

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS



The global challenge:

'... a world where hundreds of millions of people are no longer under-fed, under-housed, under-educated and unemployed ...'

Plus reports on South Africa, Guyana, India, the Vienna Disarmament Conference





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FOCUS

This issue's Focus is devoted to Global Challenge, the report of the SI Committee on Economic Policy which represents the first detailed response by the democratic left to the ideas of the radical right and the monetarists that gained ascendancy in the early 1980s.

Michael Manley and Willy Brandt introduce and set the background for the report, and its call for recovery of spending, restructuring of trade and finance, and redistribution of resources. Page 7

Global Challenge offers no bland generalisations, but a series of proposals for feasible and radical actions. Page 11



SI NEWS

At its second conference on disarmament, held four weeks before the Geneva summit, the International appealed yet again to the superpowers to make a serious effort at arms-control measures. Perhaps the US and Soviet guests listened. Pages 5 and 27

HORIZONS

Guyana has been plunged into a deep economic and political crisis by its ruling party's proclamation of its own 'paramountcy'. Rupert Roopnaraine reports. Page 44

ELECTIONS

Guatemala went to the polls in November. Not elections like in western democracies, to be sure, says Mario Solórzano, but an opening nonetheless. Page 50

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

Including: World leaders offer third-party verification of test ban (page 65) – France: Socialists prepare for election test (page 67) – Anglo-Irish agreement (page 73) – South Africa: International pressure intensifies (page 74) – Brandt, Sorsa comment on Geneva summit (page 77)

SI WOMEN BULLETIN

This issue's Bulletin offers a women's perspective of the questions addressed in the Global Challenge report. It also puts to the test the fine intentions of (overwhelmingly male) politicians on the very concrete issue of equal pay for equal work. Page 55

Socialist Affairs

Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 0JW
Telephone 01-627 4449
Telex 261735
Cables INTESOCN LONDON SW4
Publisher Pentti Väänänen
Editor Robin V. Sears
Assistant Editor Luis Ayala
Managing Editor Harry Drost

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Longman Group
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The High
Harlow CM20 1NE
United Kingdom
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Comment

Pentti Väänänen



Summit success?

The Socialist International has always campaigned for better communications and cooperation between the two major military powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Those two countries represent very different ideologies and social systems and they also have conflicting interests. In spite of this, they, more than anybody else, share the responsibility of preventing a nuclear holocaust which today would destroy the whole of humanity. So they are doomed to cooperate.

This view of the Socialist International has been stated in many reports and resolutions, the most recent being our Vienna Appeal for our Conference on Disarmament. Also, in practice, democratic socialists have worked for better East-West relations – Willy Brandt's 'Ostpolitik' and the detente at the beginning of the 1970s are examples of this.

When the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, led by Kalevi Sorsa, in March this year held talks in Moscow with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and in Washington with Vice-President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz, one of its main demands was for the improvement of a US-Soviet dialogue. We then also appealed to the two governments to hold a summit meeting.

We felt that a meeting at the highest political level was necessary to give new impetus to various negotiations and to create the necessary political will to reach concrete results.

It has sometimes been suggested that an active US-Soviet dialogue might mean that they would talk 'over the heads of smaller nations'. Of course the smaller nations, and also the Socialist International, must do their utmost for their voice to be heard, but the experiences during times of tense East-West relations, not to mention the period of the cold war, have shown that it is precisely then that the smaller nations play a minor role.

The Geneva summit meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev could be an historic event. The results were as good as could be expected. The 'spirit' looked positive. And the agreements in cultural exchange were a positive sign, proving that it is possible and desirable to agree.

It was also important that the two leaders agreed on a follow-up, that they should meet again and that meetings on a lower level should also take place.

On the question of giving new impetus to the ongoing disarmament and arms-control negotiations, some expectations have been raised, and progress could be possible in some areas.

