The United States' military bases in Panama are being used for the same purposes, in violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, creating a grave situation and threatening the sovereignty of Panama.

'The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean noted with satisfaction the proposals of the Nicaraguan government aimed at achieving peace in the region.

'Latin America diplomacy, for the first time in history, has freed itself from the panamerican concept of the Organization of the American States. Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia – through the Contadora initiative, which has the support of seventeen Latin American countries, including Brazil, along with the countries of Europe, the Socialist International and many other social and political forces – are opposing intervention in Central America, of whatever type or from whatever source, in an effort to defend the right of the Nicaraguan people to self-determination and survival. The Contadora initiative must be extended to the case of El Salvador, where open genocide is practised against an unarmed, civilian population, carried out under the pretext of combatting the FDR/FMLN, which, with the support of the Socialist International, has on many occasions called for peace agreements.

'That is why democratic socialism is growing continuously, as the political, social and cultural alternative in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the struggle against dictatorships in the region, against direct or indirect foreign interventions, against misery and underdevelopment, there is an increasing movement toward a platform of profound social transformation, expressed by socialism, both as an ideal and as a concrete social movement.

The social bases of socialism in the region

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS LATIN AMERICA

have grown with the growth of industrialisation and urbanisation, as large numbers of service and manual workers see their salary demands postponed and cut back, due to the existence, side by side, of enormous numbers of the poverty-stricken who have been marginalised socially, culturally and from working life. It is therefore only through a policy of full employment, based on a programme of rational planning in the formation and utilisation of both human and natural resources, that it will be possible to secure a dignified future for the peoples of the region.

As well as securing food, health care and housing as part of this policy, a fundamental role will be given to a free and open education system, because human resources constitute the foundations of real economic development. The international crisis extends to all corners of the world, and exacerbates the existing features of the social economic situation in this region. The growth of foreign debts in the Third World, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, and especially in those countries which are most industrialised in that region, threatens the viability of any development policy. Renegotiation of these debts has led to enormous new levels of indebtedness and increasingly unbearable interest charges. And the foreign currency reserves, obtained through painful struggles by the countries of the region to increase exports and reduce imports, are then used by international bankers for speculative purposes. These countries are part of the huge, cumulative process of impoverishment, which exists only to serve the demands of international bankers and representatives of conservative forces such as the IMF, which, in turn, represent the interests of the bankers.

Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to change this situation with the combined strength and cooperation of the indebted countries, who, although they recognise these debts, might be obliged to

suspend immediate payment in order to negotiate the amounts, the repayment schedule, and the interest rate, with the objective of overcoming this grave crisis in their balance of payments.

On the small island of Grenada, we have observed pressures against its government by the same conservative forces. The most recent military coup in Guatemala has not changed the repressive and dictatorial circumstances which have prevailed in that country since 1954, and for that reason, we support the forces fighting for genuine democratic processes there. We note with dismay that in Haiti and in Paraguay dictatorial regimes have been sustained for many years by economic and political support from abroad. We reiterate our support for the right to self-determination of Puerto Rico and, therefore, its decolonisation. We reaffirm, at the same time, our concern at the repressive actions taken against trade union leaders and political representatives in Guyana. In the same manner, we share the apprehension expressed in the Albufeira congress concerning the human rights situation in Surinam, but as well, we cannot accept any attempted interference in the internal problems of this country. In light of these situations, and the condemnable attempts to transform the Caribbean Basin Initiative into a political instrument, it is imperative that this region is transformed into a zone of peace, independence and economic development. As great as the internal difficulties are to implement democracy in the region, the facts demonstrate that external pressures and interventions of an imperialist nature are the sustenance of local oligarchies, their domestic interests, and the various forms of dictatorial government.

The transnational corporations are demonstrating their hunger for increased profits, which are repatriated to the corporation's country of origin, decapitalising the region. At the same time, they are incapable of creating sufficient jobs to absorb the growth in population because they adopt sophisticated technology and devote it to the

production of superfluous consumer goods. In the final analysis, this reinforces the tendency towards concentration and monopolisation, reproducing conditions of misery and underdevelopment alongside luxury, and reinforces an industrial 'modernisation' which fosters systems of government that exclude the majority of the people.

The militarisation encouraged by the military-industrial complex is impoverishing the Third World and diverting resources from civil technological advances, impeding the recovery of the industrialised economies and the achievement of a satisfactory level of social and cultural development.

As a result, the struggle of the peoples of the region are becoming a single movement for national sovereignty, development, social justice and democracy. As experience demonstrates, a capitalism of dependency, which excludes and marginalises the majority, is the sole form of society which emerges from neo-capitalist 'modernisation'. Only democratic socialism will be able to guarantee an independent path of development, social justice and democracy in the region.

Once these emergency measures have been implemented, the demands for a new international economic order should be reemphasised – an order which will generate new financial, commercial and technological relationships between the centres of world power and the dependent countries of the Third World. Within this new order, a special place should be occupied by the regulation of transnational corporations which operate in a monopolistic manner, under the protection of a system of international relations biased in their favour. This is a fundamental element in the generation, maintenance and growth of the inequalities and injustices of international economic relations. These issues should be an integral part of the work of the Committee on Economic Policy, established by the sixteenth congress of the Socialist International in April 1983.

In this context, the victory in Europe of socialist and social democratic forces is auspicious. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that these parties, whose foundation is working people, should contribute to the elimination of a eurocentric approach, which limits the progressive impetus which these victories should have for the people of the region.

Undeniably, the presence of the Socialist International in Latin America and the Caribbean is growing, particularly in the case of Central America. In Central America, the Socialist International, along with the Contadora countries and other governments, such as the Brazilian government – which has adopted a position in favour of peace and non-intervention – is becoming a decisive barrier to policies of intervention and military adventure which might have the potential of leading to nuclear holocaust.

In order to consolidate these advances toward progress, democracy and peace in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Socialist International should increase cooperation among its regional organisations and its contribution to the strengthening of the trade union movement, and the movements of indigenous peoples, women and youth. Simultaneously, relations should be strengthened between the member parties of the Socialist International and the Socialist International and those parties in the region with whom we cooperate. The mechanisms of meetings, of the press, and of interchange should be expanded.

In this task, the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean will continue and intensify its work for the defence of human rights and the development of a democratic, socialist consciousness, ever more deeply rooted in the countries and institutions of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Without socialism, there cannot be democracy, and without democracy, there cannot be socialism. 

Disarmament Council proposes appeal

The Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), meeting in Helsinki on 14 February 1984, studied a programme of action for the coming year in light of the break in two, out of the three superpower arms negotiations and the stationing of new intermediate-range weapons in Europe.

The council, under the chairmanship of Kalevi Sorsa, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Finland and Finnish prime minister, has proposed the issuance by the Socialist International of an appeal to the heads of state of the countries of the Convention on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The appeal, to be signed by

party leaders and heads of governments from Socialist International member parties in those countries, will call on each head of state to use every effort to enable the relaunch of the negotiations on both intermediate and strategic weapons.

The council also agreed to plan a visit to the Asia-Pacific region in 1984, to include visits to Japan and other countries in the area. It is hoped that the council, charged by the 1980 Madrid congress with responsibility for disarmament issues within the Socialist International, will also be able to exchange views with the Non-Aligned Movement in 1984. The council will report to the April meeting of the Bureau on its view of current security issues.

The text is published below.

Appeal to the heads of state of the CSCE countries

1. While the dramatically worsened international atmosphere and the reaccelerated arms race cast a gloom over the perspectives for the future, we, representatives of the socialist, social democratic and labour parties affiliated to the Socialist International, appeal to the heads of the CSCE states. A change must be brought about.

After the interruption of most important disarmament and all arms control negotiations, there is a direct risk that the escalation will get out of control.

Therefore, efforts must be focused on the creation of prerequisites for resuming the negotiation process.

In our view, it can be made possible only by the reopening of the dialogue between the two great powers. To this end, we appeal to the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to take up the dialogue again at all levels, including the highest level.

2. The Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe also opens up new possibilities for reviving mutual trust and for reducing the risk of military confrontation in Europe. This opportunity must be fully utilised for dialogue and for extending the scope, the geographic applicability and the politically binding character of the confidence-building measures.

3. The Stockholm conference must create an atmosphere conducive to the reopening of the negotiations on the intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe and to the continuation of the negotiations on strategic arms. The dangerous spiral of the accelerating nuclear arms race must be broken.

Socialist International statements on Grenada

The Socialist International issued two statements on the murder of Maurice Bishop and the US invasion of Grenada. Both were signed by Willy Brandt, president, and Pentti Vaananen, general secretary.

20 October 1983

The Socialist International strongly condemns the assassination of Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, members of his cabinet, trade unionists and other citizens of that country.

The President of the Socialist International has asked vice-presidents Michael Manley of Jamaica and Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela to assess the situation immediately on the island by a personal visit or by other means and to report to the proper organs of the Socialist International for further action.

25 October 1983

The Socialist International most strongly condemns the invasion and occupation by United States armed forces of the independent state of Grenada. This action is completely incompatible with the principles of international law.

The Socialist International, some days ago, emphatically denounced the murder of socialist prime minister Maurice Bishop and his friends. It does not, however, see any justification for foreign intervention following this barbarous act and the subsequent political crisis.

The protests by the United States against the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan can only lose credibility in view of her own action.

After these events the worst must be feared for a political solution of the general crisis in Central America.

Economic study starts

The Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy was launched prior to the meeting of the Bureau in Brussels on 23 November 1983. The meeting, chaired by the committee's chairman, Michael Manley, leader of the People's National Party of Jamaica, considered priorities in the work of the new group and attempted to assign early responsibilities.

The committee was established by the Socialist International congress in Albufeira in April 1983, at the suggestion of a number of party leaders and in the wake of the work of the Socialist International Working Group on the Cancun summit and the Economic Policy conference hosted by the Austrian

Socialist Party for the Socialist International in September 1982.

It is anticipated that the committee, which will report to the next meeting of the Bureau in April 1984, will address the problems of employment and industrial adjustment, the burden of external debt and unfavourable terms of trade in the Third World, and the connections between these issues. The committee set up two groups, each composed of one party from the North and one from the South, to examine the reestablishment of the North-South dialogue and issues of finance, trade and debt.

The committee secretary is Oscar Debunne of the Socialist Party (SP) of Belgium, and all member parties of the Socialist International are members of the committee.

In memoriam Bruno Pittermann

Bruno Pittermann, president of the Socialist International from 1964 until 1976, and for many years chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe) and Austrian vice-chancellor, died on 19 September 1983 in Vienna. He was 79 years old.

Pittermann was one of the architects of Austria's second republic, and, true to his convictions as a democratic socialist, his entire career revealed him to be a man of international mind and outlook.

Born into a working-class family in Vienna, he studied history, geography and philosophy at Vienna University, after which he became secretary of the Chamber of Labour in Carinthia. In 1934 he was driven from this post by the austro-fascist Dollfuss regime, and placed under arrest. He was a man of considerable humour. I remember an occasion – after the republic had been re-established in 1945 – when he pointed out a conservative member of the Austrian parliament to me and characterised him thus: 'That man pushed me out of my job in the Chamber of Labour in 1934. But today he no longer holds it against me'.

After his release, Pittermann studied law in Vienna, and passed all his examinations with honours. But he graduated as a doctor of law only in 1945, on political grounds, for in the meantime the Nazis had seized power in Austria and forbidden his graduation. He was subjected to severe persecution during the Nazi period, so much so that he latterly had to go into hiding in the period before the liberation of Austria in 1945.

Immediately hostilities had ended, Pittermann busied himself with the re-establishment of the Chambers of Labour. As one of the first socialists to return illegally to Soviet-occupied Vienna from emigration in the West, I met Bruno Pittermann in June 1945. At that time he was already counted among the great hopes of the party, along with established leaders like Renner, Schärff and Seitz, who had already returned. The reconstituted party bore the name 'Socialist Party and Revolu-

tionary Socialists', the latter part having been the name of the illegal party under the Austrian and later German fascist regimes. And in June 1945, when the Nazis had been defeated only a few weeks previously and the new democratic parties were taking their first strong steps, it was already clear that Bruno Pittermann was one of the coming men.



Austria, although partitioned into four zones of occupation, was nevertheless fortunate in being able to hold democratic elections as early as November 1945. The results brought two surprises. The first was that the communists, despite noteworthy illegal work during the years of fascism, and in spite of considerable support from the Soviet occupying forces in their heavily industrialised occupation zone, received only around 4 percent of the total vote. The other was that, in spite of the austro-fascist past, the conservative successor to the Christian Social Party gained the majority, and the Socialists only second place.

With this, the political outline was drawn for more than twenty years of postwar Austrian history: the coalition of a conservative majority and an

only marginally weaker socialist junior partner was to come to an end only in 1966. During those decades, and beyond, Pittermann played an outstanding role, in particular as a member of a series of coalition governments. Elected to parliament in 1945, he first became secretary and then chairman of the Socialist group in parliament, which he strongly influenced in style and content,

and not infrequently dominated. He was one of the finest orators in the house, full of natural Viennese wit, with a first-class grasp of parliamentary procedure and all its possibilities, as the conservative government between 1966 and 1970 often found out.

When Socialist Party chairman and vice-chancellor Adolf Schärff was elected Austrian federal president in 1957, Pittermann was his undisputed successor in both functions. It was under his leadership that the SPOe, for the first time in the second republic, in 1959 gained a majority of votes, even if the then Austrian electoral system still did not give it a majority of parliamentary seats. It was nevertheless under Pittermann that there first appeared the beginnings of that imposing social democratic majority which

was realised under Bruno Kreisky eleven years later, and made possible thirteen years of government by Austria's social democrats with an absolute majority of both votes and parliamentary seats. In 1959, however, the only effect of the socialist success was that vice-chancellor Bruno Pittermann also became minister for the nationalised industries, whose development he ensured in the next few years in the face of hefty conservative attacks. Until the end of the grand coalition in 1966 he was a member of every Austrian government. In 1967 – as only the fourth chairman in the then eighty-year history of the SPOe – he gave up his office to Bruno Kreisky.

Known far beyond the borders of Austria as a successful social democratic leader in government and parliament, Bruno Pittermann was also elected president of the Socialist International in 1964, a function which he fulfilled until 1976. Under his leadership, the world organisation of democratic socialism became a powerful instrument against oppression and dictatorship – in both East and West. Right to the last, Bruno Pittermann was one of the honorary presidents of the Socialist International. In 1952 he also became a member of the Council of Europe, and later became one of the vice-presidents of this body.

In 1975 a stroke forced Bruno Pittermann to retire from politics. The years until his death were overshadowed by heavy suffering. A stillness descended on the meritorious politician, whose humanity and humour had aroused great liking among all who knew him. On his death, messages of sympathy came from all round the world, from political friends of all leanings, as well as from a large number of political opponents of past and present.

The Socialist International and democratic socialists all round the world will long hold Bruno Pittermann in honoured memory, as a socialist who remained true to his convictions, and an eloquent and witty campaigner for the cause of the oppressed.

Walter Hacker



World in crisis

When the Socialist International adopted the Manifesto of Albufeira at its congress in April 1983, it was hoped that the SI's outline of a socialist strategy for a new economic order could contribute to creating a climate of greater understanding and cooperation, in which humanity could begin to consider a way out of the crisis.

Now, one year later, there are still few signs of economic recovery or of a dialogue on how to distribute the world's wealth more equitably. The joint meeting of the Brandt and Palme commissions in January considered this impasse, which persists despite the fact that there is a greater awareness worldwide of the *direct* link between armament and underdevelopment, disarmament and development, between the 700 billion dollars spent on arms last year and the less than 100 billion dollars spent on capital transfers from North to South.

In this Focus section we consider further the theme of the Manifesto of Albufeira, the socialist response to the world in crisis. Five socialist leaders from North and South offer their perspectives on the aspects of the crisis that concerns them most and how socialists can contribute to overcoming it, to work towards, in the words of Willy Brandt, 'a world of sharing, justice, freedom and peace.'

A new deal for Europe

NEIL KINNOCK, leader of the British Labour Party, argues that, for Europeans, only a new kind of Community will ensure economic recovery.



Britain's future, like our past and present, lies with Europe. But for us as socialists, it will still only lie within the EEC if the Common Market can be transformed to measure up to our wider

vision of Europe's own future. We want a *square deal* from the Common Market, and a *new deal* for Europe. We want a wider, stronger and more generous Europe for Europeans rather than for the United States or the Soviet Union, multinational power, finance capital or agribusiness.

All the parties of the European left, and socialist governments throughout (West) Europe, are united behind the principle of joint economic recovery. Socialists are taking the lead in the peace movements in all the West European nations which are campaigning for a European security zone, free of nuclear weapons. These are the two most critical issues for Europeans today, but both are missing from the Common Market agenda. So, too, are the fundamental reforms of the EEC which the

Labour Party agreed at our 1983 conference — and which Andreas Papandreou, Greece's socialist premier, and others are also demanding. It is precisely because the EEC's agenda is the wrong agenda for Europe that we must fight the European elections in June alongside our socialist comrades in the other member states. We can only play full part in reshaping Europe's future if we do.

The European Economic Community is not *European*: it contains only some West European countries and excludes East European countries not only from membership but also from the political dialogue which must occur if we are to achieve closer economic cooperation and military detente. It is not *economic*: it is a food price fixing system with a common external tariff. It is not a *community*: it is bitterly divided and in a state of continuing internal crisis. Where Europeans should cooperate, the 'community' aims to integrate, reducing major political imperatives to the lowest common denominator of compromise.

No progress has been made on joint economic policies to counter the economic crisis of the last ten years, and to generate the wealth which will enable Europe to make its proper contribution to the conquest of hunger and fear in the rest of

the world. The EEC fiddles with farming subsidies while unemployment in the member states creeps nearer still to 20 million.

In January 1983, President Mitterrand of France proposed a major reform of international monetary institutions and the IMF to bring about a strategy for renewal, regeneration and recovery. His proposals were blocked in the summer at the Williamsburg summit by Prime Minister Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan, and their opposition has made it difficult for any single European country to pursue policies for expansion and recovery.

Europe has to speak with its own voice and act with its own resources if the United States will not endorse a global recovery programme. We need a European 'Bretton Woods' on the lines of the wartime conference at which John Maynard Keynes won the essentials of his case for world cooperation in recovery. If the United States will not endorse such a programme for a genuinely new international economic order, Europe could and should get on with its own proposals and its own programme. West Europe generates some two thirds of the world's manufactured exports, and about half the world's trade. Yet the Community is muscle-bound by its self-imposed monetarism.

A new European Bretton Woods should take initiatives to harness multinational finance capital. It should aim to achieve the conditions for modern full employment policies in Europe and positive policies for the rest of the world.

We know about the butter mountain and wine lakes of the EEC. We know one in ten workers in the Community has no job. That is because governments are failing to use the mountain of money now lying idle in property or in the stock market, or invested in more vigorous economies such as the United States. Because of unemployment resulting from the recession, governments in the EEC have lost tax revenues and had to make benefit payments at a total cost of around 50 billion pounds a year. A slump is immensely expensive, and that money could clearly be more creatively spent on generating the employment of people and other productive resources than on sustaining depression. Most European governments have taken the negative course and become agents of stagnation.

By taking a new initiative to put those assets to work, we could invest in modern technology, improved training, industrial and social infrastructure and community services. That would begin to rescue Europe's economies from decay and dereliction, especially since the growth provoked in each of our countries by such policies would reduce the bills of slump, stimulate our own economies (and that of the USA) and reverberate as a rise in

demand and revenues for the countries of the Third World.

To some extent the remedies exist within the present EEC structures but the scale is inappropriate to the task. While the Common Agricultural Policy costs about 10 billion pounds a year, borrowing from the European Investment Bank is only 1.8 billion pounds, while the social fund, regional fund and industrial research spend less than 1 billion pounds each. The expansion of the borrowing and lending activities of the European Investment Bank, together with the changes in the pattern of EEC expenditure, would provide an important facility for financing the growth which each European economy needs.

We need joint policies for economic democracy and for the control of multinational corporations so that the economic strength they represent can be used constructively to help in the economic, social and cultural regeneration of our countries.

The power implications of commercial ownership, development, movement and practice are not new. Only the international conglomerate scale and the adjustment of tactics which it requires are new. At every stage of capitalism a new power of commerce has arisen in a locality, a region, a state. And eventually the extension and exertion of that power has collided with the interests of the community.

Democracy has always had to draw up new rules for the conduct of commerce and the exercise of economic power. We have never made rules that are as effective as they should be; we have not used the extension of public ownership as intelligently as we should have done to complement the legislative changes in rules that subordinate commercial power to democratic authority. Those are challenges which remain for all of us in every democratic country.

And now a further challenge exists. In the age of multinational capitalism, democracy must be multinational too. That would not have been fully achieved by the Vredeling proposals for worker information and participation, and it will hardly be advanced by the remnants of those proposals which eventually survived the amendments of the anti-socialist groupings in the European Parliament. But it is still important to strive to secure any progressive changes that can be obtained, and to support joint policies by like-minded left governments in Europe for the accountability of multinational capital.

Jointly, we also need to develop the planning of trade. We have to acknowledge the right of a country which pursues policies for full employment to protect itself against the effects of policies in other countries which do not. The

purpose of planned trade is to ensure that each country which benefits its own people through the stimulation of demand, at the same time benefits its partners. And clearly the joint planning of our trade implies joint planning towards economic expansion and response to new technological developments.

The regeneration of our economies cannot be sprung from the so-called 'social market economy'. A system which is policed by high interest rates, regimented by public expenditure cuts and dependent for discipline upon mass unemployment, is simply incapable of producing trade expansion. Recovery from international recession will come from the coordinated and planned response of economies – inside and outside the EEC. The socialist parties of this continent have already shown that they can offer the means of operating that regime of growth.

A further key area for joint activity by European socialists is in combating the poverty of the majority of the world's peoples. As the reports of the Brandt commission have made abundantly clear, and as anyone who has seen the skeletons of starvation knows, we in Europe have a direct moral obligation and practical interests in transforming our relationships with the rest of the world.

At least a million people in Britain and millions elsewhere are dependent for their livelihood upon exports to third-world countries. But the decline in this trade – 2.5 percent last year for Britain alone – contributes significantly to recession. The main cause of the decline is the poverty of third-world countries. The poverty is being accelerated by our European trade and agriculture policies and turned into cataclysm by the fact that third-world countries are having to use revenues gained by higher commodity prices, or by higher scales, to service their debts to western financiers rather than buy the goods of western producers.

Our goal should be that every national government achieves the UN target of allocating 0.7 percent of GNP to aid – a proportion which the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries already exceed. The interests of trade and humanity combine to illustrate the need for that increased commitment. Within the EEC we must improve the Lomé Convention when it is discussed later this year, to achieve a global framework which transcends Europe's old colonial ties and concentrates upon the poorest countries and regions.

But most of all, we as socialists need to intervene in a coordinated manner in the international summit conferences and meetings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to promote strategies for world recovery. As the debt



Mike Goldwater / Network

What can the European Community do for him?

burden of the Third World reaches some 660 billion dollars, socialist policies must reject the deflationary remedies of monetarism which feed slump with slump and, by keeping the Third World in penury, deprive the developed countries of customers as they deprive the peoples of less-developed countries of life.

Can such international cooperation and development be achieved in the framework of the present Common Market – limiting its global role through Lomé; stuck in the mud of its agricultural policy; staggering from one budget crisis to another? Our blunt answer – not least following the failure of the Stuttgart and Athens summits – must be no. Confined by out-of-date treaties, the Community is in a political cul-de-sac. It can develop a new deal neither for Europe nor for the rest of the world.

These are the reasons – positive not negative – why the Common Market needs a fundamental review both of its principles and methods of operation. We need to take an overview both of the limits of the present Community framework and of the scope for a wider, more genuine form of European

cooperation. We need a new start – a return to the drawing board of demands made by the parties and peoples of Europe itself.

Some of these issues have already been stressed by Andreas Papandreou. In his speech to the European Parliament last December he suggested that the time has come for 'a new Messina conference' to 'reclarify our ideas about the important problems of our time'.

Almost thirty years after the meeting at Messina which laid the framework for the EEC, anyone who is frustrated by the institution as it was developed, who resents its inflexibilities and opposes its supernationalism, can be prepared to consider such a suggestion. A new conference would have to be as flexible and wide-ranging as necessary to lay the foundations for a genuine community of Europe, freed from the market-economy philosophy of the Rome Treaty or directives from a Brussels bureaucracy. In a spirit of rumination and in an effort to advance from the economic trench warfare which the unchanging EEC provokes, I consider that a 'new Messina' would have to decide:

– whether to reject, revise or rewrite the

Paris and Rome treaties and replace them with a new framework for European economic cooperation;

– how to relate the institutions of Western Europe (EEC and EFTA) and those including Western Europe (OECD and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) to today's needs and tomorrow's responses;

– how to restore the initiative in policy formulation to European governments and parliaments on their own agendas;

– whether all European parties should be invited to send representatives to a European assembly;

– whether all European governments, including those not now in the EEC, should be invited to join a European council which sets its own agenda on issues raised by its own peoples and parliaments;

– whether the Council of Europe, to which national parliaments throughout Western Europe at present send representatives, should not be superceded by the new all-European assembly.

If the new framework for international European cooperation, as suggested above, can be blocked in the short term by governments in some countries, and even if a new Messina conference is unlikely in the near future, progressive parties and governments can still begin the process of discussing and delineating the conditions for the economic recovery of Europe, which must be achieved if we are to tackle the urgent problems facing our peoples and societies. Such fundamental reforms and such new perspectives certainly should be on the agenda of the European left as it approaches the forthcoming elections to the European Parliament in June this year.

Not least, Europe must play a role in detente and disarmament. From the nuclear test ban treaty of the 1960s through the UN special session on disarmament in 1978, it appeared to many that the super-powers had come to realise the risk of nuclear holocaust and were ready to draw back from the brink. The 1978 special session stressed both that detente must be renewed and that practical steps should be taken for the establishment of nuclear-free zones. The Madrid congress of the Socialist International in 1980 adopted the ultimate goal of Europe itself as a nuclear-free zone.

There are fewer grounds for hope now. We are living in a second cold war. Most people are aware of the deployment of the Soviet SS-20 medium-range missiles. Some realise, as Denis Healey recently stressed in the House of Commons, that such ground-based missiles were always countered by the submarine-based Poseidon missiles of the United States and that there was no medium-range 'missile gap' overall. The CIA has recently produced 'revised figures'

admitting that there is no such missile gap and that, if anything, the United States has an overall superiority in nuclear delivery power.

Meanwhile, however, the Reagan administration has pushed ahead the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. Although the former Federal German chancellor Helmut Schmidt is credited with the speech calling for their deployment, less attention has been paid to his admission since that he had no idea at the time of the speed of delivery of the Pershings on targets in the Soviet Union, or the threat which they would represent to the Soviets.

It has been US policy to stampede Europe into accepting the new 'first strike' strategy, on grounds of Soviet nuclear superiority. Or as Admiral Gene Larocque has put it: 'Americans assume that world war three will be fought in Europe just as world war one and world war two have been'.

European countries should reject such a strategy. It is not a matter of blaming one or other of the superpowers for the arms race. It is a matter of denying them the right to launch the third world war from Europe. This is why the next Labour government should and will refuse cruise and US nuclear bases in the United Kingdom, as well as proceed with the adoption of a non-nuclear defence policy. It is also why, in welcoming a freeze, we nonetheless do not accept that freezing the present nuclear arms level can be anything other than a first step towards negotiated nuclear disarmament between the superpowers.

Nuclear weapons are a threat to European and world security when their proliferation in each howitzer, aircraft and short- or medium-range missile lowers the nuclear threshold. Our policy of nuclear disarmament is a strategy, not a tactic. It will be a positive part of serious progress towards Europe as a nuclear-free zone.

For these reasons, we in the Labour Party

cannot afford to neglect the European elections in June this year and the opportunity they give us to put our case, alongside other European socialists, for the expansion of economies and the contraction of armaments. It is precisely because the Common Market agenda is the wrong agenda for Europe that we must fight it in the coming elections. It is because we are already shaping joint policies with other European parties and governments – many of them outside the EEC – that we can fight a campaign which counters militarism and the slump syndrome with the rational and radical prospect of development, security and nuclear disarmament.

In 'Campaigning for a fairer Britain' – the document adopted at Labour's 1983 annual conference – we said that we would fight the European elections, but demand fundamental reforms in the Community. If they could not be achieved, we would reserve the right, like any other nation, to withdraw. Our demands must be as follows: – the Common Agricultural Policy is intolerable; we need a new system of support which relieves the burdens on British taxpayers and consumers and ends the misallocation of produce and the waste inherent in the present system;

– Britain cannot accept the continual outflow of investment and employment imposed by membership, without any compensating improvement in our trade position;

– economic expansion is crucial; even from opposition, Labour must actively promote policies throughout Europe which make sustained recovery possible – for developed and third-world countries;

– to achieve economic expansion, Europe must have the means to mobilise the finance to sustain recovery and spending on jobs and welfare;

– there must be fundamental reforms in a wider sense: a project for a new Community, a new Messina conference; and

– there must be progress towards European nuclear disarmament.

Our future, like our past and present, lies with Europe for historic and geographical reasons. But it will still only lie with the EEC if the Common Market can be a source of tangible value to the British people. The inspiration of the EEC as an organisation to bind and stabilise the democracies of Western Europe was – and is – decent and desirable. But we could only realistically accept enduring membership if, at the very least, we suffer no significant material loss or disadvantage. That is really the position. It is not 'take all, give nothing' – that is neither plausible nor reasonable. But it is not plausible or reasonable either to accept 'give more, take less', especially when we begin – under present structures and with our present economic condition – from a situation in which we are not feasibly able to give more or feasibly justified in taking less.

Our position is not produced by nationalism or vanity. It is a product of the facts of economic survival for our country. Those facts are that unless we can achieve and sustain growth, a reasonable balance in manufactured trade and an end to the seepage of employment and investment that is disabling Britain, we cannot and will not have a resilient modern economic base.

We need that dependable economic environment because we cannot meet even elementary requirements of care, opportunity and justice in Britain without generating wealth, and also because Britain will never make its proper contribution to the conquest of hunger and fear in the world without a viable domestic economy.

Today the World Bank estimates that there are 570 million people who are undernourished, 800 million who are illiterate, 1,500 million who have little or no access to medical services and 250 million children who do not go to school. Every year 15 million children die of starvation.

Amidst these terrifying statistics, official development aid amounts to 20 billion dollars – world military spending to more than 450 billion dollars.

In some countries, including Britain, industrial output has stagnated at the 1981 levels which – we were told – were the 'bottom of the recession'. Mass unemployment is epidemic in Europe. Trade stagnates as economic prosperity declines. The trading position of the poorest countries continues to deteriorate.

Socialists do not accept the cynical view common to European conservatism that the international recession is an affliction to be endured until it is healed by continued dieting. We know that policies of renewal are best achieved by common action. The Labour Party is already working with the socialist parties of Europe inside and

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outside the EEC to build a joint strategy for development. We must build a joint strategy at every level. I emphasise the point that our socialist commitment to overcome the problems of poverty, of international recession and of increasing international tension means that we must seek out the policies which unite us.

We must challenge the despair and defeatism of deflation with renewal, regeneration and recovery. We must welcome the efforts of any government to reflate its national economy and to expand its trade. And thus our aim is to weaken the restrictions of Community institutions that enforce compliance with monetarist economic policy, rather than encourage economic growth, that impose protectionism of the worst kind in agriculture and require free movement of the most damaging kind in capital.

These are not the arguments of supplicants or isolationists. They are put by socialists to other socialists who realise that

ideals of harmony and cooperation between nations and communities must, if they are to be durable, be translated into realities of employment and security. That is the difference between the faith of religion and the conviction of politics. The vocabulary of internationalism is made nonsense by the penalties of supernationalism. We do not breed understanding and mutuality between peoples through the EEC we now have. We breed hostilities through policies which, although masked by the grandeur of fine phrases, are operated by remote, bureaucratic institutions and impose disadvantages on producers and consumers throughout the EEC countries.

As socialists, our family is humankind; our country is the world. But if that real internationalism cannot be seen to work as a new advantage, an extra strength, and an additional opportunity, it will provide a revolt of nationalisms.

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suffering. Behind the hard facts of labour market statistics hide the misfortunes of innumerable individuals. It is only too easy to forget that each and every one of those millions of unemployed is a human being.

There is the father in one of the developing countries who sees his children starve because the development project that was going to give him work and enable him to support his family lacked funds. Or the potential market in the developed countries for his production was no longer there.

There is the black youngster in one of the big cities of USA who is out of work and has no real hope of ever getting a steady and lasting employment. His father has never had anything but temporary jobs; neither has his grandfather since the great depression of the 1930s.

There is the 'guest worker' from Southern Europe or North Africa who came to the industrial centres of Europe and for years took all the lowest-paid jobs but still found it possible to support himself and the family he left behind. Now he is told to return home.

There is the girl I met about a year ago at a youth employment service. She does not starve. Her parents and society provide for most of her basic needs — but not the need to be wanted, to be needed. 'I sleep late in the morning,' she said. 'About lunchtime I may go down to the employment service. Sometimes they have something that might suit me. If so, I go and see the company in question. Usually there are lots of other applicants. Usually I have the wrong education. In any case no one wants to employ a person without work experience. I have applied for jobs and been rejected fifty or sixty times. In the evening I stay at home and watch TV or go downtown to see my friends. I'm OK so far but I'm quickly losing hope and confidence and I grow worried when I see what is happening to some of my friends.'

In mentioning these different cases of unemployment I want to point out that although work is first and foremost a way to earn a living but it is also much more than that.

Work — having a job — is a major part of peoples' social life. Ask people who they are and they will answer by mentioning their name and profession. Work is an important part of a person's identity. Work is intimately connected to values like self-confidence, human dignity, purpose of life.

Thus, it is no surprise that increased unemployment coincides with increased mortality, worsened state of health, more suicides, more shattered families, increased crime rates, increased use of drugs and more prostitution. The social consequences of mass unemployment are formidable.

A challenge for the International

The world is now so interdependent that international organisations like the Socialist International have a special role to play, says **OLOF PALME**, prime minister of Sweden.



Unemployment is the most important single cause of social injustice and inequality in today's welfare state. Unemployment is the result of stagnation, of non-existent development, and, at the same time, an obstacle to development.

It has been said, again and again, that unemployment is a social curse. Nevertheless, in the last few years unemployment has risen rapidly into numbers previously unheard of in the post-war period. In the OECD countries some 19 million persons were out of work in 1978. In 1980 that figure had risen to 22 millions. In 1982 it reached

30 millions and at present almost 35 million people are assumed to be unemployed.

No change is in sight that could reverse the trend towards ever higher levels of unemployment.

The fight against unemployment is a principal task of all socialist parties, matched in importance only by the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Why is this task so important? There are many reasons. Let me mention just two.

First, unemployment is a terrible waste. At present, resources of production all over the world are grossly underutilised. This is certainly not because all human needs are satisfied. As we all know, quite the contrary is true. In large parts of the world not even the most basic needs of people can be met. In all societies there are vast unfulfilled needs, the fulfilment of which requires human labour.

Yet, a plentitude of production capacity is confined to idleness. People who want nothing better than a job are forced to spend their days also in idleness. This means less production — and hence less consumption — than would be possible. That is why unemployment is a waste.

Second, unemployment means human

This touches upon the third reason for the need to fight unemployment. I believe that mass unemployment will ultimately constitute a threat to democracy. Or to put it another way: democracy will in the long run not survive in countries with remaining high levels of unemployment. It undermines the fabric of society on which democracy has to be built.

I made this point in 1982 in the Swedish election campaign. I said that particularly youth unemployment is dangerous. We talk about the crisis of the economy. We say that everyone has to contribute to the solution of our economic problems. But when young people leave school and want a job, when they want to take full part in the world of grown-ups, when they want to make their contribution, they are told that they are not wanted, not needed. Their contribution to the solution of the crisis is to be unemployed. This causes young people to lose hope and confidence in themselves. It also creates bitterness and despair, loss of confidence in society, in our democratic institutions. If we deny young people the right to be full members of society they may choose to place themselves outside society.

This risk has been observed by many – and not only by socialists. In an article in *Newsweek*, Henry Kissinger – hardly known as a radical – expressed his belief that what is at stake is the survival of free societies. He wrote: 'If the peoples of the West lose faith that democratic governments have control over their economic destinies, the economic crisis could become a crisis of western democracy.'

So the fight against unemployment is of paramount importance:

- in order to avoid waste in a pure economic sense;
- in order to alleviate the social consequences and the human suffering resulting from unemployment; and
- in order to restore faith in the democratic way of government, to strengthen democracy itself.

There are very complex causes of the economic crisis of today. Explanations have to be looked for way back in the sixties and the seventies. There is no need to go into all that now. The facts are well known. Suffice it to say that the crisis has undoubtedly been worsened by the economic policy pursued in the last years – particularly by conservative governments. There are many good reasons to make the fight against inflation a priority objective. But it is sad that creating unemployment – and thereby trying to suppress the trade unions – has become a major means to achieve lower rates of inflation.

Too many countries have tried to achieve a slow-down of inflation, balanced current accounts and diminished budget deficits through harsh restrictive policies. One

thing in particular has been overlooked in the formation of such policies, namely international economic interdependence. National economies do not work independently of each other. On the contrary, economies are interlocked, woven into one another. So-called multipliers are at work also on a global scale.

This means that restrictive policies in one country will affect economic activity in another country. In turn the demand in this second country for exports from the first country will decrease. In this way the final impact of restrictive measures on demand and production will tend to become much greater than expected or intended.

The problem in a situation like this is that no country can pursue a policy of expansion on its own. Such policies inevitably lead to loss of competitive strength and to large current account deficits. Soon enough any attempt to expand on one's own will have to be reversed.

What then can be done? The solution is really very simple and yet so difficult to implement. International economic interdependence means that the world economic crisis is not the separate crises of a large number of nations. This is a common crisis. Its solution is concerted action in order to step up growth and employment. As Helmut Schmidt put it: 'We are still facing the question: will countries try to solve their joint problems by cooperating – as it were, play a game in which everyone is the winner; or will they move into confrontation, a game in which everyone is the loser?'

One of the few bright spots today is the increased support for the need of concerted action. All over the world, employers, workers and unemployed are reacting more and more strongly against the waste of shut-down factories, idle machines and unemployed workers. Yet, there is still a long way to travel before we have reached a general understanding as to the specific nature of a concerted action for growth.

To achieve sustained growth, strong enough to bring unemployment down, institutional and structural change must come about. But resistance to structural adjustment is strong in a stagnant economy. If expansive measures cannot be agreed upon, the risk is imminent that we are stuck with obsolete economic structures and inflexible institutional structures, sheltered by a wave of protectionist measures. Such a development would obviously only worsen the crisis.

It should be recognised that any programme for concerted action must have the special economic conditions in different countries as its starting point and must take national priorities into consideration. Inflation and inflexibility must mainly be

dealt with on the national level, but domestic policy measures should be put into the framework of concerted action based on a genuine understanding of international economic interdependence. We should aim at international concertation concerning the overall mix between fiscal and monetary policies.

A policy of expansion must be combined with low rates of inflation. This may require institutional change as well as specific policy measures aimed at making higher growth and low inflation compatible. This is necessary for two reasons: first, it has become quite clear that rapid inflation in itself is an obstacle to growth; and second, the priorities of the leading countries have not changed. There is a great risk in new restrictive policies.

Finally, I want to underline the point that a programme for growth and full employment must include the requirements of the Third World.

As I have pointed out, the relapse into economic policies outmoded already fifty years ago are recreating economic injustices and spreading misery in nearly all industrial countries. But the effects go much further. The economic crisis is global and strikes relentlessly in the Third World.

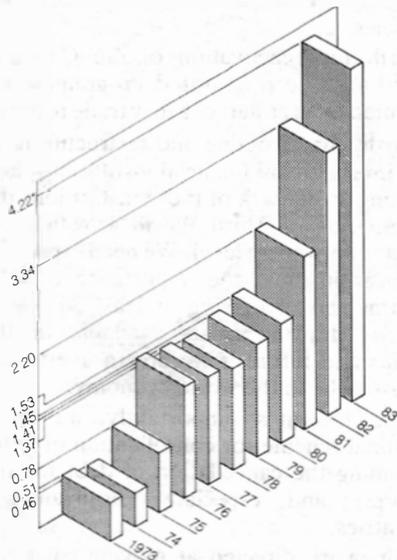
As unemployment grows, as production and incomes are reduced, tensions and conflicts will be accentuated in any society. But the implications for the individuals, as well as for their societies, are certainly different if the reduction takes place from a per capita of \$200 than from \$10,000. For the many million people in the Third World living in absolute poverty, further deterioration means famine and disaster. Whatever results have been achieved in regard to satisfaction of basic needs and in nation building are now being wiped out in some of the African low-income countries. And in other developing countries, eg. in Asia and Latin America, where economic growth and industrialisation have been impressive, the symptoms of disruption and crisis are equally evident. Stagnating international trade and colossal debt burdens now force a reversal of their development efforts. The brunt of the ensuing disruption in their economies have nearly always to be borne by those who can least afford it.

This is the situation. In the words of the first report of the Brandt commission, the survival of humanity is threatened by war and the arms race, by economic breakdown and mass unemployment, by extreme poverty and famine.

But there is nothing inevitable in this development. As I have said, the dangers can be avoided if there is concerted international action and agreement. Real progress will only be made nationally if it can be assured globally. There are interests common to all nations, developed or

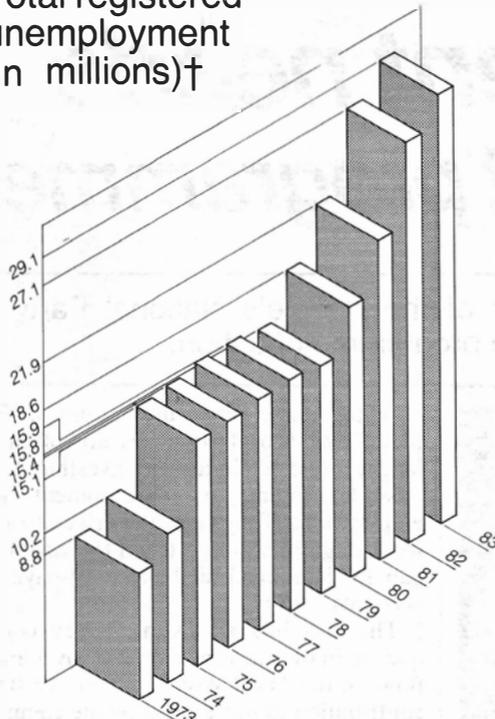
Source: OECD

Long-term unemployment (12 months and over) (in millions)†



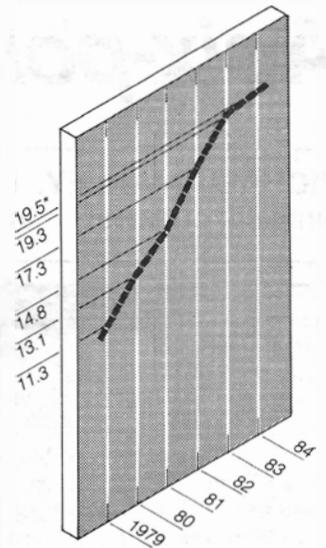
* Estimate
 † Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, F.R. Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States

Total registered unemployment (in millions)†



† Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, F.R. Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States

Youth unemployment (up to age 24) (percent of youth labour force)†



* OECD forecast
 † Australia, Canada, Finland, France, F.R. Germany, Italy, Japan, Norway, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States

The social timebomb: the rise of unemployment in the North

developing, capitalist or communist.

