Council debates disarmament, environment

'Economy and the Environment' was the main theme of the meeting of the Socialist International Council (formerly called the Bureau) in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, on 16-17 October. But despite the importance of this topic, and the challenges it poses to democratic socialists, it was perhaps inevitable that a second main theme pushed itself to the fore and overshadowed it somewhat: the outcome of the Reykjavik summit meeting.

The summit — officially a preparatory meeting — between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States in the Icelandic capital ended in apparent deadlock on 12 October, only two days before delegates began to gather in Bonn for eve-of-council committee meetings. The dramatic effect of Reykjavik was still very much felt, and it was only enhanced by the fact that the summit had been arranged, staged and completed within a two-week period and that its outcome was still not entirely clear.

Not surprisingly, then, the media seized on the Council's disarmament resolution and the resolution adopted by the leaders of the European member parties of the SI on 15 October. The extent of the coverage, in particular, of the International's views suggests that it is not too far-fetched to speak, as some delegates did, of the SI as a 'third force' in disarmament and security questions. In any case, the SI has consistently been able to approach and appeal to both superpowers.

'The Reykjavik meeting ... failed because of dissent concerning the strategic defence initiative (SDI)’ was the SI's clear verdict. "But the meeting showed the prospects of significant steps in the field of disarmament. We should therefore work for implementing the understandings that were at hand in Reykjavik, in keeping with the ... objectives of preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth.'

The resolution adopted by the Council (with the French Socialist Party, PS, abstaining) goes on to urge the superpowers at least to find solutions to the problems that are not directly linked to agreements on strategic systems, in particular on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The understandings reached in Reykjavik before the talks collapsed also showed that 'the time is ripe' for a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing and for reaching agreements on effective means of verification of arms-control measures, such as on-site inspection.

(For the full text of the resolution, see Documents, page 28).

Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), noted that many of the ideas advocated by the SI for some time — an initial 50-per-cent reduction in nuclear arsenals, a comprehensive test ban, on-site inspection — were all gaining ground. And even if nothing was agreed in Reykjavik, these ideas were at least being discussed.

Willy Brandt, Kalevi Sorsa, Neil Kinnock
Although we could not be satisfied with development so far, Sorsa said, ‘We social democrats ... being both pragmatists and utopians, adopt a step-by-step approach, with general and complete disarmament under effective international control as the ultimate objective’.

The momentum must be kept up, he added. Agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces, for instance, combined with certain confidence-building measures in Europe, could open up the way for concrete results in the tactical nuclear and conventional field to an extent undreamed of some time ago.

Other agenda items
In addition to the main theme and disarmament and European security questions, the other main political issues discussed at the meeting were the situations in Chile and Southern Africa (see below).

The Council also adopted a short statement on El Salvador, mentioning the need for material aid and appealing to the Duarte government to agree to a ceasefire, at least during the period immediately following the earthquake which struck San Salvador on 10 October (for full text, see Documents, page 29).

Guillermo Ungo, the leader of National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), described the situation in his country as ‘disastrous’. The earthquake had exacerbated the crisis of his people, which was already suffering the ravages of civil war -with the government and army unwilling to enter into negotiations with the left-wing opposition.

The Council also heard reports from the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP), the Middle East Committee (SIMEC) and the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation (APSO) on their activities.

SICEP, which had met on 15 October, reported on follow-up work on the Action Programme adopted by the Lima Congress in June (see SINews 3/86) and on plans for future activities in connection with the major items on the 1987 international economic agenda, such as the GATT negotiations on tariffs and trade, the economic summit of the western industrialised nations, and the IMF and World Bank annual meetings.

Ten years since Geneva
No less than twenty-five party leaders and fourteen SI vice-presidents were present at the Council’s public opening session on the morning of 16 October.

In what was one of the largest SI Bureau/Council meetings ever, nearly two hundred delegates, observers and guests had responded to the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

The speakers at the public session were Johannes Rau, the SPD’s candidate for the chancellorship in next January’s election, the premier of North-Rhine Westphalia and a vice-chair of the party; Felipe González, the Spanish prime minister and general secretary of the Spanish Socialists Workers’ Party (PSOE); and Neil Kinnock, the leader of the British Labour Party, who introduced the main theme.