However, history will judge the value of this and future summits on whether the new impetus will bear fruit, whether concrete agreements can be reached. And so far, all major problems, including star wars and strategic armaments, remain unsolved ...

Pentti Väänänen



The Socialist International
Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 0JW
United Kingdom

Telephone 01-627 4449
 Telex 261735
 Cables Intesocon LONDON SW4

The Socialist International, founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 77 political parties and organisations with a combined membership of more than 16 million, and the support of more than 100 million voters.

The Socialist International provides its members with a forum for political action, policy discussion, dialogue and exchange. Its statements and decisions advise member organisations and the international community of consensus views within the global family of labour, socialist and social democratic parties and organisations. It is a recognised non-governmental organisation of the United Nations, and works with a range of organisations and free trade unions internationally.

The Congress of the Socialist International, which meets biennially, and its Bureau (including all member parties), which meets twice a year, are the supreme decision-making bodies of the organisation. Regular conferences and meetings of party leaders and the Presidium are also held.

Councils and committees have been established for work on Acid Rain, Chile, Disarmament, Economic Policy, the Middle East, Southern Africa and Finance and Administration. The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean groups the eighteen member parties from the region. The Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO, and the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC, are regional organisations of the Socialist International. There are three fraternal organisations: the Socialist International Women, SIW; the International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY; and the International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IFM/SEI.

The president of the Socialist International since 1976 is Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1971 Nobel Peace Prize winner, chairman of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (the Brandt Commission) and chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD.

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Willy Brandt

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 Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
 Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU, San Marino
 Socialist Party of Senegal
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
 Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
 Republican People's Party, CHP, Turkey
 Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela
 Democratic Socialists of America, DSA
 Social Democrats USA, SDUSA

Consultative Parties

People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Aruba/NA
 Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil*
 New Antilles Movement, MAN, Curacao/NA
 EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
 Siumut, Greenland*
 Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana
 Peruvian Aprista Party, APRA
 Puerto Rico Independence Party, PIP
 Progressive Labour Party of St. Lucia, PLP
 People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

Consultative Parties in Exile

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
 Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
 Estonian Socialist Party
 Social Democratic Party of Hungary
 Social Democratic Party of Latvia
 Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
 Polish Socialist Party
 Social Democratic Party, Romania
 Yugoslav Socialist Party

Associated Organisations

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO
 Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC
 International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP
 International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers, IUSDT
 Jewish Labour Bund, JLB
 Labour Sports International, LSI/CSIT
 World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM
 Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE

*Recommended for membership

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL



SI disarmament conference

Vienna Appeal: serious talks and concrete measures

'For obvious reasons' – the Geneva summit was to take place four weeks later – 'strategic nuclear disarmament and the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are now in the centre of our attention. It is beyond doubt that we face a crucial moment. The present trend must be stopped and reversed. Otherwise we may be on the brink of a new unprecedented round of arms buildups. That would mean a further worsening of the international climate, new impediments to economic and social development and – what is most disturbing – increased risks of nuclear war.

'The two superpowers should reinforce their commitment to respect the SALT 1 and SALT 2 agreements beyond 1985, and refrain from any measures which would undermine them, and they should reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty. That is the core message of the SI's Vienna Appeal on Disarmament.'

Thus Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and chairman of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), at the press conference at the close of the two-day SI

Disarmament conference

Like the first meeting in Helsinki in 1978, the Vienna conference attested to the fact that disarmament has become one of the cornerstones of the International's activities. It was attended by nearly a hundred delegates from SI member parties and over twenty invited guests, including high-level delegations from the Soviet Union, the United States and China, and representatives of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Full report, page 27

Conference on Disarmament held in Vienna on October 16-17.

The Vienna Appeal – addressed first of all those who today live in fear of war, and all those powers who are responsible for this fear – was adopted by the SI at this year's second Bureau meeting, which was held in conjunction with the disarmament conference.

Bureau meeting

Vienna, host to a number of specialist agencies of the United Nations, was a no less appropriate venue to discuss the Bureau meeting's main item on the agenda, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and multilateral cooperation.