This is not to say that there are no basic disagreements, no real conflicts between countries, peoples and classes. As socialists, we are certainly aware of this. But it so happens that in pursuit of their respective, legitimate objectives in the world today, they are interdependent and they have some basic mutual interests.

We shall never be able to move ahead towards economic and social justice for all if we disregard this fundamental fact. Others may sit back, waiting for the suffering of endless millions of people to provoke convulsions and breakdowns from which a new, *perhaps* more equitable global system may develop. For me that is a waiting unworthy of a humane society. It is just as unworthy as abstaining from action and looking for the so-called market mechanism to eliminate all problems.

Economic as well as other relations in the world are now increasingly characterised by *interdependence*. Peoples and nations are woven together in an intricate pattern, whether we like it or not. This is a global matter, not something concerning only the industrialised countries.

Slowly, and in some major industrialised countries *very* slowly, this seems to dawn upon us. Just as the developing countries have always been affected by fluctuations in demand and growth in the industrialised countries, the reverse is now becoming

increasingly evident. Many million jobs in Europe and North America now depend, directly or indirectly, on demand from the Third World. Our whole financial system is threatened by breakdown unless we can find ways and means to solve the foreign-debt problems of the Third World. The functioning of our industrial system depends, as we are painfully aware, on adequate supply, at stable prices, of raw materials, including oil, from the Third World.

All these facts have to be taken into account in assessing the present situation and how to change it. There is certainly not any *single* prescription or proposal that can achieve such change, once political leaders and public opinion have understood the implications of interdependence. What is needed is a full range of measures. They must be carefully coordinated to revitalise the world economy in *all* regions and to help those countries and peoples who are especially disadvantaged. And they must, indirectly and directly, promote justice and human rights for the poor and oppressed masses of the world.

International negotiations on these subjects have been deadlocked for a long time now. The summit meeting in Cancun in Mexico may have created a better understanding of the problems involved, but it led to no practical results. Since then these problems have become even more acute, as the followup report of the Brandt

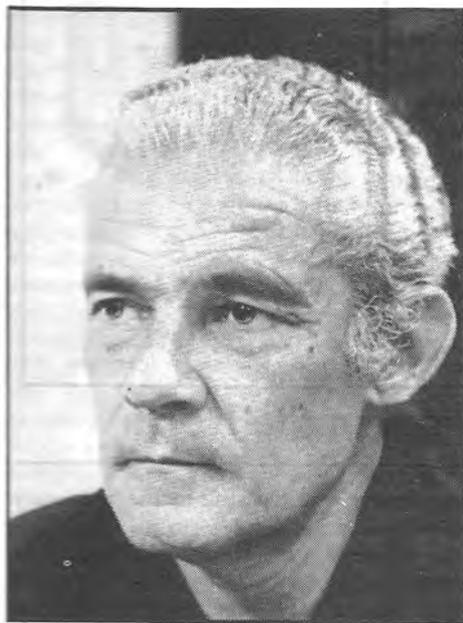
commission emphasises. In the monetary and financial field we seem to jump from one slippery stone to another, trying to avoid to be drowned by the on-rushing river. So far very little has been done to move to longer-term solutions in any of the crucial fields of trade, employment, finance and energy.

This should be a challenge to the Socialist International. It should, to the utmost of its ability and in accordance with its objectives, press for quick and determined action from governments and international organisations. And for those of us now in government, the same challenge is a direct responsibility. We cannot enforce changes on our own but we can act concertedly to bring them to international discussion and negotiation. Our national problems, be they unemployment, inflation or budget deficits, are not in any way alleviated or mitigated by looking inwards, by withdrawing from our international responsibilities. On the contrary, they are worsened as we then contribute to a further downward spiral in the framework of the existing international interdependence – instead of using this interdependence to restore progress and move ahead.

There are some who are reported as saying that we should trust the magic of the market place. I rather believe we should confide in the magic of human solidarity and compassion.

The urgent needs A six-point programme

MICHAEL MANLEY, leader of the People's National Party of Jamaica, outlines a minimum programme of action.



In this look at the world economic crisis I would like mainly to present in the shortest possible form what could be a minimum agreed programme of action at this time, and to throw out one or two ideas about things that the Socialist International could do more than talk about.

We can summarise our situation as a crisis of deflation in the North and a crisis of stalled development in the South. The consequences are as terrible as they are now familiar: massive unemployment in the North, deepening poverty, hunger and despair in the South. Within those visible symptoms lie, of course, profound dangers for our movement in the Socialist International, certainly profound dangers for all of us who come from the Third World.

I would think that all Socialist International leadership in the North must be deeply concerned by the extent to which the crisis is driving their countries away from the gains and the progress of the welfare state. Coming as I do from the Third World, I am deeply concerned by the signs that the crisis is having the effect of driving Third World countries further and further from the goal of economic independence and deeper and deeper into the syndrome of dependence.

As the financial pressures mount, we find that Third World countries are often no longer interested in foreign investment as a possible engine of development and employment. They are often driven to look for foreign investment to fill the cash flow gap in their external balance-of-payment accounts.

This has had an extraordinary consequence in the pattern of private investment flows to the Third World: in, say, 1970 the contribution to those flows by the commercial banking sector was so negligible as not to be measurable statistically; yet in 1982, the flows from the private international banking system constituted 44 percent of all the private flows to the developing world, with the further extraordinary consequence that the earnings of those banks in 1982 on those investments were three times all of the earnings of private direct investment. And, of course, those banking investments played an increasing part in the throttling and strangulation of Third World economies.

I do not think that anybody could dispute that the objective conditions of today join both North and South, and certainly North and South in the Socialist International, in an urgent need for short-term action even as we continue to search for long-term strategies. The International has set up several committees and working groups. There have also been important initiatives, one by President Mitterrand and another by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

We might do well here to pause to consider what would be a minimum programme to which we might commit ourselves at this juncture, and then to consider what diplomatic initiatives we could undertake that might increase the chances of effective action.

There appear in *Common Crisis*, the second report of the Brandt commission, many of the remedies that are important. These, particularly the aspects related to the diversion of funds from armament to development, are alluded to in Olof Palme's commission report, *Common Security*.

I would summarise the six urgent needs at this time as:

First, the reflation of the economies of the North.

Second, the dismantling of protectionist policies.

Third, the reactivation of the Common Fund and the Intergrated Programme for Commodities as part of a new trade regime.

Fourth, the retooling and restructuring of the international financial institutions, and settling as the task of those institutions the stimulation of Third World growth to at least the 5 percent level. We need especially to bear in mind the importance of IMF reform and of making at least 30 billion special drawing rights available in the immediate future if we are to avert total catastrophe in the world economy.

Fifth, and most importantly, an international scheme for consolidation of debt, including the cancellation of debt for the poorest and especially disadvantaged countries.

Sixth, work directed at moving countries towards the UN target of 0.7 percent of GNP in official development assistance. Here I am pleased to say that one of the things that we could do is to urge those parties who are now in power in the Socialist International to set an example for the rest of the world in that regard, where they might not be doing so.

I would like to make two simple practical suggestions of what we might do. I make these suggestions because many of us in the Socialist International are very concerned about the fact that we come to meetings which are, very properly, the focus for an outpouring of idealism and are the scene of superior analyses which demonstrate that there is no shortage of intellectual resources in our movement to solve some of these problems. But when we move from that point, it is as if there is a disjunction between the discussion that takes place here and the actual political action that follows in the world.

Iwould like to suggest, therefore, that we see if we can reach a consensus to direct the president of the Socialist International and his administration, together with such nominees as he might designate, to do certain specific and immediate things.

Firstly, I would like to suggest that we enter into consultation with the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and the chairman of the Group of 77. We are declaring ourselves for things that are almost identical with those that have emerged in New Delhi out of the Non-Aligned Movement, which represents a consensus of 101 governments. I wish that exactly the same could be said for us. But we represent a number of parties that are in power and a number of parties that are the alternative government



The dollar – up today, down tomorrow: can an economy be run this way?

and in all cases parties that have influence. I would like to suggest that we begin with that consultation at the highest level.

Secondly, that we charge the secretariat to enter into talks with all those member parties of the International who are now in power to ensure that in their own decision-making processes they are fully briefed and prepared to carry out the kind of mandate which we are reaching as a consensus.

Thirdly, that we ask all SI opposition parties immediately to seek to enter into discussion with their governments in power to try to maximise pressure upon them. Some, of course, will have more success with that than others. I think that the British

Labour Party, for example, will obviously have very great difficulty. I might fare slightly better, but only because I come from the Third World. I think that this is the sort of practical action that can make an actual difference in what happens, and also in maintaining a momentum about specific things which various governments can follow up.

Fourthly, I would like to suggest that the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, formally set up at the Brussels Bureau meeting last November, pursue its discussions with five broad terms of reference in mind. Firstly, it could review the world economy and development

problems. Secondly, it could press on with the work of preparing a long-term Socialist International economic strategy and programme. Thirdly, it could pursue the Nordic proposal for a new international economic order, a very arresting and challenging idea that has emerged from the Kingston talks and from the thinking of the Nordic group. Fourthly, it might work to consolidate and suggest priorities amongst the many ideas for the implementation of a new international economic order. I include this because sometimes I find myself as just a simple working politician almost bewildered by the range of ideas that come out of different bodies which seem to bloom for a while in their own atmosphere and get lost because there is no central coordination of all the ideas, followed by the formulation of a set of priorities which can be a focus for special political action. This kind of function would be important.

For instance, I think one has to harmonise certain ideas from *Common Crisis*, but very much not lose sight of the importance of Olof Palme's idea of diverting 5 percent of a reduction in arms expenditures for development purposes. This seems to be a practical, realistic and attainable goal, but obviously is going to need tremendous followup and a political initiative internationally if it is to happen.

Finally, I will suggest that later and in a more permanent form the committee be charged to seek and maintain liaison with the coordinating bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 in the UN, again so as to bring maximum diplomatic focus to what has been done internationally and in the UN system.

These suggestions are put forward in a spirit of humility, but also very much in the hope that they will not be lost on the International. For I agree with those who have said that the Socialist International has to be the repository of the ideas and the drive and the imagination with which to tackle the world crisis. But we will not tackle it if we do not learn to turn ourselves into an effective international lobby and pressure organisation, as well as the other estimable and admirable things that we are.

I have here only suggested one or two strategies for immediate action, a possible short-term emergency programme. But I hope that I would speak for every democratic socialist when I say that I would trust that this body will never abandon the long-term objectives of a new international economic order, in favour of the short tactical things for which we must strive. I believe that in a very real sense the test of our socialism is, among other things, to be found in the sincerity with which we adopt those general fundamental proposals for restructuring the world economy along lines of equity and justice.

Nueva Sociedad

A solution for the whole world

For **CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ**, former president of Venezuela, the present crisis presents the severest test yet of international solidarity, a guiding principle for all socialists.



Every country in the world is facing the worst crisis of the post-war period: a crisis which makes no distinction between models or systems; which imposes high costs on the societies of South, North, East and West – though those costs are incomparably lower for the industrialised nations than for the underdeveloped countries, where there are neither high levels of income nor social insurance mechanisms to soften the blow.

If the recession in the North determines the recession in the South, then the latter is so extensive that it hinders recovery in the North. Thus there is an unprecedented level of interdependence between North and South. But it is certain that of all the wide range of economic problems there are in the world today, the one that is most alarming is the Third World's external debt; and potentially the most explosive region is Latin America.

The implications of this situation are frightening. During the great crisis of the thirties, almost all Latin American countries stopped paying their external debts, and the world was hardly aware of it. Today, it would take just one Latin American country to stop paying for the world's financial system to be severely shaken, if not destroyed.

It is obvious now that the solution to the problem of Latin America's debt – and to the Third World's debt in general – will not be achieved through the usual, orthodox method of refinancing. The magnitude of

the problem exceeds the individual capacity of governments, banks and international financial institutions. What is required instead is a concerted solution involving all three, forcing them to participate in the responsibilities and efforts that this joint solution demands.

For us, there is no doubt that Latin American countries must participate in the negotiations in a coordinated fashion. They cannot go on considering this grave and pressing problem – which constitutes such a serious economic, political and social threat for their peoples – as isolated crises, with no connection to each other, nor to the international climate which determines them. They must confront these crises, through global, united action, which will allow them to use the region's potential for unified power in order to defend their present and future interests. I am referring to something like a 'debtors' association', of which there has been some discussion, representing a move not towards confrontation but towards understanding, in conditions satisfactory to all.

The obstinate individualism of Latin American countries, from the largest to the smallest, which hurt everyone and benefited no-one, has gradually been overcome and abandoned in the light of the extent of the problem within the region. Those countries which said they would not need to refinance are refinancing; those which did not accept the intolerable and humiliating conditions of the IMF are now dealing with it; those who boasted of not having to devalue are now devaluing; and those who were sure they would never appeal for a debt moratorium are now calling for one.

And the banks, which made large profits from the loans they pressed on Latin American countries at the time when petrodollars abounded, are today intent on increasing that profit. In spite of the risk, they are demanding excessive interest, commission and additional charges which render the weight of the debt more intolerable still, and compromises the debtors' capacity to pay still further. Thus, refinancing is converted into a big new financial deal for those who are used to profiting from us, but the deal will remain

on paper if these exorbitant demands collapse, as they possibly will. We must avoid the imposition of this intolerable burden of new debt, since here lies the most serious threat to the world community, and the area that most urgently calls for understanding between North and South. Disaster must be avoided by means of a global, stable and realistic solution to the problem of the Third World's external debt – a solution that will not strangle its economies, mortgage its resources, or humiliate its peoples, because that would indeed be playing with fire.

Such a solution must cover three elements: the interest on loans, the period of loan, and the maintenance of a flow of finance which permits both repayment of the debt, and the economic growth to make repayment possible, without intolerable costs to our people who are already making sacrifices to a degree that is not duly recognised nor appreciated in the industrialised world.

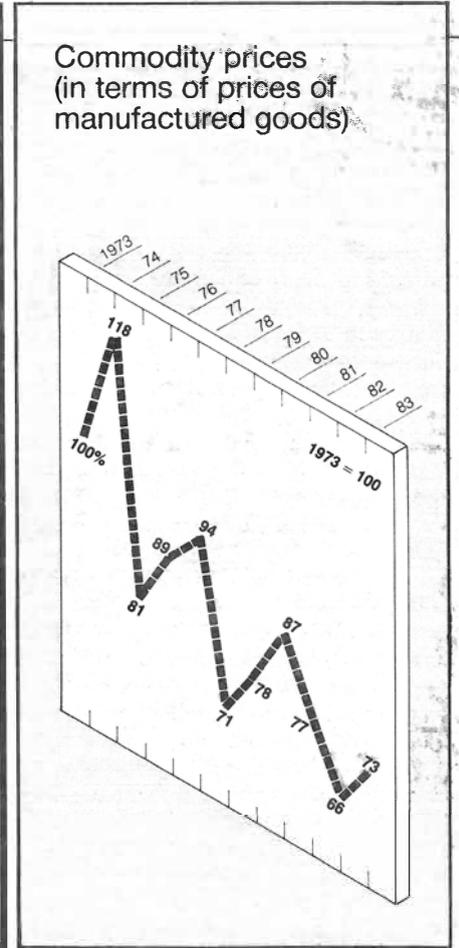
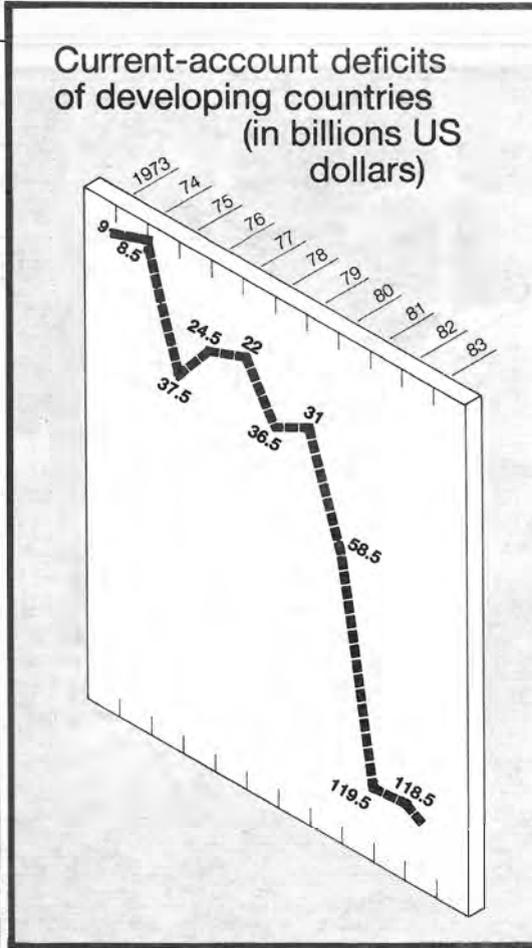
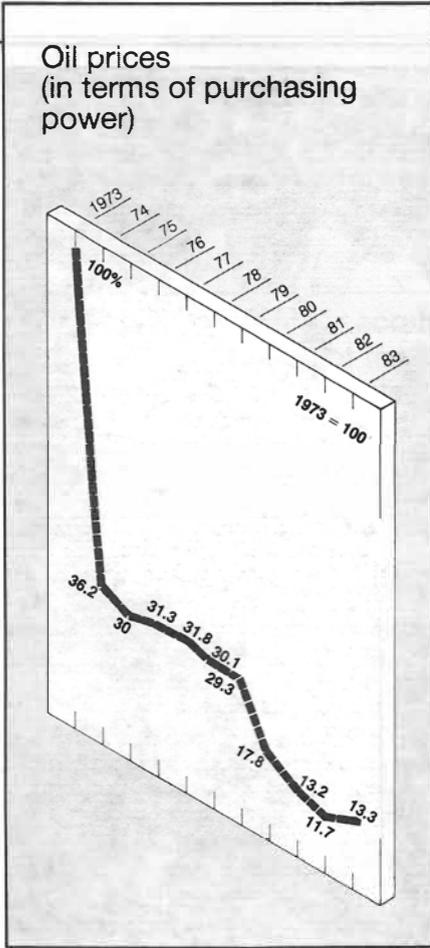
The 600,000 million dollars of the Third World debt requires an average annual payment of 12 percent interest, that is to say, 72,000 million dollars. In 1982, Latin America paid only 35,000 million in interest on its debt of 300,000 million – in other words, half of the total. If this interest were subsidised in order to prevent it going above 5 or 6 percent, the problem would be considerably diminished.

The situation today is propitious for the industrialised countries to finance a fund to subsidise interest on external debts of the Third World. When the price of oil was reduced by OPEC from 34 to 29 dollars, the industrialised countries saved something like 100 million dollars each day (5 dollars for each of the 20 million barrels imported daily). This represents 36,000 million dollars per year – a little more than half of the interest the Third World pays annually for its debt and which, if there were a subsidy fund, would be reduced by half.

When the rise in the price of oil took place, the OPEC countries devoted thousands of millions of dollars to aid for the Third World. On the other hand, the industrialised countries committed themselves internationally to giving 0.7 percent of their gross national products to the same end; but they never attained, even in their periods of greatest prosperity, 0.4 percent – that is to say, a quarter of the proportional offer made by OPEC. Why is it that, even now, in view of this serious crisis, they cannot sacrifice the billions of dollars they save from the fall in the price of oil to help build a subsidy fund for the interest on the Third World debt?

Here lies a challenge to the northern countries to demonstrate their good will, and to the socialist parties to show their

Source: World Bank



The downward spiral: terms of trade for the South

loyalty and adherence to the principles of international justice which we uphold and which we are committed to carrying out. Only in this way can we overcome an explosive situation, by strengthening the capacity of payment of the debtor countries and by reactivating their economies and trade, to the benefit and security of the North as well as of the South.

As for the period of loans, there is no real solution to the problem of the debt without a considerable extension of the present terms in order to give to the debtor countries the breathing space they need to escape the anguish of the immediate problems and to put their economies in order. This requires that the central banks of the industrialised countries give to their private banks discount facilities and other measures of support which will allow the much needed long-term repayment periods, combined with the reduction of interest through subsidies.

The central banks should also implement measures of encouragement and support to allow the international private banks to maintain the necessary flow of resources in order to avoid a halt or regression in the growth process of the debtor countries, as is happening today. Otherwise, the ability to make repayment will be greatly endangered, in terms of both the immediate

financial consequences and in the negative effect on the economic, political and social order.

On the other hand, if the flow of finance that was available in the last decade is not reestablished, at least as far as Latin America is concerned, the region will have to live mainly off its own resources for a long period of time. That is why it is necessary that part of the abundant amount still available in the world is used to finance complementary projects in Latin American countries in the fields of trade, production of capital goods, development and application of technology, self-sufficiency in food products, and stability of raw material prices, so as to strengthen and develop Latin America's potential and use it to develop the important economic drive which already exists in the region, in the form of a multipolar economic system. It was the finance that was made available during the last decade that contributed greatly to the creation of a multipolar economic system, and to whose stability and dynamism it contributed so much.

This dynamic contribution to the world economy, so closely related to the capacity to solve the serious problem of external debt, cannot be made by Latin America without parallel participation in world trade. This requires a revision of the present

restrictive system, which is committed to a great number of protectionist measures, to the detriment of countries such as those of Latin America. Such countries experience ever-increasing difficulty in gaining access to markets, and are consequently deprived of the resources from exports which could, in turn, stimulate imports from the industrialised countries, which are more essential now than ever before to the revival of their economies.

It is obvious that the impasse in the financial and commercial order is approaching a crisis of unforeseen consequences and proportions, as was evidenced by the failure of the 1982 ministerial meeting of GATT.

Protectionist barriers have traditionally been the most odious weapon used by rich countries in an attempt to revive their economies and improve employment conditions, at the expense of the underdeveloped nations, the producers of raw materials. This has always been the way: a partial remedy which, in the long term, is counterproductive. They forget that the deterioration in the terms of trade for the Third World will turn against them in the end. They are the victims of their own strategy. Part of their welfare is gained at our expense. By progressively closing their



What will this family find in the big city?

markets to us, they have managed only to widen the gap between us.

In 1983, many of our basic products reached the lowest prices ever in real terms since the 1930s crisis. In early 1983, the price of sugar fell to 14 US cents per kilo, while the cost of its production is double that; copper has reached the lowest price ever known – 1300 dollars per ton; coffee costs a mere 3 dollars per kilo. The problem is the same with all raw materials. Any excuse is good enough to use restrictive measures against our exports – quotas, reference prices, special permission. These are all words to justify the measures taken which have damaged the Third World. These measures do not include the pain imposed by the International Monetary Fund, the best example of economic totalitarianism, which has meant hunger and poverty to the countries of the Third World. To put an end to these protectionist barriers is a fitting task for the Socialist International. Otherwise, the recession that is causing so much alarm today will continue for more than a decade, and the poverty of the Third World will add to the political instability of the western democracies. Something similar happened in the thirties, when some of the democratic systems of the

North could not survive the difficult trial of a long period of economic bankruptcy.

What all this means is that the rules imposed by the victors of the second world war to regulate international trade, and the monetary and financial system established at Bretton Woods, have been inadequate for at least two decades, when it became clear that they did not work. In spite of that the industrialised countries decided to maintain these systems. But they must recognise today that those systems are wholly obsolete in the present world economy, and that the set of principles and mechanisms created forty years ago is not only incapable of solving present problems but, when applied to the different world of today, is causing irreparable damage, even to those who benefited from it in the past.

It is absolutely necessary to instigate, without further delay, a process whereby all members of the international community act together for the revival of the world economy, and for a total restructuring of the unjust commercial, monetary and financial system which has governed until now international economic relations. By that I mean a new economic order, based

upon real international justice.

We must find, in view of the failure and frustration of other instances of North-South negotiations, a more concrete and immediate opportunity of attaining world understanding, departing from this crucial point on which now depends not only the recognition of the Third World's claims, but also a way out of an extremely serious situation: a situation which now involves all the inhabitants of our planet, and which, as proof of its universality, affects all societies, no matter what their ideological orientation, political system or economic model.

The Socialist International, and the parties which compose it, have the important historical task of winning credibility for what is a doctrine and practice of universal reach. That is what we must stress boldly as the central point: the world crisis and the socialist response, not for Germany, not for France, not for Sweden, but for the world; and above all, for the victims of international injustice, for the Third World.

I propose this as a programme of action for the Socialist International. Let us put to the test the sincerity of our principles and ideological coherence in concrete terms: our genuine sense of international solidarity.

A crisis of values, and of balance too

LIONEL JOSPIN, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, is concerned by the rise of the hard right – indicating that the crisis is not just economic or political.



It is important that the theme chosen for the Socialist International congress in Albufeira, Portugal, in April 1983 was the world crisis and the search for a socialist response. For we cannot give our attention exclusively to discussions on East-West relations for regional problems, as though we were diplomats dealing with the relations between states, or as though we were a peace movement and not a socialist organisation. As national parties, as an international movement, we must discuss the main problems our countries face – problems linked with their very existence, with the very movement of our societies, whose future they threaten.

The concept of crisis, I almost said the function of crisis, can be a theme for discussion among us. In a way, the existence of a capitalist crisis justifies socialist theory and action, as a stimulus to criticise and transform capitalism. If our societies knew harmonious economic and social development, our words would be no more than moral exhortation; but the political reality is that it is conservatism, enlightened or not, that prevails. The crisis, in this sense, justifies socialism.

It justifies socialism, but does not foster it, since, while it confirms our theses, it harms the social classes, the men and

women whose interests we wish to defend in the developed world as well as in the Third World. The crisis may mobilise them in their fight for justice and freedom; but it may also discourage and crush them.

The crisis means change, but it also means destruction – its consequences are unforeseeable and ambiguous. It may result in the development of more modern, more just societies, but it may also produce the social and political regression for which the fascism of the thirties remains the chilling model. There is no inevitability in crisis. Its results depend on those who shape it.

Though the nature of the crisis may be discussed, no-one can deny its existence. It strikes in different forms, all over the world, and with particular violence in the Third World. What we know about the standard of living of the masses, of the mortality rate, of the level of literacy, demonstrates that the fight against poverty has not yet been won. For most underdeveloped countries, the increase in productivity they previously experienced does not exist today. Those countries which had begun to develop now see their future blocked by massive debt and near-bankruptcy. As for the others, those with no industrial sector and no oil, the crisis cannot be measured in terms of decreased purchasing power or levels of compensation for the unemployed, but in the numbers who are undernourished or who have died of hunger and poverty. Let us be in no doubt: the consequences are most grave for the underdeveloped countries. There is a danger of fragmentation, of explosion even, in the Third World, which would render the dialogue between North and South even more difficult. There is a danger of new political subordination (by certain developed countries or international organisations) which could result in many countries losing, within a few years, the freedom they have won over decades. There is the major threat of political and social upheaval, of military conflict – the war between Iran and Iraq is one of the most ominous examples.

The crisis also strikes the developed countries of the West. Everywhere, we see symptoms of a grave disorder: the lack of

confidence in the model of growth on which the western world has been based for almost thirty years; the relative decrease in the great wave of technological innovation; the fall in productivity and in profits; the collapse in the pattern of growth of investment; the considerable increase in unemployment (from 10 million in 1970 to 35 million in 1983); the rapid growth of public and private debt; monetary disorder (the Bretton Woods system is dead and nothing has been found to replace it); the reappearance of periodic crises of real magnitude (1974-75, 1979-83); the lack of confidence in keynesian policies; the threats to social security systems; the marginalisation of sectors of the population, particularly of young people, with no prospect of employment; the withdrawal of nations behind their own borders; xenophobic reaction to immigrant workers. This disorder is all the more serious since it involves those countries which play the most important roles in the world economy.

Nor do the countries of the East escape the crisis. The obvious deceleration of growth, inertia in investment and increase in external debt are sometimes attributed to the effects of the crisis in the capitalist countries on the economies of the communist countries. Such an analysis, however, fails to explain the constant difficulty in the supply of foodstuffs, the weakness of productivity, or the lack of innovation. It is apparent that there is a fundamental, inherent crisis in the eastern countries, evidenced by the deterioration in social relations and the conspicuous buildup of internal tensions, not only in Poland. The eastern countries no longer constitute a zone of stability, though they have a type of imposed stability. The inability to master their own problems constitutes a potential threat to world peace.

Of course, a crisis of such magnitude is not merely an economic crisis: it is also a political crisis. In the western countries, it takes the form of a certain disaffection in public opinion with regard to the governments they have elected through democratic suffrage, and there is, therefore, a tendency towards greater political instability and more frequent changes of government. In the communist countries where the crisis does not result in real and collective rebellion (as in Poland), it provokes deep social demoralisation. In the Third World countries, it has revived the old, historic struggle between democracy and dictatorship. Yet this must not lead us to take a wholly negative view of the situation: in the Dominican Republic, in Bolivia, in Brazil, and in Argentina, very positive progress has been made in these last years or months.

It is also a crisis of values. Once again, there have reappeared in many countries

great tides of irrationality, leading to a fear of progress and the temptations of racism. Certainly, there is almost no real threat of fascism in any of the developed countries. Their economic and social structures do not provide the necessary conditions, given their powerful protection mechanisms (unemployment benefits, social security). Then too, the impact of the fatal experience of fascism was such that the taboo is still firmly implanted in the collective consciousness. But we are witnessing, in almost all the developed countries, the rise of a hard and reactionary right wing.

It is a crisis of global balances. The problems of detente, the apparent difficulty the two great superpowers have in understanding each other, the questioning – overt or concealed – of superpower leadership, the will of each to reestablish its power, the temptation to achieve superiority (as was demonstrated by President Reagan's astounding television appearance where he virtually announced his administration's intention to question the foundation of deterrence) – all this shows that there is a threat to the old balances without any new ones having been created.

Now for us, French socialists, the concept and reality of balance remain decisive on

such serious issues as security and disarmament. We want peace, but peace depends on security. We do not wish to play with words. Within the Socialist International, peace movements have been talked of as allies, and I am sure that many of them are so. I would almost say that I am so much in favour of peace movements that I would like there to be more of them, above all in the East. So let us advance, in principle and in our actions, towards peace; let us join with the youth movements; but realistically, and ensuring that each really plays its part.

We should not be surprised that the crisis has recurred. Crises, as we know, form part of the very development of capitalism. I will not recall here the series of short cycles or long-term movements which mark the evolutionary stages of the productive system in which our socialist movement has forged its history. But we should bear them in mind.

The two decades of vigorous growth that came to an end in the early seventies quickly came to be seen by us as the normal state of the economy for the future. No doubt we were wrong in our failure to interpret with sufficient acuity all the signs that indicated

that those two decades had been, in many ways, exceptional.

In any event, the recurrence of the crisis poses a whole series of problems for democratic socialist forces.

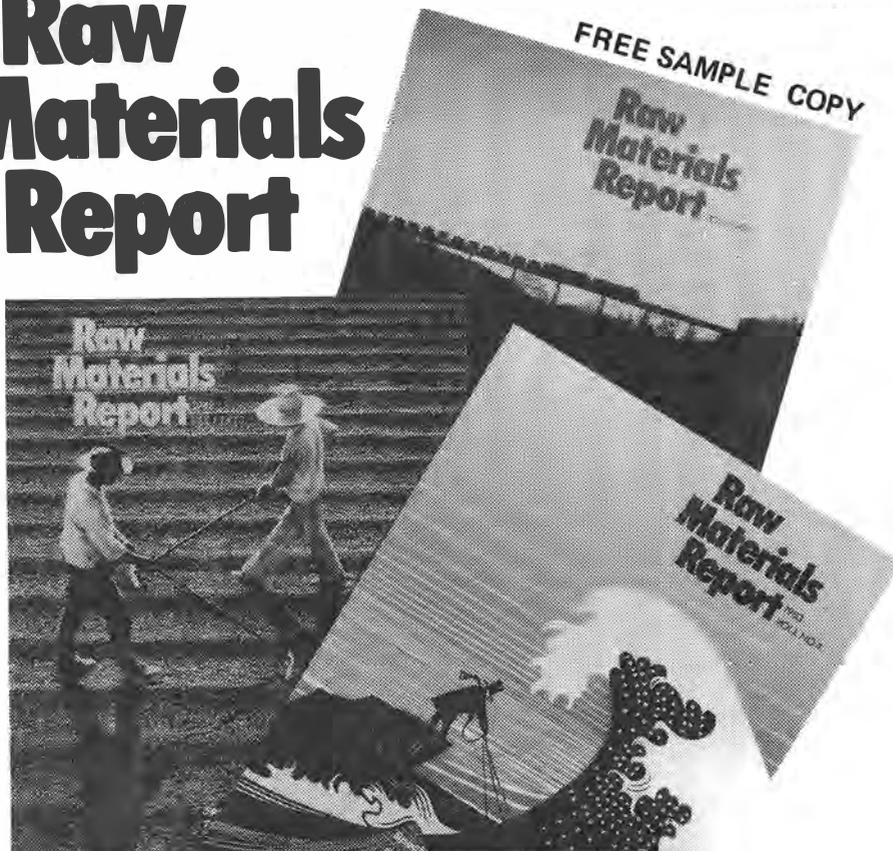
From the economic point of view, how are democratic socialist governments to carry out the social reforms and redistribution of wealth, to which they are committed, during a period of economic stagnation? In short, how is one to distribute more when there is less to be distributed? We are experiencing this dilemma in France.

From a social perspective, how is one to maintain the social benefits acquired by the working class – in particular, the social-insurance systems – when those very systems are threatened in terms of financial balance by the halt in growth, rising unemployment and the explosion of health-service expenditure?

From a political perspective, how are we to maintain a consensus in matters concerning our traditional values, such as progress and democracy, at a time when conservative reaction is multiplying and tensions are reappearing within our societies?

There are those, notably among the

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conservatives, who have attempted to draw from this the conclusion that socialist and democratic socialist forces, whose expansion, as they would have it, was tied to the period of growth in the sixties, are doomed to an historic decline. In fact, from that point of view, recent history has provided us with no clear response.

True, the British Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark and the Israel Labour Party have all fallen from power. But the Socialist Party of France, PASOK in Greece, PSOE in Spain and the Australian Labor Party have won their people's vote. The Swedish Social Democratic Party has returned to power, and the Portuguese Socialist Party is again at the head of a coalition government. As for our friends in Finland and Austria, they remain firmly at the head of their country. And that is to say nothing of the victories of our comrades in the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica.

The provisional conclusion we must come to is that nothing is played in advance. Let us say, then, in the words of Karl Marx, whose centenary we celebrated last year, that 'men make their own history'. No fate decides for them.

In seeking solutions, we are clearly groping in the dark. Is the present crisis as severe as that of the thirties? The question is a little too categorical. Taking into account the population explosion in the Third World, mass poverty is undoubtedly more widespread nowadays. But if we consider the heart, the driving force of the world economy, which still centres round the system of production in the developed countries, then the crisis is less severe and its present consequences less dramatic.

What then, is the response to the crisis today? Is it a question of a return to liberalism? The evidence suggests not, at least from our point of view. Can one come back, purely and simply, to the pre-1974 Keynesian policies? That would seem to be difficult, unless certain structural problems are confronted on a national as well as an international level.

Where do we seek a way out of the crisis? There is no way out in the East. The crisis in those countries is that of a system with no aptitude for handling its own contradictions, and which is, therefore, paralysed when faced with the rapid changes of our time. The model itself is in crisis, both in substance and in its appeal internationally. Because a system which is 'blocked' on a political and social level lacks mobility and energy on an economic level. It still has the ability to conquer (as in Afghanistan), but to convince and attract is no longer within its power.

There may be a conservative way out in the West, organised by and around the



How will the new technologies benefit working people?

United States, around policies which are offensive economically and regressive socially. This is the capitalist solution to the crisis, which will be hard on the countries of the South and on Europe, implying an historic setback for working people. Such a solution may be forced on us, but we want nothing to do with it.

There is a socialist way out of the crisis, based on multipolar, interdependent organisation worldwide, giving the Third World countries their just place; similarly, in terms of the production process, the workers too will be given their just place. I would like now to say a few words on the latter.

The socialist way out is based on the choice of a multipolar world. Today, no country or group of countries can claim the right to dominate. A calm and coherent form of rapport between the different regions of the world must be established, because no country – and we have experienced this ourselves in our policy of economic revival through the stimulation of internal demand – can hope to emerge from the crisis alone. Concerted action is needed to boost the world economy.

We must develop solidarity with the Third World, drawing on the conclusions reached by the Brandt commission, by means of political aid for development (France is continuing to progress towards that goal), by creating funds for financial adjustment (enabling it to cope with the debt crisis), and by stabilising the flow of raw materials and helping with agricultural reform. This implies global negotiation.

The new technological revolution must be developed (information systems, auto-

mation, microcomputers, bioengineering etc.) in an effort to achieve an increase in productivity again – but this time, a stable and lasting increase, which alone will allow for the rise in salaries required in opening up new avenues and the rise in profits which is essential to investment.

Enormous effort must be put into training, producing a workforce able to adapt to the new types of work created by the changes in industry.

The Socialist International is a valuable instrument. How can we use it most effectively? Our president, Willy Brandt, and our general secretary, Pentti Vaananen, will have to present proposals for our consideration. I would like to conclude here with a few suggestions:

- that we take up again, in more depth, our earlier work on employment policy (in particular, on the crucial question of the term of working life) in an ad hoc committee;
- that give a more concrete form to the general points of the Manifesto of Albufeira on economic and social questions;
- that, with these aims in mind, we arrange contacts and discussions with the large trade-union organisations;
- and that we announce more systematic working relations with the Non-Aligned Movement, particularly on North-South problems.

Thus we can assume our role as a large international force in debate, in proposal, in uniting in action.

In any case, the French Socialist Party is ready to contribute to the preparation of what could be a socialist programme of action in response to the crisis.



HORIZONS

The Socialist manifesto for Europe

It pays to cooperate

From 14-17 June this year, the electorate of the European Community will go to the polls to elect the 434 members of the European Parliament, the assembly of the member states of the Community – Belgium, France, Federal Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

The European elections, the second since 1979, have brought back into the political limelight the Confederation of Socialist Parties in the European Community, which together with the 124-strong Socialist Group in the Parliament has prepared a joint manifesto, which presents socialist responses to the challenges facing the Community and all Europeans.

Here we reprint part of the manifesto 'It pays to co-operate', which was to be approved at the Confederation's congress in Luxembourg on 9 March 1984. Space does not permit our publication of the entire manifesto, which also deals with security issues, the common agricultural policy, and a variety of political problems facing Europe and the European Community.*

For more than three years already, the world economy has been in the grip of a cumulative process of deflation and impoverishment. More than 12 million people are officially registered as unemployed in the EEC countries. But even then, these figures still underestimate the dimension of the problem: just think of all those who have to content themselves with temporary and often precarious jobs, and of those who simply give up looking for a job.

In many European countries since 1980, the purchasing power and the standard of living for large sectors of the population have been diminishing. The capitalist system has not been able to overcome a crisis of worldwide proportions.

It is obvious that conservative policies carried out in these countries have not remedied this situation, quite the reverse. Indeed, as far as the right is concerned, the solution to the crisis is to be found in improving the competitiveness of the national economy vis-à-vis the trading partners, and consequently in reducing

salaries and family revenues.

It is precisely because this policy is applied in most countries at the same time that the result can only be negative: each country wants to increase its exports to the other countries, whilst limiting the available outlets for the others.

Purchasing power and the markets become limited as a combined result of these policies. Consequently, no one wins, but everyone loses. In this context, the impasse in the North-South dialogue is of dramatic importance.

It becomes more and more difficult for the individual countries to escape this world process of deflation. This is particularly the case for those European countries where economic integration is very advanced. Although an entire series of measures should and could be taken on the national level, in Europe it is difficult to escape the crisis by 'going one's own way'. On the other hand, the fact that the economies of the Community are being integrated offers vital conditions for seeking solutions to the crisis. A limited amount of common action and cooperation would already enable a number of obstacles to be removed which stand in the way of national policies for economic recovery. The possibility for a coordinated European expansion is an excellent example. In brief, cooperation which paves the way for social progress

must replace competitive austerity.

Technological innovations, industrial policy, economic recovery, the reduction of working time and industrial democracy must be integrated into one policy. All these measures must be taken in coordination with each other and they must lead to a qualitative growth in the economy.

The fight for jobs is our absolute priority

The fight for jobs is at present our top priority. The social breakdown and human suffering caused by the present levels of unemployment are unacceptable. It is imperative that we offer new prospects for the millions of unemployed in Europe. Moreover, only an immediate reaction aimed at casting out the curse of unemployment can enable us to resolve the growing economic and budgetary imbalances in Europe. Indeed, in order to maintain and develop the present European social security systems, jobs must be created.

The economic strategy to fight unemployment is based upon three lines of action which reinforce each other:

- **recovery:** a selective and planned recovery of economic growth is necessary to break the vicious cycle of deflation;
- **restructuring:** the realisation of a sustained recovery also requires a thorough restructuring of our economies;
- **redistribution:** if we want to translate economic recovery into decreasing unemployment, a radical redistribution of work and wealth is necessary.

In order to stimulate our national economies, these policies must be supported by coordinated action on a European level.

Such a common strategy requires a radically new concept of Europe in social policy and in the common area of research and industry. It is only under this perspective that human solidarity and the improvement in the quality of daily life – basic socialist values – can be developed.

Over the past years, we have noticed the refusal of employers to develop a true economic and social coordination on the European level. Nevertheless, in order to formulate the social entity which the Community should constitute, a *European employment plan*, containing a clear commitment to the creation of jobs in the private and public sectors, would be an important step.

'Better-my-neighbour' reflation

Public investment can play a key role in the recovery of economic activity. Moreover, there are many opportunities for organising *investment programmes*, especially in the fields of energy saving, construction and

* This text, the most up-to-date at press time, is not the finally approved text. We are grateful to Carole Tongue, a member of the secretariat of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament and the British Labour Party's candidate for the European Parliament in London East, for her efforts to make this text available to *SOCIALIST AFFAIRS*.

urban planning, transport, environmental protection, the sectors of high technology, etc.

An important role can be played by public demand within the Common Market.

Furthermore, the impact of an expansionary policy would be all the more great if it was carried out simultaneously in all European countries.

This is why we support the proposal – put forward by the trade union movement (the ETUC) – in favour of a major *public investment* push. According to the European Socialists and the ETUC, this must be coordinated at the level of the European

members of the OECD and must amount to 1 percent of GNP. In this context, the member states of the European Community can play a determining role, by concluding an agreement within the council of ministers.