Referring to the forthcoming tenth anniversary of the election of Willy Brandt as president of the SI (on 26 November), both Rau and González praised Brandt for his untiring efforts in the service of the International, above all for ‘bringing the message of socialism to countries and continent beyond Europe’, as González put it. It was thanks in large part to the president that the International had since the 1976 Geneva Congress not only increased its membership but also broken out of its euro-centrism, they said.

Rau, anticipating the discussion of the meeting’s main theme, dealt with the inter-relationship between ecology and economy in his overview of the major tasks confronting democratic socialists today. Despite the serious and undeniable problems, he was optimistic: ‘Future products would be characterised by the conservation of raw materials and energy, by safety and ecological standards’. This

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**List of participants**

**SI Council meeting**

**Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany**

**16-17 October 1986**

**Socialist International**

Willy Brandt
Peri Nielaninen
Luis Ayala

**Member Parties**

**Austria**
Socialist Party of Austria, SPD
Bruno Kreisky
Fritz Marsch
Ewald Nowotny
Lali Kauer

**Belgium**
Socialist Party, PS
Etienne Godin
Fredy Joris

**Belgium**
Socialist Party, SP
Karel van Miert
Oscar Debunne

**Canada**
New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD
Howard Pawley
Testa Hebb

**Chile**
Radical Party of Chile, PR
Enrique Silva Cimma

**Costa Rica**
National Liberation Party, PLN
Rolando Ariay

**Denmark**
Social Democratic Party
Arne Jorgensen
Stein Christensen
Lasse Buutz
Ejor Hovgaard Christensen

**Dominican Republic**
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD
José Francisco Peña Gómez
Milagros Ortese Bach

**El Salvador**
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Guillermo Ungo
Hector Oqueli

**Finland**
Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
Kalevi Sorsa
Erkki Liikanen

**France**
Socialist Party, PS
Louis le Penes
Axel Queval
Jean-Bernard Cural

**Germany, Federal Republic**
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Johannes Rau
Hans Koschmich
Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul
Egon Bahr
Hans Ehrmann
Uwe Hoitz
Rudolf Dressler
Karsten Vogt
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski
Hans-Eberhard Dingels

**Great Britain**
The Labour Party
Neil Kinnock
Jenny Little

**Guatemala**
Democratic Socialists of Guatemala, PSD
Mario Solórzano Martínez
Floridiana Teles

**Ireland**
The Labour Party
Tony Kinsella

**Israel**
Labour Party
Avraham Hatzamari
Avish Lapinski

**Italy**
Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSI
Antonio Carello

**Japan**
Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Eichi Nagasue
Edo Ito
Ichiro Hashimoto
Sachiko Taguchi
Hisashi Endo
Kiyoshi Hasagawa
Setsuo Hosomi
Shihei Misawa
Mori Nagasue

**Labour Party, PS**
Neil Kinnock

**Lebanon**
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP
Doureid Yaghfi

**Luxembourg**
Luxembourg Socialist Workers’ Party, LSAP/PSOL
Ben Fayot

**Malta**
Malta Labour Party
Leo Brincat

**Netherlands**
Labour Party, PvdA
Wim Kok
Jan Pronk
Eveline Herfkens
Maarten van Traa

**Norway**
Norwegian Labour Party, DNT
Reule Steen
Thordal Stobne

**Paraguay**
Farabeesita Revolutionary Party, PRP
Fernando Vera

**Portugal**
Socialist Party, PS
Vítor Constante
Manuel Tito de Morales
Jorge Sampaio

**Spain**
Socialist Party of Spain, PSOE
Jorge Sampaio

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represented a great technological and industrial challenge, and a
great opportunity for the
member parties of the SI,
because such problems could not be solved by individual countries,
but only through an exchange of
opinions at international level
and agreements on joint action.

Similarly, although the
problems facing humanity in
West and East, North and
South, were enormous, they
could be overcome if strength
and abilities were pooled.