Full report, page 29

The appeal declares that armaments, and governments relying on them, cannot solve the acute problems of our planet. It enjoins humanity to do its utmost to turn away from them and 'embark on a

course of survival in peace, freedom and human dignity'.

As the buildup to the Geneva summit was already receiving extensive media coverage worldwide, the poignancy of gathering in Vienna, a traditional meeting point of East and West – both in European and world political terms – was not lost on delegates.

The venue for both meetings, held at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ), was the Redoutensaal, the great reception room of the imposing Hofburg, which had been the headquarters of the old Imperial Austrian administration. It is the Redoutensaal which is also the regular meeting place for the negotiations on reductions in conventional arms in Europe (MFBR), one of the three main East-West arms-control fora. A good omen, one might have thought, but the MBFR talks have been going on since 1974 without yielding any significant results ...

When SIDAC visited Moscow and Washington earlier this year, Sorsa recalled, its message to the two superpowers was that 1985, a year of anniversaries, must also be a year of progress. They should start a dialogue and take measures to initiate a process of disarmament. 'That dialogue is evolving. We are still awaiting the measures.'





FOCUS

When Willy Brandt and an eminent group of statesmen and thinkers from the developed and developing world began, in 1977, to consider what was wrong with global economic and political relations and what could be done to dramatically alter them, few could have predicted the impact of their work. Their 1980 report, *North South: A Programme for Survival*, sparked an unprecedented international interest in the North-South dialogue, but sadly not in some world capitals.

As the surge of optimism about the prospects for a real start to negotiations between North and South began to fade in the early eighties, and as the economies of the North staggered under the double blow of recession and monetarism, many leaders of the Socialist International began to consider the need to reexamine basic issues and plan new approaches to development, democracy and the world economy.

Following the Cancun summit, and the mounting opposition to change from some governments in the North, the SI in September 1981 set up a small review body to examine North-South options following that inconclusive meeting. That follow-up group reported a year later, proposing a number of mechanisms to relaunch serious global dialogue and to break the stalemate in economic development.

An SI economic policy conference held in Vienna in September 1982 brought together economists, politicians and trade unionists from many parts of the world. It stimulated the recognition that a broad and longer-range socialist view of the world economy was increasingly important.

It is not surprising, then, that the 1983 SI Congress had as its theme, 'The World In Crisis: The Socialist Response'. The congress set up the SI Committee on Economic Policy.

In November 1983 the committee, open to all the member parties of the SI, drew up a plan of action, dividing the enormous range of subject areas into three subgroups and calling on each to seek the advice of outside experts, focussing on restructuring, reflation and redistribution.

Throughout 1984, its work expanded rapidly and meetings were held on eight separate occasions, with separate sectoral drafting groups meeting independently. The final draft report, *Global Challenge*, was presented to the Bureau of the SI in June 1985 and published in September.

As the centrepiece of this Focus on the state of the world economy we present the introduction and the main recommendations of *Global Challenge*.

Sharing resources: Tractor hired by peasant cooperative, Latacunga, Ecuador



Breaking the North-South stalemate

In their introduction to *Global Challenge*, **MICHAEL MANLEY**, chair of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, and **WILLY BRANDT**, president of the Socialist International, present the scope of the report and its call for a recovery of spending, a restructuring of trade and finance and a redistribution of resources.