The international environment must also change. As a first step towards progress in the North-South dialogue, all the countries of the Community should put into practice their commitment to contribute 0.7 percent of GNP as net official development assistance (ODA) as soon as possible. A policy on transfer of capital towards the Third World is an important part of a policy for economic recovery.

Structural policies for Europe in the 1980s

So that the European Community can meet the great challenge of the third technological revolution, new emphasis must be given to European cooperation in the field of research.

The sum allocated to common research programmes in the European Community budget should be increased. Common incentives are essential for the development of European cooperation, where necessary, especially in the field of electronics (ESPRIT, biotechnology). The mobility of researchers within the European

With its twenty-one member parties (fourteen with full membership status and seven with observer status), the **CONFEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY** is the largest

organisation of political parties in Europe. Officially created at a congress held in Luxembourg on 5 April 1974, the Confederation took over and expanded the activities and objectives of the original Liaison Bureau which, up to that time, had concentrated its efforts on securing closer cooperation between the socialist parties of the member states of the Community. As its statute affirms, the Confederation's principal tasks are:

- to strengthen the Socialist movement both within the Community and in Europe as a whole;
- to promote the exchange of information and cooperation between the parties;
- to establish fundamental guidelines and common priorities in relation to the major problems posed by the existence of the European Community;
- to forge a close working relationship between the member parties, the Confederation and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament;
- to ensure close collaboration and understanding with the Socialist International; and
- to encourage exchanges of view and contacts with the trade union and professional organisations and the European cooperative associations.

In the more general context of the struggle to achieve integration, the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community is doing what it can, on behalf of all European socialists, to tackle the massive problems resulting from a decade of crisis. The twelve million unemployed in Europe, the unscrupulous policies pursued by the conservative

movements and parties and the delicate and intricate international situation call for the adoption of clear priorities which are consistent with the essential aims and principles to which all socialists adhere.

To achieve its objectives, the Confederation makes use of three separate bodies:

- the Congress, which is convened every two years by the Bureau and which, as the highest authority, has the task of establishing the Confederation's political guidelines;
- the Bureau, which is responsible for implementing the Congress's decisions and establishing the broad policies to be pursued by the Confederation in the interval between meetings of the Congress; and
- the Secretariat which, in addition to applying the decisions of the Confederation's bodies, assists the president, organises meetings and arranges contacts with the members of the Confederation and the Community institutions, trade union and professional organisations and the European cooperative associations.

The member parties of the Confederation are:

- Socialist Party, PS, Belgium**
- Socialist Party, SP, Belgium**
- Social Democracy, Denmark**
- Socialist Party, PS, France**
- Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Germany**
- The Labour Party, Ireland**
- Italian Socialist Party, PSI,**
- Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI**
- Luxembourg Social Workers' Party, LSAP/PSOL**
- Labour Party, Netherlands**
- Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, Northern Ireland**
- Socialist Party, PS, Portugal**
- Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE**
- The Labour Party, Great Britain**

The following parties have observer status: Socialist Party of Austria; Israel Labour Party; Northern Ireland Labour Party; Norwegian Labour Party; Swedish Social Democratic Party; Social Democratic Party of Switzerland; and Malta Labour Party.

President of the Confederation is Joop den Uyl, leader of the Dutch Labour Party; vice-presidents are Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Bruno Friedrich (Federal Germany), Jacques Huntzinger (France) and Rui Mateus (Portugal).

The 124-strong **SOCIALIST GROUP** is the largest political group in the European Parliament. The Socialist Group dates from June 1953 when a parliamentary group was set up by the Socialist members of the European Coal and Steel Community's Common Assembly. Its members have a common link – the traditions of the labour movement – and a common aim – to bring about socialist objectives in their respective countries.

The Group is made up as follows: 7 members from Belgium (4 from PS and 3 from SP); 4 members from Denmark (including one representative of Siumut of Greenland); 23 members from France (PS and Left Radicals); 35 members from Federal Germany; 16 members from Great Britain; 10 members from Greece (representative of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, which is not a member of the Confederation); 4 members from Ireland; 14 members from Italy (10 from PSI and 4 from PSDI); 1 member from Luxembourg; 9 members from the Netherlands; 1 member from Northern Ireland.

The chairman of the Socialist Group is Ernest Glinne of Belgium. The secretariat of the Group is headed, in both Luxembourg and Brussels, by Paolo Falcone of Italy.

HORIZONS EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

Community should be greatly enhanced.

Industrial policy

European industry has not been capable of adjusting itself correctly – neither structurally, nor socially – to the new forces of world competition. Its weakness is becoming more and more evident. It is obvious that the necessary coordination will not arise from the 'market game' alone.

What is necessary is industrial planning at the European and national level which assures the necessary degree of coordination between industrial policies within member states and which departs from the purely sectoral and defensive approach.

The European Commission, in close association with the European Parliament, should propose an integrated industrial programme.

More than ever before, the economic crisis and the anarchy of the markets prove the necessity of a democratic planning. Furthermore, in the majority of the European countries, the conservatives have completely destroyed all instruments for planning. The privatisation of public companies is the latest example of this negative approach. We are strongly opposed to this policy.

Any industrial policy must be accompanied by a consumer policy (consumer protection in order to defend their purchasing power and their economic interests, through their participation in economic decisions, through the development of safe products which are neither dangerous to the health of consumers nor to the environment, and through an improvement in the quality of products and services). These questions should above all be dealt with on the European level.

A socialist energy policy

As the energy sector is of vital importance for our future economic development, a series of political initiatives is necessary to enable the Community to work out and implement a common European energy strategy.

The main thrust of such a strategy must be on a better use of energy: energy saving and heat regeneration are necessary, but it is equally important to develop renewable sources of energy, alternative sources of energy and sources of substitute energy. However, on a parallel with this we must reduce our energy dependence, both by developing our own autonomous sources of energy – here we should devote some attention to safeguarding jobs and to reconversion in the coal basins – and by guaranteeing the security of our external provisions by diversifying them. Consequently, an improvement in the dialogue with the suppliers of the EC is of utmost importance.



'We believe the system of cooperatives should be extended at all levels of the economy. Cooperatives inspire the commitment of working people and the consumer because they are owned by the workforce.'

The Energy Council must promote tangible measures with regard to the better development and use of external supplies of energy, bearing in mind that Europe's vulnerability in the field of energy can best be reduced by the more effective exploitation of European energy sources and the development of renewable sources of energy.

Regional policy

The reinforcement of European solidarity

In order to pave the way for coordinated expansion, the growing regional divergences in Europe must be stopped. Indeed, certain regions with a weak or old industrial basis have been severely hit by the recession and unemployment. Consequently, the regional policy – the implementation of which must be carried out in agreement with the local authorities – must answer to the needs of the regions, whilst taking their resources into account. A substantial increase in the resources of the Regional Development Fund is of crucial importance.

We support a reform of the way in which the Regional Fund operates, especially:

- an increased concentration of grants on the poorer regions of the EC, which takes note of the problems of the town centres, which are often pockets of poverty in the most rich regions;
- the part of the Fund which can be freely allocated outside the national quotas should be increased to 20 percent.

The realisation of a regional policy is, however, not merely a question of financial resources: the regional dimension should be integrated into each Community policy.

More help for cooperatives

We believe that the system of cooperatives should be extended at all levels of the

economy. The development of cooperative enterprises must be supported. Cooperatives inspire the commitment of working people and of the consumer because they are owned by the workforce. Support from the Community should include access to finance and managerial expertise and training, help through public purchasing, and encouragement for institutions which foster cooperative development.

There is no way out without industrial democracy

Industrial democracy is expressed by the rights of workers in companies. With regard to economic democracy, this is expressed through the democratic compilation of economic policy.

Nowadays, many companies take their important strategic decisions at the international level. In order to be effective, the democratic rights of the workers should also be organised on the international level.

The inadequate substance of the proposal for a fifth directive on the structure of public limited companies and the Vredeling proposal for a directive, adopted by the European Parliament, makes it necessary to compile more complete European legislation on industrial democracy which is applicable both to national and multinational firms. This would constitute a major advantage in view of reinforcing the present legislation within the European countries. In our view, the following principles are especially important in this respect:

- workers have the right to precise and complete information on all aspects of employment and investment strategies, before important decisions are taken;
- all the workers of all parts of a company should be able to get a clear picture of the activities of the entire company, especially in the case of multinational companies; the workers have the right to directly address the parent company, wherever the parent company is situated, be it in the Community or outside ('by-pass');
- the right of initiative, the right to formulate alternative solutions and the necessity for consultation are the essential elements of industrial democracy.

The representative organisations of employers and employees should also be closely associated with economic policy-making at Community level.

An active employment policy

A European campaign for work-sharing and reduction of working time

Unemployment cannot be eliminated by recovery of economic growth alone; such a strategy would necessitate exceptional



'The growing regional divergencies in Europe must be stopped. We support an increased concentration of grants on the poorer regions of the Community, taking note of the the problems of town centres.'

growth rates which are, in any case, unlikely to be achieved and could involve unacceptable social and ecological risks.

Therefore, if we really want to attack unemployment, a radical redistribution of work is indispensable. In accordance with the proposals of the ETUC, this can be achieved by a number of different measures, such as the reduction of the working week to 35 hours, the lowering of the retirement age, the extension of annual holidays, etc.

In order to have a real effect on employment, the reduction of working hours should proceed with relatively important steps at once, which are well planned. The 35-hour week should be a first common target in the whole of the Community. Several elements may be considered for the financing of such a reduction and the compensatory recruitments, such as the normal productivity increases in the company sector, and the budgetary returns produced by increased employment.

If these efforts are insufficient to finance the reduction of working time and the compensatory recruitments, then it may be necessary to ask for a show of direct and progressive solidarity on the part of the active population.

A joint *European* action would enable a decisive breakthrough to be made in this field.

The reduction of the working week is not only an instrument for creating jobs, but it is also a vital component of social and cultural development. In the coming years, this reduction should remove the artificial barriers between work and leisure, manual and intellectual work and the existing inequalities between men and women.

Employment policy and labour market policy

Labour market policy, including employment and education schemes, should be considered as a crucial task for governments, in order to guarantee:

- that all workers, men and women alike, at all times have access to jobs and education possibilities;
- that special attention is given to the specific needs of social groups such as the young, women, the handicapped, immigrants and ethnic minorities, so that equal jobs pay equal salaries;
- that precarious employment situations are eliminated as much as possible.

The European Social Fund, whose financial resources must be extended, will play a major role in this field, especially in the field of job creation and of vocational training for young people.

Youth

The scale of unemployment of young people under twenty-five has become

monstrous. This is a truly alarming situation. We require young people to guarantee the economic and democratic future of society. It is essential that opportunities for school and vocational training for young people are improved. We call for more jobs for young people and also for social training schemes.

A coordinated strategy is needed to achieve these aims, based on the identification of 'best practices' within the member states, so as to introduce them in each member state. We call for programmes of high-quality training and work experience for school leavers, whether employed or unemployed, and subsidies to be paid to employers; better financial support for those young people who wish to continue in further education and after school. We call for specific measures to create jobs for unemployed 18-25-year-olds in industry and the community, backed by opportunitéis for retraining.

Women

The emancipation of women is one of the most important tasks of our society. The situation and the identity of women in the European Community has changed radically during the last few years. Traditional family structures have changed. Especially in the highly industrialised countries, one can observe a harmonisation of the major private and professional aims of men and women. But even in rural areas, women have committed themselves to the fight for emancipation and equal rights.

We European Socialists call for the elimination of discrimination at all levels and for all groups.

We thus call for:

- equal and equally paid jobs for men and women as well as measures to give women

an opportunity to work in line with their training;

- better school education, vocational training and further training for girls and women and specific legal measures to promote the reintegration of women into working life;

- improvement and extension of health protection for working women and mothers;

- organisation of work and working hours compatible with family commitments; this will require shorter and more flexible working hours, better parental leave, and expansion of child-care facilities to give men and women the same opportunity to enjoy social and family life.

Migrant workers

Migrant workers represent an important community within the EEC. They have made their own contribution through their work to the prosperity of the Community, and they will always form part of the destiny of Europe.

The European Socialists intend to guarantee to migrant workers and their families legally resident in Community territory the living conditions and dignity to which they lawfully aspire, as well as the same rights (legal and political) as the rest of the population.

It is equally necessary to take measures to eliminate illegal employment and to impose prohibitive punishments on fraudulent employers and 'job' dealers. These measures should coincide with an improvement in the relationships between the races and with a true integration of immigrants into society.

Justice and social security

Social justice and social security are a measure of a humane society. The conservative governments exploit crises to reduce the established level of social welfare and social security. The conservatives try to use the state's financial problems as a pretext for dismantling the social welfare system and redistributing the payments from below upwards.

The European Socialists are fighting for the development of social security, as the existence of equitable and effective social protection is an indispensable element of social progress, of the redistribution of wealth and of solidarity:

- through the harmonisation from the highest level of national social security legislation;
- through the adoption in all the member states of the best standards available in the Community regarding marital status;
- the change to social security systems so as to abolish all forms of discrimination;
- through the simplification of social security systems.



'There must be an obligation for consultation between employers and employees before any introduction of new technologies into a company.'

the redistribution of incomes.

Due to the profound and international nature of the crisis, convergent economic policies for economic recovery must be instituted as well as a system of stable monetary relations.

Monetary stability and economic recovery

From our point of view, monetary stability is an important component of economic recovery. A strong European Monetary System would be an important asset. We note, however, that Great Britain is not a member.* It would, for example, constitute a basis for independence, for greater economic independence of the European Community, vis-a-vis the US in economic and monetary affairs.

It is essential that the monetary policy of the member states should reinforce our expansionary policy and contribute to the convergence of economic policies to promote recovery. However, in order to use the European Monetary System as an instrument for economic recovery in Europe, several problems must be dealt with:

- the burden of adjustment (upwards or downwards) within the EMS must be shared equally between all the partners, and the adjustment mechanism should be independent from short-term capital movements;
- the potential of short-, medium-, and long-term loans, which are in principle available within the EMS, should be used; close cooperation between central banks must support the EMS and offset speculative capital movements;
- the reinforcement of the EMS logically necessitates the creation of a European

**The British Labour Party does not subscribe to the rest of the discussion on monetary stability.*

Monetary Fund which will control the evolution of the EMS in close contact with the political authorities of the Community;

- in the short term, the ECU must be given a larger role to play; its role as a payment currency should be more widely recognised within Europe; in the medium term, this currency could act as a focal point in the constitutional of a new international monetary order; the creation of conditional drawing rights available to the European Monetary Fund should be considered, to which the developing countries could subscribe;

- the countries of Europe together constitute an economic area and a market which are superior to the US and Japan; however, they are suffering the effects of US monetary policies which are financed by record budget deficits, high interest rates, and which, in turn, lead to an erratic rise in the value of the US dollar, the only existing currency for international settlements.

The protection and restoration of our environment

For us, Socialists, there should be no contradiction between environmental protection, economic policy and work. We call for a qualitative growth in the economy. The destruction of the environment and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the soil are cross-frontier problems that can rarely be solved at national level. The only possible solutions are European. We are all affected by the pollution of the air, the acid rain and the death of the forests, the dangers of chemical products and toxic waste.

We, Socialists of Europe, call for a greater participation of the citizens in the decisions concerning projects which affect the environment. At the same time, we call for more funds to be available for the elimination of the damage caused to the environment and for the prevention of environmental destruction. Such funds will also serve to create new jobs.

We thus advocate:

- the development and coordination of security plans regarding nuclear energy;
- the protection of the environment at the workplace;
- the execution of tests for compatibility with the environment before the setting up of any large projects; for this purpose, we call on the Council to take a decision on the proposal on this matter at last;
- the setting up of a widespread and effective system of water protection;
- prompt and effective measures in order to improve the quality of air and to reduce the emissions of toxic gases;
- effective noise abatement;
- effective control of international transportation of dangerous substances and toxic waste.

New technologies and social progress

In the years ahead, we shall be confronted with the spectacular introduction of new technologies. Far from allowing ourselves to become submerged by this phenomenon, we must use these new technologies in a selective manner and in particular by taking account of the repercussions on employment and the environment. Furthermore, we must provide ourselves with the means to enable the EEC to become more independent with regard to new technologies.

But whether these opportunities will actually be realised depends on the economic and social purposes these innovations will be used for. If achieving the maximum profit and productivity is the sole criterion for their application, then the results in terms of jobs and well-being may well be rather negative.

For the Socialists, the introduction of new media, new information and communication technologies must not be synonymous with the neglect of social progress and the loss of our cultural identity.

We must pay special attention to all those Community measures which are likely to reinforce the promotion of research and innovation, and exploit them fully by the common disclosure of results, exchanges between researchers and joint programmes.

Cooperation in the major research projects is absolutely essential.

The obligation for consultation between employers and employees before any introduction of new technologies into a company must be introduced. Thus the practice of 'technology agreements' could become generalised.

The national governments and European institutions should reinforce these consultation procedures and resulting agreements by providing appropriate sanctions.

Clearly, in these discussions, employment will be the key issue, not from a quantitative but from a qualitative point of view. The improvement of working conditions remains a central preoccupation of socialism, even in a period of crisis!

Inflation, monetary stability and economic recovery

Inflation and purchasing power

We reject the monetarist view of how to fight inflation, which in practice means using depression and unemployment as tools to reduce inflationary pressures.

On the contrary, we consider that the fight against inflation will have to be very different and be geared to the structural roots of the problem, eg. the instability of the international monetary system, the precariousness of the energy market, private monopolies and the pressures for

Independent trade unions in South Africa

A powerful new voice

In recent years independent black trade unions have become firmly established in South Africa. They are growing rapidly and now represent a major challenge to the white regime. **MARTIN PLAUT** and **DAVID WARD** report.

Black workers in South Africa are challenging the apartheid system at its roots. In the last few years a wave of strike action has shaken the Pretoria government and thrown the country's traditional industrial relations system into turmoil. A young, powerful and independent union movement is emerging in South Africa and is organising black workers in a struggle not merely for trade union rights, but against the racist principles which are the foundation of South Africa's divided society.

In spite of fierce government-inspired repression the independent unions have achieved notable victories and are gaining in both strength and confidence. They have forced major multinational companies, like Ford and Volkswagen, to recognise their negotiating rights and shop stewards; they have won substantial wage increases and defeated government legislation; they have generated major splits in the ruling Nationalist Party and continue to mount a virtually unprecedented level of industrial

action in defence of their rights. Indeed in 1982 strikes or work stoppages occurred on 394 occasions involving a total of some 141,000 workers. This level of militancy was somewhat dampened in 1983, by the high level of unemployment, with strikes down to 220 in the first eleven months of the year. It is estimated that 24 percent of the labour force of 2.5 million workers is now unemployed. The first few months of 1984 have seen a wave of strikes in the chemical and motor industries, and businessmen are reportedly bracing themselves for 'an extremely lively year'.

Since the late 1970s some 250,000 black workers have joined the independent movement organised in a number of large unaffiliated unions and two national federations, the Federation of South African Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of South African Unions (CUSA).

Established in 1979, FOSATU is the largest union and, therefore, of crucial importance in the fast-changing labour movement in South Africa. The union's membership has risen dramatically, totalling some 106,000 workers organised in approximately 489 factories. A further

indication of FOSATU's increasing strength is the number of companies which recognise the union's shop stewards and negotiating rights. To date, FOSATU affiliates have obtained, or are negotiating, over 285 company recognition agreements.

The union's affiliates are particularly strong in the heavy industrial sector, organising car, metal, food, transport and textile workers among others. The membership is predominantly black although the union is committed to a democratic and non-racial policy.

The growth of FOSATU can be largely attributed to the union's ability to win factory disputes against management. A notable example was a dispute in 1981 between FOSATU-affiliated Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) and the management of a Colgate-Palmolive plant in Boksburg. The strike witnessed a remarkable victory for the union and was a blow to the government's system of industrial councils.

The dispute, which lasted about fourteen months, began over a recognition disagreement. Colgate-Palmolive refused to recognise the CWIU on the grounds that it was unregistered, despite the fact that the union had the support of the majority of the workforce. Eventually Colgate gave in to the CWIU's demand for recognition, but on condition that the union should negotiate on wages and conditions at an industrial council – a forum that perhaps preempts shopfloor bargaining and that is bitterly opposed by the independent unions.

The CWIU immediately refused to accept this condition and launched a two-pronged attack on the company. The union launched a consumer boycott of Colgate products and then began the process to

Unity is strength: organised black workers in South Africa are threatening the apartheid regime



declare a 'legal' strike. In South Africa, holding a legal strike is a lengthy and cumbersome business. The CWIU had to apply to a so-called conciliation board which found it could not resolve the dispute. Following the board, the union had to observe a thirty-day 'cooling-off' period after which a strike could be legally declared if a ballot of the workers showed majority support for a strike – which it did with 93 percent voting in favour.

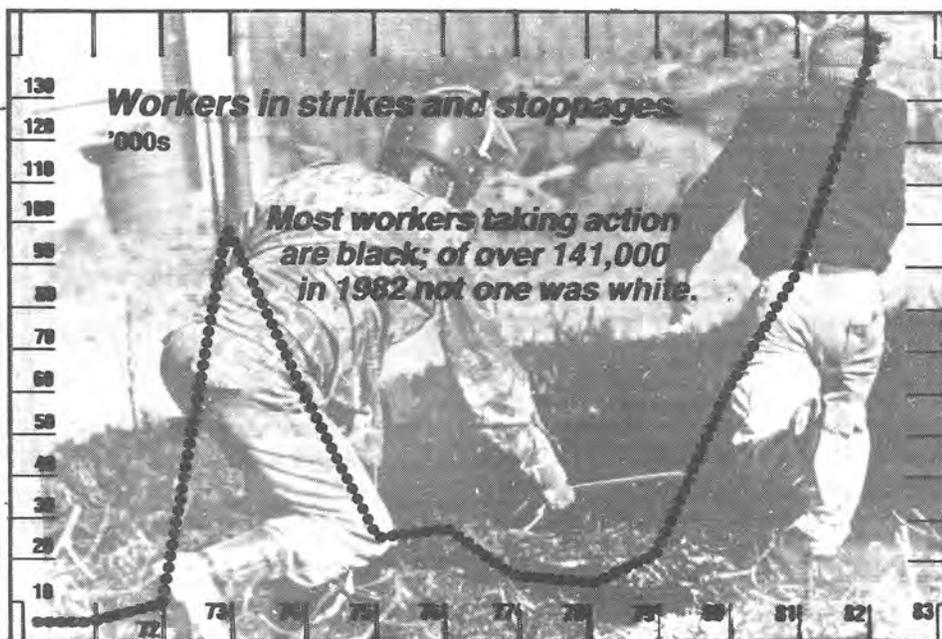
Meanwhile, the FOSATU-organised boycott of Colgate products gained momentum. Within two weeks, thousands of workers were going to work with boycott stickers on their overalls and carrying posters supporting the CWIU. Traders in East Rand and elsewhere agreed to remove Colgate products from their shelves and whole communities became mobilised behind the boycott call.

Other employers began to fear a wave of sympathy strikes. Under such extreme pressure, and with just two days to go before the strike was due, Colgate-Palmolive relented and agreed to negotiate with CWIU outside the industrial council. Colgate said that it had to 'recognise the reality of the situation'. FOSATU commented: 'The Colgate-Palmolive dispute was a turning point in South Africa's industrial relations. It punched a great hole in the collective solidarity of employers'. Such victories are earning FOSATU substantial support from black workers.

At a congress held in Hammanskraal in April 1982, FOSATU set out important policy approaches to be adopted by the union's affiliates and clarified some controversial political issues. An address by FOSATU's general secretary Joe Foster outlined a strategy to build a workers' movement. Foster argued that the conditions in South Africa now provided an environment in which the possibility of creating an independent working-class movement existed. The task of building up the unions was, said Foster, a 'fundamental political task' and 'part of the wider popular struggle'.

FOSATU's general secretary also praised the role of black political groups, including the African National Congress (ANC), which were fighting to destroy apartheid. However, Foster stressed that FOSATU should remain independent of any political groups and concentrate on building an effective worker organisation. He urged unions to build a strong base and 'to use the strength of factory organisation to allow workers to play an effective role in the community'.

The general secretary's address was adopted as a guideline and the congress then approved a resolution – the most extensive statement of the union's policy so far. FOSATU, it stated, 'will engage in



struggles to secure a better standard of living, social justice, social security and the political emancipation of workers in the community'. On the government's homelands policy, the union deplored the 'act whereby South African citizens are stripped of their birthright and declared foreigners in the land of their birth', and reiterated its support for one-person-one-vote.

Even though FOSATU will not affiliate to any political movement, the union urged the creation of 'unshakable unity based on effective organisation'. Such organisation, FOSATU believes, should aim at building one union movement, so that 'an effective vehicle for change can be created'.

The issue of union is a controversial one for the independent unions. At a historic summit held at Langa, Cape Town, in August 1981, the major independent unions began discussing the possibility of unification. Establishing common policies, however, is already a problem for the independent union movement. The issue of registration is one example. The South African government insists that all unions register in order to gain the full 'benefits' of the so-called labour 'reforms' conceded in the last few years. The majority of the independents have resisted regis-

tration which, in particular, attempts to prevent non-racial memberships.

Some FOSATU affiliates, in contrast, have applied for registration, but refused to accept the conditions imposed. Meanwhile the union has sought recognition from companies regardless of the registration issue. The South African government bitterly resents company recognition outside the established framework. Possibly the most spectacular achievement in the last year was the growth of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), an affiliate of the Council of Unions of South Africa. Founded in 1982, the NUM is the first union since the destruction of the African Mineworkers Union in 1946, to organise the 600,000-strong black miners. When the Chamber of Mines authorised the union to organise in its compounds, it was widely believed that the NUM, led by a former legal expert, Cyril Ramaphosa, would be less than militant. This has not proved to be the case, with the union putting in a 30-percent wage claim last year, and taking the industry to the brink of a strike on more than one occasion. Health and safety issues have been taken up with a particular vigour – a strong point in an industry which is notoriously dangerous. As a result the union now claims a membership of 55,000, an extraordinary rapid growth for so young an organisation.

A subject of continuing concern to the unions is their relationship to the community and the wider political struggle in South Africa. The most overtly political of the independent unions is the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). Based in the East London area, SAAWU was established in March 1979 following a split in the Black Consciousness inspired Black Allied Workers' Union. The breakaway group established SAAWU and committed the union to a policy of non-racialism.

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Thozamile Gqweta, president of SAAWU

SAASU's membership is approximately 20,000 and has been described 'as much a mass movement as a union'. Committed to a policy of mass participatory democracy, SAAWU has sought to establish a strong relationship with the community. A union spokesman explains: 'SAAWU is a trade union dealing with workers who are part and parcel of the community. Transport, rents to be paid, are also worker's issues. The problems of the workplace go outside the workplace'.

As a result, SAAWU has become heavily involved in political affairs beyond conventional factory issues. SAAWU says: 'There can be no normal unionism in an abnormal society'.

The union has challenged the South African homeland policy and, in particular, opposed the so-called 'independence' of the Ciskei bantustan in which many of SAAWU's members live. Ciskei gained 'independence' from South Africa in December 1981, and SAAWU's activities have seriously challenged its legitimacy.

However, more than any other independent union, SAAWU has been subject to severe state harassment. The union's participatory and community-orientated political stand has antagonised the South African government and the authorities of Ciskei.

Scores of SAAWU members were detained by the Ciskei police in 1981, with South Africans assisting the homeland administration in union-busting techniques. Last year the union led a bitter campaign against increases in busfares. The Ciskei authorities responded with mass arrests and finally banned the union outright – a ban denounced by the entire union movement. The leadership of SAAWU have been subject to long periods of detention which ultimately required hospital treatment. The union's president, Thozamile Gqweta, has suffered repeated periods of detention.

The dilemma facing SAAWU is whether it can retain its militant posture, and inevitably endure further repression, without losing its membership. Resistance by employers also weakens SAAWU's support, since repeated strike action, defeated by scab labour, leaves many of the union's members unemployed. To counteract this trend, SAAWU is establishing a branch of unemployed workers.

There is a danger that SAAWU may suffer the fate of the black unions operating during the period up to the early sixties, which were crushed through a combination of weak organisation and repression. FOSATU general secretary Joe Foster stressed these fears recently, warning that unions building popular fronts with the community at large were making 'a great strategic error' unless such joint action was undertaken with a clear understanding of trade union aims and principles. Similar

concerns have been expressed by the General Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union.

Despite differences in policy and principle, the large independents, FOSATU, SAAWU, General Workers, Food and Canning, African Food and Canning and some smaller groups have agreed to continue discussions to build a permanent, unified movement. Indeed, the major independent unions have held a series of meetings to discuss the potential of a unified federation. FOSATU favours a tight federation based on 'disciplined unity' in which there would be a binding policy on affiliates and joint organisational machinery. Although some unions now favour these proposals, reservations from other unions have so far prevented the acceptance of the FOSATU proposals.

Despite the brutal tactics frequently adopted by the apartheid regime against independent unions in South Africa – witness the death in detention of Neil Aggett, the trade union organiser, in February 1982 – the growth of independent unions is impressive. Crucially, the independent union movement has seriously undermined the credibility of the so-called 'multiracial' unions of the government-supported Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA).

In the 1970s TUCSA unions began to organise black workers, but in 'parallel' unions which divide the black membership from the white parent unions that finance and control them. TUCSA's non-white membership is predominantly coloured or Asian rather than black and there is concern even from the union's own membership that the South African government regards TUCSA as 'sweetheart unions'. The rightward drift of the TUCSA leadership has dismayed some of its affiliates, who are seeking better relations with the independent unions. After having a passionate appeal to the 1983 TUCSA congress rejected, the 54,000 strong Boilermakers' Union decided to disaffiliate from TUCSA.

Above all, the development of independent worker organisations is causing increasing division within the South African state. The breakaway Conservative Party of Andries Treurnicht has singled out the Nationalist Party's minister of manpower, Fanie Botha, as the man most responsible for the government's alleged weakening of the apartheid system. The Conservative Party believe that Botha's labour 'reforms' have unwittingly allowed the unions to gain the power that will eventually lead to the downfall of white rule in South Africa.

Strategies of control

After the strikes of 1973, strikes by African workers were made legal under very restrictive conditions (only three out of 1,400 recorded strikes by African workers in the next eight years were legal). African workers' representatives were given the right to attend, but not vote at, meetings of Industrial Councils.

- **1977** In the wake of the uprising of 1976, the government appointed two commissions of inquiry into labour: the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions.

- **1978** The Riekert Commission recommended measures to streamline and strengthen the system of pass laws in ways that would benefit a small minority, but increase control on the rest.

- **1979** Following the Wiehahn report there was new legislation:

- an Industrial Court was established;
- African workers (but not initially migrant workers) became defined as 'employees', their unions thereby becoming eligible for registration and access to Industrial Councils;

- 'mixed' unions remained prohibited, except by ministerial exemption;

- farm and domestic workers were excluded, as they were before, from the scope of the act.

- **1981** Following widespread resistance by independent unions to the provisions for registration in the 1979 legislation, there was a Labour Relations Amendment Act:

- the prohibition on 'mixed' unions (without ministerial exemption) was dropped;

- controls over registered unions were increased and extended to unregistered unions;

- unions were prohibited from giving assistance or support to political parties;

- unions, and union federations, were prohibited from giving assistance or support to illegal strikes.

- **1982** An *Intimidation Act* was passed after the government's Rabie Commission reported that the law dealing with 'intimidation', particularly in situations of political and industrial unrest, was too weak.

- **1983** New legislation admitted unregistered unions to the conciliation machinery through participation in Conciliation Boards.

Internationalism today

BRUNO KREISKY, the former Austrian chancellor and now head of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, explains why the world needs a new Marshall plan.

If you consider the world fifty years hence and extrapolate developments from our present position, will it be positive or negative?

KREISKY: It's a well known fact that certain industries are unable to predict developments more than five years ahead: in the electronics industry, for example, a few years ago the computers of the time were the last word; but developments since have far outstripped them. How can I, today, look into the field of science fiction and see how the world will look in fifty years' time? All I would say is that I hope the world will still be here.

And on a more restricted timescale?

KREISKY: I'm rather pessimistic. Even if there is an economic upturn, I believe that normal prosperity as we've known it in the past will be insufficient to absorb the mass unemployment we have in the world now. The economists who say that we shall have to accept a relatively high proportion of unemployment under current conditions of technological development are probably right. But my political philosophy fights against this, it doesn't want to resign itself to that situation.

How do you suggest the situation could be resolved?

KREISKY: I admit it's almost asking too much of any policy to expect it to solve the problem; but I believe it *can* be solved. There are certain essential pre-requisites. The only way in which we shall be able to make full use of the extensive resources available to us is to transfer substantial funds to the Third World. That is the hope for the next ten years. The phenomenon is similar to that already experienced in modern industrial society, but on a totally different level. Firstly, we came through this development because we were always able to convert additional millions of people into consumers – of textiles, foods, cars, houses. What we now need at a worldwide level is what happened in the North during the last eighty years (I'm excepting the two world wars). We first have to make the billions of people of the Third World into potential consumers, by an act of solidarity.

You are referring to a 'Marshall plan' for the Third World, for which you have campaigned for years. German social democrats and others propose that the industrialised nations get together to formulate a common policy to overcome the present crisis and to ward off an even greater crisis. But all this is not working; doesn't that to some extent show up what Marx called the anarchy of production?



KREISKY: May I qualify that a little? Modern industrial society is the latest development of the capitalist economy. We must not forget what the introduction, to an ever increasing extent, of automation means, for example in the car industry; our capacity for production is becoming immense. As long as our capacity for consumption was growing accordingly, and there was a growth of the welfare state, everything was in the very best order. Now we in the North have reached the limits of what we can consume.

From the point of view of purchasing power?

KREISKY: No, we cannot use many more cars, because there is no more room in the world *we* live in. The moment these limits are reached the crisis will begin, and unemployment will exacerbate this situation still more in that purchasing power will decrease in the industrialised nations. There is interaction: first we almost reach the limits of what we can sell, and more, and then that is reversed and creates unemployment. The only rational answer to this is for the forces

of production, the means of production at one's disposal, to be used to transfer the goods produced where they have not got them, where there are still hundreds of millions of people in need and poverty. But only political action can do that.

Rational as it may seem, the capitalist way of thought will not be able to achieve this because the question of financing comes up time and time again. For the goods must have their price. And if the price cannot be paid and you put another consideration first – that of making the poor richer – then you are in the realm of political decision making. Until we are in a position to make such political decisions, we will not really overcome the crisis.

But the whole concept of development aid has recently been brought into question.

KREISKY: What we mustn't do is force on the people of the Third World countries lorries they are unable to use; instead, we have to provide them with a transport system they can manage themselves. So we have to provide them with adequate technology. The famous idea advocated by Servan-Schreiber – with which he managed to convince the Japanese – that these nations should instantly be provided with the latest technology, is grotesque, since it immediately forces them into a monstrously unfamiliar way of life. We ourselves are experiencing difficulties in our relationships with robots. Are we to force these people into accepting something totally incomprehensible to them? It makes any notion of quality of life laughable, because quality of life requires the processes around us not to be so alien as to be incomprehensible.

In times of economic crisis, in particular, the public's attitude towards questions of development aid tends not to be very positive.

KREISKY: Yes, the question is, can we actually finance it? With our present supposedly rational method of financing, we are in the long term losing billions of dollars; and we are now realising that, or having to realise it. Loans cannot be repaid. It would have been cheaper had we simply transferred funds and resources. Where repayment of a debt shown in the books is postponed for a substantial length of time, the result is a loss. A direct transfer would have cost us much less, and politically we wouldn't have antagonised the Third World, as we are doing now.

In these difficult times an increasing number of people believe that we need all our resources for ourselves.

KREISKY: Yes, but what do we do with them? Our resources are too great for ourselves alone. But the concept of development aid was wrong from the outset. At

best it took the form of international charity, and even there, it didn't do a great deal. But that's not something I'm saying for the first time today. I've been repeating it ever since the Marshall plan. What I said was, give the Europeans aid by all means, but get them to give an undertaking that as soon as they're able to stand on their own two feet, they will pass that aid on to the Third World.

Some of recipient nations want nothing to do with the interventionism associated with development aid.

KREISKY: The recipient nations have without exception supported my stand. That's one of the reasons why Austria has a relatively good reputation in the developing countries, in spite of our somewhat miserly contribution.

The argument propounded by many progressives is that development aid ruins existing cultures.



Photographs by Walter Hensisch

KREISKY: I'm familiar with the argument put forward by Ivan Illich and others. We cannot transport things into the Third World that will destroy its environment. On the other hand, we have to defend its people against permanent starvation, and that we can only do if, for example, we introduce satisfactory water management schemes. And I always speak in terms of railways rather than lorries. Railways are environmentally the most acceptable form of transport. I prefer large energy projects that harness water that would otherwise run to waste. I talk about telecommunications, because it's much easier to show people how to farm efficiently if they can see, rather than first teaching them to read and write. That doesn't help – it's much more sensible to show them, by telecommunications, what they should be doing each day on their farms. If they can read, they become prey to the sensational press, which hardly draws them out of illiteracy. I'm all for literacy. But our people can read and write, and just take a look at what they read!

There is a lively debate at the moment as to

how far we, as outside, committed people in Europe, are entitled to make judgements on conditions in the Third World. This argument appears, for example, when a view is expressed on the situation of women in Islam. People say they have a different culture and are entitled to behave as they wish.

KREISKY: I have been an internationalist from my early youth, and part of my internationalism consists of the fact that, in my opinion, people are entitled to involve themselves everywhere. If others come along and criticise us, they must be allowed to do so, and conversely, we have to be allowed to do the same. We criticise all the time. I am always writing letters to heads of communist governments or to Latin American presidents about people who are locked away in prison, or remonstrating against conditions in Africa. Consciences have to be pricked everywhere – you can't just stand by and watch people being tortured in Uganda, for instance. You have to say to yourself: if they want help, then they have to put up with our criticisms.

Is there in this something of the old idea of proletarian internationalism, which disintegrated in 1914?

KREISKY: Yes, it is certainly true that today the proletarian internationalism of bygone days has taken on a new meaning. In its place we have the concept of international solidarity. I would like to illustrate this with a drastic example: if the western world could decide – and this is an unrealistic hypothesis – to transfer 500,000 million dollars in goods, services, schools and everything that goes with it, to the Third World, the great problems of the Third World would be solved and we still would not have lost as much as we will now lose if we get further into crisis. But again this seems too much for politics – why?

People believe that everything can be solved by political action. But there are psychosocial phenomena such as hatred of foreigners or national greed. So a politician does not dare to tell his people that if you want to participate in such a 500-billion-dollar project it will cost Austria 2 billion – which is nothing really, if you consider that in return immense economic impulses would be generated. People are simply not judicious enough, and this is bound up with the fact that the ideological side of society is controlled by a way of thinking other than the democratic socialist.

But gradually we are getting there. Suddenly a man like Kissinger appears and discovers this transfer of resources, as he wrote in a recent article. He explained this fact to me as if it were the greatest discovery of its time. I recalled with a smile how I myself had proposed it to him during his

time as secretary of state.

Socialists must constantly find themselves confronted with the fact that their ideas are ahead of their time. The day when socialists stop having ideas which are ahead of their time will be a sad one.

Would these planning elements at international level have any chance under different conditions of production?

KREISKY: If the affluent world is not in a position to absorb its 35 million unemployed – and it will not be – the problem will continue. But even new affluence, that is to say new economic development, will not absorb these unemployed unless we are prepared to carry out this great action for the poor people. As I said earlier, something is taking place in international life that has taken place in national life in the industrialised countries. Those who are aware of it must be prepared for a redistribution in favour of the poor. That is very rare by peaceful means.



Are you optimistic that democratic socialism will be able to assert a new way of thinking?

KREISKY: One of the reasons we succeeded in 1970 in Austria was because it was recognised through marxist thinking that the number of manual workers in the modern economy is getting smaller and that workers' parties can only attain the necessary degree of political influence if they seek allies. We must therefore look to social groups which are close to the workers, for instance, white-collar workers, who are sociologically allied but often do not want to admit it. We succeeded because we realised that politics is not only carried out with demagogic phrases and tactical considerations but by recognising the sociological bases of society. Anyone who goes against this is condemned to weakness; anyone who acts according to this principle will grow strong.

Based on an interview by Cheryl Bernard and Edit Schläffer first published in Zukunft; with additional questions by AZ editor Georg Hoffman-Ostenhof.

What next for Grenada?

Both the murder of Maurice Bishop and the US invasion of Grenada were immediately condemned by the Socialist International. The tragedy of the destruction of the Grenadian revolution and the New Jewel Movement (NJM), an SI member party, is the subject of a continuing inquiry. **HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY**, who was one of the few foreign correspondents to witness the invasion of 25 October 1983, here offers a personal view of the implications of the first US occupation of a Commonwealth country.

Also in this issue, the text of the International's statements on Bishop's murder and the invasion and the discussion at the Brussels Bureau meeting (in *SI News*), and a report on subsequent developments (in *Socialist Notebook*).

As the memory of the US invasion of Grenada on 25 October last year begins to fade it becomes increasingly clear that the operation, which was clearly illegal by any standard of international jurisprudence and unnecessary from a political point of view, has also solved no problems for the islands. As the months pass it is obvious that it has created more difficulties than it has disposed of.

It could be argued that few operations of the type of the invasion have been surrounded with more political complexities. What is more, the complexities have been made all the more thorny and labyrinthine by the campaign of distortion, fudging and obfuscation which accompanied the landing of US troops for the first time in history on the territory of a country of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Events happened with such speed in a corner of the world of which the international community knew so little that it might be useful to retrace in summary form the chronology of the tragedy which enveloped Grenada and the New Jewel Movement (NJM).

By September last year it was evident that the internal divisions which had for perhaps a decade plagued the NJM with greater or less intensity were coming to a head. The divisions and the exacerbation of them, it must here be said, took place away from the gaze of the majority of the Grenadian population of 110,000. The internal workings of the party, even after it came to

power in the revolutionary coup of 13 March 1979 were never really in the public domain in Grenada, and the NJM leaders always made it an article of policy to keep their squabbles heavily veiled. The full members of the party, ie. those enjoying full voting rights in the NJM, numbered only about 45 when the party took power and by the time of last year's crisis, after about four and a half years in power, that figure had not quite doubled. The full members of the NJM, who were backed by several hundred candidate members and applicant members, selected a central committee of sixteen. Effective day-to-day power was concentrated in the hands of a political bureau which never exceeded eight and sometimes functioned with no more than five members. The reserve with which the party treated public discussion of its affairs prevented the majority of Grenadians knowing the reasons for the difficulties it was encountering and gave the lie to the popular understanding of Grenada as an island where everyone knew everyone else's business.

It was therefore behind closed doors that the party leader Maurice Bishop, a London-educated lawyer who with a small group of colleagues had founded and developed the party, faced a challenge from a group of political rivals who wanted the NJM to develop rapidly on marxist-leninist lines following models to be found in Eastern Europe. Bishop's chief rival was the principal theoretician of the party, Bernard Coard, who was Bishop's deputy prime minister and also the most highly trained economic brain in a small community where skills in economics were all too lacking. Despite the often close relations Bishop and Coard had enjoyed in previous years, it was clear by September that the latter had won

a majority in the Central Committee – from which he himself had been absent for more than a year – for his views.