Freedom from hunger and
misery were among the most
elementary human rights, he
continued, but instead of fight-
ning hunger we were using our
economic strength to pay for
new arms programmes, even in
space. Democratic socialists
'should not and will not' support
this. The worldwide superabun-
dance of arms simply could not
be justified on grounds of
security, economics or ethics, he
concluded.

Ten years, Felipe González
reflected in his contribution, was
a long time. He recalled that he
had been introduced as a
member of an underground
organisation at the Geneva
Congress. Since then, demo-
cratic rule had returned to Spain,
and 'not since the nineteenth
decades by extending its co-
operation and relations with
European countries, and it was
now a member of the European
Community and the North
Atlantic alliance.

But as his country reestab-
lished its traditional links with
Latin America, González said
he had become aware of a lesson
for the democratic left in
Europe. There was great uni-
formity of approach, inspiration
and orientation in Latin
America, and no two continents
had more in common than Latin
America and Europe. So 'it
would be to Europe's geopoliti-
cal advantage to take a keener
and more committed interest in
Latin America'.

Towards a socialist
environmental policy
Neil Kinnock introduced the
main theme of the Council
meeting with a maxim which, he
said, must be the socialist watch-
word: 'We do not inherit the
earth; we borrow it from our
children'.

He went on to outline four
basic principles which should
guide democratic socialists on
questions relating to growth and
the environment:
- the right of all people to a
decency to live;
- the maintenance and enhance-
ment of the standard of life by
the free and active participation
of all;
- refusal to accept double
standards, either in quantity or
quality (he mentioned by way of
eample the marketing of
dubious pharmaceuticals for the
world's poor, the stripping of
the earth for minerals or
precious wood, and the hoarding
of foodstuffs in parts of the
world that already had more than
enough); and
- the rejection of the illusion
that in the past lives were simple,
contented and pollution-free
(whereas it had been in reality a
nightmare of poverty, ignorance
and early death for countless
millions).

Democratic socialists had
striven for over a century 'to
demonstrate and cleanse and
protect for all'. In the present
decade, we were recognising fur-
ther horizons, and so developing
policies and practices concerning
the wider environment in which
we lived. This, however, re-
quired a significant shift of
perception.

The challenge facing democ-
ratists now, he said, was to
find the balance between
maintaining an industrial society
and preserving an environment,
to show how the process of
growth is compatible with the
preservation of our environment
and how growth could be

San Marino
Uratarian Socialist Party,

USA
PSU
Patricia Busignani
Emma Rossi

Senegal
Socialist Party of Senegal
Dibo Ka
Mamadou Faye
Caroline Diop

Spain
Spanish Socialist Workers’

Parties, PSOE
Felipe González
Elena Pons
Francisco Fernández Marugán
Rafael Estrella

Sweden
Swedish Social Democratic
Party, SAP
Ingvar Carlsson
Bo Toresson
Birgitta Dahl
Anita Gradin
Gunmar Slenar
Conny Fredriksson

Switzerland
Social Democratic Party of
Switzerland
Lilian Uchtenhagen
Heinrich Buchänder

USA
Democratic Socialists of
America, DSA
Michael Harrington

Venezuela
Democratic Action, AD
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Beatrice Rangel
Renaldo Figueredo
Esther Essayag

Consultative Parties

Bolivia
Revolutionary Left Move-
ment, MIR
Jaime Paz Zamora
Jaime Lazcano

Brazil
Democratic Left Party, PDT
Miguel Bodeia

Cyprus
EDEK Socialist Party
Andreas Fyckas

Panama
Democratic Revolutionary
Party, PRD
Carlos Oquera
Nils Castro

Peru
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
Carlos Rocca Caceres
Hugo Otero Llanarotti
Gustavo Saberbein

Puerto Rico
Puerto Rico Independence
Party, PIP
Fernando Martín

St Lucia
Progressive Labour Party of
St Lucia, PLP

Turkey
Social Democratic Populist
Party, SPP
Erdal İnodü
Yakup Keşepenk
Enver Özzan

Fraternal Organisations

IFM/SEI
International Falcon
Movement / Socialist
Educational International
Werner Ley
Harald Esser