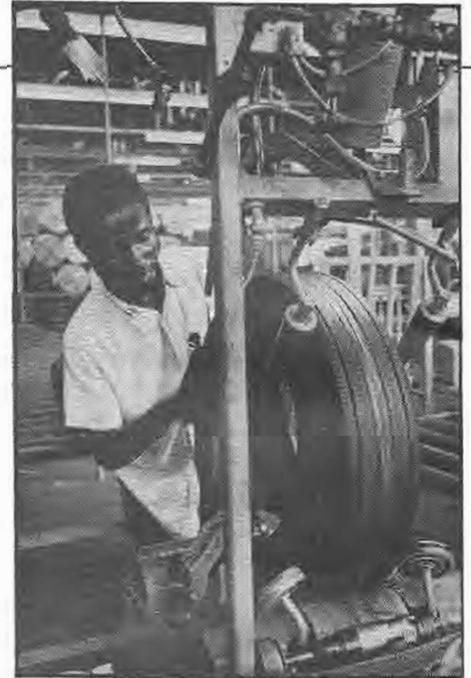
It is widely recognised that the prevailing economic crisis is the worst since the 1930s, when mass unemployment spawned nationalism, fascism and the seeds of global war. However, the world is now caught in a crisis which, in many ways, is unprecedented and worse than that of the thirties.

For more than a decade, the world economy has suffered low real growth, periodic contractions of trade, record levels of unemployment and relentless poverty, most devastatingly manifest in famine in Africa. The crisis pervades all aspects of international economic and political relations, it embraces all

countries and all societies. Economic policy has been paralysed by a paucity of bold, innovative thinking. Fragmentation has overwhelmed global consensus for even gradual reform.

The development of the South has been blocked in most countries by a combination of structural factors resulting in





Community links: Shawl embroidery in Nepal, tyre factory for domestic use in Ghana ...

global deflation and crippling debt. For a few years, some countries in the South resisted the current crisis better than some in the North. But this is no longer the case. The situation in the South is worsening, especially for the lesser and least developed countries. Drought and disease alone are claiming millions of victims, especially children, each year. Hundreds of millions of people are undernourished, underhoused, undereducated and underemployed.

A global dualism divides both North and South. The urban elites in the South have more in common with their affluent counterparts in the North than with fellow citizens in their own countries. But even in the industrialised nations social polarisation and economic dualism are dividing communities and countries.

In the North, following a quarter of a century of full employment, there are now at least thirty-five million people out of work. Behind them are millions more individuals who do not register as unemployed because they would not be entitled to benefits. Low pay used to be concentrated in traditional sectors, but is now widespread as high unemployment lowers wage bargaining power.

In North and South alike, social programmes are in crisis. By holding the rate of increase, then imposing a freeze, many governments have cut spending on housing, health, education, social security provision and unemployment benefits.

Recently, capital flows from the North have been exceeded by outflows from the South. This drain of resources has also resulted from adverse terms of trade and, in recent years, has been compounded by staggering debt repayment, making it more difficult to ensure development for the poorest people in the poorest countries. Since 1980, the crisis for developing countries has been aggravated by the increase in the value of the dollar. Now, perversely, it may be aggravated by its decline, as dollar devaluation increases the US price of imports from the Third World. But high interest rates have pulled capital towards the richest country in the world and pushed developing countries deeper into crisis, with debt

servicing, in some cases, exceeding their total export earnings. Basic-needs programmes designed to bring minimal well-being to millions below the poverty line are now handicapped or halted by the global economic and financial crisis.

Governments in both North and South have been forced on to the defensive. Pressured, in many cases, by the international Monetary Fund, each country in trade deficit has sought to reduce imports and cut costs to increase competitiveness. At a national level, in many cases, such deflation has resulted in unemployment rather than in redeployment of labour; destruction rather than restructuring of the economy; and social regress rather than progress. At the international level, such policies have resulted in 'beggar-my-neighbour' deflation. Since one country's imports are other countries' exports, cutting imports in a number of countries contracts potential world trade, income and welfare. Such a strategy will not regenerate the North or the South, but simply reinforce defensive and isolationist pressures. For either global dialogue or development such 'beggar-my-neighbour' deflation is suicidal.

We advocate the need for reflation in a context of planned cooperation between like-minded governments, so that 'better-my-neighbour' may replace 'beggar-my-neighbour', to the betterment of us all.