The Central Committee majority pressed on Bishop the need to share power with Coard and develop a more leninist form of political organisation. When he proved reluctant to go wholeheartedly down the leninist road he was held under house arrest. On 19 October Bishop was released from his captivity by a very large crowd of Grenadians who marched to his residence in order to make him once again the head of government. Despite mistakes and despite the opinion of the Central Committee, Bishop was high in the people's affection. He had brought many beneficial social changes and had set his island on a foreign policy course of which many Grenadians approved.

Shortly after one o'clock on the afternoon of 19 October he was seized by members of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) who arrived at Fort Rupert in the centre of St George's, the island capital, and executed Bishop; Unison Whiteman, the foreign minister; Norris Bain, the housing minister; labour leader Fitzroy Bain; and Jacqueline Creft, the education minister and Bishop's companion.

Shortly thereafter the PRA Commander General Hudson Austin formally took power and named a 'Revolutionary Military Council' which was to rule until its overthrow by the US troops the following Tuesday.

During the few days when Austin was controlling the island, the US held urgent consultations with its Caribbean allies to plan the invasion. Austin's regime, meanwhile, had been condemned by the Cuban government and many others inside and outside the Caribbean, and Austin was obliged to offer concessions to his opponents as international hostility to his regime mounted. Had the invasion not taken place – an operation, it must be said, which was in clear breach of the treaty which constituted the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), some of whose members were involved in the ousting of Austin – it is evident that the beleaguered Austin would never have lasted more than a very short time.

Illegal though it was, the US invasion, as I myself witnessed on the spot, was welcomed by many thousands of Grenadians. Inexperienced in international affairs and unconscious of the deeper strategic and political reasons which lay behind President Reagan's decision to invade, Grenadians were relieved that some force had at last come to rescue them from a regime which had murdered their leader Bishop in the bloodiest of circumstances and which had kept them in a state of fear and danger for days through a 24-

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hour curfew and arbitrary arrest.

At the same time, the US invasion, which was backed by a small group of troops and police from Barbados, Jamaica, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Lucia, St Kitts-Nevis, Dominica and Antigua and Barbuda, robbed the Grenadians themselves of the chance of getting rid of the detested regime and of keeping their own political affairs under their own control.

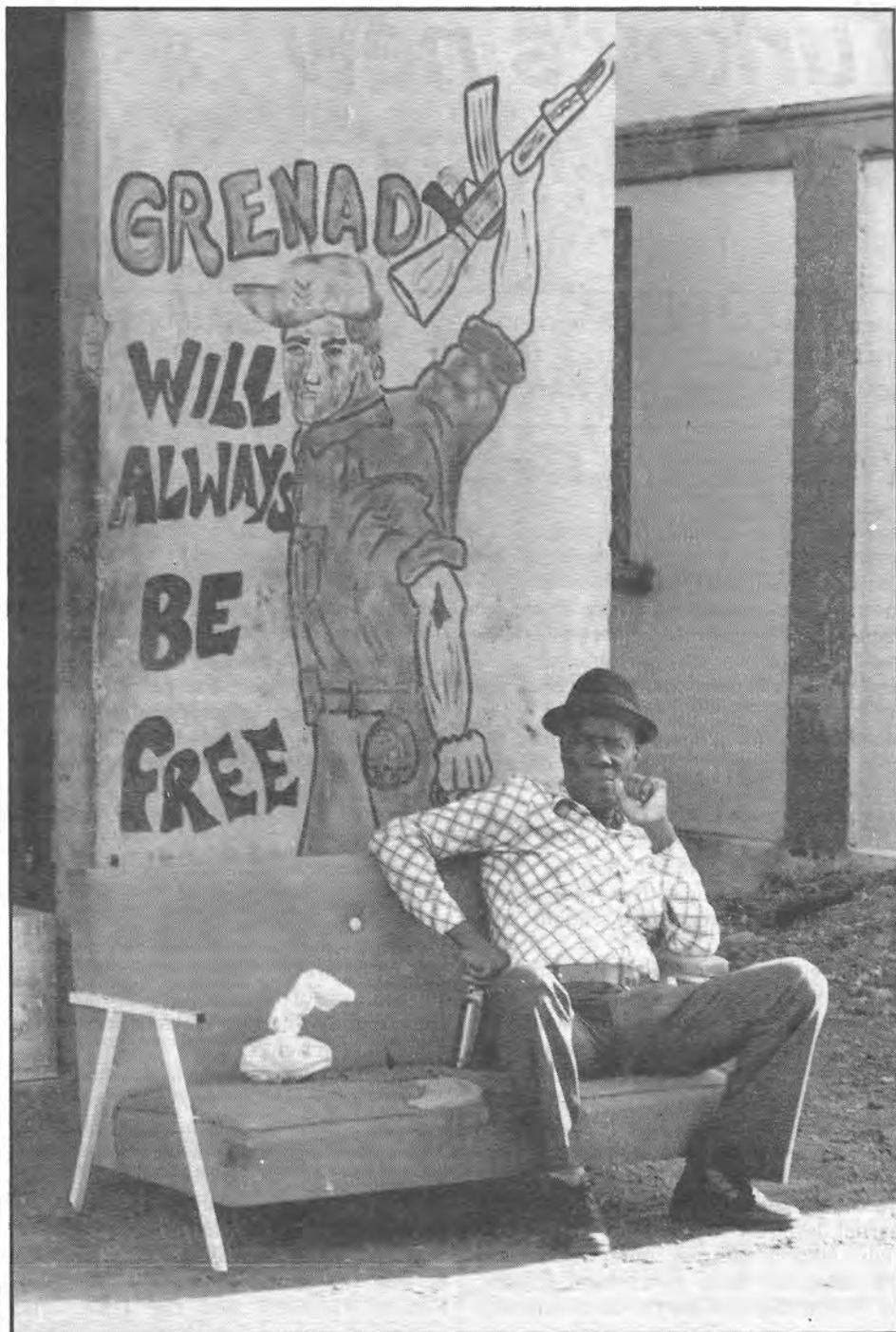
The nascent personality of Grenada which had existed as an independent state for less than a decade was virtually steam-rolled out of existence by a superpower whose leaders were happy to exaggerate wildly the threat posed to the security of the United States by Grenada's links with the Cuban and Soviet governments. Indeed, at the time of the invasion, the Cubans, as we have seen, had turned their backs on a clearly illegitimate and unpopular regime.

The invasion had negative side effects outside the island. It was a bad blow to the always doubtful cohesiveness of the Caribbean Community (Caricom). While the OECS states, Jamaica and Barbados collaborated with the principal invaders, their neighbours in Caricom, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Belize and the Bahamas, stood out against it. The personal and political rifts this caused in a far flung and economically weak community are deep and may be long lasting.

The Austin coup and the invasion together conspire to embitter and make more violent the political life of the area which, though often far from peaceful, had recently been more orderly and civilised than, say, that of Central America. The cold war, murder and firearms have now become major factors in determining who will rule in the Caribbean.

On the island itself, many of those of voting age continue to go round in a daze. Many Grenadians have had more than their fill of politics after the splits in the NJM, the murder of Bishop and the invasion and occupation of the island by foreign troops. The business classes have been seeking the maintenance of a large US garrison on the island. Their quest has been fruitless, as Washington has realised that the permanence of a large force of its troops would have the effect of needlessly exacerbating political tensions throughout the area. Nor has Washington given much support to petitions from some Grenadians, spontaneous or inspired, that Grenada should be given some permanent political link to the US. Day-to-day government continues under the governor-general, Sir Paul Scoon. Sir Paul keeps in close liaison with Tony Gillespie, one of the principal architects of the invasion who is now the US envoy on the island.

Elections are to be held before the end of the year. In the meantime Sir Eric Gairy,



What future for Grenadians?

the former right-wing prime minister who was ousted by Bishop in 1979, has returned from his comfortable exile in the US and is seeking to play a role once again in the island's affairs, though he insists that he will not stand for office again.

For its part the NJM is painfully seeking to rescue what it can from the ruins left by the murderous sectarianism of some of its members. Democratic sections of the party are struggling to salvage all that was praiseworthy from the programme undertaken by the Bishop government, and their efforts are being assisted by younger

Grenadians especially. The democratic socialists in Grenada are keen to ensure that the NJM's link with the Socialist International continues, and that those who caused such damage to the party in the past, and who were also most opposed to the SI connection, are not allowed to create a new round of havoc.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy's book Grenada: Revolution, Invasion and Aftermath will be published on 12 April by Hamish Hamilton and Sphere Books with The Observer, London.

Turkey's new 'democracy'

The new Turkish parliament and government are not only undemocratically elected, they are also deprived of real political power. **DAVID BLACKMAN** calls it a double farce.

On 12 September 1980 the top of military leaders collectively seized power in Turkey. As the five-member National Security Council (NSC) presided over by General (now President) Kenan Evren, they have been in firm control of the country ever since. From the beginning they gave assurances that their eventual aim was the restoration of a democratic parliamentary system once law and order had been restored (and it has to be admitted that in the months before the coup the Turkish parliament had been in deadlock and street violence had dramatically escalated). These assurances took concrete form at the end of 1981, when Evren announced a timetable for the return to democracy, starting with the preparation of a new constitution and ending with elections.

Apologists for the regime have stressed how it has kept to the timetable; but what matters is not the simple maintenance of a timetable but its content – a democratic constitution and democratic elections. Furthermore, we must set these against the background of the political atmosphere created by the other administrative and legislative actions of the regime, and the practices condoned by it: the continuance of martial law; the long series of political trials, notably of trade unionists, former politicians and local government leaders; the routine demands for the death sentence by the (usually military) prosecutor; the difficulties put in the way of defence counsel and the declining independence of the judiciary; the large numbers detained, convicted of, or awaiting trial for ideological crimes; appalling prison conditions (which have led to hunger strikes last summer), and considerable evidence of torture; harassment of journalists by prosecutions and muzzling of newspapers by closures; suppression of one trade union confederation (DISK), with its leaders on trial for their lives since 1981, and severe restrictions on the activities of the confederation still allowed to function (TÜRK-İŞ); purges of university staff; the silencing and occasional detention of

former political leaders; harassment of Turks living outside Turkey, particularly in Federal Germany, and demands for their extradition (which have unfortunately often been acceded to by the right-wing home affairs minister, Friedrich Zimmermann, at least until the furore over the suicide of a Turkish appellant from a sixth-floor courtroom window in West Berlin).

Reaction to these measures has been strong in those international bodies of which Turkey is a member (Council of Europe, OECD) or with which it is associated (the European Community). The Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly has debated the Turkish situation regularly since September 1980 and suspended membership of its Turkish parliamentary delegation. In July 1982 five council of Europe member states lodged a complaint against Turkey before the European Commission of Human Rights concerning torture and violations of trade union and other human rights.

The European Parliament, on the initiative of its Socialist Group, has since 1981 virtually blocked Community aid to Turkey, provided for in the association agreement, until the full restoration of democracy. The number of OECD states participating in the aid consortium for Turkey has dramatically shrunk, from 17 to 6, with the main burden now borne by Federal Germany and the USA. The glaring exception has been the North Atlantic Assembly where the presence of a strong US delegation has ensured a majority for a more complaisant line.

Bearing in mind this background we can turn back to the timetable. First, the draft constitution was drawn up in the

first half of 1982 by a non-elected constituent assembly appointed by the ruling NSC. Its proposals were the subject of some open debate and criticism, mostly ignored by the NSC, which approved a final version only twenty days before the referendum on it, and allowed no further debate in those twenty days, apart from the general's speeches – in favour.

The constitution created a much stronger presidency. Some development in that direction might have been justifiable, but in fact the president is given almost untrammelled powers – far greater than the government's; he and the NSC, unlike the government, will not be answerable to parliament. The constitution went into extraordinary detail in restrictive provisions concerning many aspects of society: these articles were implemented in consequent legislation, eg. the law on trade unions and collective bargaining, the law on political parties, and the electoral law (all passed by June 1983).

All these laws, while originally drafted in the consultative assembly, were given their final form and content, and ratified, by the NSC. Other important legislation, such as that granting wide-ranging powers to super-governors, has been adopted by NSC decree, bypassing the assembly.

The constitution and its provisions have been critically analysed by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly's special subcommittee on Turkey, whose advisor Professor Tomuschat, member of the UN Human Rights Committee, has listed infringements of the European Convention, to which Turkey is a party.

Tomuschat noted that while the constitution says that 'judges shall be independent', this independence is threatened by the state security courts set up to replace ordinary criminal courts; he noted the potential misuse of a state of emergency, which can be declared in a case of serious *economic* crisis; he maintained that the protection provided by the constitution to human rights and fundamental freedoms falls far short of the European Convention, eg. with regard to freedom of association, freedom to form political parties, the rights of former parliamentarians and members of political parties, even the protection of the right to life itself; he also pointed out that the total emphasis on the 'indivisible integrity of the state comprising its territory and people' indicates a wish to deny the existence of minorities on Turkish soil (an assumption further supported by those provisions of the constitution which empower the legislature to ban the use of languages other than Turkish).

The constitution was adopted in November 1982 by a massive majority in a referendum, which by an odd procedure simultaneously elected Evren president of the republic. But the electorate was faced

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The General's miscalculation: Turks voted for the – legal – opposition

with a Hobson's choice – either accept the new constitution or accept a continuation of the status quo.

And so to the elections of November last year. Although the European Convention stipulates 'free elections under conditions which will ensure the free expression of the opinion of the people in the choice of the legislature', in reality all of Turkey's leading former politicians were excluded from the political process, some for ten years and others for five years (the latter can be party members but not founders or executive members). The regime claimed it had been given overwhelming support for its policy in the referendum, but if this argument is valid, what did it still to fear from banned former prime ministers Bülent Ecevit and Süleyman Demirel?

From mid-May 1983 political parties were allowed to form. Despite all the exclusions of former politicians, fifteen groupings attempted the obstacle race created by the NSC, resubmitting time after time their list of founding members only to see the NSC veto large numbers of names. Only five parties succeeded in obtaining NSC approval for their required list of 31 founding members. The last two of the five, though now legal, could not take part in the elections; they effectively represent the clientele of the two major pre-coup parties. The five parties are:

1. **The National Democracy Party** led by General Turgut Sunalp, was clearly the most favoured by the Turkish military, and a number of ministers in the then government stood as independents on its list.
2. **The Motherland Party** led by Turgut Özal, a former vice-premier who was economics minister in the last months of the Demirel government preceding the coup,

and was retained by the generals until his free-market economic policies proved too much for them to stomach (here the generals followed the Turkish etatist tradition).

3. **The Populist Party** led by Necdet Calp, previously an assistant to the then prime minister, Bulend Ulusu and self-styled moderate social democrat.

4. **The Social Democratic Party (SODEP)**, the natural successor to Ecevit's Republican People's Party, was first led by Erdal İnönü, a distinguished physicist who had not been active in politics but is the son of the second president of modern Turkey, succeeding Atatürk, and thus possessed a charismatic name. This was enough for the NSC to veto him.

5. **The True Path (or Correct Way) Party** which is the natural successor to the Justice Party of Demirel. (An earlier revival attempt by Demirel, the Great Turkey Party had been closed down at the end of May, and Demirel detained.)

For the last two parties the NSC approved the list of founding members *one day* after the 24 August deadline for qualifying to contest the elections. Thus by an administrative trick the regime excluded all threat to its plan for a carefully guided election contested by three vetted and sanitised parties, two of the right and one supposedly of the centre-left.

The NSC did not content itself with vetting the founding members of the parties it legalised; it also insisted on individually approving all the 400 candidates on each of the lists presented by the three parties in early September and all the independent candidates. On 21 September the NSC vetoed 74 candidates of the National Democracy Party, 81 of the Motherland

Party and 89 of the Populist Party – showing at least a certain evenhandedness; the parties were given *two* (!) days to present the names of substitutes. The independent candidates fared far worse: 428 out of 475 were vetoed, and for them no substitutes could be presented. The NSC reaction here, though deplorable, was understandable in its own logic, for many of the independents were personalities who had been active in political life at national or local level before the coup, and under the new constitution had not been allowed to form or join a party.

Outside Turkey, condemnation of the pre-election farce was loud and clear. In its debate on 30 September the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly roundly condemned the elections in advance. It declared that the parliament to be elected on 6 November will not be able to be considered as democratically representing the Turkish people and therefore the Assembly would not accept a delegation from the new parliament.

The resolution was passed by a majority of some four to one, the main opposition coming from British Conservatives. An attempt by the Socialist spokesman Claude Dejardin, to start the procedure for the total expulsion of Turkey from all Council of Europe institutions was not successful. Later the same day the NSC released sixteen political leaders, including Demirel, who had been detained since the end of May and had smuggled out a declaration, published in the London *Times* on 9 August condemning the elections as a fraud.

The North Atlantic Assembly's political committee debated Turkey on 4 October, and somewhat surprisingly blocked a

resolution which referred to restrictions on political party formation and debate and on the media, and called for free elections.

On 13 October, the European Parliament condemned the elections in similar terms to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, and by a much clearer majority (125 to 4, with 11 abstentions) than in previous debates on Turkey. The only votes against came from three British Conservatives and one Ulster Unionist.

By this time a new dimension had been added to the picture – a decree passed by the Turkish government on 4 October which was strangely ignored by the western press until it was referred to by the Socialist Group spokesman, Ludwig Fellermaier. The decree announced that Turkey would be divided into eight administrative regions or 'prefectures', each controlled by a regional governor who would be appointed, not elected. They would act as the political and administrative agents of 'the state and the government in power', and would be established within twelve months. The eight regional centres (which not by coincidence, I am sure, coincide with the headquarters of the main army commands) were Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Konya, Kayseri, Erzurum, Adana and Diyarbakir. The regional governors would have very wide powers: to decide the opening and closing times for all associations and trade unions; to suspend or dissolve all associations and trade unions; to supervise the activities of businesses and trade unions; to report on the performance of the provincial governors in their region (there are 67 provinces in Turkey); to prohibit the sale of alcoholic drinks; to declare a curfew for up to four days; to shut down educational establishments for up to seven days; to maintain in working order and make secure all business sites; to report on the region's economic condition for the purpose of state planning; to carry out state development programmes in the region; to command the security forces of individual provinces, particularly when used in another province than where they are based; to sequester all civilian vehicles, equipment and property in a state of emergency.

This decree left little doubt as to how Turkish military intends to run the country in the future and how it proposes to do so. Martial law may have been nominally lifted, but in reality it will be perpetuated – the parallel with Poland is striking. The supergovernors will not only be responsible for security matters but will in effect have complete and largely arbitrary control of the social and economic life of the country. The parliament and government that emerged from the elections not only undemocratically based, but also deprived of any real political power in the country. It is all a double farce!

It is reported that when General Evren

took a summer holiday in 1981 his holiday reading included Plato's *Republic*. Plato's detractors, who see in him the father of modern totalitarian thought and practice, may find morbid satisfaction in having a new argument in their support, finding in the National Security Council a modern incarnation of Plato's guardians.

The election campaign itself was marked by apathy, which was not surprising – the conservative daily *Tercuman* on 21 October referred to the three party leaders as 'three imams without a congregation'. Yet events did not follow the generals' plan. Özal showed himself a successful campaigner, with a well-funded and effective organisation. (He disappeared for two days during the campaign, and there were rumours – naturally not carried by the Turkish press – that he was detained for interrogation about his sources of funds.) Sunalp, the generals' favourite, proved both inept and inexperienced, and was, for instance, outshone by both Özal and Calp in television debate. His cause was also not helped by a clumsy intervention by President Evren just before polling day, in which he urged a vote against a personality easily identifiable as Özal.

Even so, the results of the election on 6 November did come as a surprise. The Motherland Party of Özal unexpectedly gained an overall majority (211 seats and 41.5 percent of the vote); the Populist Party also did unexpectedly well, clearly drawing on a large part of the traditional vote of the Republican People's Party (117 seats and 30.5 percent of the vote); the Nationalist Democracy Party led by Sunalp polled extremely poorly (71 seats and 23.2 percent of the vote).

The voters' reaction must be regarded a healthy sign, but it must not be forgotten that SODEP and the Correct Way Party were prevented from contesting the election. Despite their oblique appeals for voters to spoil their ballot papers, the voters preferred to vote for somebody and this, in the circumstances, meant support mainly for Özal and Calp.

Now, however, the situation has changed. The two parties excluded from the general election and the (Islamic fundamentalist) Welfare Party will be allowed to contest the municipal elections scheduled for 25 March 1984. These elections will be for mayors, city and provincial councils. The political atmosphere is now becoming lively, with the opposition parties all criticising the way in which Prime Minister Özal brought forward the election date from 3 June to help his own party, and is misusing ministerial broadcasts for election purposes and preventing the other parties from access to radio and television, which clearly

played a fundamental role in the general election campaign. The opposition parties are for these reasons contesting the draft law on municipal elections and appealing to the Constitutional Court, which may lead to a postponement of election day. Özal has the advantage of being in power and being able to force anything he wishes through parliament, but it seems that President Evren has intervened to check some of his abuses.

In the aftermath of the local elections, there may well be realignments, particularly on the centre-left, if SODEP polls far better than the Populist Party. İnönü, now again allowed to lead SODEP, has already said he would consider a merger with the Populist Party, but Calp has said he will not. A situation may arise where one party is represented in the national parliament and very poorly in local councils, and the other party is well represented in local councils and not at all nationally.

It must also be emphasised that these two parties do not cover the whole of the spectrum of the left. Quite apart from the banning of any party in the communist tradition, Bülent Ecevit is trying to found a democratic left party, and other socialists have so far refused to join any of these three groupings. They clearly see the realignment and development of the democratic left as needing a much longer time.

Claiming that they represented a democratically elected parliament, a delegation of Turkish parliamentarians turned up on 30 January 1984 to claim their seats in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. Thanks to parliamentary manoeuvres by right-wing members of the Assembly, led by the British Conservatives, they were able to take their seats, and it proved impossible to force a vote on their credentials until the next session in May.

Socialist members of that Assembly and of the European Parliament will continue to take the line that quite apart from objections to the validity of the general election, there is far more involved in a return to democracy in Turkey. On all the fundamental human rights issues, there has been little or no sign of progress as yet, though limited discussion has started in the Turkish parliament. Over one hundred politicians are still banned from political activity. Martial law is still in force (the eight regional governors provided for in the decree of 4 October last have not been appointed, but still could be). Political and trade union trials continue uninterrupted. Freedom of expression and freedom of trade union activity remain severely limited. Socialists must and will demand progress on all these fronts, including an amnesty for those accused of political and intellectual crimes and the lifting of martial law, as essential elements in a restoration of genuine democracy in Turkey.

Third World development

Required: A new model

Insistence on a 'western' model of economic growth has bedevilled all attempts at genuine development in the Third World, argues **IVANKA CORTI**.

The problem of the Third World and a European policy towards the developing countries is a vast subject, requiring in-depth analysis. I shall endeavour, therefore, to avoid losing myself in the complexities of the problem, which affects and cuts right through the entire reality of international relations. Instead, I should like simply to present a number of interpretations, a number of global hypotheses on this phenomenon, in the light of recent thoughts on the theme; a little epistemology of the phenomenon, given certain ideological and cognitive distortions frequently encountered in many political discussions, and at the same time some major options relating to the Third World, its dramatic reality, and the ways and means open to the Third World to extricate itself from its condition as an underdeveloped region of the world.

One comment on methodology: our way of thinking, of considering and interpreting the reality of the Third World has proved inadequate. We have failed to bring together political analysis, economic action and a global understanding of the problem. This failure is attributable to specific cultural and ideological factors. The phase through which we are currently passing is marked by a serious crisis in theoretical models.

We are finding – and the case of the Third World is one of the most obvious examples – that our past conceptions of the world are inadequate to explain the present and to foretell (and plan for) the future.

For the developed countries, the sixties saw a broader awareness of the fact of living in a transitional phase, moving from one type of society to another. The shift was expected to be painless, and the subsequent post-industrial phase was expected to be greater and richer than the preceding industrial phase.

Prodigious changes were forecast, linked with the widespread use of electronics and data processing. In the seventies, when electronics and data processing had already

begun substantially to penetrate our daily lives, we stopped talking about the future, and started talking instead about the crisis in the western world, based on a vague feeling that society was going wrong. In addition, the vicissitudes associated with the buying up of energy resources made the West dependent on the Third World for the first time. To succeed in formulating a theoretical social model capable of providing an orientation towards the problems of the Third World, we must rid ourselves of at least three basic errors:

(a) we have to realise once and for all that there is no compulsory path for social evolution, requiring society to pass through the three successive stages, viz. agricultural, industrial and post-industrial; (b) we have to abandon the concept that the post-industrial society is the society of the future; (c) we have to remember that all present-day social practices are an amalgam of conditioning and behaviour deriving from both the rural and the post-industrial structure.

These clarifications have to be made in order for the conclusion drawn from the above to be admitted, namely that the Third World problem is not one which exists as a specific topic. Let me explain what I mean by this. The socioeconomic reality represented by those countries which come under this category is a true reality defined by a mode of development with a different pace, different objectives and different models from those of the West. What exists is the tragic reality of countries in which people are starving. That is the real problem. I

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believe, following many others, that the time has now come for the West to pass historical criticism on itself. The 'Third World' as presented, described and analysed by the West, is our own invention. And this is no paradox. Such a celebrated expert as Shamir Amin speaks of 'self-centred' development with respect to the developing countries, and another famous African economist specialising in this field, Albert Tevoideire, refers unparadoxically to poverty, as 'the Third World's riches'.

Self-criticism should clear the field of a methodological error inherent in all conceptions of Third World aid as prevalent from the fifties to the seventies, namely the implicit reference to a pattern of evolution (agriculture, industry, post-industry) peculiar to western development. From this point of view and with this outlook, the Third World problem is in fact a problem of the West – a problem of its culture, its experts, its mentality.

For decades the overall economic strategy has implicitly, but also often explicitly, been based on the conviction that the process of growth initiated in the most advanced countries would – thanks to the interdependence of the world economy and world trade – progressively extend to the less developed countries. The ascendancy of this view has been strengthened by the aid and technical-assistance policy adopted by the United Nations and its specialist agencies. It seemed natural for this growth model to reproduce the paths which had led the advanced countries to success.

The failure of this strategy is due not so much to the scantiness of the aid as to the absurd and groundless principle on which this aid has been based. An 'imitational' integration of growth should gradually have reduced the dependence of the poorer countries on the rich countries. What has in fact happened is precisely the opposite: their dependence has increased. One might say that the poorer countries, tied to the industrialised world by the bonds of interdependence, reflect its evils, multiplying and magnifying them out of all proportion.

The discomfort of the rich is the disease of the poor. The current foreign deficit of the underdeveloped countries trebled in three years, rising from 20 billion dollars in 1977 to 60 billion in 1980; their foreign debt rose from 70 billion dollars in 1970 to approximately 600 billion in 1983 and is increasing exponentially under the landslide effect of interest payments. The 'exponential' concept is a typical concept of the western model: as a result of the economic and financial crisis in the world system, the Third World is today paying exponentially, not only for political and economic errors but also for methodological errors.

This dissipation of development, dramatically amplified by the raging torrent of rapid population growth in the countries of the Third World, is reflected in the instability of their social and political conditions. There has been a trend towards inward authoritarianism and outward aggressivity. Over 140 wars have broken out in the world since 1945 at regional level, the majority in the South, and the majority of the twenty million war dead from these conflicts have fallen below the equator.

The deterioration in the economic and social situation of the Third World over the past decade has increasingly compelled the various national and international authorities to question the accepted dogma of conventional development theory and practice. In short, against the homogeneous capitalist 'quantitative' growth model, based primarily on the use of resources giving the highest returns on the world raw materials market (ie. preferred by the countries which are industrially the most advanced), must be posited diversified models of development and growth adapted to suit the relative combinations of development factors which exist in each country. Required are models which respect the socioeconomic, cultural and political reality of the country in question; and broad and distinct development, as opposed to unwieldy industrialisation and enormous infrastructures.

The choice of alternative 'self-centred' development, as opposed to the conventional 'outward-looking' policies, has enjoyed unexpected popularity. But we must not be overenthusiastic and make a mistake just as serious as that previously, merely in the opposite direction. The theory maintained for years by Shamir Amin is undoubtedly true, that virtually all policies developed by the major international aid and cooperation agencies have been strongly 'extravert', ie. marked by a logic which, from the outside, plans action that falls into a precise and particular reality, being that of the country receiving the aid.

It is in agriculture that we find the greatest ambiguities and distortions in 'non-self-centred' development, according to Amin. He asserts that 'Abolition of the systematic problem of development designed to meet the requirements of the mass of the people must be based on agriculture'. All too often, however, local agriculture has been regarded as a factor of persistent backwardness. Its options have been guided by requirements set from outside.

There is here a risk which we should underline: that of a dangerous neo-isolationism of the developing and poor countries. Faced with failure of the North-South dialogue, the increasing debts of the Third World countries, the deterioration in

terms of trade and the slow progress in real development, with technology remaining the privilege of the industrialised countries and one of their secret weapons, certain experts and intellectuals from the Third World have recommended a breakaway from the West and the North. If this were to happen, the peoples of the Third World would have only themselves to depend on, with their own national banking systems, their own raw materials, creating their own technology and an adequate economic system. Another separate and quite different attitude is that adopted by those seeking to promote South-South dialogue as the basis for an effective revival of North-South dialogue.

The nostalgia of colonialism would find numerous arguments against independence, which in spite of everything remains the act of giving birth to a new political, economic and cultural world. The fight against underdevelopment is a long one, harder and more arduous than the fight for liberation from political domination.

The true domination, effective and oppressive, is that exerted by foreign interests in the exploitation of peoples, robbed of their history, their historical aspirations, and frequently of life itself. It is here that we should seek the reasons for the failure of the much vaunted North-South dialogue. That 500 billion dollars is spent each year on arms, to the detriment of development, to some extent explains why efforts aimed at better development in the Third World will be in vain. The arms race explains a great deal, but cannot cover the multiple reality of the causes preventing repair of the economic gap between the North and the South. Structural reform of the international economic and financial system is essential. The rest is merely palliative: useful, of course, but in no way changing the fundamental and deep-seated causes of a dramatic disparity which splits the world in two.

The call for a new international economic order has dominated the demands put forward by the developing countries since the end of 1974.

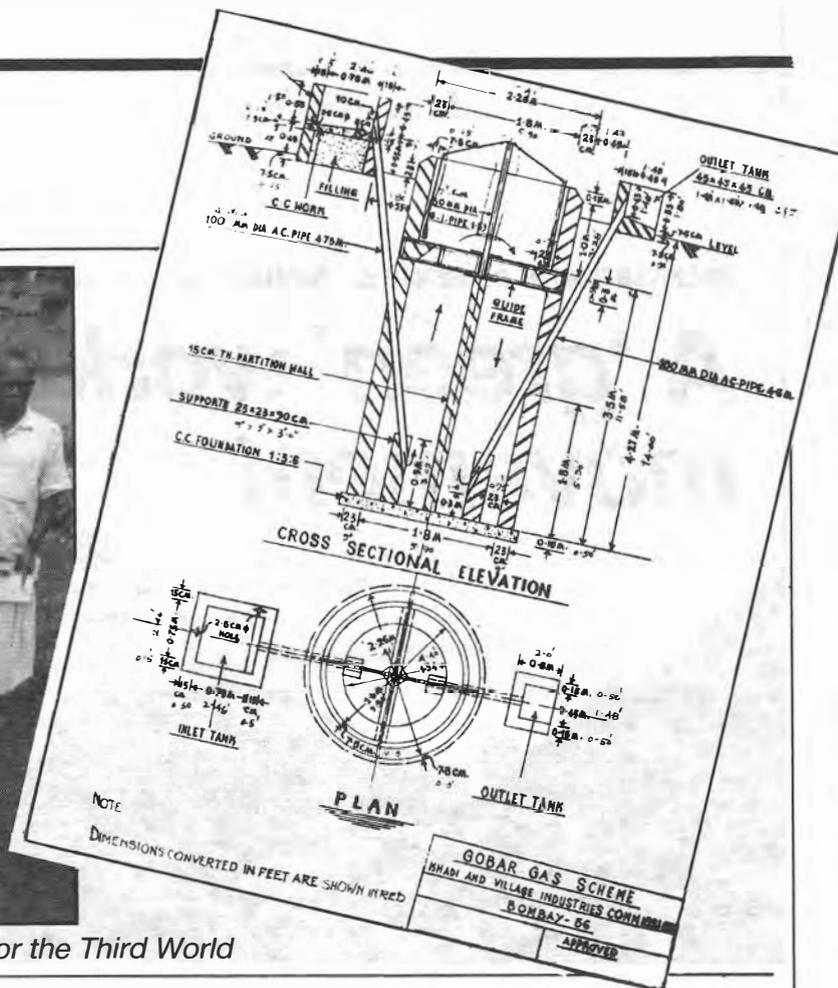
So far, the results of this fundamental demand, governing all true global evaluations and modifications of the current reality, have been meagre. The specific forum of UNCTAD went no further than general reminders, with no binding obligation for members and developed countries.

The Group of 77, an organisation of developing countries formed in 1964 and now numbering 125 members, has tried to formulate a common position. Some members find themselves on the brink of bankruptcy. Their massive debts — Mexico's and Brazil's amount to some 80 and 90 billion dollars respectively — together with the increasing rates of interest in the USA and the restriction of imports in

the OECD member countries, have compelled these countries to postpone or suspend the repayments on their loans. In parallel, the reduction in the assistance effort of the developed countries has paralysed the poorer countries. Promises of aid to the least developed countries have not been kept. The crisis has further reduced margins of aid (already slender, and below the levels programmed at the beginning of the second development decade proclaimed by the UN). The position gaining ground within the Group of 77 is the one formulated by Indira Gandhi, among others, at last year's New Delhi summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (to which the majority of the countries of the Group of 77 belong). This view stresses the need for South-South cooperation as a fundamental basis for a new phase in international relations; rescheduling of international debt; and a common will on the part of North and South to resolve the world crisis by contributions in proportion to the economic abilities of the various regions.

To return to the statements made at the beginning of this paper, the great unresolved problem of the relationship between North and South is how to achieve a revival in the economy within a precise political hypothesis, namely that dialogue and cooperation are vital requirements for the world as a whole. The situation at the present time is hardly one of 'dialogue' between North and South, it is rather one of confrontation. At present we have no uniform strategy capable of combining political will, expressed in various locations and in various ways, with the tools of economic action which do not reproduce the damage of badly understood cooperation. What is missing is a global reference framework, and it is difficult to see where and how it would be possible constructively to advance an organic programme serving as a reference for a new era of effective dialogue between North and South. Here, Europe can and must play a major role. The few positive indications have in fact come directly and indirectly from the old continent.

North-South: A Programme for Survival, published by the Brandt Commission, heralded a change in many areas. We have seen an affirmation of political sensitivity capable of perceiving the absolute priority of North-South dialogue for the future of our planet. The emergence in the West — albeit among numerous mistaken attitudes on security — of a vast ecological movement is a sign of potentially fruitful new political attitudes. We do, however, have an enemy: exponential growth, the most obvious sign of a western concept of development. Will hunger, underdevelopment and poverty, themselves increasing



Home-grown remedies: appropriate technology for the Third World

exponentially, leave us time to formulate a plan for salvation, a generous 'Marshall plan' for the Third World, put forward by Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky as the sole solution to this enormous problem? Do we still have time? In specific terms, the European Community has formulated an original policy of cooperation enshrined in its agreement with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, which in part rectifies the distorted vision to which we have referred. Failure to implement certain development plans is frequently determined partly by a local political class unprepared for the administration of complex economic intervention, partly by a counterproductive technicalism.

We must have the courage to face these problems with realism and without demagoguery. Many speak of North-South, but few know what to do. Cancun provided the clearest example yet of this kind of rhetoric.

The Socialist International has correctly placed the fundamental need for a new international economic order and a new North-South relationship at the centre of its actions and reflections. Since the congress in Geneva in 1976, the SI has put forward and developed a whole range of considerations and proposals, finally condensed into the Madrid congress resolution of 1980 and last year's Manifesto of Albufeira. The Manifesto endorses the broad thrust of both the Brandt Commission's reports and *Common Security*, the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues chaired by Olof Palme. Allow me to quote extensively from the Manifesto:

'In particular, we stress our commitment

to implementing the policy advocated by both [commissions], of utilising some of the funds no longer needed for the production of the means of annihilation in a disarmed world in the campaign against hunger and underdevelopment in the South and for full employment in the North

'This should not, we emphasise in the spirit of the Brandt report, be taken as an act of northern charity. Compassion and human solidarity are basic reasons why the advanced countries should be concerned about the fate of those people suffering from an inferior place in a world economic structure they themselves did not create. But in addition, it must be understood that, were the funds to be available for the development of the Third World, this would put men and women to work in the developed societies, turning swords into ploughshares, or, to put that biblical thought in modern terms, making fertile fields and new industries out of thermonuclear bombs. The oneness of our world is no longer simply a lofty moral vision; it is now an economic fact

'The Socialist International will implement its commitment to this strategy We will seek to work with socialist governments and opposition parties to coordinate their policies along the lines outlined here. And we believe that movement toward a new international economic order need not wait for global negotiations. Intermediate initiatives could be extremely important. For instance, groups of countries like the Nordic countries and the Netherlands could give a coordinated impetus to the realisation of important elements of a new international economic order.'

We would stress the realism of the

International's position which, without renouncing in principle the struggle to rise from the poverty and economic imbalance between the rich and poor nations, seeks to identify a strategy and a means. This is the path we should be following: being realistic without renouncing the stimulating utopia of the great fight against poverty.

We share the view of the International, that the fate of the world is at risk more from the contrast between North and South than from the conflict between East and West. Western eurocentrism distorts our view of the problems. The challenge of rebuilding a world divided in two by poverty should guide us in our political action at international level. It is we – and so as not to descend into rhetoric, I have avoided mentioning this until now – it is we who bear the intolerable burden of millions of human beings dying of hunger. The crisis of contemporary civilisation clearly shows that humanity has paid an extremely high price for a model of progress which has divided the planet into small regions of opulence and immense areas of poverty. It is a central and inescapable challenge.

Let me end with a comment by Willy Brandt, taken from *Common Crisis*, the second report of the Brandt commission: 'We still have a chance. But we must lift our sights to the far horizons. We need courage and imagination; we must cooperate and overcome narrowmindedness; and we must take bold action now For without wide recognition and support from every sphere – global, regional, and especially at local levels – our proposals will have little impact, countries will pursue their own interests, and the world will hasten its march to oblivion.'

International Friends of Nature

A 'green' workers' movement



WERNER WERDER explains the role of the International Friends of Nature as a 'green' movement within the family of democratic socialist parties.

In the West European countries, Friends of Nature – a workers' cultural organisation stressing cultural spare-time occupation, hiking, travelling and environmental protection activities – forms an integral part of organised labour. Founded in 1895 in Vienna, the international parent organisation today has approximately half a million members in sixteen national organisations. With their widely based democratic structures and their close relationship to trade unions and the socialist parties over the decades, these

independent friends of nature stand out positively against the 'green' alternative movements which often appear to be anarchic.

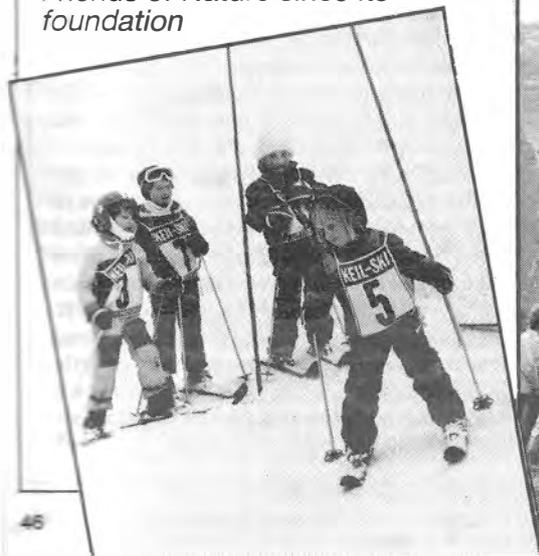
The founders of the Touristenverein Die Naturfreunde (Tourist Association Friends of Nature) – one of whom was the student, socialist and later Austrian state president Karl Renner – intended 'to tear the workers away from the dens of alcohol, from dice and card games, to lead them out of the confinement of their dwellings, out of the stench of factories and taverns into

our beautiful nature ... and to free their body and spirit'. The first organisation paper was the socialist Viennese *Arbeiterzeitung*.

At the beginning, this new movement was suspected by the then leading political and labour leaders as a distraction which diverted the workers' attention away from political struggle. Soon, however, this reserve changed to appreciation when, as the new organisation grew rapidly, they realised the important function of the movement as a workers' cultural organisation familiarising thousands of workers with the ideas of socialism. It was a matter of course that only members of the Socialist Party could be functionaries of Friends of Nature.

Since its founding, the main task of the

Leisure for everyone: guideline for Friends of Nature since its foundation



organisation has been to emancipate working people into a new, socially just society. A visible expression of these efforts are more than seven hundred 'Houses of the Friends of Nature' built in solidarity, voluntarily and without pay. They serve as hiking bases, places of leisure activities and as holiday centres. In spite of setbacks during the first world war and the dark period of nazi terror (which resulted in the banning of the organisation and in persecutions), the Friends of Nature today number approximately half a million members in more than 1600 local organisations and sixteen national associations, the largest of which are in Austria, Federal Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium and France. Based on historical experience, the Friends of Nature publicly and decisively support those forces which commit themselves to universal disarmament and peace.

In 1981, on the occasion of the eleventh postwar congress of International Friends of Nature, the aims and activities of the Friends of Nature were subjected to a critical examination and were newly defined. The preamble of the statutes of the international association states that the organisation continues to be committed to the ideals of democratic socialism as an independent cultural organisation. The aims, too, have remained the same. Now as then, the commitments include:

- promoting international understanding;
- imparting an understanding for the characteristics and development of peoples; and
- contributing to environmental and ecological protection and to preserving the natural bases of life.

In a working programme for the coming years, International Friends of Nature stressed the three fields of environmental protection, development of social tourism, and promotion of popular sports such as hiking, and mountain climbing (training courses, events, etc.).

During the past years, activities in the field of environmental protection increasingly kept the Friends of Nature busy. It is true that modern industrial society in the industrially developed countries has done away with mass poverty; but this has had new inhumane consequences, manifesting themselves in a growing worldwide destruction of the environment. The Friends of Nature, on the basis of their overall philosophy and in contrast to many middle-class circles interested in the protection of the environment, pointed out very early the inadequacy of protecting exclusively selected portions of nature. They believe that environmental problems can be solved only by including the economy, society and the state. The Friends of Nature, being wage earners, are keenly

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aware that political activities which concentrate on the nostalgic 'back to nature' and disregard the loss of jobs are certainly no alternative. The Friends of Nature are neither for zero growth nor do they believe that without a basic change of values of industrial civilisation as well as of the world economic system, including the developing countries as outlined in the Brandt report, the challenge put now and in future cannot be overcome. The recommendations of the Friends of Nature in their studies are always based on the fact that a future-orientated, overall ecological economic and social policy in the final analysis is in the interest of the mass of wage earners.