IUSY
International Union of
Socialist Youth
Joan Calabuig
Dirk Drötkoms
Petra Günther

SIW
Socialist International
Women
Maria Rodríguez-Jonas
Ingrid Bergander

Associated Organisations

CSPEC
Confederation of the
Socialist Parties of the
European Community
Mauro Gallombardo
Linda McAvan

European Parliament
Socialist Group
Rudi Arndt
Paolo Falcione
Henri Saby
Dick Toomstra

LSU/CIS
Labour Sports International
Maurice Deveen

SUCCE
Socialist Union of Central
and Eastern Europe
Andor Bőczi-Góda
Bruno Kalhins
Bytautas Bielyts
Andreas Bielyts
Sandro Georgely
Johannes Mikelson
Marko Milunović-Piper
Myklos Pelyves
Tadeusz Prasókowicz
Hans Raudsepp
Vihtis Zalakains
Grirts Zegners

Guests

ANC
Reg September
Tony Seidat

Argentina
Mesa de Unidad Socialista
Héctor Cavallo

Greece
PASOK
Perikles Nearchou

Honduras
MOLIDER
Jorge Arturo Reina

Korea, Republic of
Social Democratic Party
Kim Chul

Morocco
USFP
At Kaddour

Nicaragua
PSLN
Samuel Santos
Hernán Estrada

Philippines
PDSP
Norberto González

Tunisia
MUP
Aziz Kader Zouari
Hichem Safi

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achieved in a world where higher environmental standards are widely demanded.'

Faced with realities of the world—the starkest of which was the fact that 800 million people were living in absolute poverty—socialists could provide only one answer, more growth. 'But this growth must be better planned, pursued, produced and distributed.'

Conservatives in all parts of the world were not responding to the most serious threats to the environment, he said, since protection of the environment carried with it costs which the purely market economy was reluctant to meet. And the response of the green movement was almost as inadequate as that of the conservatives because their resistance to industrial growth subverted their whole analysis.

In conclusion, he said that as democratic socialists we must set ourselves three tasks:
- to implement environmental impact analysis, whereby environmental considerations must be integrated into transport planning, decisions on infrastructure, industrial and agricultural development and housing accommodation;
- to cleanse the process of industrial production by the best available technological means; and
- to recognise that high environmental standards are being progressively supported by effective consumer demand.

The application of such ideas, he continued, was derived from basic socialist principles, the most important of which was that 'governments and peoples must show solidarity with each other in protecting the natural world, which is the common heritage of all'.

International framework
These themes were echoed by Birgitta Dahl (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP). Ideologically, environmental issues were basically a problem of 'fair shares for all', she said, and therefore a question of solidarity between the peoples of the world and of solidarity with future generations.

In what was neither the first nor the last reference to Chernobyl at the meeting, she pointed out that the accident at the Soviet nuclear reactor in April had clearly demonstrated the international transboundary effects of environmental pollution. (As the minister responsible for dealing with its consequences for Sweden, Dahl had had first-hand experience of dealing with the fallout of Chernobyl, both radioactive and political.)

Democratic socialists must take a united stand on demands and practical solutions based on advanced technology that combine environmental demands with demands for work and social welfare. The problem of our time, she reminded the meeting, was not lack of knowledge but 'lack of political determination to secure the introduction of new technologies already available for a more economical use of natural resources and for cleaning up the environment'. It was our responsibility to bridge the gap between present and future generations to use our knowledge and power to achieve a change of direction.

Dahl, who was subsequently elected chair of the expanded Committee on Acid Rain (SICAR), renamed the Committee on the Environment, put forward a number of proposals on which the new committee could act soon. For one, it should undertake to examine the international transboundary effects of Chernobyl. (For full text, see Documents, page 29).

On the international level, Silva Cimma stressed the importance of isolating the Pinochet regime and the need for increased pressure on the military to give way to democratic rule.

The resolution on Chile adopted by the Council demands the lifting of the state of siege, the restoration of fundamental freedoms, the respect of human rights, immediate freedom for the media, and the restoration of democracy through free and guaranteed elections. It also reiterates the SI's support for a peaceful transition to democracy and its rejection of terrorism or violence, 'which lead to the polarisation of Chilean society and which the Chilean people reject'.