Sharing the uneasiness of a growing part of the young generation which is gathering in small 'green' groups, the Friends of Nature do not see themselves as a political party. They believe that they can stand up

for their interests more efficiently in the democratic socialist parties, being an integral part of organised labour. They see their tasks in making environmental problems more visible by studies and campaigns and by making those responsible in politics and in the economy aware of possible solutions.

In recognition of their constructive contribution, International Friends of Nature was granted consultative status by the Council of Europe and by UNESCO.

The recently published guide for the protection of the Alpine region drew considerable interest. New and interesting information was expected from the working conference on the question of a peaceful exploitation of nuclear energy in co-operation with scientists in the field of energy research and energy-producing industry. Campaigns to enlighten the public are in the planning stage, so as to make the public aware of water pollution and the waste of water, such as the serious pollution of the Rhine river. The tidelands may be saved by resorting to similar procedures. It is our hope that the socialist parties in the overall interest of organised labour will be able to put the work of the Friends of Nature to good use in true cooperation. 

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Arafat: the 'charming host'?

In the light of recent developments in the Middle East, **WERNER DAVID MELCHIOR** gives his views on how to progress towards a solution of the conflict.

The report by Walter Hacker of his impressions during the Socialist International Mission to the Middle East (SOCIALIST AFFAIRS 2/83) contains at least one statement which will have to remain uncontested – that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat turned out to be a medium-built man in a khaki pullover, and a perfect host. This last point, whose implications for a solution to Middle East problems has not been properly appreciated, is surpassed by a point which impressed Walter Hacker even more.

The man who turned out to be medium-built (who could have thought such a thing of a 'notorious terrorist leader?') and in a khaki pullover, philosophised over the arrogance and limits of power. 'Hitler, the British Empire and (turning to Mario Soares) the Portuguese dictatorship – where are they now?', he asked. Tactfully, the perfect host did not include the example of the Austrian Empire, nor did he turn to Walter Hacker when he mentioned Hitler, nor include Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Seyss-Inquart, and so many others in the list of the fallen great of our own times.*

Walter Hacker, in kind, refrained from pointing out that one need not be a supporter of the British Empire to protest its unqualified comparison with Hitler – but then, he generally showed a great deal of restraint in his observations.

He offers only one example of his host's perfection, the fact that he could remember Walter Hacker from his, Arafat's, first visit to Vienna. This is rather excessive modesty on the guest's part, since he is not a man to be forgotten. It also ignores the likelihood

*Ernst Kaltenbrunner was the Austrian successor to Reinhard Heydrich as head of all Nazi security service operations, following Heydrich's murder in 1942. Seyss-Inquart, an Austrian, was instrumental on behalf of Hitler in the period before and after the Anschluss, serving as minister of the interior in 1937 and briefly as chancellor to invite Hitler's invasion of Austria; he was subsequently active in Poland and finally in Holland as reich commissar, the senior Nazi official.

Both Kaltenbrunner and Seyss-Inquart were condemned to death for war crimes at the Nuremberg trials. They were hanged in 1946.

that the host had himself briefed on the members of the mission before receiving them. All in all, Walter Hacker's impressions testify more to the impeccability of manners, than of reason in the contents of the meeting. This impeccability of manners is displayed in all that was not said, in all the questions that were not asked. The so-called reason in the contents of the meeting can be applied to the endless list of falsehood and misleading selectivity, about which Walter Hacker appears to have made as little comment during the meeting as in his article in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

Walter Hacker mentions only one case where he asked a question: 'Why had the PLO not recognised Israel?'. The painful thing is that the argument he gives for recognition is limited to the tactical advantage for the PLO and to 'gaining sympathy in the eyes of world opinion and weakening Israel's position'. Why should he have bothered with this question, disturbing to the circles of the perfect host, Chairman Arafat? Arafat toys with the question of the formal recognition of his organisation, and not the substantive issue of the recognition of the rights of the respective national entities.

On other occasions, we have tried to attract the author's attention to the statement in the Israel Labour Party's platform that, under a permanent settlement, Israel's eastern neighbour must be a state which expresses the identity of the Palestinians. Evidently, whoever on the Palestinian side wants to become a partner in dialogue, negotiation and a settlement, ought to concede, correspondingly, that the western neighbour of any such state must be the expression of the Jewish identity. It is rather sad that he Hacker, accepts and records the idle chat about formal recognition, which

Werner David Melchior

is a political assistant to Abba Eban, the foreign spokesman of the Israel Labour Party. He has been in the party's international department since 1970.

should only be a supplement to or even the completion of such a process.

This concern about recognition reflects, as confirmed by the PLO conference in Algiers, that this preoccupation is one held by the PLO, rather than by the Palestinian people – a preoccupation with the paraphernalia of status rather than with the substance of peace and the coexistence of free nations. The PLO's contribution to coexistence is zero, as was the author's role as the perfect guest.

The article cites, without comment, the perfect host's discussion of 'holocaust and genocide' – Arafat's meaning being: that directed against the Palestinians. As if Walter Hacker were not old enough to know that, no matter how reprehensible the attitude and policies of the Begin government towards the Palestinians, they constitute neither holocaust nor genocide; and that the use of this terminology can only be understood as a campaign of uncompromising hatred.

Why doesn't the author object to the much less ugly, but equally misleading comparisons, of the US Constitution and its amendments or the PLO Charter with the resolutions of the 'National Council'? That document, and its appended resolutions, has nowhere obtained the status of the US Constitution and can be rescinded at any time without due constitutional procedure. The article conveys uncritically the absurd accusation – even when addressed to the Begin government and movement – of the 'grand delusion of an Israel from the Euphrates to the Nile'.

On the subject of the Israeli campaign in Lebanon, the phrase 'war against Lebanon' appears, even though Walter Hacker knows very well that there was no such thing, because in Lebanon, Israel fought against the PLO and Syrian forces, but not against the Lebanese. Does he really not understand that his nonchalance with terms and concepts deprives the man he quotes, and this material, of every shred of credibility?

What purpose is served by descriptions such as Israel being 'at minimum, the fourth of fifth most powerful military state in the world' – with the implicit suggestion that third, second, even first place are within Israel's reach? Why is there no reference to the question of Jordan, where there are as many Palestinians as in the West Bank and Gaza? In reply to the suggestion that Palestinians have been 'dispersed in many countries', one might point out that in excess of two thirds live in adjoining territories. Palestinians living in Jordan represent 30 percent of the estimated five million Palestinians, about 30 percent live in the occupied territories, an additional 10 percent in Syria and Lebanon.

What is the point of glorifying the admittedly brave performance of the PLO

in Lebanon as 'not being defeated by the Israelis'? It was, one should note, the first time they took up an 'armed struggle' which was not conducted exclusively against unarmed civilians – their previous 'armed struggles' having been fully equal to the performance of the Phalangists in Sabra and Chatila. Compare that with the comment by the great and sadly late Isam Sartawi, that 'another victory like that of Beirut, and the PLO can establish itself in the Fiji Islands'.

What purpose is served by reference to the slip of paper – described as a 'declaration' – given to Paul N. McCloskey by Arafat, which the US congressman later tore up in frustration when, within 36 hours, its alleged meaning was explained away, refuted and denied by a battery of PLO representatives, spokesmen and delegates? The denials were unanimous and have remained without contradiction. One wonders whether the author recounts this story without knowing its conclusion, and whether his host betted on his not knowing, and won.

Walter Hacker is not pleased with the Israel Labour Party. His anger appears to have been particularly aroused by the fact that, after the Socialist Party of Austria's deluge of public statements against the Israel Labour Party in 1982, someone in Israel dared to answer back. That, too, may be the reason why his impressions of the Socialist International mission's extensive talks in several Middle East countries contain quotes from Chairman Arafat, from Begin and Shamir, and not one word, or even a reference to, what was said in the mission's no less extensive talks with the whole leadership of the Israel Labour Party. These talks appear to have been without relevance whatsoever, though virtually the whole party leadership remembered Walter Hacker from previous meetings.

His selectivity in this particular context we take as a compliment. It indicates that, despite his displeasure with us, the policies conducted by us, within the concepts of the Socialist International, did not adequately lend themselves to a continuation of the campaign against the Israel Labour Party. We venture to suggest that our recent information activities, including our magazine *Spectrum*, may have rendered that campaign even less promising.

One cannot overlook the fact that, since the publication of the article, far-reaching events have taken place within the PLO. There would be ample grounds to be much happier had these events been different.

The first event was the Algiers conference, whose procedures and resolutions do not lead one to the conclusion that, if Walter Hacker attempted to induce Arafat to take an explicit stand in favour of Israeli-

Palestinian peaceful settlement and coexistence, he was successful. The next event was the abominable murder of the outstanding Isam Sartawi, which constitutes a severe setback to the efforts directed at finding a political solution, but which must not be permitted to bring about their discontinuation.

The last event, the outcome of which cannot yet be foreseen, was Arafat's failure to recognise that his capitulation, in Algiers, to the rejectionist front would only whet the appetites of the extremist wing of the PLO. This capitulation had been demonstrated by Arafat in his breach of his agreement with King Hussein of Jordan before the Algiers meeting. Hacker might have been more successful politically if, during the mission, he had impressed on Arafat the consequences of this capitulation to the extremists.

The Israel Labour Party, in accordance with its declared policy, will not be discouraged from its peace effort, through contact with King Hussein and through contact with any meaningful and effective factors for peace in the Palestinian camp.



'The delegation was invited by Arafat to a villa in a suburb of Tunis, where the notorious terrorist leader turned out to be a medium-built man in a khaki pullover, and a perfect host, ... a man who has led the most difficult liberation struggle in the world for years against many dangers – both internal and external.'

Walter Hacker

Since then much has happened to overshadow the involuntary ironies of Walter Hacker. Arafat has lived to see – in contrast to Sartawi who more or less predicted it – that the fear of Habash and Hawatme splitting away, which made him recoil from a political decision within reach, has produced nothing but Abu Mussa

splitting away as well.

But the fighting in Tripoli and its neighbourhood also produced interesting reactions in the West Bank and Gaza. It is idle to argue whether the remarkable demonstrations in favour of Arafat express support for anything amounting to a clear concept of which way he will eventually be turning, or whether it reflects predominantly bitterness over the Syrian president's obvious attempt to dominate the Palestinians rather than promote their self-determination. The question is whether organisational frameworks will continue to take precedence with Arafat over a political course opening the road to peaceful coexistence with a free and secure Israel, or if he will adopt Sartawi's motto of exchanging words instead of bombs.

The same Sartawi demanded a change of the PLO's charter and said that another 'victory' like in Beirut in September 1982 would leave the PLO's bases in the Fiji Islands. As far as changes are concerned, Arafat until now has come up with nothing but hints open to varying interpretation, as in the past. He has merited the 'victory' of Tripoli and has no basis for military action left anywhere. He would do well to ponder the statement of the Israel Labour Party on the fifth day of the Lebanese campaign, to the effect that we are faced with a political issue that will not be resolved by military operations, only by political methods.

This would be vastly preferable to the Hacker approach with its deference to all the wrong tendencies in Arafat's policies hitherto, the fruits of which he – and everybody around him – has reaped. Of course, one may enjoy one's own being nice in the process of achieving or affecting policies, but if the price is failure in responsibility for the outcome, there just isn't any excuse.

If whatever Arafat has left of the PLO makes up its mind to continue where Sartawi left off, they ought to find partners for dialogue and for renewed impetus in the peace process in Israel, and particularly its Labour Movement. If the PLO continues failing to do so, the same response should be forthcoming towards any substantive factor in the Palestinian camp meaningfully filling that gap. While thoughtless haste will do no good, the damage time will do if not used should be ever kept in mind. The present confused state where, in the Palestinian camp, no-one seems to know where he himself is going to turn, cannot continue without pushing all hope into a distant future – the justified and feasible hope for arrangements, which will give neither side all they may desire, but which might give each that with which they might live, in terms of necessary security and reasonable realisation of legitimate national aspirations.

Satellite technology and the Third World

The new pirates?

JOERG BECKER maintains that Third World countries may not, as hoped, benefit from the new satellite technology. His warning gains credence given recent thinking by the US government. Whereas the US has pursued for many years an 'open skies' policy of unrestricted sharing of data collected by satellites, it now seems the Reagan administration may allow satellite companies to keep information secret or sell it under exclusive contracts.

It is a cliché that today we are all seeing dramatic changes in technology. But what is less well known is that the current changes are also affecting international relations. These effects have been accelerated by the following two stimuli: on the one hand, the increasing tendency towards the internationalisation of capital, and on the other, the enormous momentum of technological innovation, not just in its rapidity but above all in its new quality. Both tendencies are demonstrated clearly in the fields of mass media and information technology.

An analysis of these tendencies must take into account, first, the uniquely new quality in the current change in information technologies and, second, the values embodied in this technology.

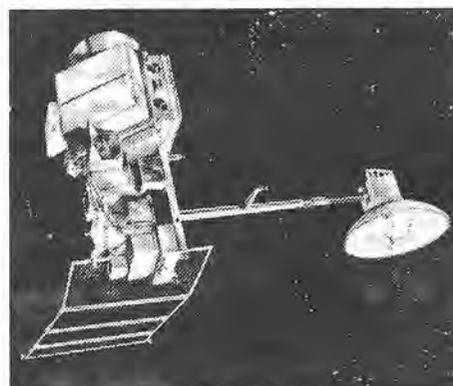
What is new about this change in information technology is not the discovery of a diversity of new services, such as videotext, cable television, satellite transmissions or electronic mail. Nor is it the rapidity with which the new information technology changes the personal and structural reality of our society. This novel quality can rather be emphasised by the two terms 'telematics' or 'communications'.

For the first time in the history of technology, two formerly separate lines of development converge: the technical development of the media towards telecommunications, under the influence of the microchip, and the development of the adding machine towards the micro-computer. This 'marriage' of information technology and telecommunications is the qualitative new development in current information technology.

There is a tendency in this new system not to differentiate between what is fundamentally technical-scientific and what is based on mass communication; between individually controlled and passively received communication; between print and electronic media; between acoustic and optical transmission; and between the storage, processing and transmission of

information.

This new system has meant the obsolescence of a further feature of earlier information technology systems – the separation of place and time. With only a gap of seconds, this all-encompassing network would make possible the universal dissemination of all available information processes to anywhere on the globe. The future satellites – especially the technology of direct broadcasting satellites (DBS) – are the last link necessary for the con-



*An eye on the Third World:
LANDSAT satellite*

struction of such a global network. Future information systems are thus global, independent of time, linked together in one single network.

From this, it is clear that the question of political power cannot be discussed only in traditional terms. The form of political power which accompanies this information technology is also qualitatively new. This

Joerg Becker

lectures at the Institute for Political Science at Marburg University in Federal Germany. An expert on international communications policy, he is the author of *Information Technology and a New International Order* (Lund, 1983).

new network of information technology is, in economic terms, explicable in the 'old' sense by the dual character of 'information' as a commodity, which has not only an intrinsic but also a commercial value. All the individual and social living conditions in the capitalist societies – work, free time, political power – can be seen more and more as arising from our immersion in information technology.

This new technology has only superficially positive or negative social effects. But social change is inherent in this informatisation of society. Technology – information technology included – is not neutral; thus, form and content correspond to each other. Informatisation itself – formalisation, mediatisation, and quantification of human communication – is the essential expression of social change.

The value system of technology is very often ignored. The myth of the neutrality of technology is the more ominous and dangerous, because it poses even more basic problems than the novelty of change in information technology. There is a sluggishness on the part of both scientist and follower, of all political leanings, which has resulted from the assumption that one can differentiate between positive and negative consequences. The most recent example of this 'philosophy' can be found in the report of the Club of Rome on microelectronics and society: '[Microelectronics] can be a blessing for mankind, because it can contribute to improving living conditions and abolishing poverty. But in the event that it is falsely used it can lead to the disintegration of society.'

In this 'philosophy' of balancing negative with positive the technocratic socialist as well as the capitalist technocrat share the same perspective. The one sees the solution to all problems in the control of technological development by the workers, while the other places his faith in the so-called market forces, which will, in the long run, propel technology to a breakthrough in the interests of humanity. Both positions resemble each other in that each is based only on the consequences and uses of this technology and not on its inherent structure. Of this dubious maxim, of good and bad technological consequences, the Austrian philosopher Gunther Anders has said:

'A belief in one's ability to control technology presupposes the belief that there are aspects of our world which are nothing more than "means" to be continually linked to the achievement of "good ends", and both are pure illusions. Means themselves are facts and these shape us. We cannot escape the fact of their shaping us, no matter to what ends we put them, even though we might use the

Science Photo Library

denigrating word "means" to describe them. Our existence, which is permeated with technology, does not split into single, clearly demarcated stretches of road, of which parts are signposted "means" while others are marked "ends". This division is legitimate only where single acts and isolated mechanical procedures in industry are concerned. Where the "whole" is concerned, in politics or in philosophy, it is not.'

To be conscious of the value systems of technology does not imply a full-scale rejection of technology. It should rather sharpen awareness of the need for rational planning processes to determine precisely what kind and quality of social change through information technology is desired.

In view of the impact of the value system of information technologies on the Third World, one might consider the following five categories as crucial for its development: foreign penetration; the relationship between intrinsic and commercial values; the regulation of need; the concentration of resources; and identity.

If one discusses the issue of foreign penetration using satellite technology as an example, one has to be conscious that the economic aspects of satellite technology cannot be reduced to the mere commercial potential of the satellite itself. This orbiting electronic ball constitutes only a relatively unimportant part of a long and complicated technological chain. The orbiting satellite constitutes less than a third of the total investment costs in some cases. Thus, satellite systems make possible in the first place an economic penetration of the Third World by way of related contacts: earth stations, antennae, signal amplification and transmission systems, terrestrial cable networks, accessories such as television, telephone, telex and vehicles, spare parts, buildings and fuel for the diesel engines used in many rural areas of the Third World to power the systems. These related business opportunities constitute the most important commercial potential.

The implementation of a pure information network requires the purchase of accompanying software, such as video tape, manuals and computer programming, because these can be produced more cheaply in the industrialised countries than in the less developed countries. The education and training of engineers, programmers, teachers and social scientists is mainly carried out in the industrialised world. One study by a company in the field acknowledges this relationship; sometimes by way of implication, sometimes very openly:

'A number of companies [in South America] are engaged in the production of television sets, mainly assembling parts



Satellite television: a mixed blessing for the Third World?

which are delivered to them. However, one should not ignore the fact that part of the technical hardware would still have to be imported.'

A similar study for an African satellite puts the benefits more bluntly:

'The penetration and the consolidation of markets [in the field of telecommunication] is extraordinarily important for the future of industrialised countries. Seen from this background participation in a regional African communication satellite system is naturally of interest. Being associated with the satellite system – which obviously profits from a certain sex appeal [!] – which creates penetration possibilities into other fields bringing advantages for other specific ranges of products.'

Whereas the mechanisms described above apply in the first place to communications satellite systems, other similar mechanisms apply for weather and remote-sensing satellites. These satellite systems, made feasible only by data processing systems, can only fulfil expectations if they are fed with an enormous amount of further information in addition to LANDSAT data (one of the original NASA remote-sensing satellite programmes). As there exists a relatively small statistical data base in the Third World, these countries require the construction of complicated computing systems.

This contributes to the fact that the Third World has become an increasingly important market for the leading computer manufacturers – so that between 1972 and 1975 alone the export of computers to African countries increased by 44 percent, to Latin America by 38 percent, and to Asia by 14 percent. (The market has grown even more dramatically in the years since. US exporters' sales grew by some 20 percent in 1982 despite the recession.)

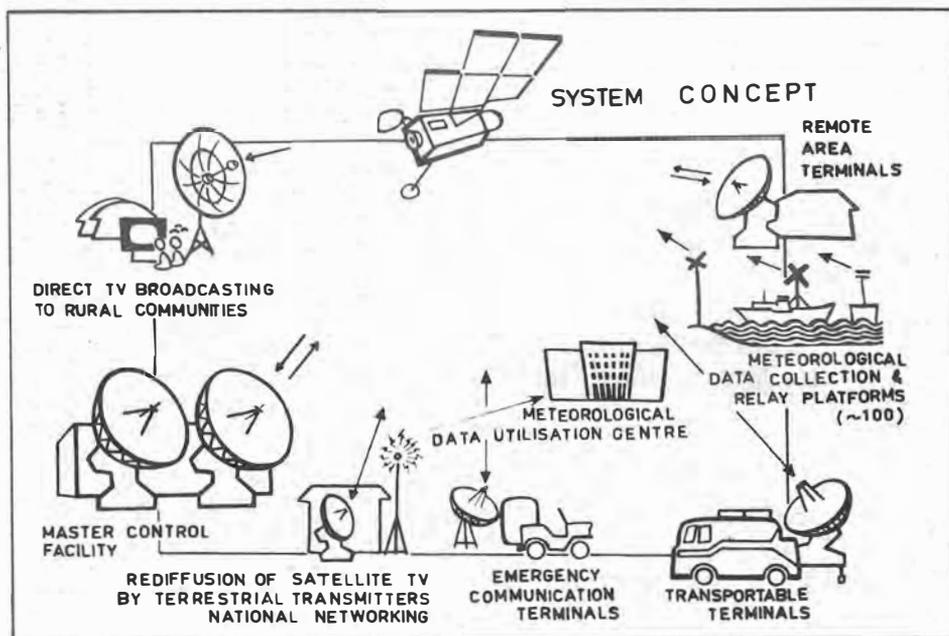
Because the transfer of technology in these fields neither strengthens the

domestic market for mass-produced consumer goods, nor contributes to the restructuring of an export-oriented national agriculture, information technology significantly contributes to a dependency on the global structures of capitalism. This connection lessens the national economic and political latitude of the Third World.

The preceding analysis of transfer of technology fits into the various forms of service transfer between North and South which, to an increasing degree, has resulted in a negative balance of service trade in the Third World. Through this mechanism especially, those countries of the Third World deficient in raw materials become ever more dependent on the industrialised countries; their balance-of-payment problems become ever more acute, their capability to meet the interest payments on their debts becomes ever smaller.

It is self-evident that economic dependencies have political consequences, which can be fully demonstrated by the two following examples. The Indonesian national new satellite system PALAPA can with one push of a button be switched off by the United States department of defence. A similar situation applied to the Iranian INTELSAT-link during the Iranian hostage crisis in 1979-1981. A US government study provided for the termination of this link as one of several degrees of escalation in the crisis. This would have shut down Iran's telephones, its television system, electronic funds transfers and flight reservations. It would have dramatically reduced the international reach of the Iranian telecommunication system by 70 percent.

Satellites and computer technology have hardly anything to do with their potential uses within the national economies of the Third World, but rather with the



Still needing foreign components: India's Insat satellite system

this technology generate in revenues for foreign corporations.

One can make the generalisation that satellite technology and its concomitant technologies are the last offensive by the industrialised world against the Third World. There is now under way, as a result of this technology, a process which is depriving the Third World of knowledge about itself. For example, currently, maps of the scale of 1:50,000 exist for about 30 percent of the globe, and such exact cartographic data is for the most part available only about, and in, the industrialised countries. For a great part of the Third World few maps exist and those that do are not suitable for planning purposes. The current surveying of the Third World by remote-sensing satellites has to be seen as the foundation of a new form of foreign penetration. A population census, industrialisation project, plan for dams, or exploitation of raw material resources and forests, are all projects which necessitate a high degree of functional planning including a division of labour, specialisation and professionalisation. They also require large amounts of money — usually borrowed. As a result of this new satellite technology, these types of project not only become more prevalent but also assume a different qualitative nature.

Remote-sensing satellites in general have to be seen as by far the most effective part of a new and very aggressive intellectual penetration of the Third World by the industrialised world. The North can no longer afford prejudgement, ignorance, false information or misinformation as a basis of decision making about the South. The satellites can be seen as modern linguists, anthropologists and missionaries — those who have always had the most

detailed knowledge of the microstructures of the Third World.

‘Satellite technology will be increasingly necessary in adapting human needs to the limited possibilities of our globe.’

This conclusion, arrived at by R. Mühlfeld, one of the many scientists involved in the LANDSAT-programme, should be considered less a Freudian slip than an unwitting perception of the relationship between humanity and high technology. It lies in the nature of such technologies that to make them commercially viable they must create new needs.

To orientate satellite technology towards the needs of humanity, reversing the usual technocratic practice, would be the first step in the direction of a need-orientated development strategy. However, it would require the active and participatory involvement of those affected by this technology. But this would mean a strengthening of the intrinsic benefits of satellite technology and a reduction in foreign corporate influence. This has definitely not been the experience of either the Third World or consumers in the industrialised world.

Satellite technology strengthens what Joseph Ki-Zerbo has described as the ‘muteness of the Third World’ in relation to the activities of the major news monopolies. When one is overwhelmed by foreign information, and unable to present one’s own images and information, then one is mute. One must assume a passive role serving the basic needs of others. ‘The capacity for communication is one of the essential characteristics of mankind. A mute country has no sovereignty’, as Ki-Zerbo put it. One of the most dominant current myths is that the future forms of

telecommunication and information technology will make possible a process of social decentralisation, and provide for mass participation, if not in the production of the technology, then at least in its decentralised use.

This can be refuted, first of all in general terms, for the increased automation of every sector of life has resulted in an ever-increasing complexity and interdependence which favours a centralisation of power, decision making, and control in the economy. This is especially true in the sector of information technology.

The production of the new information technologies is dependent on an enormous capital investment, which in satellite technology or fibre optics is counted in billions of dollars. It is therefore limited to transnational corporations and state bureaucracies. The participation of workers, farmers or special interest groups is thus excluded. Whoever now has the capacity for knowledge, control and decision making, can multiply it automatically, and through telecommunication can disseminate it anywhere in the world.

This extraordinary concentration of power is even more visible in the relationship between the industrialised and the developing countries. For example, when INTELSAT tried to convince the African states at the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s to link up with its international satellite system, it promised that this would lead to greater connections between the remote areas and major centres in their countries and to a strengthening of inter-African communication and trade.

The aeronautics concern Dornier, however, said, in 1980 that ‘These stations have contributed little to the improvement of the inter-African telecommunication system, because they mainly replaced the old high-frequency connections to the former colonial countries’. In other words, satellite technology has only strengthened the existing centralisation of power of the national bourgeoisie and the industrialised nations with whom it cooperates.

A further example can be drawn from the study comparing Algeria and El Salvador, *Who Gains by Communications Development?*, undertaken by John Clippinger. Here the effects of satellite and information technology on two culturally and politically extremely different underdeveloped societies were examined. The study concluded that the implementation and use of this technology has, in both countries, led to an increased centralisation of decision-making processes.

Even those champions of the new information technology who admit that there is a centralisation and concentration of power, and control of information

within the production sector, point to its decentralised uses. They describe a user who directs the technology according to his or her individual needs. They imagine a Third World which, through decentralised access to the data banks of the industrialised countries, by satellite, can draw on any information it needs.

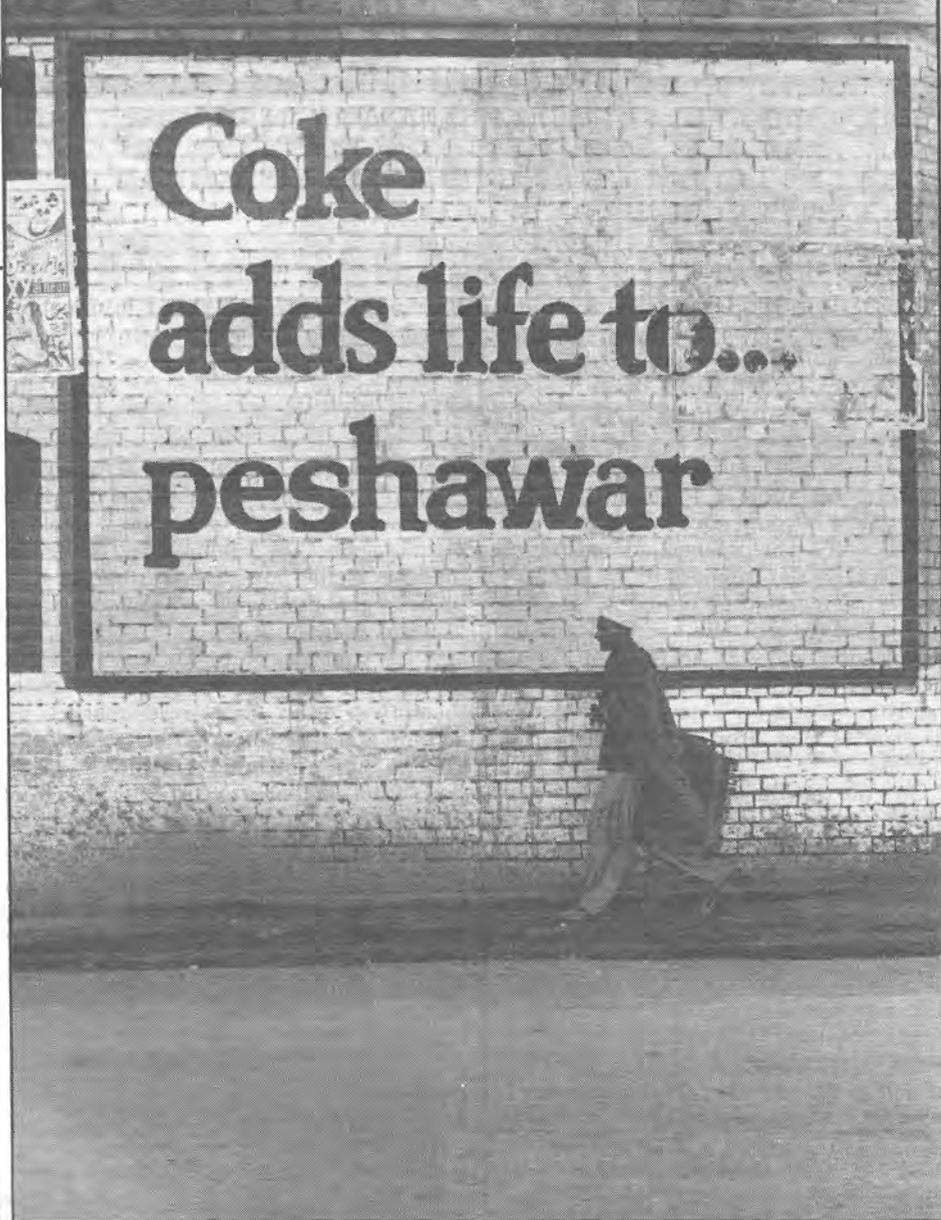
This also is a myth. Although decentralised access to the large information systems is possible, it is still dependent on the filter, selection, decision and control mechanisms which emanate from the control centre. It is not the decentralised access potential of the overall system which is the decisive feature of the system. On the contrary, it is the centre which ensures its own access to the Third World. Within the Third World today only three groups profit from this technology: transnational corporations which deliver the technical products; transnational banks which finance the import and installation of these technologies; and the new bourgeoisie in the urban centres of the Third World.

One can already observe a growing knowledge gap due to the increasing availability of mass media information – those already educated make better use of the enlarged volume of information, whereas those kept ignorant fall further behind in their standard of information. The gap between those with and those deprived of information widens. The centralising tendencies of the neocolonial model grow.

Satellite technology is, in a way, the pinnacle of information technology, the technological spearhead in the socio-psychological penetration of third-world cultures. As part of a vast chain of technology, this facet of electronics contributes to the development of social differentiation, and leads to internal alienation. Extreme forms of division of labour, specialisation, professionalisation, education and training will be the accompanying effects of this technological drive.

At the same time the self-colonisation process is promoted by the importation, or the manufacture on an import-substitution basis, of goods for production or consumption by this technological chain. But more important are those two mechanisms which can be called the weakening and the homogenisation of third-world cultures.

The colonial era can in some ways be characterised by the aggrandisement of the imperial power with cultural goods. European museums were stuffed with cult objects, artworks and other goods. Today remote-sensing satellites pilfer invisible products from the Third World, that is the countries' knowledge and information of themselves. There are stocks of knowledge which constitute the state of the Third World itself, but to which it cannot or will



Food self-sufficiency might add more ...

not have any systematic access. Systematic knowledge about the Third World thus becomes ever more thorough and intensive, and beyond its control. The possibilities of external control, created in this way, may reduce the cultures of the Third World to only a small element in transnational technological planning processes. The diversity of human experience enriching different cultures will be sucked dry.

Parallel to this drain of cultural identity, communications satellites, especially the projected direct-broadcasting satellites, contribute to a reverse mechanism which is the cultural penetration from without. Already, through the traditional media such as books, newspapers, television and radio, the Third World is exposed to an extreme and one-sided information flood from the industrialised world.

The contents of the western mass media have already promoted cultural disintegration and identity conflicts within the Third World. The global interconnection of all entertainment media and their software which is now made possible by communication satellites will expose the cultures of the Third World to ever greater cultural pressures.

The two possibilities of satellite technology, the draining of knowledge

together with the dissemination of western values and norms in the Third World, will strengthen and accelerate greatly the loss of cultural identity in the developing countries.

Any hope that these mechanisms of intensified linking of the Third World to the industrialised world by information technology could be changed on a short-term basis must be forlorn, because the structural laws of the internationalisation of capital, the uncontrollable proliferation and the uncontrollable dynamics of technological innovation oppose it.

The Carter administration showed, on a diplomatic level and in negotiations, some willingness to compromise with the Third World, but without ever being willing to grant concrete concessions. The Reagan administration has returned to a clear-cut and outspoken opposition to all demands for change, including even a small start on the realisation of a new international information order.

The Reagan administration – in light of the growing competition from Europe – has clearly recognised the increasing importance of third-world markets for its own satellite and telecommunications

industry. Thus the US Agency for International Development received the sum of 25 million dollars to establish rural satellite programmes in the Third World. It is a programme promoted as advancing the living standards of rural areas in the Third World. In reality it fulfills experimental and market-penetration functions. The programme cooperates closely with INTELSAT. The Reagan administration will give greater support to INTELSAT than it has received up until now, because only a strong, centrally operated satellite organisation such as INTELSAT could guarantee that the political pressure from the Third World for a new distribution of frequencies and orbit positions will not increase.

On the ideological level, the new administration supports not only the protection of the principle of the 'free flow of information' but in addition it actively supports the rights of the industrialised countries to unhindered access to the telecommunications infrastructure inside third-world countries. Seen on the Reagan administration's terms, this is more than logical, because information technology means essentially the securing of economic advantage through the related industries.

Such a strengthening of the 'free flow of information' doctrine is near at hand as a result of technological advances. The increasing interconnection between telecommunication and datacommunication, together with data processing, has rendered obsolete the unequivocal distinction between information input (governed by the international legal principle of the 'free flow of information') and information output (governed by the national legal systems of sovereign states). Consequently, in the opinion of the industrialised world, unhindered access to the information infrastructure of the developing countries must be politically and legally guaranteed. It is only in this light that the following recommendation issued by the US state department in August 1981 can be understood:

'[It is recommended that there be efforts] to enlarge acceptance of the principle of the free flow of information and ideas, including acceptance of the applicability of this principle to newly emerging communications and information technologies.'

In spite of these pressures there are various weaknesses and inconsistencies in this chain of technological interconnections. There are also political forces which can counteract the tendencies described above and which can exert their influence.

For the Third World, the Non-Aligned Movement must be seen as the most potent force for resistance to these developments. Since the beginning of the 70s the

themes of mass media and information technology have played an ever increasing role at its summit conferences. However heterogeneous this movement seems, its members are united in their demand for the decolonisation of the mass media and information technology.

As the linking of North and South increases through projected satellite technology, the common self-defence interests of the non-aligned countries will be homogenous enough to be effective as a political weapon.

A few countries of the Third World have managed relatively well to dissociate themselves from the world market in certain areas of information technology. Algeria has prohibited transborder data flows from computer to computer, because it does not see any prospect of regulation and control. The Indian satellite technology programme has managed to achieve relative autonomy. India, as one of the seven countries engaged in space development, can independently build its own ground stations, 40 percent of its satellites and 70 percent of its rockets. These relative dissociations have, however, no internal political parallel, but national dissociation can be the first necessary step towards developing a strategy of resistance.

The Third World can develop further resistance through multilateral action within the UN organisations. This strategy has been applied, with some success, in the last few years. The Third World must continue to resist the doctrine of the 'free flow of information', because this principle legitimises the current structure of North-South relations.

The doctrine of 'first come, first served' used by the International Telecommunication Union in the distribution of radio frequencies has to be abolished. This principle simply serves the interests of the technologically developed countries. The Third World must uphold its right of prior consent, where remote sensing of a satellite transmission from a country are concerned. Remote sensing by satellite or DBS must not be subject to the principle of the 'free flow of information'.

There are possibilities for resistance in relations with the countries of the European Community. These countries have long realised, out of a fear of United States economic competition, that the unhindered development of satellite and information technology drives them into a variety of dependencies on the USA. Possible agents of West European resistance strategies are the state-controlled telephone and telecommunications corporations, the Council of Europe and some national governments.

The growing 'informatisation' of international relations will in addition intensify the structural conflict between transnational corporations and nation states.

Already many state-controlled bodies in developed countries find themselves in the awkward situation where the quality of decision-making knowledge possessed by transnational corporations is far superior to their own. This conflict could be intensified by the growth of national consciousness in the Third World.

But technological and infrastructural conditions hinder total 'informatisation' today as in the past. One of the essential preconditions for penetration of the Third World through information technology exists only in part, that is a fully developed infrastructure. In the absence of a stable electrical current or reliable telephone system, to name only two of the simple requirements missing in the Third World, it is only partially possible to implement information technology systems. In many of the societies of the Third World it is still impossible, due to their infrastructures, to gather the reliable individual and social data required for data processing. Currently, all programmes fed with population data from the Third World are in danger of producing false analyses. The input of inaccurate data, in complex computing processes, multiplies many times the mistakes made.

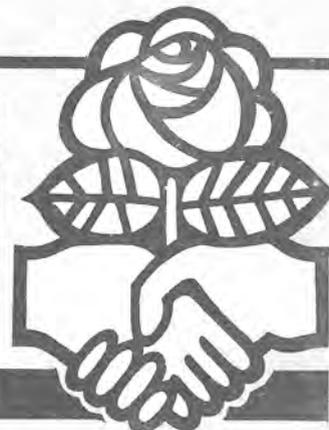
Because of this deficient infrastructure, the extremely unequal access to information technology within the Third World will probably in the long run develop into its subtlest means of defence. The centralising tendencies of the new technologies give perhaps enough time and space to the people of third-world societies to become conscious of and to organise their own, indigenous means of defence.

Finally, difficulties result from the specific characteristics of information technology systems, which might be called 'Weizenbaum' effects, after communications specialist Joseph Weizenbaum.

Weizenbaum recognised that even in the industrialised countries forecasts are frequently computed on the basis of inaccurate data. But even more hazardous to the achievement of reliable answers is the fact that, although large research teams work on a theoretical level to formulate macroeconomic models, various theoretical schools are in conflict with each other, so there are no universally accepted criteria to determine which data should be used and which should not.

Weizenbaum predicts an additional development. Data processing systems have only existed for the last twenty years, so the long-term effects of the accumulation of inaccurate data have hardly made themselves felt. According to Weizenbaum, it is only a matter of time before the misjudgements and miscalculations in planning, business and public bureaucracy will have reached such enormous dimensions that they will be painfully obvious to everyone. ☛

Socialist International Women



BULLETIN

Publisher and Editor: Irmtraut Leirer-Karlsson

Seminar in Ecuador

Women's turn to speak



Foto Hirtz

The first seminar to bring together all the women's groups in Ecuador was entitled "The role of women in the defence of democracy". The seminar was sponsored by ILDIS, Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, and ALDHU, Asociación Latinoamericana para los Derechos Humanos. The aim of the seminar was:

- To get the different women's groups and organisations in Ecuador together and to give them the possibility to exchange experiences, and to coordinate their activities on a federal level;
- To allow, by inviting about thirty foreign speakers, a transfer of experiences from other countries for discussion within the women's movements in Ecuador; and
- To attract public opinion to report about and discuss the role of women in Ecuador.

In preparation for the seminar an organising committee was constituted and a three-day seminar within the women's popular sectors was conducted. The office

for the status of women which exists in Ecuador within the Ministry for Social Welfare was one of the sponsors for the seminar. A thirty-minute TV feature about the situation of women in Ecuador was also produced beforehand and shown to the participants, and afterwards on national television.

More than 750 delegates participated at the seminar, representing more than some 150 women's groups and organisations in

Dear Reader and Subscriber,

As you probably know, Socialist International Women is the International of the women's organisations of the parties of the Socialist International. As a matter of fact it is a fraternal organisation of the Socialist International. Ever since its reconstruction after the first world war and again after the second world war, news on the organisation's activities, and also political and ideological debates, have been printed in a separate news sheet, at first called *The Women's Supplement* and later *Socialist International Women's Bulletin*.

The grave financial and staff cuts that

Ecuador. Thanks to the possibility of travel grants and some financial assistance, women from the indigenous organisations and from the mass organisations in the slums could also participate in the seminar. This made quite a difference from the usual middle-class gatherings.

The historical role of women in Ecuador

As in most countries there is very little known about the role women played historically in Ecuador because historians usually tell the story of men. But it seems that, according to the sources, women have played an important role in the indigenous society. Today the largest indigenous organisation, for example, is led by a woman. In the battles to defend the rights of the indigenous against Spanish colonialism women were leading most of the struggles. For example, in 1780 in Pelileo, Tomasa Meneses, Rosa Gordona and Teresa Maroto led the battle. In 1803 it was Lorena Avemañay, Lorena Peña, Jacinta Juárez and Balsazara Chiuza who led the "uprisings" of Licto, Columbe and Guamote. In the "revolución liberal" of 1895 many women were fighting in the revolution itself, and in the defence of the revolution.

In 1922 the start of the labour movement saw women again in the forefront. For example in the struggle of the railway workers against the Guayaquil and Quito railway company about 200 women were killed in the streets of Guayaquil. In the revolution of 1944 women again took a prominent part. Nela Martínez was nominated for parliament at the time; but the prejudice of the leadership took the candidacy away from her and gave it to a man. But eventually, as a deputy parliamentarian she became the first female parliamentarian in Ecuador. Again in the 1960s many women participated in the resistance to military dictatorship.

our organisation has to face at this time force us to integrate the Bulletin with SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, where the administrative work is taken off our shoulders. However we retain full editorial responsibility, and all articles published in the women's section of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS are selected by the editor of the Women's Bulletin.

To look on the bright side, we hope that the integration of the Women's Bulletin into Socialist Affairs will bring new readers, perhaps those who usually skip women's problems.

Yours,
Irmtraut Leirer-Karlsson
Editor



Participants: Domitila Chungara, Hebe Bonafini, Ana Maria Huacho and Blanca Chancoso (clockwise from top left)

This short overview shows that women have always played quite an important role in Ecuador. But they have participated in the common struggle, and not organised themselves to fight and defend their own rights. This has left them very vulnerable.

Back to the dishes

Carmen Lugo, the Mexican feminist, stressed how women were struggling in the different regions of Latin America: "So the women leave their roles as daughters, wives and mothers, become subjects in the social struggle. But as soon as the struggle is over, the movement is over, the women are returned to their homes, to their enclosure, to their routine. This is where the feminist movement has its role. The struggle in Algeria and the tragedy in Vietnam are too close to be forgotten. In both cases women gave everything for the freedom of their countries, but once victory was achieved the Algerian women were forced to take the veil, and the Vietnamese to return to their homes. Women in the liberation movement don't want that to happen again. We women have to fight for our full rights because we know nobody else will do it for us. The aim for us has to be to finish the exploitation of men by men, but also of women by men."

Domitila Chungara stressed the point that the discussion is always about the exploited worker, and forgets that the women who maintain the family and the household also work for the company, the state and society. "But the women are also sometimes at fault because they educate their sons to be the same machists as their

fathers. Even when women are organised and politically aware they make the same error. For example we have a daughter of fifteen years, and she wants to go out at 7.00 at night, and we say 'Don't go out alone. Take your brother with you.' And this brother could be four or five years old."

Hebe Bonafini of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina is a shining example of the process where women from their personal faith take up the struggle of political resistance. In her speech she said "First you start to go out and beg for your own son, and then you go out and beg for all of them."

Beatrice Rangel analysed the back-

ground of the situation of Venezuelan women and the disadvantages women have when they enter the labour market. Their income is seen only as a complement to the falling real incomes of the husbands. Secondly, women in many cases do not have the knowledge that is needed in industrial production, and thirdly, that society does not create the institutions which could make it possible for women to combine their different roles, for example childcare.

Women against dictatorship

Impressive testimonies were given by women participating in the struggle for democracy in their countries, from Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and Guatemala. For El Salvador Julieta Otero, from our member organisation MNR explained: "We want to say to our sisters in the homeland of Sandino, free territory in Central America; to our sisters in the cruelly massacred Guatemala; to our sisters in tiny Grenada which paradoxically, being so small, the United States has seen as a threat to its national security; to our Cuban sisters, the avant-garde in the liberation struggle in Latin America; to all of you we want to say that we stay together in the struggle, that our beloved Central America isn't the backyard of the United States but *our* Central America."

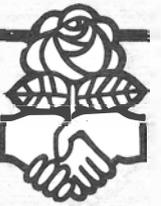
Talking much and doing little

"I will talk in Spanish because our language Quechua has always been rejected and you wouldn't understand me." That is how Ana Maria Huacho started her speech in which she pointed out with bitterness the multitude of discriminations which indigenous women have to face, even from the so-called progressive women.

Most of the time all the attention they get is from the welfare ladies who come and give them "crumbs", which they have to



Foto Hirtz



accept because they live in such poverty. "We indigenous women want courses for educating ourselves, but you want us to affiliate to your political parties." "And while you are talking about your liberation, we indigenous women are washing your dishes and looking after your children."

Blanca Chancoso, leader of one of the biggest organisations for the indigenous, Ecuarunari, was more analytical in her approach, and talked especially about the role of the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, which is a CIA cover operation in order to spy on the indigenous population. It was forbidden before by the government but has continued to work. The Institute works towards the cultural and physical extermination of the indigenous population. "What they are trying with the education programme is to make us individualist, egoist, and to isolate us from the community struggle and the necessities of the people." Under the pretext of family planning, indigenous women have also been subjected to sterilisation programmes without their knowledge. In the whole process since the colonisation, the indigenous populations have been tricked and swindled out of their land, and this is perpetrated by many different means. But the indigenous peoples have also mounted growing resistance and have organised themselves against enormous odds. Many Indian nations had to pay for their defiance with extinction. They have never been defeated, but extinguished.

The Europeans

Elissavet Papasoi from Greece, spoke on behalf of the Greek women's organisation, and brought greetings from Melina Mercouri, and the wife of Prime Minister Papandreu. For Germany Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul stressed the role that the women's organisation of the SPD plays in the peace movement. She also told about the resistance that the European Community has put up in order to prevent a military intervention by the United States in Central America.

On behalf of Socialist International Women, Irmtraut Leirer described the organisation's aims and the resolutions taken at the last Congress in Albufeira. "The fight for democracy is only real when it is the fight against capitalism, against racism, and against sexism at the same time", were her conclusions on the theme "The role of women in the democratic countries".

These are only short glimpses of the many interesting speeches and discussions at the seminar. A complete overview is given in the issue no. 1/1984 of *Nueva Mujer* which can be obtained from ILDIS, Avenida Colon 1346, Quito, Ecuador, or direct from Casilla 3224, Quito, Ecuador.

Irmtraut Leirer – Lars Karlsson

Feminism in Latin America

A growing movement

A powerful new political force is on the horizon in Latin America. In recent years, religious, labour and human rights movements have spearheaded efforts for grassroots participation in the political process. Now feminism is joining this political arena. The second Feminist Conference of Latin America and the Caribbean illustrates the movement's potential. The mere increase in attendance – from the 230 women at the first conference in Bogotá to the 700 who came to Lima last July – demonstrates feminism's growing popular appeal. More significantly, links forged at the gathering between middle-class intellectual feminists and women working on the grassroots level have increasingly made feminism a force that reaches far beyond the boundaries which traditionally define "women's issues".

The conference participants were united ideologically by a resolution passed in Bogotá a year before. Full equality for women, the resolution states, cannot be achieved without socialism; yet socialism itself does not guarantee equal rights. One could ask, as someone did in the plenary session, "How can we, at a time when Nicaragua is being invaded and nuclear war threatens our very existence, convene a feminist conference?"

In response, the conference organisers

clarified why women from over 15 countries had gathered: "It is the feminist movement which has been crucial in countering the rebirth of conservatism in the industrialised countries. Without a change in patriarchal power, the problems will persist." Feminists share a commitment to social change. The presence of workers and peasant women ensured that their pressing concerns – hunger, poverty and repression – were addressed.

While intellectuals or academicians had been designated workshop leaders, the participation of feminist activists from unions, peasant and shanty town organisations changed both the focus and approach. The conference offered 20 workshops around the theme of patriarchy: the church, domestic work, literature, development projects, power, rural women, sexual violence and wage labour.

The workshop leader for alternative media found herself playing a role she had not envisioned. "I had to teach women how to disseminate information, write leaflets, do radio programmes in the most remote, rural areas which for me are the ends of the earth!"

"I went to the workshop on development projects to learn how to get money for *our* project," recalls Isabel Espinosa, a former Lima factory worker. "In our shanty town we gather women together to learn to value



Rosamaria Ruiz



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ourselves. We discuss magazines and songs to learn how they manipulate women. I didn't come here to discuss theories of development."

The academic women found that their priorities were not necessarily shared by other feminists. "As most of us are professional women, I am sure all of you will be interested in my doctoral thesis on this subject," began the workshop leader of the panel on wage labour. A black Peruvian assembly-line worker for a pharmaceutical multinational countered that the workshop should address the needs of working-class women: unionisation, unpaid maternity leave, runaway shops and low pay. The workshop focus shifted dramatically.

Sexuality rejected

Middle-class feminists were unexpectedly responsive to the problems of black and lesbian women. The workshop on lesbianism had to be moved from the assigned room, which could only accommodate 20 women, to the largest hall, where over 200 women crowded together. Heterosexual women, the majority of the participants, discussed whether *machismo* was replayed in the lesbian relationship and if lesbians were just imitating a fad from the United States.

"Our sexuality is not just an import from the United States," challenged the lesbians. "Lesbianism is universal." Another commented: "The feminist movement has influenced us to have more egalitarian relationships."

Such dialogue is rare in a continent which is particularly hostile to homosexuality. Widespread press coverage of AIDS in the United States prompted a Lima newspaper headline: "Gay illness menaces humanity and is transmitted by conversation." Apparently not worried by the article's advice to avoid homosexuals at all costs, the participants issued a call for the movement to fight for lesbian rights. Said one woman, "It is society's rejection of women's sexuality which unites us."

While no workshop on racism was planned, a meeting to discuss the issue was sparked by a radio interview with the Black Women's Collective of Rio de Janeiro. "The conference has not been responsive to our reality. We are discriminated against as women and as blacks," Adelia dos Santos of the collective asserted in the radio interview.

Yet the black feminists achieved a clear commitment from the feminist movement to combat racism when the conference approved the following resolution: "There is a profound lack of knowledge about the reality of racism in our countries, as is evident in (Peru where) the majority of the population is Indian and suffers discrimination along with other ethnic groups such as blacks, Chinese and Japanese. Racial



Are they in the same struggle?

discrimination is present in all Latin American countries and is accompanied by economic exploitation. We request that racism be included as a theme in future conferences and that the conference denounce racism as an inherent part of the feminist struggle."

Luxury of discussion

In planning the meeting, a coalition of seven middle- and working-class Peruvian groups tried to break away from the patriarchal power structures they condemned. Decisions were made by consensus. The conference schedule was flexible, allowing participants to shape events, and children were welcome. Scholarships were given to women who could not afford to attend.

Nellie Rumril, the head of women's affairs for a federation of 300 Lima shanty towns, spoke for many of Lima's poor who do not have the luxury of *discussing* their problems.

"In the past, shanty town women were organised into mothers' clubs to sew and cook. We learned as girls how to do this kind of traditional labour. We want new goals, so we organised training sessions for women to discuss national and shanty town problems. We discussed the situation of women, and the relationships of couples. We taught family planning." At the conference Rumril put out a call for women to assist, both financially and by lending their expertise, in the development of these courses.

Nellie Rumril was puzzled by some feminists in Lima who did not "really see people's extreme poverty. When I see people's needs, I feel my problems are very secondary and unimportant in comparison

to the problems of others. And I had no childhood, because when I was six, my father died, and I have had to work ever since."

If women like Rumril succeeded in making an impact at the conference, middle-class feminists may well become more responsive to grassroots needs, rendering the movement a major force in social change. Upper-class women have been traditionally mobilised by the Right in Latin America. Feminists are now building a base for the Left which they hope will preempt future rightist mobilisations of women such as those which occurred in Brazil in 1964 and in Chile in 1973.

Mobilisation by the Right was possible, in part, because of the Left's failure to include women as political partners. Neither Brazil's Goulart nor Chile's Allende changed many of the laws prejudicial to women. Neither saw women as crucial to their political success. The Right was able to play successfully upon upper-class women's fears that the Left would destroy the family.

Extending women's issues

But now feminists are putting pressure on churches, unions and human rights organisations to include women's issues. A growing feminist alliance of middle-class, worker and peasant groups will ensure the inclusion of women's rights on the Left agenda.

"When Pinochet is overthrown," the Chileans at the conference stated clearly, "and we have democracy, women's rights must be addressed. We are planning now for the changes we want." This new middle-class/grassroots alliance gives what has been a middle-class feminist movement, new credibility in addressing the pressing needs of the continent.

In return, grassroots groups are beginning to acknowledge the universality of women's issues. "We are willing to march together with our men," said Nellie Rumril, "to coordinate with them, to inform them. But we must have our own independent organisation for women."

Conflicts remain. In a play performed at the conference by Bruja, a Chilean theatre collective, middle-class feminists discuss their dilemma. One says, "If I am a feminist, don't I need to fight for *my* rights, *my* problems, *my* needs?" Another screams back, "How can I call myself a feminist if I don't work with shanty town women?" The impact of the conference will be measured by how the middle-class women, returning to their countries, answer these questions.

Jill Gay

Jill Gay, Associate Director of the Third World Women's Project of the Institute for Policy Studies, attended the Lima Conference. This article first appeared in NACLA - Report Nov/Dec 1983.



Swedish study visit

Nicaraguan diary

In late November, early December 1983 a group of 14 women leaders from all regions of Sweden made a study visit to Nicaragua. The group had prepared itself in a preliminary seminar on the subject. After the tour they met to work on a report, and every member of the group is expected to spread the findings of the tour amongst the women in their region. These were their impressions.

**Tuesday, 22 November 1983
Meeting with AMNLAE**

Ivonne Siu, international secretary, opened the meeting and stressed the difficult economic situation due to the threat of intervention and the boycott by the US. "But morale in the country is high".

AMNLAE, Asociacion de Mujeres Nicaraguenses Luisa Amanda Espinoza, was founded in 1977. At that time it did not dedicate itself only to women's questions, "because the liberation of women must come out of the liberation of the people". Men were also participating in starting the organisation. It was and is a wide pluralistic movement. Two main principles guide the organisation:

- Women's problems are also the concern of the men;
- Women shall participate in all fields of the revolution.

AMNLAE women work in trade unions, on defence committees, and neighbourhood committees. "Every woman's task is a revolutionary task. We work to become superfluous."

Women's struggle in Nicaragua has long historical roots. Already with Sandino women were fighting.

Carlos Fonseca Monument

To honour the founder of the revolution the delegation laid a wreath.

Luis Alfonso Velasquez Park

This park is on the site of the worst destruction by the earthquake. For fear of new earthquakes the site remains without high buildings and is now a park with playgrounds and sports equipment. The children from Managua slums are taken here for activities. There are also tanks in one part, memories from the war, now playing equipment for the children. The park is named after a ten-year-old boy who died in the struggle against Somoza. Here as everywhere in the town one can see

posters with slogans, for example "No new Vietnam".

Meeting with Angela Rosa Acevedo

Angela Rosa, one of the few women members of the Council of State and member of AMNLAE, informed the group



Women teach each other

about the new maintenance law: Children have to be cared for by both parents, and old parents are to be cared for by their children. Only if there are no children the old have the right to an old age pension. Single mothers have the right to get maintenance from the father of their child.

Museum of Literacy

Carlos Fonseca, who during the war taught farmers to read and write, inspired the literacy campaign which began on 19 July 1979. 1980 was the year of literacy. But the aim of the year went beyond literacy: it aimed for political consciousness, cultural awareness. The campaign lasted five months and fulfilled its goal. The instructors were mostly young people, and sixty of them died in the campaign. A commemorative room is dedicated to them. In the international room examples of international solidarity are on display, for example a Swedish kerosene lamp.

Meeting with mothers of heroes and martyrs

The group of mothers of heroes and martyrs was already formed under the Somoza dictatorship, for the mutual support of the

mothers of the imprisoned, disappeared and murdered persons. Today the group also includes mothers of persons killed by the contras. The meeting was very emotional and the delegation was very much moved by the experience of the mothers.

**Wednesday, 23 November
Visit to Masaya**

The delegation was taken to the volcano Masaya where, in Somoza's time, political opponents were disposed of. Today the volcano is part of a national park.

Sandino Museum

Sandino, an illegitimate child, was brought to this house at the age of ten by his father. The house contains photos and documents of Sandino's life and struggle. Many exhibits are at the moment stored, because of the fear of an invasion.

**Thursday, 24 November
Daycare centre, "Claudia Chamorro"**

The centre cares for children from birth to six years of age. In the whole of Nicaragua there exist 67 daycare centres which cater for 10,000 children. Twelve are in Managua, the rest spread out in the country. This special daycare centre has existed for two years. Open between 6.00am and 6.30pm, it is attended by 329 children, mainly of women who work in the market. They are cared for by a staff of forty-seven, including an auxiliary nurse. A doctor visits twice a week. Mothers of children up to the age of three can come to the centre to feed their babies.

The cost for a child in this daycare centre is between 1000 and 1200 cordobas (28 cordobas are equivalent to 1 US dollar). The parents pay a monthly contribution of between 10 and 200 cordobas. Each group has one representative of the parents on its panel.

The daycare centre forms a part of a community centre which also includes a health station and the fire brigade for the nearby market.

**Visit to the girls' home
"Niños Martires de Ayapal"**

The home caters for girls from the age of six to fifteen who have either been abandoned or maltreated, or are orphans. At the moment there are 87 girls in the home. They receive a mixture of school education and training in handicrafts, cooking, and cultural activities. The aim of the home is to enable the girls to lead a normal daily life. In the mornings they work, and then they are taught until 6.00pm. Twenty percent of the girls' parents are involved in their education and the girls can eventually return to them. There are also girls who are mentally

AMNLAE



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN LATIN AMERICA

retarded and live in an extra house. The girls are selected for the home by the local committees (CDS) or the police. Some of the girls are also working outside the home, for example in a nearby daycare centre.

Visit to the Council of State (Consejo de Estado)

The delegation was met by Domingo Sanchez and Orlando Tiñones, respectively second and third vice-president of the Council of State. Also present were Rafael Sociz, secretary of the Council and president of the Sandinista youth organisation, Jose Luis Vialicensio, the teachers' representative on the Council and a member of the committee for foreign affairs, and Angelo Rosa Acevedo, AMNLAE's representative on the Council.

The Council of State is a legislative body and can be called a provisional parliament. There are fifty-seven members, five of them women. Twenty-nine seats are reserved for the Sandinista Front and its mass organisations; eleven seats are reserved for the opposition. Besides the Sandinistas, the Independent Liberals, Socialists and Popular Christian Socialists are represented on the Council of State. It is supposed to function until the general elections in 1985. In 1982 a study on a law on political parties was initiated, and it was decreed that all political parties should be allowed except for those that supported Somoza. The law on political parties also includes the regulations on civil liberties. At this time there exist ten political parties in Nicaragua, and two more are waiting to be registered. In the present state of emergency, however, no political assemblies are allowed except those organised by the ruling Sandinists. Since its beginnings in 1980 the Council of State has passed legislation on land reform, rent restrictions, reform of several family laws, especially the law on adoption, regulations for the labour market and a national wage policy. In 1983 there was no increase in wages because of the burden that military defence spending is putting on the national economy.

Friday, 25 November Visit to the children's hospital "La Mascota"

The hospital had already been planned under the Somoza dictatorship but the money was misappropriated. After the revolution a new planning team completed the plans for the hospital, which was financed 80 percent by the Swedish development agency, SIDA. At first an outpatient clinic was started in July 1982. In January 1983 a one-hundred-bed ward was opened, with twenty beds for emergencies. Medical care in the hospital is free. There are three hundred paediatricians in the

whole of Nicaragua. The medical studies consist of five years' study in the university, one year practice in a hospital, two years' practice outside in the country, and if you want to specialise, three more years. There are 0.6 doctors per thousand inhabitants (in Sweden there are five doctors per thousand). Before the revolution there was one hospital bed per thousand, now it is two per thousand (in Sweden, fifteen per thousand). The bases of the healthcare system are the health stations, which are run by a nurse, with doctors visiting on certain days. The aim is to supply a health station for every five thousand inhabitants.

The next level is the health centre. These are staffed by doctors and there are five health stations per health centre. The health centres work under the supervision of a hospital. There are thirty general hospitals in the country and five are under construction. The aim is to have one hospital per hundred thousand inhabitants. The system is further divided into primary health care, 80 percent of cases, which are treated mainly by the health stations; 15 percent of secondary care treated in the general hospitals, and 5 percent of tertiary care which include difficult operations which are also done outside the country.

The hospital La Mascota is for secondary/tertiary care, for example all children with leukaemia are treated in La Mascota. The hospital is frequented by approximately two hundred and fifty patients per day, the primary cause being diarrhoea, followed by respiratory problems, typhoid and meningitis. The mothers can stay with their children in the hospital. The hospital also has a mother-milk bank. There is a large propaganda effort by the government for breast feeding. The child mortality rate has sunk from 12 percent under Somoza to 8 percent at present, and the aim is to reduce it to 3 percent in the year 2000. The life expectancy in Nicaragua is fifty years for women and forty-four for men. Vaccination programmes have greatly decreased the mortality rates for children. For example, in 1980, four thousand children died from measles; in 1982 only seventy-two. No cases of polio have been registered in 1983.

Visit to the women's hospital "Berta Calderón"

The hospital, which was previously a general hospital, concentrates on gynaecology, obstetrics and cancer treatment it also functions as a teaching hospital. It caters for patients from the whole of the country and has at the moment three hundred beds. There are fifty to sixty births daily in the hospital, and there are twenty-five currettages daily. The fathers are in principle allowed to attend the births but this is very seldom done. Most mothers who are having their first child are between seventeen and nineteen years of age; the

average number of children that women have is five.

Visit to the hospital "Fernando Velez Paiz"

The hospital is a combined mothers' and children's hospital with three hundred and sixty beds. This hospital has facilities for training midwives. In a meeting with the political committee of the hospital and the trade union, salaries were also discussed. A doctor or specialist earns 8000 cordobas a month, nurses earn 3500 cordobas, student doctors 2500 cordobas.

Saturday, 26 November Corinto - sewing school for ex-prostitutes

The group participated in an examination ceremony of the sewing school for ex-prostitutes in Corinto, and were presented with blouses the students had made.

The group was also taken to the port of Corinto to see the oil tanks destroyed in an attack by the contras, which was also widely publicised in the European press.

Meeting with AMNLAE in Corinto

In the meeting the representatives of the local AMNLAE committee reported on the involvement of women in the evacuation during the attack on the oil tanks. Twenty-seven thousand people were evacuated within two hours.

That night the delegation was put up by families in Chinandega. A discussion afterwards revealed the effects of the economic crisis on the families. Some families for example did not have any flour to make breakfast; others had difficulty with cooking because there is rationing of petrol and gas.

Sunday, 27 November Sight-seeing visit in Leon and a visit to the park "Arlene Siu" Meeting with AMNLAE of Esteli

The group was welcomed by several representatives of the women's group in Esteli, which was responsible for the next two days of the programme.

Monday, 28 November Visit to El Regadio

El Regadio is a village with two to three thousand inhabitants. In the village is an agricultural collective called Maria Torés which consists only of women. The group was greeted by pre-school children on their last day of school; they performed a little play for peace. The local leader of AMNLAE, Candida Rosa, made the welcoming speech. Candida also spoke of the situation of the village under Somoza. At that time, as she said, the landowners were governing the farmers; the farmers were governing the women; and the women were beating the children. There was one senator



who thought he was the owner of every woman in the province, and in some cases had a mother and daughter of the same family in his harem. But the women of the village have to defend themselves now against the contras. After the revolution there were twenty-three casualties in the village. The women are supporting the fighters, and as Candida said, "the fighters who are saving us know where they can get food and a bed in El Regadio".

Lunch was taken in one of the typical wooden farm houses, and had been prepared by one of the local women. The only stone buildings in the village were the

harvest. The region also has a 259-kilometre-long border with Honduras from where constant attacks by the contras are conducted.

**Tuesday, 29 November
Visit to Chagüiton**

Chagüiton is a coffee plantation, offering work to six hundred people full-time and to up to fifteen hundred people at harvest time. The plantation also has a kindergarten for fifty-two children which can be expanded in harvest time to cater for two hundred children. The harvest is about 8000 quintales per season (one quintal is approxi-

The population previously ate mainly corn, rice and beans. The settlement is near the Rio Coco which serves as a source for irrigation of the vegetable plantation, for drinking water, and for washing of laundry and people. One hundred and sixteen families are living in this settlement. There was also one of the old wise women who has been trained as a midwife and proudly showed her kit, the instructions and the diploma she got from the course.

Sewing collective in Somoto

The collective was started in 1980 and there are 24 women working there. The collective has industrial sewing machines but the materials for the production, especially the yarn which is imported, are rationed. There are also sometimes buttons and hooks missing. At the side of the collective there is a shop and an office.

**Thursday, 1 December
Meeting with Bayardo Arce,
Comandante de la Revolución**

After the exchange of general political comments, Bayardo Arce explained it was necessary to stick to the plan of the elections and not bring them forward, in order to have them prepared and to be taken seriously. He also explained that AMNLAE is an independent organisation, but has close connections to the FSLN. He said that there would be no special quotas for women as candidates in the election, and he also mentioned the conflict at the moment between AMNLAE and the FSLN regarding integration of women in defence. Many women want to be integrated in defence, in the name of equality, but the men are reluctant because they feel that women would be attacked more in armed conflicts.

**Meeting with Carlos Tunnermann,
Minister of Education**

The three aims for education in Nicaragua are: first, to broaden the education – the right to education for everyone; second, to increase the quality of education; and third, to provide a new type of education. The education budget is now five times greater than in 1979, and is equivalent to 4 percent of the country's GNP. One of the main battles for the right to education was the literacy campaign. "One of the basic cornerstones of democracy is to teach people to read and write." Illiteracy has been reduced from 50 percent to 12.9 percent today. The literacy campaign was conducted not only in Spanish but also in Misquito, Sumo and Creole English. Right after the literacy campaign an adult education programme started based on a system of popular teachers, or barefoot teachers – very often the newly literate. The adult education programme, which is basically in five different steps, includes

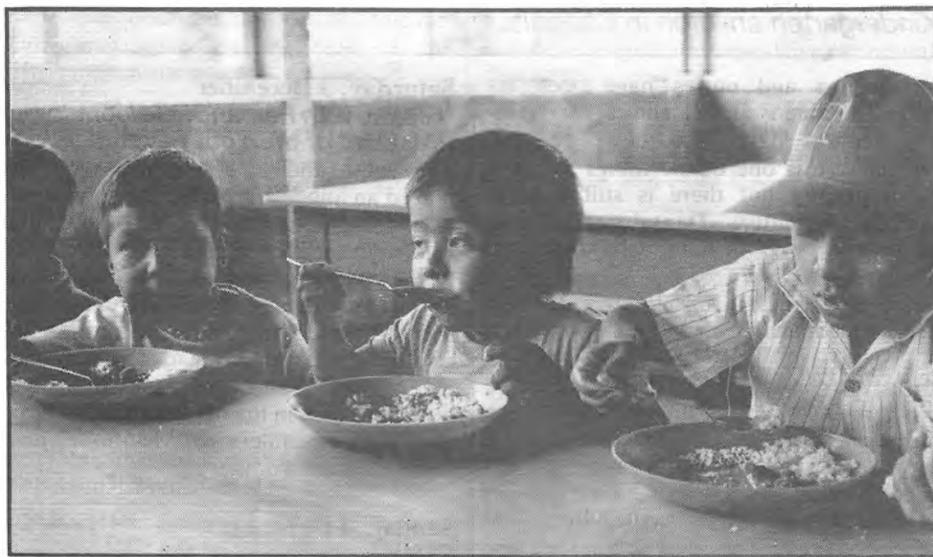
mately 25.5 kilos). The foreman explained the process of the coffee harvest to the delegation. Unfortunately the world coffee market price is depressed and therefore coffee is less of a revenue for the Nicaraguan economy.

**Meeting with women's committee
in Pueblo Nuevo**

In Pueblo Nuevo 800 members of AMNLAE work on 24 working committees. They have a civil defence brigade, a first-aid brigade, a production and coffee brigade, and a healthcare team, on which 20 women are working with vaccination programmes, and a women's military service brigade. They have food-growing groups and adult education groups. There is a health centre in Pueblo Nuevo staffed by three doctors and a nurse.

**Wednesday, 30 November
Visit to settlement
"Hermanos Martinez"**

This is a newly erected settlement for refugee families who live in little wooden huts. There is a school under construction, and a canteen for children. The settlement also has a plantation on which vegetables are grown – something unknown before.



Children's canteen in Hermanos Martinez

school, the health station, and the community centre – all of them built after the revolution.

Visit to a school for agriculture

There the group heard a lecture on the building of a fuel-saving cooking stove. The school provides one-week intensive courses for women.

**Visit to the sewing collective
"Luis Amanda Spinoza" in Esteli**

The collective, which was started in 1979, consisted of forty women. There is a daycare centre for the workers aside from the collective. The minimum wage for women is 1225 cordobas, but they can earn up to 5000 a month if they do piece-work. The collective also has a shop in Esteli which sells their goods.

**Meeting with Augustin Lara,
political secretary of the Sandinist
front for the region Las Segovias**

Augustin Lara gave an introduction about the region. Las Segovias is 200 square kilometres and is mainly a food producing area. In Somoza's time the region was owned by big landowners who did not care about development, only about exploiting the



also practical knowledge and skills, for example how to set up an agricultural co-operative. In 1978 half a million received an education; in 1983 it was one million. Since 1979 there have been four thousand new teachers, two thousand new schools, and three thousand five hundred premises have been rented for educational facilities. Every year two thousand five hundred new teachers complete their studies. There is a great scarcity of books for the pupils. Many books are old and there is at the moment half a book per pupil. The international standard is seven books per pupil. At the moment activities are under way to formulate a new educational policy. The government is trying to be very careful and to talk to as many organisations as possible in order to formulate its goals. The main aim is to give every person nine years of schooling. In 1979 the average schooling per person was 2.5 years, and today it is 3 years. Pre-school education has been newly introduced. The whole of education is oriented towards work. The pupils learn skills and professional training. Another basic aim is to teach, as Carlos Tunnermann said, the two languages – Spanish and mathematics. Minority groups are taught in their language and in Spanish.

Official ceremony for the declaration of amnesty to Indians

The official ceremony for the announcement of the amnesty for three hundred Misquito Indians took place in the Plaza de los No-Alienados. The act itself was conducted in both languages and the families of the released Indians and the prisoners themselves had been driven to Managua for the ceremony. The people seemed to be very tired, especially the small children, since they had been waiting quietly for some hours for the ceremony, and it also seemed that after those long years of repression by several governments, the people were not yet convinced about the goodwill of the Sandinist government. However, two of the leaders, Silvestre Zuñigo, on behalf of the freed prisoners, and Minerva Wilson, talked about a new step of confidence and bringing a new organisation to represent the Misquito Indians. The Protestant bishop John Wilson, and the Catholic bishop Salvador Schaeffer, greeted the amnesty as a new step to overcome the cultural conflict between the ethnic groups in Nicaragua.

Meeting with Maira Paso, Vice-Minister of Health

Eleven percent of the budget goes to the health system. In 1982 an investment programme in the health service was initiated. Sixty-one new health stations, four health centres and four hospitals have been built. The training for health staff has been improved, and special courses



Kindergarten children in Chagüiton

for doctors and nurses have been arranged. Fifteen special clinics for training dentists have also been opened. Dental care is one of the things which is given priority but there is still a great scarcity of dentists. Dental care is free of charge. One hundred and forty-five doctors have been newly trained. The number of doctors' consultations has also risen dramatically from 2.4 million in 1979 to 6.2 million in 1983. Another area of priority in the health system is the care of mothers and children, and the number of hospital births has increased. In cooperation with the mass organisations, prophylactic programmes have been started. In 1981 2.5 million children were vaccinated against polio, which has led to a dramatic reduction of the disease (there were no new cases in 1982 and 1983). Other campaigns have also been conducted to vaccinate children against measles and diphtheria. Cases of both diseases have declined significantly.

Preventive health care methods also include instruction in preparing food, filtering the water, and basic hygiene. There is also a programme to substitute traditional herb remedies for medicines.

Aggression from the contras has led to major reductions in health care for the rural populations. Health visitors and doctors have been killed; health stations have had to be closed; medical supplies and ambulances were destroyed.

Meeting with Reynaldo A Tefel, Minister for Social Affairs

After a description of the detrimental effect of the activities of the US-backed contras on the social welfare system, the Minister gave an overview of the provision of social welfare in Nicaragua. The main aim of the welfare system is to make people independent, and to create employment for the people. There are also programmes for refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador. On top of that the social system has to take care of all Nicaraguans who flee from the border with Honduras inside the country.

Saturday, 3 December Meeting with Fernando Cardenal, President of the Youth Organisation

The youth and student organisation has played an important part in the revolutionary struggle. After the revolution the campaign for literacy was basically carried by the youth organisation. In addition to its normal activities – sports, recreation and political work – the youth organisation has also been setting up brigades to help with the harvest. There are as many young women as men in the organisation; three of the nine members of its executive committee are women.

Sunday, 4 December Closing ceremony of the Council of State

The main political point at the closing ceremony was the announcement of the next steps in the election process, by Daniel Ortega, Coordinador de la Junta de Gobierno. By 21 February the Council should work out and decide the procedures and the dates for the 1985 elections. The dates of the 1985 elections will be announced on 21 February. In addition it was decreed that, if they put down their weapons, groups that have been working against the government can participate in the electoral process. Excluded are the members of the National Guard, members of the security forces of Somoza, and the leaders of the counterrevolutionary forces. In preparation for the electoral process a group of members of the Council of State was visiting several European countries and the USA in order to study electoral laws.

After the closing ceremony, the delegation was invited to a reception given by the Council of State.

Ulla Pinto, Ingegård Westrup, Anne-Maj Pohjanen, Majken Svensson, Berit Frändås, Inga Blomgren, Anna Alexanderson, Siw Lindroth, Margot Hansson, Margit Hildebrand.

Translated and shortened by Irmtraut and Lars Karlsson



Marx and women

The hundred and first year

The Marx Centenary in 1983 brought about a host of books and articles, congresses and celebrations. Even SOCIALIST AFFAIRS published an article to mark the occasion, in which Michael Harrington gave an overview of the different incarnations of Karl Marx.⁽¹⁾

But there is a conspicuous omission in all the centenary articles and books: the absence of what Marxism means for half of the proletariat – namely the women workers. It is not that there had not been literature on the theme before,⁽²⁾ but none of these writers or intellectuals were invited to contribute to the Marx Centenary. And what did Marx have to offer on the specific problems of women? In that sense we have to distinguish between Karl Marx the ideologist and political thinker, Karl Marx the political organiser, and, if we adhere to the principle of the women's movement that the personal is political, Karl Marx the man.

Marx the political philosopher said relatively little about women, which is odd if one compares how much writing he devoted to other themes. And it was not that the discussion about women's liberation was not important in his time. We also know from letters that Marx was very aware of it, and therefore it is doubly curious that he did not engage himself in the discussion. He fudges the issue by using phrases such as "a higher form of sexual community" would come with socialism, but never goes into concrete details.⁽³⁾

In the Communist Manifesto, which, as it says in the preamble, was designed to tell the world what the workers' movement wants, the acting subjects are men, the workers, the men of the proletariat. Women appear only in their relation to men. The authors of the Manifesto deal at unusual length with the bourgeois allegation that the Communists want common sexual use of women. They react with the counter-allegation that bourgeois men have a hidden communal use of women in that they seduce their respective wives – which is, to put it mildly, prudish. The solution offered by the Communists is an official and open communality of women instead of the hidden one of the bourgeois. They also want to raise the status of women above that of instruments of production. Well, this is very little compared to what had been written in

the literature of the time, for example, in the feminist manifesto the "Declaration of Sentiments" adopted on 19-20 July 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, which describes the sexual exploitation which supersedes economic exploitation, and its existential character.

The few times that Marx mentions women workers is usually, also in the Communist Manifesto, in the connection that woman and child labour undermines

the status of the male worker. There is also a contempt in his work for immoral women, especially prostitutes. For example in *The Civil War in France*, Marx talks about the "cocottes who have been on the trail of their protectors, the fugitive men of the family, of religion and of property. In their place there came the real women of Paris, heroic, high-spirited, and self-sacrificing like the women of ancient times."

In contrast to many other labour leaders, however, Marx saw the inevitability of women's work in organised production. However, in *Capital* he also states that only the abolition of private property and the means of production in the capitalist form will bring the relations between the sexes to a higher level. This is the main basis of the view on women's emancipation in the Communist parties. It is also dominant in the thinking of many Socialist parties in the Third World which state that only after the



Karl Marx with his three daughters and Friedrich Engels



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN KARL MARX

liberation struggle is completed can women get equal status in society.

However, we have the historical examples of Algeria and Vietnam, to name but two, where women have been turned back to their traditional role after the liberation. Even in the Soviet Union blunt sexual discrimination is virulent. Some examples from official sources: "Aviation medicine is categorically and irrevocably against allowing women into flying. It is, after all, a difficult job linked to systematic nervous and physical pressures. Let us leave men at the controls" – Aeroflot official Zh. K. Shisshin in a Pravda interview.⁽⁴⁾ "The most ardent pursuer of equality is powerless to eliminate the difference nature itself has made between men and women. First there is the fact that boys are physically stronger than girls. In sport no one would dream of disregarding this. Second, in choosing a profession, girls have to remember that hard physical labour is not good for them. Third, there is the daily life of the family, involving household chores and the care of children" – Yulia Novikova, head of the teaching section at School no. 218 in Moscow⁽⁵⁾. "But isn't it a good thing if by the age of 14 a girl knows how to manage a household and a boy has acquired a taste for industrial arts?" – Pyotr Kosach, teacher at the same school⁽⁶⁾. "All knowledge comes in handy in life, and if a girl who took a cooking course at school and did shorthand typing at the training centre, decides to go on to a technical higher education, neither cooking nor stenography will stand in her way. Or if a boy who did well at his turner training decides to become a teacher, his skilful hands will always remain a valuable asset."⁽⁷⁾

Marx the political organiser was more enlightened in his view of women. From his theoretical work he knew that women's work in production was here to stay. Therefore he advocated the inclusion of women in the organised labour movement. In his speech supporting his proposition to include female branches amongst the organisations of the International, against the opposition of the anarchists, the Proudhonists, and the British trade unionists, he pointed out that women constituted a great number of industrial employees, and they needed to come together and discuss amongst themselves. "Women play a very great role in life, they work in the factories, they take part in the strikes, they fought in the Commune, they have more fervour than men".⁽⁸⁾ So the council of the First International, meeting in September 1871 in London, included in its proposition for the general rules of the International Working Men's Association, the following clause in the 5th section concerning local societies, branches and groups: "The

formation of female branches among the working class is recommended. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not intend to interfere with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes."⁽⁹⁾ In a letter written in 1868, Marx also pointed to the fact that the ladies cannot complain about the International because it had put "a lady, Madame Law, as member of its General Council." He also claimed the fact that the American Labour Union had put female workers in total equality with male workers as progress.

Marx the man was in all senses the patriarchal genius – the mould for many labour leaders even today. Although he dearly loved his wife Jenny, he nevertheless did nothing to lighten her life. On the contrary, on top of having one child after another, and living in extreme poverty, Jenny also had to act as Karl Marx's unpaid secretary and fair-copyist since his handwriting was illegible and could not be given to the printers.⁽¹⁰⁾

Marx was also very sexist in his attitude towards his children. In 1851, on the birth of his daughter Franziska, who lived only for a short while, he wrote to Engels: "My wife gave birth, unfortunately to a girl, and not to a boy".⁽¹¹⁾ In 1855, when his wife gave birth to another girl, he wrote again to Engels that "I am father unfortunately of the sex par excellence" and "had it been a boy then things would be better."⁽¹²⁾

Although the poverty of the Marx family was not Karl's fault, he left it to Jenny to alleviate it; and although they lived in cramped conditions in Dean Street, from 1850-1856 in two rooms, Marx needed one of the two rooms for his study.⁽¹³⁾ Three of the Marx children died in Dean Street, Henry not one year old, the baby girl Franziska, and Edgar who died of consumption aged eight. The cleaning and the cooking were done by Helene Demuth, the housekeeper, who became pregnant by Karl Marx about the same time as his wife Jenny, and gave birth to a male child in June 1851. Jenny recorded simply in her autobiography that in the early summer of 1851 "an event occurred which I do not wish to relate here in detail although it greatly contributed to an increase in our worries both personal and other."⁽¹⁴⁾ The boy was packed off at once to foster parents, Engels accepted paternity and the affair was hushed up.⁽¹⁵⁾ The male Marx biographers try to give us Marx the man in the light of a gentle and benevolent father of his family. These few quotations at least show us another side.

So what is the heritage of Karl Marx for women? On the positive side, he advocated the organisation of women in the labour movement on both levels, in mixed groups and in separate women's organisations. But his political view that the

emancipation of women can only come after the overthrow of capitalism has led to women being promised the millennium by the Left after the revolution, and to their being in the meantime oppressed in the old bourgeois fashion. If women oppose, their struggle is denounced as divisive to the common struggle of the working class. His writings also led to the fact that "The marriage of Marxism and Feminism has been like the marriage of husband and wife depicted in English common law: Marxism and Feminism are one and that one is Marxism. Recent attempts to integrate Marxism and Feminism are unsatisfactory to us as feminists because they subsume the feminist struggle into the larger struggle against capital. To continue the simile further: either we need a healthy marriage, or we need a divorce."⁽¹⁶⁾

The private life of Marx, the benevolent patriarch, who sacrificed a lot of his family's well being to the political struggle, is still the most dominant model that labour leaders mould their relationships to women on.

Even the jokes we have inherited: "Is your wife also active in this great German ladies' emancipation campaign? I think the German women have to start to get the men towards self-emancipation."⁽¹⁷⁾ Or "Progress of a society can be measured exactly by the status of the fair sex (the ugly ones included)."⁽¹⁸⁾

Irmtraut Leirer-Karlsson

NOTES

1. He even talks about a Third World Marx and states that Marx, with one exception, Ireland, made a critical error with regard to imperialism. Imperialism will not revolutionise and develop the Third World, but subvert the traditional societies in the periphery without replacing them with more modern capitalist economies. Harrington states that this point was not made by Marxists till after the second world war. Well, Rosa Luxemburg's theory of imperialism is exactly about that. But, alas, she was only a woman.
2. There is Mechthild Merfeld, Marielouise Jansen-Jurreit, Sheila Rowbotham, Heidi Hartmann, to name only a few.
3. Marielouise Jansen-Jurreit: *Sexismus*, 1976 p. 192.
4. *The Guardian*, Naked Ape, 6.2.84.
5. *Soviet Women*, 12/83, p. 34.
6. *Soviet Women*, 12/83, p. 34.
7. *Soviet Women*, 12/83, p. 34.
8. *La Premiere Internationale*, Vol. II, p. 168.
9. Irmtraut Leirer: 75 years and still going strong, p. 2.
10. Asa Briggs: *Marx in London*, 1982.
11. Quotation from Marielouise Jansen-Jurreit: *Sexismus*.
12. Quotation from Marielouise Jansen-Jurreit: *Sexismus*.
13. Asa Briggs: *Marx in London*, 1982.
14. Asa Briggs: *Marx in London*, 1982.
15. Asa Briggs: *Marx in London*, 1982.
16. Lydia Sargent (ed.): *Women and Revolution*, London, 1981, p. 2.
17. Letter to L. Kugelmann, 5 December 1868.
18. Letter to L. Kugelmann, 12 December 1868.

All Marx quotations are unauthorised translations from the original German MEGA.



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

Despite our larger issue, we regret that space did not permit the inclusion of several important topics.



People Men

ROME

Brandt and Palme commissions share meeting

The Brandt and Palme commissions held a successful first joint meeting at the invitation of Bettino Craxi, the Italian prime minister and a vice-president of the Socialist International, in Rome on 20-22 January.

In their review of the world situation, the participants found little cause for optimism. Since the publication in 1982 of *Common Security*, the Palme commission's first report on disarmament and security, there has been no reduction in the pace of the arms race and a complete halt to arms negotiations. And since the publication the Brandt commission's reports *North-South: A programme for Survival* in 1980 and *Common Crisis* in early 1983, the willingness of the

industrial countries to share the world's resources has fallen victim to the world recession. The commissions did note greater international awareness of the correlation between hunger and armament, disarmament and development.