Action on human rights
How the international community should react to the serious violations of basic human rights in Chile and Southern Africa provided the common link in the debates on the second day of the meeting.

Several members of the SI mission which visited Chile earlier in October (see page 26) reported that the situation in that country had deteriorated greatly since the declaration of a state of siege in September.

Endorsing this view, Enrique Silva Cimma, the leader of the Radical Party of Chile (PR), said that under present conditions it was not possible for the Democratic Alliance of left and centre parties (of which he is president at the moment) to enter into political negotiations with the military on a return to democracy.

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On the international level, Silva Cimma stressed the importance of isolating the Pinochet regime and the need for increased pressure on the military to give way to democratic rule.

The Council called for a suspension of loans to Chile from international financial institutions, as recommended by the mission.

(The executive board of the World Bank eventually granted—with an unprecedented number of abstentions and negative votes—a structural adjustment loan of 250 million US dollars to the Chilean government on 20 November.)

In the debate on Southern Africa, Reg September, the...
representative of the African National Congress (ANC) at the Council meeting, described in detail the deteriorating situation in his country, referring to the Council meeting, described in detail the deteriorating situation in the schools, the detention of thousands of political activists, the treason trials and the revelations of torture.

The dilemma of the Botha regime, he said, was that it was no longer able to rule in the old way. 'With the resistance of the people in every sphere of life, Botha has fallen back on total reliance on force.'

He, too, stressed the importance of concerted action by the international community. It was vital that pressure on the regime be increased and all diplomatic, economic and military ties broken off. Yet the allies of the regime - were making every attempt to support it.

In the struggle for change, the people of South Africa were also going to need a great deal of assistance from the SI and its members parties, he said.

The Council's resolution on Southern Africa recognises that the struggle against apartheid has entered a new phase. 'International pressure on the regime in Pretoria has been stepped up by mandatory sanctions taken by the US Congress', and other countries and international organisations should follow this lead. 'Binding sanctions, decided by the UN Security Council, are the most effective means of compelling the minority regime to abolish apartheid. . . . Joint pressure from the western world, including Japan, could make the difference.' The resolution also calls for 'greatly increased' support for the Front Line States and the liberation movements, in order to counteract the measures taken by the South African regime against neighbouring countries. (For full text, see Documents, page 29.)

In short, then, the international community must take responsibility in the struggle to create a free and democratic South Africa. In his introductory contribution to the debate, Ingvar Carlson, Sweden's prime minister, quoted from the late Olof Palme's last international speech made in

February 1986: 'If the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear'.

**SICLAC report**

Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela), speaking on the situation in Central America, said it was not possible to be optimistic about developments in the region. The situation continued to be 'confused, with disaster seeming imminent'.

The chair of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), José Francisco Peña Gómez (Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic) reported on the meeting of SICLAC in Panama on 25-26 September (see SINews 3/86, page 30).

The main items on its agenda had been the democratisation process in the continent, the fulfilment of the Panama Canal treaties, the region's foreign debt problem and the conflict in Central America (see SINews 3/86, page 30).

The committee had approved resolutions on Central America, Paraguay and Panama, and had adopted a statement in relation to the initiative of the Nicaraguan government in denouncing Costa Rica at the International Court of Justice.

**Organisational matters**

The Bonn Council meeting was the first since the Lima Congress held on 20-23 June (see SINews 3/86, page 25). And since the first meeting following a congress traditionally establishes the SI's committees and study groups for the inter-congress period, organisational matters occupied a larger amount of the delegates' time than usual.

The Council established two new committees, the Committee on Human Rights and the Study Group on the Mediterranean (see page 27). The mandates of all existing committees were renewed, with the Committee on Acid Rain (SICAR) being expanded as the Committee on the Environment. (For a comprehensive list of the SI's existing committees and study groups, see box.)

On behalf of the Council, President Willy Brandt thanked those committee chairs not that in recent years these have grown into major political - media - events attended by hundreds of delegate, observers and guests, which has unavoidable strains on political work and...