The two commissions agreed in their analysis of the problem – that 700 billion dollars annual expenditure on arms is destroying the world economy – and on the need to reverse the trend by converting arms production to civilian production.

The Palme commission called on the United States and the Soviet Union to postpone the deployment of new nuclear missiles for one year in order to facilitate a reopening of negotiations. They reaffirmed their support for a nuclear-free corridor in Europe (originally proposed in *Common Security*) and called for negotiations to be started soon on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, for a comprehensive test ban treaty and a treaty to abolish chemical weapons.

The Brandt commission called for a world conference of finance ministers to agree on a long-term programme of debt rescheduling, to solve the debt crisis within a ten-year period and thereby reduce its serious effects on the world economy. They also demanded an increase of at least 12 billion dollars in the funding for the International Development Association (IDA) to help the poorest countries. Members of both Commissions deplored the fact that many donor countries would

contribute less to the IDA than they had initially indicated. They called on the industrial countries to honour their commitments.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

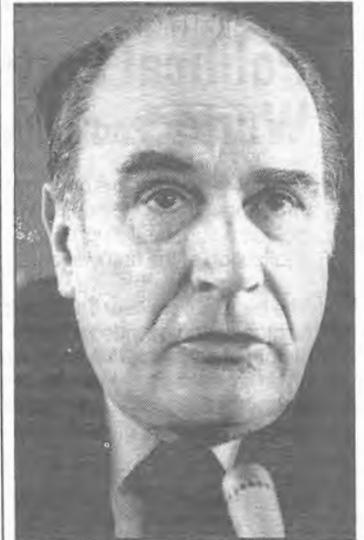
Mitterrand proposes way out of crisis

President Francois Mitterrand of France has launched a major initiative to resolve the serious financial crisis faced by the European Community (EC). In January and February, after France took the presidency of the Community, rotated twice annually, Mitterrand held bilateral talks with the heads of government of all other nine member states. Discussions focused on imbalances in the Community's spending and the level of national contributions to the budget. He made proposals for a renewal of the idea of European cooperation, what he called 'a new departure' for Europe.

The French president appointed Roland Dumas as minister for European affairs in December. Dumas and the French foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, held a series of talks in February with their counterparts in the EC and Spain and Portugal (the Community's prospective new members). Cheysson warned that 'the march towards the precipice has accelerated' and that a 'catastrophe' would be unavoidable if the failure at the Athens summit in December 1983 were repeated at the next EC summit, scheduled for June this year.

The financial crisis of the EC has deepened in recent years as the cost of subsidies paid to the Community's farmers escalated with expanding production; at the same time the Community's income did not keep pace owing to the recession.

Speaking in The Hague on 6 February, President Mitterrand outlined his proposals for a reform of the Community. He listed as matters requiring urgent attention: (a) controlling budget expenditure; (b) finding a mechanism for correcting im-



Francois Mitterrand

balances; (c) dismantling the system of monetary compensatory amounts (whereby farmers in strong-currency countries receive additional rebates), which, he said, 'distort the natural flow of trade'; and (d) reducing the surpluses of milk, cereals and other agricultural products.

After declaring his support for the enlargement of the Community to include Spain and Portugal, Mitterrand stressed the importance of reaching agreement on the contentious issues, which was 'within our reach'.

President Mitterrand also outlined his vision of a new departure for the idea of European cooperation. His proposals included the development of European-wide strategy for each of the great industrial sectors of the future – information technology, telecommunications, biotechnology and infrastructure. He also suggested that Europe develop a capability to launch and maintain a permanent manned space station.

Iberian summit

The progress of the negotiations on their countries' entry into the European Community dominated the discussions at the summit meeting of the Portuguese and Spanish prime ministers, Mario Soares and Felipe Gonzalez, held in Lisbon on 12-13 November. The two leaders, both vice-presidents of the Socialist International, expressed their disappointment at the

Meeting in Rome: Willy Brandt, Bettino Craxi, Olof Palme



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The new edition of this comprehensive directory of political parties throughout the world has been completely updated and expanded to include a substantial number of new parties formed since the publication of the first edition.

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slow pace of the negotiations, which have proved unexpectedly difficult. (In the case of Portugal, the negotiations started after the return to democracy in 1974, are more advanced).

Soares and Gonzalez agreed on a joint effort to pursue a timetable to achieve an agreement on terms with the European Community by September 1984, with both countries joining the Community by 1986.

Negotiations between the European Community and Spain and Portugal on terms of entry have been complicated by the issue of the treatment of agricultural products. Farmers in France and Italy fear that removal of tariff barriers and import quotas above all of Spanish fruits and vegetables will put too great a strain on the Community's agricultural policy and thus affect their livelihoods.

On 20 February Community foreign ministers agreed on proposals for Spain's terms of entry. They included a two-stage ten-year transition period for Spain's fruit and vegetable exports to protect French farmers, who would be most directly affected by unrestricted competition.

MEXICO

De la Madrid meets the foreign press

Mexico's president Miguel de la Madrid has expressed his deep concern about economic and political developments in Latin America. Giving his first press conference for foreign journalists since taking office in December 1982 on 7 February, he also called on the Reagan administration to reappraise both its domestic and its foreign policies. Specifically, he criticised the US naval manoeuvres off the coast of Nicaragua, disagreed with the conclusions of the Kissinger commission on the way forward in Central America, and urged a change in US economic policy.

De la Madrid reaffirmed his support for the Contadora initiative. He described the efforts of the Contadora group - which includes Mexico, Colombia,

Panama and Venezuela - as offering a 'reasonable and honourable basis for political negotiations'.

He dwelt at length on the problems of high interest rates resulting from the large US budget deficits accepted by the Reagan administration. 'I believe this worries people in the United States and in the rest of the world, because that country's deficit is financed not just by domestic savings but by savings from the whole world', he said. He pointed to continuing high interest rates as one of the major reasons for Mexico's serious economic problems. It was becoming increasingly difficult to manage the national budget, he declared, when annual interest payments alone were equal to earnings from oil exports, as had been the case in 1983.

AUSTRIA

Socialists head coalition

Austria's coalition government of the Socialist Party (SPOe) and the small liberal Freedom Party (FPÖe) contains 13 SPOe members at full ministerial level and three representatives of the FPÖe. Headed by Fred Sinowatz (54) as federal chancellor, the coalition was formed after the SPOe had lost its overall majority in the April 1983 general elections; it commands

the support of 102 members of the 183-seat parliament. Before that the Socialists had been the sole governing party since 1970 (with an absolute majority since 1971), led for the whole period by Bruno Kreisky.

Apart from Sinowatz, the SPOe ministers in the new government are Erwin Lanc (foreign affairs), Karl Sekanina (construction and technology), Elfriede Karl (family affairs), Herbert Salcher (finance), Kurt Steyrer (health and environment), Guenter Haiden (agriculture and forestry), Alfred Dallinger (social affairs), Helmut Zilk (education), Karl Lausecker (transport) and Heinz Fischer (science and research).

CUBA

'US cannot prevent revolution'

'My promises made here a quarter of century ago have been fulfilled!', proclaimed President Fidel Castro in his speech to mark the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. He was speaking in Santiago de Cuba, in the southeast of the country, where he had proclaimed the victory of the revolution after the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship on 1 January 1959.

The Cuban leader reviewed at length the progress of the re-

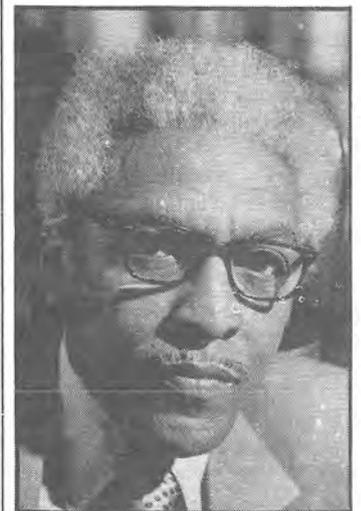
volution since 1959, and after listing its achievements he asked rhetorically 'can any country in Latin America say the same?'

A major part of his speech was devoted to a strongly worded attack on the foreign policy of the Reagan administration. Castro accused the US of taking upon itself the role of international policeman, especially in Latin America, and he condemned the 'monstrous' invasion of Grenada.

'Profound structural and social changes are inevitable' in Latin America, he continued, and 'sooner or later the US will have to resign itself to coexisting in this hemisphere with socially and economically different systems'. For this reason it was meaningless to accuse Cuba of fomenting revolution: 'Cuba cannot export revolution, nor can the United States prevent it', he said.

USA

New coalition of the poor



Writing in *Newsweek* magazine, Bayard Rustin, chairman of Social Democrats USA (a member party of the Socialist International) proposed the forging of a broad coalition of the poor to fight for economic justice in the United States. In an article commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Washington March for Jobs in 1963, he argued that in the 1980s the goals of the civil rights movement could only be achieved as

Changing of the guard: Bruno Kreisky and Fred Sinowatz



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK PEOPLE

part of 'an agenda for all Americans'.

Although unemployment among blacks was nearly twice the national average and poverty still widespread, Rustin rejected the widely held view that the problems were too large to be solved: 'The dilemma confronting black Americans are solvable for the very reason that they are now intimately linked with the overall performance of the our national economy. Although blacks are disproportionately represented among the poor, there are ever increasing numbers of white poor. Although many blacks are joining the ranks of the jobless, far larger number of whites have lost their jobs.'

An important opportunity exists, Rustin continued, 'to develop a broad coalition based on a non-racial strategy for dealing with the decline of basic industries'. A programme along these

lines would 'unite a potent coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews, workers and the poor'. Only such a grouping could help attain the goals that brought together 250,000 marchers in Washington in 1963, and achieve the dream of 'jobs and freedom', he concluded.

APPOINTMENT

Peter Jankowitsch

The executive of the Socialist Party of Austria has appointed Peter Jankowitsch, 51, international secretary, in succession to Walter Hacker, who held the position for many years.

Jankowitsch, an experienced diplomat, is a member of the Austrian parliament, and was under Bruno Kreisky head of the federal chancellery. He has also served as Austria's ambas-



sador to Senegal, the United Nations and OECD, and chaired the preparatory committee of the UNISPACE 82 conference on the peaceful use of outer space.

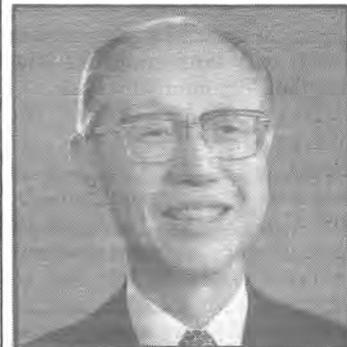
APPOINTMENT

Makato Tanabe

Seven months after being elected in an acting capacity, Makato Tanabe, 62, was elected general secretary of the execu-

tive committee of the Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ), at the party's congress in September 1983.

Tanabe has held a number of key posts in the SPJ parliamentary party, among them the chairmanship of the Diet policy committee. Before his election



to the House of Representatives in 1960, he headed both the local branch of the postal workers' union and the SPJ in his native Gunma prefecture, in central Japan.

OBITUARIES

Alfred Nau

Alfred Nau, long-time treasurer of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), president of the executive board of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and an honorary president of the Socialist International, died on 18 May 1983 at the age of 76.

Born in Barmen, Nau became an insurance clerk after completing his schooling. A convinced Social Democrat since his early youth - his parents were also members of the SPD - he was asked to join the staff of the party headquarters in Berlin in 1929 (when he was 22), where he worked with the party treasurer, Konrad Ludwig. He was entrusted with the development of new Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, founded in memory of the first president of the Weimar republic and conceived as an independent organisation for political education and international cooperation. His work for the foundation came to a temporary end when the Nazis banned it, and the SPD, in 1933.

Although the labour movement was in ruins and the majority of its leaders were



either in custody or in enforced exile, Alfred Nau joined the resistance against the Nazi regime. Jailed twice, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining the lines of communication to the Social Democrats in exile, and endeavoured to keep democratic ideas alive in Germany by distributing leaflets, journals and pamphlets.

After the second world war, Nau was asked by the then leader of the SPD, Kurt Schumacher, to become treasurer of the reconstructed party, a position he held for nearly thirty years. His main concern was the achievement of a solid financial base for the party and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

He was elected an honorary president of the Socialist International in 1976.

Willy Ritschard

Willy Ritschard, a Socialist Democratic member of the Swiss cabinet, died on 16 October 1983, a few days after his 65th birthday and the announcement that he would resign his post as finance and customs minister.

Ritschard had been one of the Social Democratic Party's two representatives in the federal cabinet since 1970. He had been federal president - a post rotated annually among the seven cabinet members - in 1933 and was vice-president at the time of his death.



Mustafa Ustundag

The secretary-general of the Republican People's Party (CHP)

of Turkey, Mustafa Ustundag, died in a car accident on 30 June



1983, aged 50.

Ustundag had been secretary-general since 1978: After the military takeover in September 1980 and the subsequent resignation of Bulent Ecevit as party leader in October, he also became acting chairman of the CHP, a post he held until October 1981, when the military regime disbanded all existing political parties.

An expert on educational policy, Ustundag was minister of education and culture in the 1974 Ecevit government. He had been a member of staff of Hacettepe University in Ankara before his election to parliament in 1969.



FEDERAL GERMANY

SPD rejects missile deployment

The Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, has committed itself firmly to continue its efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of the new generation of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

By an overwhelming vote of some 380 to 13 (with three abstentions), an extraordinary

party congress convened in Cologne on 18-19 November – a few days before the Geneva talks on intermediate nuclear forces broke down – supported a resolution proposed by the party executive to reject the impending deployment of cruise and Pershing-II missiles in Germany and demand further negotiations.

The motion specifically demanded from the US, that it freeze deployment of the new missiles; from the Soviet Union, that it begin to reduce the number of SS-20s targeted on Europe; and of both superpowers, that they halt the introduction of short-range tactical nuclear weapons. The resolution also called on both superpowers to agree on a verifiable freeze on nuclear tests and deployment and on the production of new missiles and launching systems, and eventually to negotiate a general reduction in nuclear armaments.

Willy Brandt, the SPD chairman, spoke strongly in favour of the resolution. He was pessimistic about the possibility of continued negotiations. The Geneva talks had failed, he said, 'in particular because of the

stubbornness of those who thought it more important to bring Pershing-IIs to Germany than to negotiate a reduction of SS-20s'. This was against the interests of Europe and of Germans in both parts of Germany.

He refuted suggestions that the resolution meant that the SPD was becoming isolated on security policy. He noted that the US House of Representatives had also voted for a nuclear freeze.

'The resolution does not only say "no" to deployment', Brandt said, 'it also says "yes" – yes to the struggle for the survival of our people and yes to peace in Europe and the world'. He outlined the alternative to the present 'near-return to the cold war' as a security partnership in Europe in which both sides took into account their respective security needs.

Hans-Jochen Vogel, the SPD's parliamentary leader, also supporting the resolution, reaffirmed the SPD's commitment to the NATO alliance. But, he said, 'political decisions must again be put before military strategies and weapons technology' and Europe should be

given a greater say in the decision-making process of the alliance.

The former chancellor Helmut Schmidt opposed the resolution and stood by NATO's original 'twin track' decision of December 1979 (which agreed on deployment of the new missiles if negotiations to reduce SS-20s failed). But, Schmidt declared, the negotiations had failed because neither superpower had made a serious effort to reach a compromise. He regretted that since 1979 the balance between detente and deterrence had shifted in favour of the latter.

SWITZERLAND

Decision to stay in coalition

Delegates at the emergency congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party decided by a margin of 773 to 511 to remain partners in the coalition government, despite a proposal by the party executive to withdraw.

The congress, convened in Berne on 11-12 February, debated whether the Social Democratic Party should stay in or leave the seven-member Federal Council, in which the party has had two representatives since the inception of the so-called 'magic formula' of coalition government (by which three parties of the centre and right share powers with the Social Democrats) in 1959.

Dissatisfaction with the party's participation in government, which has been simmering for some time, came to a head after Lilian Uchtenhagen, the candidate nominated by the Social Democrats to succeed the late Willy Ritschard on the Federal Council, was not accepted by the other parties. The federal assembly, which elects Federal Council members in a joint session of both houses of parliament, chose instead Otto Stich, from Solothurn. Uchtenhagen, an economist from Zurich and on the left the party, would have been the first woman to hold federal ministerial office in Switzerland.

Willy Brandt, the SPD's chairman, addresses the party's 'missiles' congress in Cologne



J.H. Darchinger

PORTUGAL

PS congress backs coalition government

The fifth congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS) brought a personal triumph for the party leader and prime minister, Mario Soares, who was reelected with the support of 80 percent of the delegates. Moreover, a resolution signed by some 500 delegates proposed Soares as the Socialist Party's candidate for the presidential elections to be held in 1985.

The congress, meeting in Lisbon on 30 September-2 October, endorsed the government's plans for the solution of Portugal's economic and financial crisis. (An emergency programme, agreed between the Socialist Party and the Social Democrats, PSD, forms the basis of the present coalition government, led by Soares). In his opening address, the prime minister had called on the delegates to support the government. 'We have lived beyond our collective means for too long', he said.

A resolution to decriminalise abortion was passed by an overwhelming majority. The party leadership again gave an undertaking to sponsor a bill in the National Assembly to legalise abortion in certain cases. In 1982 a PS-sponsored bill had narrowly failed to secure a majority in parliament.

The congress also voted to alter the party's declaration of principles, removing the term 'marxism' from the statutes. The move was justified on the grounds that 'the Portuguese people do not envisage the dawn of marxism in the near future, whether dogmatic or non-dogmatic, scientific or non-scientific'.

• The National Assembly approved a law allowing abortions under certain circumstances on 27 January, by a vote of 132 to 102. The bill, presented by the Socialist Party, was supported by the Communists and individual members of other parties; most representatives of the Social Democrats, the junior coalition partner, voted against.

Under the old legislation, all abortions were illegal in Portugal. Reformers have long campaigned for a change in the law, but previous attempts had been thwarted by the opposition of the Catholic Church and the political parties of the right.

FRANCE

Congress of unity

The Socialist Party (PS) put the need for unity above openly discussed differences on economic policy when delegates at the biennial party congress achieved near-unanimous agreement on the main resolution, after many hours of discussion and negotiation.

Meeting in Bourg-en-Bresse, northeast of Lyon, on 28-30 October 1983, delegates discussed two main motions: one, proposed by Lionel Jospin, the party's first secretary, supported the austerity programme of the Socialist-led government (this motion had obtained the backing of 77 percent of rank-and-file members in regional votes held prior to the congress); and a second, minority motion, proposed by the left-wing Ceres group led by the former industry minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement (which had obtained 18

percent). The Ceres motion called for a strongly reflationary policy based on strict import controls, a floating exchange rate and large-scale investment in nationalised industries.

At the start of the congress, Lionel Jospin called the present congress 'the first real congress of the PS in power', in contrast to the last congress in 1981, which had been jubilant following the election victories of Francois Mitterrand and the Socialist Party. He proposed a 'synthesis' of the two main viewpoints. He appealed to delegates to take into account the political and economic realities within which the government had to work towards the commonly agreed goals of social justice.

President Mitterrand himself appealed for unity in a message to the delegates. He told them 'the first signs of national recovery are becoming apparent' and appealed to them 'to continue our efforts' to overcome the present difficulties.

Party leaders stressed the need for a consensus, and the synthesis worked out in the course of the congress, achieved by accommodating some of the suggestions made by the Ceres group, was endorsed by all but one of the delegates. Amendments to the dominant motion included a more specific commitment to economic growth in the pursuit of social justice and a

clearer definition of the role of French socialism in an international context.

The prime minister, Pierre Mauroy, defined the objective of the Socialist government as to 'ensure a successful passage from the industrial age to a post-industrial age'. He strongly attacked the rhetoric of 'liberty' employed by the right and far right. 'The "liberty" of the right is that of the fox in the chicken yard', he declared.

Mauroy made a clear link between securing peace in the world and the pursuit of justice. 'Peace will need to be based, firstly, on a balance of forces, at the lowest level, but a balance. But this is not enough. The causes of tension - political and social - must also be reduced. As greater social justice is achieved and democracy progresses, tensions will diminish and peace will be secured'.

On foreign policy, the congress endorsed the government's stand on disarmament and the need for balance of military forces between East and West.

Lionel Jospin was reelected unanimously as first secretary by the party executive. Among those newly elected to the 131-member executive were three cabinet ministers, Edith Cresson, Edmond Herve, and Andre Labarrere.

'Socialists for success': PS deputy first secretary Jean Poperen



AUSTRIA

Farewell to Bruno Kreisky

The 28th congress of Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe), held in Vienna on 27-29 October, saw the retirement of Bruno Kreisky, who had been party chairman for seventeen years. Kreisky decided to give up the party leadership after his decision not to head the coalition government formed with the small Freedom Party after the federal elections of April. He had been chancellor since 1970.

Tributes were paid to Bruno Kreisky by many delegates and foreign guests, including Willy Brandt and Olof Palme, who have been among his closest comrades since second-world-

war days. He was elected honorary chairman of the SPOe, by acclamation, with a seat and a vote on the party's national executive.

Kreisky was succeeded as party chairman by Austria's present chancellor, Fred Sinowatz, who thus became the sixth leader in the SPOe's history. In his acceptance speech, mainly devoted to party organisation and structure, he called on delegates to work for an open-minded party seeking discussion and ready to take on new challenges. It would be intolerable, however, for individuals to try to enhance their reputations at the expense of others in the party.

In a foreign policy resolution unanimously accepted by the congress, the SPOe expressed its support for a genuine peace movement and demanded that the present 'balance of terror' be replaced by a balance of sanity: only disarmament can prevent a catastrophe. Regarding the Socialist International, the resolution says that also in coming years it will remain the SPOe's preferred framework for international activity.

A special resolution on Grenada condemned the military intervention by US troops and certain Caribbean states and demanded the immediate restitution of Grenada's sovereignty by prompt withdrawal of all foreign troops. 'We Austrian socialists cannot understand that politicians, especially of the USA, who – just as we do – condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, stamp on the right to self-determination of nations if matters of power politics in their own sphere of interest are concerned.'

• After his retirement as SPOe leader, Bruno Kreisky returned almost immediately to political life in December when he accepted the chairmanship of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a UN-sponsored organisation based in Rome.

IFAD, set up in 1977 three years after its formation was first proposed at the World Food Conference, aims to raise funds for agricultural and rural development projects in the

Third World, in particular to benefit the poorest among the rural population.

BRITAIN

Kinnock and Hattersley take over

Neil Kinnock (41) became the British Labour Party's youngest ever leader on 2 October, when the party's annual conference in Brighton elected him to succeed Michael Foot by a massive 71 percent of the electoral college votes. With only a slightly smaller majority, the conference also elected Roy Hattersley as deputy leader.

Foot had announced his intention to stand down from the leadership shortly after Labour's defeat in the June general elections. Kinnock and Hattersley quickly declared themselves to be candidates and were joined by Peter Shore and Eric Heffer. The deputy leadership, vacated at the conference by Denis Healey, was sought by Michael Meacher, Denzil Davies and Gwyneth Dunwoody, as well as Kinnock and Hattersley.

During the campaigning Kinnock rapidly built up an unassailable lead of committed electoral college votes, but the contest for the deputy leadership appeared until quite late on to be a close race between Hattersley and Meacher. In the event, the votes cast at Brighton not only gave Kinnock the leadership by a hefty majority but also elected Hattersley to the number two job with a similarly wide margin of over two-thirds of the electoral college. Both contests were decided on the first ballot.

Detailed examination of the results showed that Kinnock's 71.3 percent share of the electoral college made up of sizeable majorities in the trade union and constituency sections, together with nearly half the votes of Labour MPs. In this contest Hattersley achieved a total share of 19.3 percent, while Heffer and Shore took 6.3 and 3.1 percent respectively. In the deputy leadership vote, Hattersley's overall share of 67.3 percent incorporated majorities



Labour's new leadership: Roy Hattersley and Neil Kinnock

in all three sections of the electoral college, enabling him to outdistance Meacher, who obtained 27.9 percent.

Within a week of their assumption of office the new leaders received encouragement from an opinion poll showing a dramatic rise in public support for the Labour Party. Having languished below the 30 percent level since the general elections, Labour was now shown as having 39 percent support, only 3 percent behind the Conservatives and more than double the 18 percent score of the Liberal-Social Democratic alliance. The opinion gains have continued almost without interruption since.

JAPAN

SPJ affirms aim of neutrality

The Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ), fresh from the December 1983 election when its strengthened its position as the country's main opposition party, has

pledged to continue to strive for a neutral Japan, but recognized the legality of the Japanese defence forces, at the party convention held on 27 February in Tokyo.

The SPJ's new leader, Masashi Ishibashi, who was elected as successor to Ichio Asukata, a vice-president of the SI, at the previous party convention in September 1983, said that Japan should not align itself with the West but maintain friendly relations with all countries. He criticised the Nakasone government's attempt to rewrite the Japan's 'peace constitution' and make Japan into a military power again. Ishibashi's speech and the convention's endorsement of it reaffirms the SPJ's stated aim of an 'unarmed and neutral' Japan.

The constitution, that promulgated after the second world war, stipulates that Japan will never maintain armed forces; but successive conservative governments since 1955 have nonetheless established 'self-defence' forces, which in recent years have expanded to a 250,000-strong force.



Masashi Ishibashi, the SPJ's new leader

The party's new position was foreshadowed, by Ishibashi in a speech in December, when he had said that although the Japanese defence forces were unconstitutional, they were legal in the sense that they were created by an act of parliament.

UNITED STATES

DSA hold first convention

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), a member organisation of the Socialist International, held its first convention since its foundation in March 1982 following the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New America Movement.

Meeting in New York on 14-16 October, the several hundred delegates were united in their opposition to 'reaganomics', the economic policies of the present US administration which are accentuating the division between America's poor and the well-off.

On foreign policy, the convention passed a resolution sharply critical of the US government's policy in Central America. A resolution expressing support for the rights of both Jews and Palestinians was also passed by a large majority.

Michael Harrington, previously chair of DSOC, and Barbara Ehrenreich were elected co-chairs of DSA.

SPAIN

PSOE sets tasks for 1984

The federal committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) met in Madrid on 14-15 January to take stock, just over one year after the party formed

the government following its remarkable election triumph.

Felipe Gonzalez, the prime minister and general secretary of PSOE, evaluated his government's performance thus: 'I think we are gaining public approval in areas where socialists are often thought to be less effective - on issues such as the modernisation of the army, the fight against terrorism, foreign policy. It may be true that in areas we often consider "our" domain - the fight against unemployment, for instance - we may not have communicated our aims as well as we might have'. But, he continued, the popularity of the government and the party testified to the fact that 'today PSOE is the only party that offers hope to our people'.

Gonzalez went on to describe successes in many areas of policy. In its first year, the government had presented 130 bills to parliament and had introduced major reforms in the fields of education, health, local autonomy and the organisation of public administration. On Spain's membership of NATO, he stressed that only a party

could change the present policy of holding a national referendum on the issue.

1984, the prime minister concluded, would be the year for a great effort to curb unemployment; and more measures to benefit working people would be introduced.

• In January the government replaced the four highest-ranking officers in Spain's armed forces, a move which had been expected since the Cortes passed the law on the reform of the military in October. Both the right-wing Popular Alliance and the Communist Party approved the change.

The law creates the new position of chief of the defence staff, who will report directly to the minister of defence, thereby putting the military hierarchy firmly under civilian control; previously, the joint chiefs of staff could dictate defence policy independently of parliamentary control.

The government argued that the modernisation of the old military command structure, a legacy of the Franco era, was necessary to end the right-wing

agitation that has led to at least four coup plots or attempts - the most spectacular being the storming of the Cortes on 23 February 1981 - since the restoration of Spanish democracy in 1975.

FEDERAL GERMANY

Demand for 35-hour week

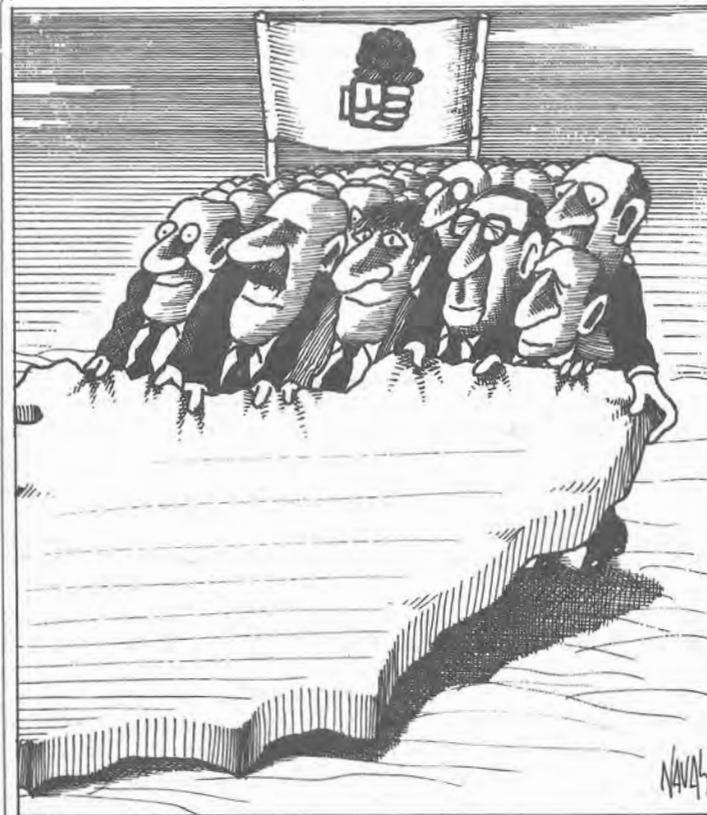
The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) has begun a campaign to advocate a 35-hour working week and early retirement, thereby lending full support to a long-standing demand by the German Trade Union Federation (DGB).

Willy Brandt, SPD chairman, and Ernst Breit, chairman of the DGB, announced the launch of the joint campaign at a press conference on 4 February. Brandt told party agents and journalists that a shorter working week with no reduction in pay was the only effective means of bringing down unemployment in the Federal Republic.

He said it was insane to spend 55 billion deutschmarks a year on financing mass unemployment - which he called 'the current form of shorter working hours' - when this money could be invested in new technologies and environmental protection schemes. The SPD chairman ridiculed the government's attempts to discredit the campaign's aims, and questioned claims made by the employers' federation that the scheme would be damaging to Germany's economy.

The SPD vice-chairman and prime minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Johannes Rau, elaborated the party's position in an interview with *sozialdemokrat* magazine. He rejected the accusation that the SPD had jumped on a union bandwagon and pointed out that the SPD's manifesto for the European elections in 1979 had included a commitment to shorter working hours. Rau continued, 'We cannot put a stop to technological development, and we do not want to; we want to channel it

Lifting Spain: in its first year the Socialist government presented 130 bills in parliament



into socially justifiable ways. Unemployment is the most undignified and the most expensive and socially the most damaging form of short-time working. At present 9 out of 10 of us have work for forty hours a week, and one out of ten has no work at all. Common sense tells us that it would be better for those who have jobs to work to 10 percent less'.

IFM/SEI

First seminar in Asia

The International Falcon Movement/Socialist Education International (IFM-SEI) held its first seminar in Asia, in Bombay, on the theme of children as victims of the North-South divide in the world. The meeting on 20-27 November was organised by the Asian secretariat of the IFM-SEI, a fraternal organisation of the Socialist International, in cooperation with UNESCO and the University of Bombay.

The value of holding the seminar in Bombay was stressed by the organisation's president, Nic Nilsson. He said this arrangement would offer the European participants a chance not only to exchange ideas with Asian friends, but also to see for themselves some of the problems encountered by children in the Third World.

A major focus of the seminar was the problem of child labour. Pratima Panwalkar of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences presented some figures to give an indication of the extent of child labour. She estimated that in India alone between 16 and 20 million children were employed: these children were thus prevented from gaining an elementary education, and exposed to exploitation by often ruthless employers. In India, she said, as in many other Third World countries, there exists no general legislation regulating child employment.

Other issues raised in the course of the discussions were the problem of hunger and malnutrition (the latter often difficult to detect); the protection of children in times of war; and the extent of child imprisonment and even torture.



DISARMAMENT

Hints of progress follow talks collapse

Following the decision by NATO countries to proceed with the deployment of new intermediate-range cruise and Pershing missiles in December 1983, and the decision in response by the Warsaw Pact countries to therefore deploy similar new weapons in at least two East European countries – a low point in relations between the two alliances for at least a decade – both sets of Geneva arms negotiations were abandoned. The Soviet Union announced that it would not be prepared to schedule a return to the bargaining table unless the new missiles, first stationed at Greenham Common in Britain and in Southern Germany, were withdrawn. The talks on mutually balanced force reduction in Western Europe (MFBR), in Vienna, were however scheduled to be recommenced on 16 March 1984. President Ronald Reagan said in February that his government was prepared to make significant concessions at the bargaining table there if there were a serious response from the Soviet Union.

The Socialist International and many of its party leaders deplored the collapse of the intermediate and strategic weapons talks, and urged both sides to use the Stockholm Conference of the CSCE process as a new avenue for dialogue. The conference of thirty-five nations was opened formally by

the Swedish foreign minister, Lennart Bodstrom, on 17 January 1984 and addressed by Olof Palme, the Swedish prime minister, George Schultz, the US secretary of state, and Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, amongst many others. The conference, the latest in the series which began with the Helsinki talks and the Helsinki agreements on security and cooperation in Europe in 1975, is scheduled to last for some months.

On 7 February 1984, the forty-nation disarmament talks under the auspices of the United Nations began their new year sessions, also in Geneva, with attention focused on a ban on the use of chemical and bacterial weapons. The discussions were given added relevance when Iran shipped several soldiers injured in the Gulf War to Stockholm for treatment, where it was confirmed in early March that the men were suffering from wounds inflicted by chemical weapons.

In his first major speech as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Konstantin Chernenko told the Supreme Soviet on 2 March that the time was ripe for an accord on chemical weapons. He called on the United States to match its rhetoric with 'positive actions' in the field of arms control.

On 6 March the Warsaw Pact countries formally proposed a long-term freeze and then cuts in military spending by the two superpowers and their allies.

Both the superpowers have been anxious to dampen speculation that an early resumption of the Geneva talks was likely. Rumours to that effect in early January were squashed in both Washington and Moscow.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Elections planned, wars continue

The government of **Nicaragua** announced on 21 February 1984 that, as promised, elections would be held in that country on 4 November, two days before elections in the United States.

At the formal announcement of the dates and the terms for the elections, Socialist International representatives from Latin America and Europe hailed the announcement. Hans-Juergen Wischniewski, representing the Socialist International's president, Willy Brandt, presented a message to the Nicaraguan Council of State, as the opening speaker at the proceedings. All of the Socialist International's Latin American vice-presidents were represented at the proceedings.

Despite the continuing pressure of attacks by the contras on its borders, the Nicaraguan leader, Daniel Ortega, told a rally of 150,000 people, gathered also to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Augusto Sandino, that elections would go ahead. He also announced the extension of an amnesty for the returning contras, and reviewed Nicaragua's economic progress in the previous year.

United States reaction to the announcement has been cool and sceptical, and opposition forces in the country have remained hesitant about their response to the promise of free and fair elections. Several international organisations are expected to be invited to send observers to the elections.

Elections have also been scheduled in **El Salvador** for 25 May 1984. Effectively excluded from participation, given the security situation in the country, the Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti Liberation Front, FDR-FMLN, has reiterated its commitment to negotiations and peace, and described the current elections as not relevant to this process.

The two leading candidates for the presidency, former president Napoleon Duarte and Robertod'Aubuisson, were both implicated in the murders of prominent personalities of recent years in El Salvador. Duarte was accused in secret testimony by a high-level former Salvadorean official, at a United States Congressional subcommittee, of failing to act on information pointing to the military's role in the murder of American nuns in 1981. D'Aubuisson was accused of



After reading – voting: elections will be held in Nicaragua in November

organising or being involved in the killing of Archbishop Romero, two American labour advisers, and a leading Christian Democrat, Mario Zamora. The unnamed official called d'Aubuisson, a former army colonel, an 'anarchic psychopath' and said he was still in charge of the reactivated death squads in the country, which were funded by Miami exiles. Both men denied the charges.

The war in El Salvador continues, with signs of increasing guerrilla success and declining army morale in several areas. The FDR/FMLN announced a twenty-point peace plan on 10 February to end the war, calling for a transitional government led by a multi-partisan council and cabinet, and the freeing of political prisoners and the disbandment of the security forces.

On 17 November 1983 the government of **Costa Rica** announced its firm neutrality in the conflicts in the region. In a statement by President Luis Alberto Monge, the National Liberation Party (PLN) government committed itself to stopping 'national territory from

being used by any of those participating in war'. The government refused the US government permission for naval manoeuvres in the area at the same time, and announced other security measures designed to preserve its 'permanent neutrality'.

In **Honduras**, as a reaction to the government's very different response to conflicts in the region, the ALIPO tendency of the ruling Liberal Party announced its resignation from the party and the formation of a new movement. The 'denationalisation' of the country by the heavy US military involvement, and the desire that Honduras should remain outside the conflicts in the area, led Jorge Arturo Reina and his group to establish the Liberal Democratic Revolutionary Movement (MLDR) in opposition to the Suazo Cordova government.

Elections in **Guatemala** scheduled for July 1984 have already been heavily disrupted by death squad activity. The Socialist International member party, the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala (PSD), has

not agreed to participate in the elections. Human rights violations in the country continue to be 'gross', in the description of the US human rights group Americas Watch in a January 1984 report.

Report ignored

In a much heralded, but subsequently ignored, report, the Kissinger commission on Central America called for massive increases in development assistance and a human rights aid link in El Salvador, combined with an increase in military and political support for the 'democratic' governments in the region.

All three central recommendations received cool reaction from Central American sources and the US Congress. By March 1984 it appeared as if the US Congress would not pass the aid levels requested, that President Reagan would veto any human rights linkage, and that Congress would cut military assistance.

The resignation of US special envoy Richard Stone in February, following sharp internal battles with the state department over jurisdiction and strategy, meant the effective end of the second prong of the White House's dual strategy of the commission and the ambassador – despite the appointment of a low-level successor to the former Florida senator.

GRENADA

Tragedy continues

The tragic events leading to the United States invasion of Grenada and its aftermath continue to make the future of the Caribbean state unclear. Although most US combat personnel have now left the island, some estimates say more than one thousand American officials remain in Grenada, including intelligence, counter-intelligence, security and diplomatic personnel.

Allegations of torture of the detainees, now formally charged with the murder of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues, have been made by a group of British

lawyers attempting to represent some of the prisoners, the UK-Grenada Friendship Society, and the detainees themselves. First proceedings in the planned trials are scheduled for early April 1984.

Efforts to organise elections for later this year are underway by the occupying forces, assisted by the 'interim' government. No official dates have been set, but the end of November 1984 has been suggested by foreign minister Patrick Emmanuel. Several parties and individuals have indicated their interest in contesting the planned elections, including the controversial former prime minister, Sir Eric Gairy.

Officials of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), including Fennis Augustine, the former high commissioner in London, George Louison, a leading party personality and government minister, and Kendrick Radix, also a founding member of the party and former government official, have founded a Maurice Bishop Memorial Foundation on the island to honour the memory of the dead party leader. They have not yet indicated their willingness to participate in any elections.

Representatives of those responsible for setting up the foundation say no decisions have yet been taken concerning the reformation of the party; its attitude towards those who seized control internally and then at the state level, now accused of murder; or on the electoral process being designed. Decisions on each of these questions are anticipated in the near future, however.

The efforts to establish a legitimate government on the island following the invasion encountered early and persistent obstacles, as personalities from the region refused to participate or withdrew. Following the announcement by Alister McIntyre, a distinguished UN official from the region, that he was unavailable to the 'interim' government in November 1983, Nicholas Braithwaite, a former 'youth social worker', was named to head the government. Anthony Rushton, the attorney-general, quit in December, attacking the role being played



Maurice Bishop

by the governor-general, Sir Paul Scoon, and the US diplomats on the island.

The new airport for the island, consistently attacked by the United States government as potentially a vehicle for Soviet military designs in the region, was deemed possibly important for 'tourist development' by US secretary of state George Schultz during his post-invasion tour of Grenada. On 3 March the White House announced a grant of 19 million dollars to complete the previously 'threatening' airport. Several dozen businessmen have indicated interest in investing on the island, including one firm which will convert Maurice Bishop's former residence into a hotel.

The 'interim' government has announced that 25 October, the date of the United States invasion, will be observed from next year as 'Liberation Day'.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Dramatic changes

Dramatic events have taken place throughout the front-line states of southern Africa, particularly in their relations with the apartheid regime of South Africa itself since the beginning of 1984.

Following the most recent South African invasion of southern Angola, the government of the Republic announced, in part as a result of United States pressure, first a unilateral ceasefire and then a commitment to withdraw (subject to certain conditions).

High-level secret negotiations between the government of Angola and South Africa led to

the creation of a joint commission to supervise the withdrawal of South African forces. Each side nominated five observers, backed by 300 troops, who were to travel from village to village ensuring that as South African troops withdrew neither SWAPO nor Cuban troops moved in behind. Some observers said that among the aspects of the negotiated terms of the pullout were a commitment by Angola to ensure that no cross-border attacks by the Southwest African People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Namibian liberation movement recognised both by the OAU and the UN, were launched from its territory. The arrangement appeared fragile in early March however, when mortar attacks on South African forces were launched by unknown forces in the region. Final withdrawal was planned for early April. South Africa is believed to have agreed to end its covert support for the insurgent forces of Jonas Savimbi in Angola.

In another surprise move the government of South Africa announced the transfer of SWAPO's founding president, Toivo ja Toivo, from Robben Island prison to Windhoek prison, in Namibia itself. Then on 4 March the 69-year-old leader who had been imprisoned by South Africa for sixteen years, was released to exultant crowds in the city. The current president of the liberation movement in exile, Sam Nujoma, had frequently demanded Toivo's release as a precondition to direct talks with the South African authorities.

On the other side of the continent, following efforts by the government of Zambia and others, representatives of the Mozambique and South African governments held a parallel series of meetings beginning late last year. The discussions led to the first non-aggression treaty between a black African country and the South African government. On 2 March representatives of the two governments announced that the principal features of a wide-ranging security pact had been agreed between the two countries.

Factors in the talks were thought to be South African's

military economic and political support for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), a group first set up by minority Rhodesian government in the early seventies; as well as Mozambiquan official sanction for the activities of the Africa National Congress (ANC) against the apartheid regime from its territory.

An official announcement said 'neither of the two countries will serve as a base for acts of aggression or violence against the other'.

In a statement by its office in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC said 'we would like to believe that nobody in our region has any intention to guarantee permanent instability in this area by contributing to the continuation of the apartheid system'.

In South Africa itself, following the formation of a new opposition force, the United Democratic Front in October 1983, and the setback of the passage of the government's racially constructed referendum on changes to the country's constitution, the independent trade union movement was once again the source of significant news in the country. At a meeting of the main trade union groups in Capetown on 3 March, progress was made towards the creation of a united national labour centre in the country. The independent black, trade unions continue to grow at a phenomenal rate, including the recently formed National Union of Miners, whose membership is reportedly approaching 250,000 in South Africa's strategic coal, gold and diamond mining industry.

LEBANON

Signs of hope amid the rubble

As of early March there appeared to be signs of hope that some form of tacit Israeli-Syrian agreement, and the acquiescence of the Lebanese government and opposition forces would permit a return to at least a temporary peace in Lebanon.

Following the adjournment of the Geneva national recon-

ciliation talks held in November 1983, which successfully brought together representatives from all sides to the conflict and established an opening agenda for discussion - including the statement that Lebanon was an Arab state - the situation in the country deteriorated quickly and badly.

Sporadic fighting in December 1983 was followed by a massive government attack on west and southern Beirut and the escalation of the conflict to levels not seen since the 1976 civil war. In January and February three of the four members of the multinational peacekeeping force - Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States - each retreated from Beirut.

The Progressive Socialist Party, led by Walid Jumblatt, a Socialist International member party, was central to the opposition to the Gemayel government, launching, in concert with their Shiite Amal allies, massive military attacks which led to the collapse of the Lebanese army and the seizure of large sections of southern and coastal Beirut. Jumblatt, furious over attacks on the civilian population in southern Beirut, has repeatedly demanded the resignation of President Gemayel and the creation of a new non-Christian-led government - possibly presided over by a Christian president.

However, in an apparent reconciliation between Gemayel and Syrian president Hafez Assad, during a visit to Damascus on 3 March, the two men seem to have agreed on a number of terms. On 5 March the Lebanese cabinet formally abrogated the 17 May 1983 treaty with Israel, in an apparent trade-off for Syrian support for some form of reconstructed Gemayel regime.

The reaction of the Progressive Socialist Party, and other opposition forces, including Amal leader Nabih Berry, remained unclear, though a tentative ceasefire seemed to have returned the shattered Lebanese capital to calm.

The national reconciliation conference in Lausanne to consider a reconstruction of the government was to recommence on 12 March.

ICFTU

Congress links 'bread, peace and freedom'

'Full employment and an end to poverty', 'trade union rights' and 'peace, security and disarmament' were the three main themes of the 13th world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) held in Oslo, Norway, on 23-30 June.

The congress elected John Vanderveken as ICFTU general secretary. He had been acting general secretary since the death of Otto Kersten in 1982. P.P. Narayanan was reelected as president.

The ICFTU, which has 135 affiliates with a total membership of some 83 million, adopted major policy statements on the themes, which, according to P.P. Narayanan echoed the Confederation's motto of 'bread, peace and freedom'.

The congress resolution on trade union rights, passed unanimously, deplored the trend towards the curtailment of basic trade union and other human rights. The resolution stressed that the implementation of human rights policy would contribute to 'working for a new social and economic world order that meets the basic needs of people; to detente and disarmament, which guarantee peace and security; to the freedom to determine development and influence political, cultural and social life. Only in an environment in which fundamental human rights can be practised can a free trade union movement operate effectively'.

On the world economic situation, a congress resolution observed that 'the fragile recovery apparent in some countries would not be sustained without coordinated international measures', above all 'special measures to create jobs'.

In the resolution on peace, security and disarmament, the ICFTU congress called in particular for measures to convert arms industries to civilian production. 'Reconversion cannot be left to chance', the resolution stated, 'it needs to be

integrated in national economic and industrial policy. It requires public control and the involvement of working people. The commitment to reconversion has to be part of future disarmament agreements'.

The congress also adopted a number of resolutions on specific issues. A revised version of the ICFTU Youth Charter, which places greater emphasis on the problem of youth unemployment, was also adopted.

PORTUGAL

New government deals with economic legacy

Economic and financial austerity measures have had to be introduced by the new government led by Mario Soares, the leader of the Socialist Party (PS), to deal with the serious economic situation inherited from the previous centre-right administration defeated at the polls in April 1983.

In the elections the Socialist Party had campaigned on a platform of tough economic measures to tackle the country's problems. The PS made significant advances and obtained 101 seats in the 250-seat National Assembly. Lengthy negotiations with the second-largest party, the Social Democrats (PSD) resulted in the signing on 4 June of a coalition agreement in which the two parties proposed an eighteen-month emergency economic programme to reduce the country's trade deficit and avert a financial crisis, as well as long-term plans to modernise the economy and prepare for entry to the European Community. A joint statement issued by the PS and PSD said that the new government 'would be based on the principles of democratic socialism ready to tackle the nation's problems through reform, modernisation and social justice'.

The emergency programme was passed by the National Assembly on 24 June by 161 to 67 votes. In the debate Soares explained that the measures were designed to reduce the country's current account deficit and as well as the debt service



'Democracy today': a cry now heard not only in Chile but across Latin America

burden. Improvement in the economic situation would also depend, he said, on a reduction in domestic demand and on a stimulation of the export sector.

The 17-member cabinet, sworn in on 9 June, includes, apart from the prime minister, Mario Soares, eight Socialist ministers: Antonio Almeida Santos, state and parliamentary affairs; Eduardo Ribeiro Pereira, interior; Jaime Gama, foreign affairs; Jose Veiga Simao, industry and energy; Antonio Coimbra Martins, culture; Joao Rosado Correia, social affairs; and Carlos Melancia, maritime affairs.

CHILE

Junta under pressure

The opposition to the military regime in Chile, in the tenth year of its existence, went dramatically on the offensive. The crisis which hit other military regimes in the region also struck the Pinochet government.

Thousands of Chileans, in each of the country's main cities, joined in 'national days of protest' several times throughout 1983, demanding a rapid return to democracy. The largest and most significant of these was the protest called by the opposition coalition, the Democratic Alliance, on 18 November 1983.

Enrique Silva Cimma, president of the Radical Party, in the name of the Democratic Alliance, addressing the protest, summed up the goals of the opposition as: the resignation of general Pinochet, the establishment of a transitional government and the election of a

constitutional assembly.

The Pinochet regime has clearly been shaken by the scale and impact of these protests, and the country's accelerating economic crisis. These mounting pressures are opening new perspectives for Chile's return to democracy. Opposition groups are planning another massive protest in the country for late March 1984.

AUSTRALIA

Hawke's consensus winning

One year after the Australian Labor Party (ALP) led by Bob Hawke, scored a remarkable victory at the polls to form the government for the first time since 1975, the new prime minister's insistence on consultation and consensus has proved popular with most Australians.

The Hawke style of government became clear at the 'national economic summit' convened in April 1983, at which representatives of business, the trade unions and government reached agreement on a range of economic measures, including the resumption of centralised wage bargaining.

On the basis of the agreements made at the summit, the government was able to fulfil its commitment to create 300,000 jobs in its first year of office, including 70,000 jobs for the disabled and disadvantaged under the 'community employment programme'. Unemployment and other social benefits have been increased, and new



Steve Benbow / Network

allocations were made in the federal budget to improve the position of immigrants, aborigines and students.

One of the cornerstones of the ALP's election commitments, a national health service, was launched in February. The scheme, called Medicare, provides for an 85-percent refund on medical costs for all citizens, and will be financed by a 1-percent tax on all incomes.

The government's concern with consultation and consensus was further evidenced by the establishment of the Economic Planning Advisory Council – an independent body including representatives of unions, business, state governments and other community groups – which will advise ministers on economic-policy matters.

In a major foreign-policy initiative, the ALP government's revival of the concept of a nuclear Pacific nuclear-free zone has found widespread acceptance in the region, not least at the August 1983 meeting of the Pacific Forum (the body bringing together the thirteen independent countries of the South Pacific). The prime minister also gave substance to the ALP's long-standing commitment to strengthen Australia's ties with neighbouring countries when he visited Japan, South Korea, China, Singapore and Malaysia.

SWEDEN

Workers' funds go ahead

After a lengthy battle, new funds will be set up to strengthen investment and widen participation in Swedish industry, following the adoption by the Riksdag, by a vote of 164 to 158,

of a bill on wage-earner funds proposed by the Social Democratic (SAP) government.

Under the new law which came into force on 1 January, five regional funds will be established, each run by a nine-member board appointed by the government and including five union nominees. The funds will use money raised by a payroll levy and an excess profits tax to buy shares in Swedish companies, with each fund limited to obtaining a maximum of 8 percent of voting rights. The funds' yields will be passed on to employees through the national pension system.

The idea of collective investment funds, which will allow trade unions to gain a major stake in Swedish industry, was first suggested by Rudolf Meidner and subsequently promoted by the country's trade union confederation (LO) in the early seventies. They were incorporated into the SAP's programme for the 1982 elections, when the party, led by Olof Palme, was returned to power.

The proposals were the subject of a passionate debate in Sweden throughout 1983. The campaign against the funds, masterminded by the employers' federation, had tried to persuade the country that they would herald the end of the mixed economy and private enterprise. But the government rejected such claims as wildly exaggerated, saying that the funds would simply be a contribution to industrial democracy.

FRANCE

New press freedom guarantees

To promote pluralism of the press and provide clarity about ownership, the National Assembly on 13 February passed legislation regulating the newspaper media in France.

Under the new law, which implements and updates a decree on newspaper ownership laid down following the liberation of France in 1944, one person may own no more than three national newspapers

provided their circulation does not exceed 15 percent of total circulation of the national papers; similar constraints will apply to ownership of provincial papers. The law also stipulates the disclosure of ownership and changes of ownership, thus ensuring greater financial transparency and accountability.

In recent years France has witnessed a contraction of the number of national newspapers and a concentration of the remaining publications in a few hands.

As a further measure to maintain and develop pluralism in the press, the government has also announced a package of financial aid for small publications, whose independent status may be threatened by the new printing techniques and rising costs which fuel the process of concentration. In 1984, a sum of 5,000 million francs has been set aside for this purpose, largely in the form of preferential postal rates and rebates on liability for value-added tax.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Opposition to West's news monopoly

Information ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement appealed for a new world information and communication order in which developing countries would no longer be dominated by international news agencies based in the United States, Britain or France. Meeting in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, on 26-30 January, representatives of over sixty member countries of the Movement were agreed on the need to break the monopoly of the West in the news media.

In the declaration issued at the end of the conference the information ministers complained of 'pervasive, hostile propaganda by developed industrial countries, especially through the electronic media, against non-aligned countries'; they called on non-aligned countries not to permit 'the exploitation of their media facilities for such purposes'.

PHILIPPINES

Marcos regime weakens further

The government of President Ferdinand Marcos continues to stumble from the effects of the assassination of the former senator and prominent opposition leader Benigno Aquino on 21 August 1983.

The Marcos government has survived wave after wave of opposition protest in the months since the unresolved airport murder, and is still facing a significant decline in investment, combined with increase in pressure from international banks and foreign investors.

Elections have been scheduled for 14 May to elect a new legislature, but were ominously foreshadowed for the government by the widespread success of the opposition-organised boycott of an earlier referendum on the constitution. Although approved the referendum attracted less than 45 percent of the electorate to the polls.

Opposition groups have been divided on whether to participate in the contest, and how to organise coalitions to challenge the government. The Aquino family, now led by Benigno's younger brother Agipito, continue to organise highly visible and effective protests against the regime, focussing on the weakness of the government's explanations of the assassination. Their party, the Philippine Democratic Party, Laban, will fight the elections. The Nationalist Alliance, formed in November 1983 will not; but the United Nationalist Democratic Organisation (UNIDO) has said that it will put up candidates.

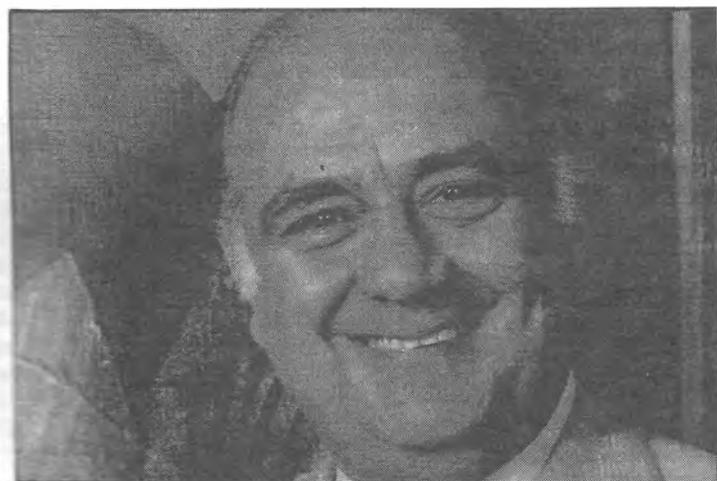
The second inquiry into the Aquino assassination has received extensive official testimony in secret which seems to point to governmental complicity in his death, which if accepted by the inquiry and publicly reported would have devastating effects for the Marcos regime both domestically and internationally.



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VENEZUELA

AD wins both presidency and in congress



Victor in Venezuela: Jaime Lusinchi

In presidential and congressional elections held in Venezuela on 4 December 1983 the Democratic Action (AD) party, an SI member, was returned to power with convincing majority support. AD had been in opposition to the Christian Social Party (COPEI) since 1978 but had maintained its position as the country's natural majority party in the intervening period.

The AD presidential candidate, Jaime Lusinchi, 59, was elected to the presidency with 56.8 percent of the votes cast, easily defeating the COPEI candidate, former president Rafael Caldera Rodriguez, who received 34.6 percent. Of the eleven other candidates, only two made any impact. These

were Teodoro Petkoff of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS), who obtained 4.2 percent; and Jose Vicente Rangel of the New Alternative coalition of left-wing formations – including the People's Electoral Movement (MEP), also affiliated to the International – who got 3.3 percent.

In the simultaneous congressional elections the AD achieved an even more decisive supremacy over COPEI, the respective percentages being 49.9 and 28.7 percent.

At his inauguration on 2 February 1984, the new Venezuelan president described the objectives of his government as combatting corruption, solving the immediate and longer-term economic crisis facing the country, and achieving a 'social pact' between state, employers and

trade unions in order to revive the economy.

The ceremony was attended by a large number of foreign dignitaries, including the presidents of Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Panama, the prime ministers of Barbados, Portugal and Spain, and the US secretary of state.

The new Venezuelan cabinet, also sworn in on 2 February, comprises the following ministers: Octavio Lepage (interior), Isidro Morales Paul (foreign affairs), Manuel Azpurua Arreaza (finance) Humberto Alcalde Alvarez (defence), Hector Hurtado (development), Ruth Lerner de Almea (education), Luis Manuel Manzanilla

(health and social welfare), Felipe Gomez Alvarez (agriculture), Simon Antoni Pavan



(labour), Juan Pedro del Moral (communications), Jose Manzo Gonzalez (justice), Arturo Hernandez Grisanti (energy and mines), Orlando Castejon (environment), Rafael Martin Guedez (urban development), Armando Duran (information and tourism), Milena Sardi (youth) Simon Alberto Consalvi (secretary to the presidency), Carlos Rafael Silva (director of the national investment fund), Luis Raul Matos (director of Cordiplan) Luis Carbonell (science) and Ignacio Iribarren Borges (culture).

A significant result arising from the many discussions held among the heads of state and government present at the inauguration of Jaime Lusinchi was the proclamation of the Declaration of Caracas on 3 February. Inspired by Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish prime minister and a vice-president of the Socialist International, the document was signed by him and seven Latin American presidents. It is intended as a first step in the development of political solidarity among the democratic governments of the region. The declaration posits representative democracy as 'the best system of political development for Latin America' and stresses solidarity as a means of avoiding foreign interference. It further expresses unconditional support for the Contadora group in its efforts to achieve peace in Central America.

The Declaration of Caracas

was signed by Raul Alfonsin, president of Argentina; Hernan Siles Zuazo, president of Bolivia; Luis Alberto Monge, president of Costa Rica; Salvador Jorge Blanco, president of the Dominican Republic; Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the junta of national reconstruction of Nicaragua; Ricardo de la Espriella, then president of Panama; and Felipe Gonzalez.

ECUADOR

Borja wins first round of elections

The leader of the Democratic Left (PID), Rodrigo Borja, won the first round of presidential elections held in Ecuador on 29



January 1984. Borja took 28.4 percent of the votes as against 27.5 percent cast for Leon Febres Cordero of the conservative Social Christian Party. Borja is thus well placed to win the run-off contest between the two leading contenders on 6 May, when it is anticipated he will receive the backing of several other political groups which have already pledged their support to him.

In the 1979 elections which ended seven years of military rule the PID had supported the populist Jaime Roldos Aguilera in the run-off vote. Following the mysterious death of Roldos in a plane crash two years later, however, PID had increasingly opposed the policies of his successor, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea of the Christian Democratic Party. A member party of the

Socialist International, PID steadily strengthened its position to become the country's best organised political party and the natural focus of the non-communist left.

In the 1984 elections the candidate of Hurtado's party, Julio Cesar Trujillo, obtained less than 3 percent of the vote. Of the other five candidates, only the centrist Angel Duarte, with 13 percent, mounted any serious challenge to the two main contenders.

DENMARK

Conservatives gain, Social Democrats hang on

The opposition Social Democratic Party fared better than ex-

Results of the Danish elections 1984 (1981)

	seats	percentage
Social Democrats	56 (59)	31.6 (32.9)
Conservatives	42 (26)	23.4 (14.4)
Liberals	21 (21)	12.1 (11.3)
Socialist People's Party	21 (20)	11.5 (11.3)
Radical Liberals	10 (9)	5.5 (5.1)
Centre Democrats	8 (15)	4.6 (8.5)
Progress Party	6 (16)	3.6 (8.9)
Christian People's Party	5 (4)	2.7 (2.3)
Left Socialists	5 (5)	2.6 (2.6)
others		2.4 (2.9)

pected in snap general elections held in Denmark on 10 January 1984. The elections were the first since the Social Democrats surrendered power to a four-party centre-right coalition in September 1982. They were called by the Conservative prime minister, Poul Schluter, after the government had failed to

secure a parliamentary majority for further economic austerity measures in the 1984 budget.

After some uncertainty arising from miscounted postal votes, the centre-right parties emerged with a one-seat overall majority in the 179-seat Folketing. The four governmental parties (Conservatives, Liberals, Centre Democrats and Christian People's Party) secured an aggregate total of only 77 seats. But they were able to count on external support from the 10 Radical Liberal members and three of the four representatives from the Faroe Islands and Greenland.

The Social Democrats, led by Anker Joergensen, remained by far the largest single party but lost 3 of the 59 seats won in 1981. The Conservatives rose from 26 to 42 seats, and the Progress Party dropped from 16 to 6 seats.

The elections were called two years early following a government defeat in parliament on 15 December 1983. Smaller opposition parties joined the Social Democrats in rejecting the extent of planned savings on welfare programmes; and the Progress Party, which demanded even harsher cuts, also voted against the government.

conservative formation) now control all 60 seats in the island's parliament. The Labour Party had come to power in October 1980, when the PNP had retained only nine seats after being in power since 1972.

The PNP boycotted the December elections because Seaga had refused to honour pledges that a new voter registration system would be introduced before a further poll. Seaga called the election, using electoral lists with thousands of dubious names to capitalise on an upsurge in his government's popularity arising from Jamaica's participation in the invasion of Grenada. As an immediate pretext Seaga used a PNP call for his resignation because he had misled the country and gave false information to the International Monetary Fund. Seaga ordered a formal 40 percent devaluation of the Jamaican dollar and accepted a forced tightening of Jamaica's credit arrangements with the IMF.

In the 'election' the Labour Party easily defeated challenges from independents in six constituencies. Now relegated to extraparliamentary opposition, the PNP has called for the avoidance of violence at all costs. Faced with a one-party parliament, the PNP has announced that a series of people's forums will be established to enable opposition views to be expressed.

JAPAN

SPJ and DSP both gain ground

Both the Socialist Party (SPJ) and the Democratic Socialists (JDSP) made significant gains in the Japanese general elections held on 18 December 1983. These and other opposition gains reduced the ruling Liberal Democrats (LDP) to minority status in the House of Representatives, although the LDP was able to continue in government on the strength of support from independents and the small New Liberal Club, (NLC).

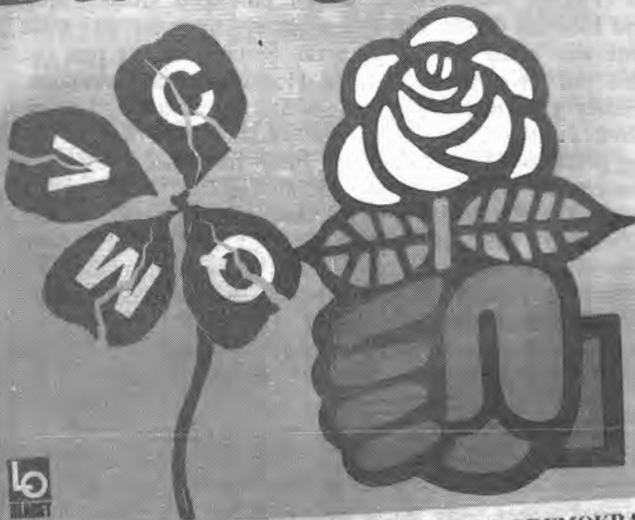
LDP prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone called the elections

JAMAICA

PNP boycotts dubious poll

The opposition People's National Party (PNP) led by Michael Manley refused to participate in a snap general election held in Jamaica on 15 December 1983. As a result Edward Seaga's ruling Jamaica Labour Party (a

Det kan gå to veje



STOP KONSERVATISMEN

Konservatism er kynisme. Det har den borgerlige regering demonstreret gennem de sidste 16 måneder. Det har indtil nu betydet:

- Stop for reguleringer af dagpenge til arbejdsløse
- Syge og efterlønsmødtagere • Indgreb i gældende overenskomster • Stop for dyrtidsregulering og taktregulering • Indførelse af kørselsdagen • Nedsættelser for alle langtidsarbejdsløse • 50.000 familier har nået fattigdomsgrænsen • Stop for ungdomsgarantien, så ikke alle unge får tilbud om uddannelse og arbejde • Flere og flere mangler lære- og praktikpladser • Voldsom og fortsat stigning i arbejdsløsheden.

STYRK SOCIALDEMOKRATIET

Kampen mod arbejdsløsheden og de sociale nedskæringer er valgets hovedspørgsmål. Derfor vil en styrkelse af Socialdemokratiet betyde:

- At arbejdsløsheden inden udgangen af dette år er nedbragt med mindst 200.000 • At der er opnået ligevægt på betalingsbalancen • At underskuddet på statens finanser er mere end halveret

De vigtigste forudsætninger for at gennemføre dette er:

- En bedre fordeling af arbejdet og en nedsættelse af arbejdstiden til 35 timer • En flerårig socialt retfærdig indkomstpøik, der kan styrke konkurrenceevnen • En langt stærkere direkte indsats for produktion og investeringer i nye arbejdspladser.

du har valget d. 10.



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK ELECTIONS

Results of the Japanese elections (1983) (1980) (at dissolution)

	seats	percentage
Liberal Democrats (LDP)	250 (284) (286)	45.8 (47.9)
Socialists (SPJ)	112 (107) (101)	19.5 (19.3)
Clean Government Party (Komeito)	58 (33) (34)	10.1 (9.0)
Democratic Socialists (JDSP)	38 (32) (31)	7.3 (6.6)
Communists (JCP)	26 (29) (29)	9.3 (9.8)
New Liberal Club (NLC)	8 (12) (10)	2.4 (3.0)
Social Democrats (Shaminren)	3 (3) (3)	0.7 (0.7)
others	16 (11) (4)	4.9 (3.7)
vacant	(13)	

six months ahead of schedule after a lengthy political crisis involving an opposition boycott of parliament. The boycott was called in protest at the refusal of former premier Kakuei Tanaka (LDP) to resign his seat despite being convicted on 12 October of accepting bribes from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Government and opposition parties reached a compromise involving the passage of outstanding legislation in return for the establishment of a parliamentary ethics committee and the holding of early elections.

The SPJ was led in the elections by Masashi Ishibashi, the former party secretary-general, who had succeeded Ichio Asukata, a vice-president of the Socialist International, as chairman in September 1983. Marginally increasing its percentage share, the SPJ collected over 11 million votes and 112 seats in the 511-seat House of Representatives, 5 more than in the previous general elections in 1980. The party thus reversed a ten-year decline in its support. The JDSP also did well, topping 4 millions in the popular vote and gaining 6 additional seats.

SWITZERLAND

Small gains by right

The Swiss Social Democratic Party (SPS) lost its position as the country's strongest political formation in general elections held on 23 October 1983. In a slight trend to the right, SPS representation in the 200-seat lower house fell from 51 to 47, while the Radical Democrats emerged with 54 seats and thus

outpolled the SPS for the first time since 1926.

The other two major formations, the Christian Democrats (CVP) and the Swiss People's Party (SVP), both showed little change. But among the small parties some success was registered by the Greens and also by the anti-immigrant National Action (NA) party fighting in alliance with the Republican Movement. The elections were particularly bad for the (communist) Party of Labour (PdA),

Results of the Swiss elections 1983 (1979)

	seats	percentage
Radical Democrats (FDP)	54 (51)	23.4 (24.1)
Social Democrats (SPS)	47 (51)	22.8 (24.4)
Christian People's Party (CVP)	42 (44)	20.2 (21.5)
Swiss People's Party (SVP)	23 (23)	11.1 (11.6)
Independents (LdU)	8 (8)	4.0 (4.1)
National Action/Republican Movement	5 (3)	3.5 (1.9)
Progressives (POCH/PSA)	4 (3)	2.2 (1.7)
Evangelical People's Party (EVP)	3 (3)	2.1 (2.2)
Greens	3 (1)	2.9 (.8)
Party of Labour (PdA)	1 (3)	0.9 (2.1)
others	2 (2)	4.0 (2.8)

which lost two-thirds of its representation.

In an election characterised by a substantial degree of political stability the Independents' Party (LdU) and the Swiss Liberal Party (LPS) maintained their representation at eight seats, while the Evangelical People's Party (EVP), as in the last elections in 1979, won three seats. Fighting the elections in tandem, the leftist Progressive Organizations of Switzerland (POCH) and the Autonomous Socialist Party (PSA) increased their seat total from three to four.

ITALY

Craxi wins prime ministership

Bettino Craxi became Italy's first Socialist prime minister for a generation on 4 August 1983, when he formed a five-party coalition with the Christian Democrats (DC), Democratic Socialists (PSDI), Republicans (PRI) and Liberals (PLI). Craxi's ascent was confirmed following his party's appreciable gains in early general elections held on 26-27 June.

Having precipitated the electoral contest by withdrawing from the previous DC-led four-party coalition, the PSI increased its share of the vote to 11.4 percent in the Chamber elections and its seat total to 73 out of 630, from 9.8 percent and 62 seats in 1979. The PSDI also gained ground in the lower house elections, taking 4.1 percent and 23 seats compared with 3.8 percent and 20 seats in 1979.

The biggest losers were the



Prime minister: Bettino Craxi signs coalition agreement

Christian Democrats, who slumped from 38.3 to 32.9 percent and from 262 seats to 225. The Italian Communist Party (PCI) also fared badly, slipping below the 30 percent level of popular support and losing three of its 201 seats. The neofascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) won 6.8 percent of the vote and 42 seats, gains of 1.5 percent and 12 seats respectively.

A similar pattern of gains and losses emerged from simultaneous elections for 315 seats in the Senate, except that the PSDI lost ground in this contest. Regional, provincial and municipal elections also held on 26-27 June likewise showed a general trend in favour of the PSI and against the DC, whereas the PCI vote in these local contests showed considerable resilience and even increased in some cases.

Asked by President Pertini to form a government on 21 July, Craxi quickly put together a five-party coalition commanding a substantial parliamentary majority. Italy's 44th government since the second world war

Results of the Italian elections 1983 (1979)

	seats	percentage
Christian Democrats (DC)	225 (262)	32.9 (38.3)
Communists (PCI)	198 (201)	29.9 (30.4)
Socialists (PSI)	73 (62)	11.4 (9.8)
Social Movement (MSI)	42 (30)	6.8 (5.3)
Republicans	29 (16)	5.1 (3.0)
Democratic Socialists (PSDI)	23 (20)	4.1 (3.8)
Liberals	16 (9)	2.9 (1.9)
Radicals	11 (18)	2.2 (3.4)
Proletarian Democrats	7	1.5
others	6 (12)	3.2 (4.1)



municipal election in Naples, which had been ruled since 1975 by a Communist-led coalition, also including the PSI and the PSDI. The results showed a five-point decline in Communist support compared with the last such election in 1980, although with 27 percent the party remained the strongest single formation. The Christian Democrats also suffered erosion of their 1980 share (declining one point to 24 percent), but were slightly up on their June 1983 general election percentage. The neo-fascist Italian Social Movement also lost ground in its political stronghold, although it remained the third party in Naples with 21 percent. In contrast, the PSI vote in Naples climbed three points to over 10 percent.

UNITED KINGDOM

Tories lose votes and gain bigger majority

The ruling Conservative Party lost nearly 700,000 votes in the UK general election held on 9 June 1983, when its share of the poll fell to 42.4 percent compared with 43.9 percent in May 1979. Nevertheless, Britain's constituency-based 'first-past-the-post' electoral system enabled Margaret Thatcher's party to secure a further term of office with a greatly increased parliamentary majority. In the new 650-member House of Commons the Conservatives command a majority of 144 seats over all other parties, as against an overall lead of 94 seats in the previous 635-member House at dissolution.

For the opposition Labour Party led by Michael Foot, the general election result represented a decisive defeat. Whereas the Conservative seat total climbed from 339 in 1979 and 397 in the new House, Labour's vote fell to 27.6 percent and to 205 seats as against 268 in 1979 and 238 at dissolution.

Not far behind Labour in terms of popular support came the alliance of the Liberal and Social Democratic (SDP) parties, which together obtained 25.4 percent of the vote but only

Results of the United Kingdom elections 1983 (1979) (at dissolution)

	seats	percentage
Conservatives	397 (339) (332)	42.4 (43.9)
Labour	209 (268) (238)	27.6 (36.9)
Liberals	17 (11) (13)	25.4 (13.8)
Social Democrats (SDP)	6 - (29)	-
others	21* (17) (21)	
vacant	(2)	

*Parties which gained seats in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales



Talking for the future: Michael Foot

23 seats in aggregate, after enjoying a combined strength of 42 at dissolution. Of the two partners, the Liberals fared the better under the first-past-the-post system by increasing their strength from 13 to 17; the SDP saw its representation slashed from 29 members to 6.

The Scottish National Party (SNP) and the Welsh nationalists (Plaid Cymru) retained two seats each. In the 17 Northern Ireland seats, the various Unionist parties won 15; the SI's member party in the province, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) won one seat when its leader John Hume was reelected with a comfortable majority. Provisional Sinn Fein (the political wing of the IRA) also won one seat.

Michael Foot and the Labour Party sought to persuade voters that Labour's programme, set out in a manifesto entitled 'The New Hope for Britain', represented a viable plan for arresting economic decline and initiating the process of recovery. The manifesto included in particular a 12-point emergency action programme, pledging a Labour government to launch immediately a massive programme

of economic expansion and job-creation with the aim of reducing unemployment to below 1 million over the five-year legislative term.

MAURITIUS

Ramgoolam makes political comeback

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam of the Mauritius Labour Party made a political comeback in general elections held on 21 August, following his defeat in the June 1982 elections. The 84-year-old former prime minister was one of seven Labour candidates elected within a victorious three-party alliance led by prime minister Aneerood Jugnauth. With his alliance winning 41 of the 62 elective seats against 21 for the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), Jugnauth is set for a further term as government head.

The elections were precipitated by the collapse of the previous MMM-led government in March 1983, when finance minister Paul Berenger and 11 other ministers resigned. Berenger

was sworn in on 4 August, with the PSI leader as prime minister and with five other Socialists obtaining ministerial portfolios. These are Francesco Forte (European Community policy), Claudio Signorile (transport), Gianni De Michelis (labour), Nicola Capria (foreign trade) and Lelio Lagorio (tourism).

The three PSDI members of the new government include the party leader, Pietro Longo, who took the budget portfolio, Pier Luigi Romita (regions) and Franco Nicolazzi (public works).

Government passes local test

The PSI registered a satisfactory performance in partial regional and municipal elections held on 20-21 November 1983. Involving nearly 2 million voters, the contests were the first major electoral test for the five-party centre-left coalition government which came to power under Bettino Craxi (PSI) after the June 1983 general elections.

Voting for a new regional council in Trentino-Alto Adige in the north resulted in the PSI obtaining 6.7 percent compared with 6.3 percent in 1978. The Christian Democrats lost more than three percentage points of their 30.4 percent share in 1978, but were only marginally down on their June 1983 performance in the province. While the German-speaking South Tirol People's Party increased its share to 33.7 percent, the Communists lost ground, polling 8.3 percent compared with 11.1 percent in the region in June 1983 and 8.9 percent in the last regional election.

Most interest centred on the

Popperfoto

Andrew Ward / Report

resumed the leadership of the MMM (founded by him in 1970) and expelled Jugnauth and his followers, who then formed the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM).

Forced by his minority parliamentary position to call early elections, Jugnauth moved quickly to establish an alliance between his own MSM, Ramgoolam's Labour Party and the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD).

In the August 1983 elections the Jugnauth coalition obtained around 51 percent of the popular vote (against 44 percent for the MMM), with the MSM taking 30 seats, the Labour Party seven and the PMSD four. MMM casualties included Berenger himself.

The new government has promised that Mauritius will become a republic within the Commonwealth, with a president as head of state instead of the British monarch. Under the alliance agreement, Ramgoolam is earmarked for the presidential post in recognition of his political leadership over two decades before and after independence in 1967.

SAN MARINO

Left retains power

In general elections to the 60-seat Grand and General Council of San Marino held on 29 May 1983 the left-wing coalition of Communists, Socialists and the Socialist Unity Party (PSU) retained an overall majority. The coalition had been in power since 1978, after overturning the long post-war domination of the Christian Democrats.

In the 1983 elections the three left-wing parties increased their aggregate representation from 31 to 32 seats, thanks to gains by the PSU (a member party of the Socialist International) and the Socialists. The Communists lost one of their 16 seats, while the Christian Democrats again won 26 seats.

As a result of the elections the composition of the Council became as follows: Christian Democrats 26 seats (26 previously), Communists 15 (16),

Socialists 9 (8), PSU 8 (7), Social Democracy 1 (2), other 1 (1).

PERU

APRA shakes Belaunde

The Peruvian electorate delivered a severe rebuff to the government of President Belaunde in nation-wide municipal elections held on 13 November 1983. Having dominated the 1980 presidential and municipal elections, Belaunde's Popular Action (AP) party found itself in retreat on all fronts. In the vanguard of the opposition advance was the new SI member party, the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA) led by Alan Garcia.

Across the country the results showed a virtual landslide to APRA not only in its traditional strongholds but also in towns where it had not previously been strong. The outcome has led to forecasts of an APRA victory in the 1985 presidential elections, based in part on projections that the distribution of votes on 13 November would, if repeated in congressional elections, give Peru's largest opposition party a majority.

In the capital, the government party also suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the United Left (IU) led by Alfonso Barrantes, who became Lima's first marxist mayor. The IU list won 35 percent of the vote, followed by APRA with 28 percent, with the parties of the present national coalition - AP and the Popular Christian Party - managing only 11 and 20 percent respectively.

ISRAEL

Labour advances locally

The opposition Labour Alignment achieved a 5 percent advance in country-wide municipal elections held in Israel on 25 October 1983. Coming less than three weeks after Itzhak Shamir had replaced Menahem Begin as prime minister, the polls were regarded as a test of voting intentions in the next

general elections. In this context, the outcome was described by Labour Party leader Shimon Peres as 'the start of an about-turn in the electorate'.

In a turn-out of less than 50 percent, the Alignment of the Labour Party and Mapam captured 14 additional municipal councils, bringing its national total to 54 out of 147. Labour retained control of Jerusalem and Haifa, but Israel's largest city, Tel Aviv, remained under Likud rule.

NORWAY

Labour's local gains

The opposition Norwegian Labour Party (DNA) made a strong advance in local elections held on 13 September, increasing its share of the vote by two percentage points compared with the 1981 general election result. With 39.4 percent of the vote going to Labour and a further 5.2 percent to the Socialist Left Party, the left made substantial overall gains at the expense of the ruling centre-right parties, although Thorvald Stoltenberg, chairman of the DNA international committee, narrowly failed to secure election as mayor of Oslo.

In a 67.6 percent turnout, the biggest losers were the Conservatives, who currently head Norway's ruling coalition but who dropped from 31.6 to 26.1 percent. The outcome was widely regarded as a rejection by the electorate of the government's economic austerity programme.

SPAIN

Terror overshadows Basque poll

The election campaign for the Basque regional parliament took a tragic turn with the murder of Enrique Casas Villa, the leading candidate of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) in Guizpuzcoa province and a senator in the Madrid national parliament. He was murdered by a militant offshoot of the ETA separatist organisation on 23

February, three days before the poll.

In the elections of 26 February PSOE increased its representation in the new 75-seat parliament to 19, up from 9 in the smaller 60-seat body elected in 1980. Observers described the party's major gains, and the unexpectedly high turn out of 68 percent, as a reaction against the murder of Casas and other terrorist acts committed by ETA during the campaign.

The governing Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) also increased its representation, from 25 to 32. The Popular Alliance (AP), the conservative opposition party nationally, obtained 8 seats.

The separatist Popular Unity (HB) party - considered the political wing of ETA - could not improve on its number of seats in the enlarged parliament, remaining at 11. The Basque Left (EE) lost 1 seat and now holds 6.

AUSTRALIA

Some gain, and pain, for ALP

The ruling Australian Labour Party (ALP) experienced mixed fortunes in a series of partial elections held in late 1983 and early 1984. In polling for the Queensland state legislature on 22 October the ALP made a substantial advance, although not enough to end the long-standing dominance of the National Party. Six weeks later the ALP lost ground in elections for the Northern Territory assembly, while in a series of three federal by-elections held on 18 February there was a small overall swing against the government.

In the Queensland election, caused by the collapse of the National-Liberal coalition which had ruled the state since 1957, the ALP won 32 of the 82 seats, a gain of seven, and secured 44 percent of the first-preference vote. Nevertheless, the National Party, with only 39 percent of the vote, won 41 seats and subsequently attracted two Liberal deserters into its ranks. Queensland's veteran

premier, Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, was thus returned for a further term with an overall National Party majority.

The contest for the enlarged 25-member Northern Territory assembly on 3 December saw a 12 percent swing to the Liberals, who took 19 seats against only six for the ALP. In the previous assembly the ALP had held seven seats to the Liberals' 11.

In the federal byelections of 18 February all three seats were retained by the incumbent parties, including Hughes in New South Wales, which was won for the ALP by Bob Tickner. The other two seats were retained by the federal opposition parties, in an overall swing against the government of about 3 percent.

FEDERAL GERMANY

SPD advances in Hesse and Bremen

The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) made significant advances in state elections held in Hesse and Bremen on 25 September 1983. The polls were the first major electoral test for the Federal German parties since the defeat of the SPD in the March 1983 federal elections.

In Hesse the SPD increased its representation in the 110-member state parliament from 49 to 51 seats, becoming the largest single party for the first time since 1974. The Christian Democrats (CDU) slumped from 52 to 44 seats, while the Free Democrats (FDP) re-entered parliament with eight seats. The position of the minority SPD administration led by Holger Börner thus became more secure.

In the elections for the parliament of the city-state of Bremen the SPD increased its absolute majority, winning 58 of the 100 seats compared with 52 in 1979. The CDU also gained ground (from 33 to 37 seats), largely because of a massive switch of support from the FDP, which failed to achieve the minimum of 5 percent necessary for representation. The other five seats in Bremen were won by a Green list.

ARGENTINA

Return to civilian rule

Seven years of military rule effectively came to an end in Argentina on 30 October 1983 when general elections were held for a new civilian administration. The years of struggle by Argentine democrats for a return to civilian rule were given additional impetus by the poor performance of the military leadership in the 1982 war with Britain over the Falkland/Malvinas islands. Also important was increasing disquiet over the conduct of the so-called 'dirty war' against internal dissidents, tens of thousands of whom had disappeared during the period of military dictatorship.

The elections resulted in a convincing victory for the centre-left Radical Civic Union (UCR), whose presidential candidate, Raul Alfonsín Foulkes, helped the party to win an outright majority of 50.5 percent of the popular vote. Trailing in second place was the peronist Justicialist Party led by Italo Luder, which could only manage 39.1 percent notwithstanding predictions that it would repeat its 1973 victory over the UCR.

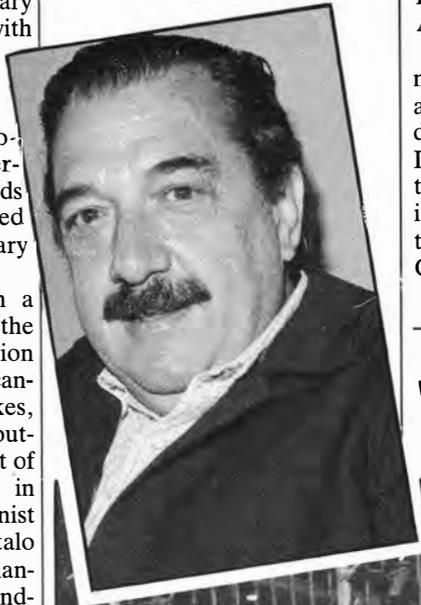
From among the 300 political formations currently active in Argentina, nine other coalitions emerged with presidential candidates. Of these the most significant were the leftist Intransigent Party (PI) led by Oscar Alende and the centrist Movement for Integration and Development (MID), whose presidential hopeful was Rogelio Frigerio. The results showed that the PI had obtained 2.5 percent of the vote and the MID 1.2 percent.

Presidential candidates were also presented by the Communist Party, the Christian Democrats, the Labour Party (a trotskyite formation), the Popular Socialist Party, the Movement to Socialism, the Federal Alliance and the Democratic Leftist Front. Incorporating a broad range of leftist and other groupings, these alliances made little impact with the Argentinian

electorate.

In the Chamber of Deputies the UCR obtained 129 seats against 111 for the Justicialist Party and three for the PI. In the Senate, however, the peronists took 24 seats compared with 16 for the UCR, while in the contests for provincial governorships, the peronists also did well, winning eleven against seven for the UCR.

Raul Alfonsín was inaugur-



ated as president of Argentina on 10 December, together with his running-mate Victor Martínez as vice-president. The three-man military junta had dissolved itself five days earlier, and during the interval General Bignone served as provisional president.

The new cabinet, also sworn in on 10 December, includes Antonio Troccoli (interior), Bernardo Grinspun (economy), Dante Caputo (foreign affairs), Raul Borrás (defence) and Antonio Mucci (labour).

Early in 1984, the new government launched a campaign against the perpetrators of crimes during the so-called 'dirty war'. In the first few weeks of investigations, several former Argentinian military leaders were arrested, including General Leopoldo Galtieri.

A new era in Argentina: victory for Raul Alfonsín (inset) and the Radical Party



ILA / Gamma

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Til kamp
for velferds-
samfundet

F. SIMONSEN