Deflation is not only unviable for the world as a whole; it is also unequal and unjust in its impact on different social groups

and classes. In some countries in the South, it threatens a fragile progress towards democracy. Little regard is paid by agencies such as the IMF to the real adjustment capacity of many of the lesser and least developed countries. Conditions requiring 'export-led' growth in some less developed countries have imposed not only scarcity but starvation on their own peoples. Sudan, shortly before the famine of 1985, had increased its food exports threefold in an effort to gain foreign exchange and relieve its debt burden.

Is there an international alternative? *Global Challenge* affirms that there is, and confirms it with a range of analysis and supporting evidence. It both defends and extends the

'Until the North begins the process of resolving its own crisis, there are limited prospects for genuinely global development.'

reasoning of the two reports of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, *North-South* and *Common Crisis*, and the crucial role of interdependence and potential mutual interest between North and South.

The deepening of the global crisis has created poverty and hopelessness, and the concept of monetarism has been a failure. But to challenge the current dominance of monetarism and militarism, we need to promote a strategy for both development and disarmament. Such a strategy must include economic recovery for development, a restructuring of the present imbalance of power in global institutions, finance and trade, and a redistribution of resources both between the North and towards the South. The relation between redistribution and recovery is crucial, for as the post-war period demonstrates, growth is not necessarily accompanied by a just distribution.

In these current doctrines, advocated especially by the Reagan administration, this has been translated into the theory of 'trickle-down' effects, whereby the poor of the North and South alike are supposed to benefit from an incentive-led growth through inequality. In reality, such crumbs from the global table fall beyond the reach of most of the world's poor. Our case, by contrast, is that the old post-war model of growth and recovery is finished. Technical progress is now, in most cases, promoting technical unemployment. Gains from unequal efficiency between unequal partners spread the benefits of progress to too few in the North at the expense of too many in the South. By contrast, we need a new model of development, based on the recovery of growth through redistribution, rather than redistribution from growth. Without an extension of global demand and a redistribution of expenditure and resources between industry and agriculture, social groups and classes, and regions and areas of the world economy, there is no prospect for global recovery and development.

At the same time, we recognise that development through such a model is difficult to achieve by single governments acting in isolation. Therefore, we call for cooperation between 'like-minded' governments in the North and South to ensure that growth through redistribution is viable because it proceeds simultaneously on a broad front.

Reflation and redistribution will only be possible if accompanied by a fundamental restructuring of the ownership and traditional pattern of resource allocation. This will open the way to a genuinely international division of labour while freeing the South from the grip of debilitating fluctuations in commodity prices.

The *Global Challenge* report, therefore, represents a pragmatic alternative to the prominence of monetarist and *laissez-faire* market philosophies in the world economy. It is the product of a constructive dialogue between politicians from the North and South, both in government and in opposition. This explains why the policy recommendations of this report are neither short-term orientated compromises, nor an expression of a specific regional interest. Its particular value is that it reflects the full range of the mutual interests of the North and South. Our objective is to achieve a new model of development based on social accumulation and redistribution, rather than on growth through inequality.

Monetarism is part fact, part faith and, in large part, fantasy. The fact is that deflation has now imposed beggar-my-



... carpentry training centre in Britain ...

'We need a new model of development, based on the recovery of growth through redistribution, rather than redistribution from growth.'

neighbour pauperisation on many of the world's economies. The faith lies in the assumption that if the world tightens its money supply today, market forces alone can deliver a better and brighter tomorrow. Equally deceptive, but more tragic, is the identification of political freedom with unrestrained

market forces, when many of the advocates of monetarism's showcase economies in the Third World have been among the most disappointing in their disregard for human rights and political freedoms. One also notes how quickly these advocates desert their own principles when some sector of production is threatened by competition from abroad.

We assert the mutual interests of all peoples in disarmament, blocked at present, in both North and South, by global militarisation. We recognise the rights of sovereign states to self-defence, but deplore a world arms budget which is over a third of the GDP of third-world countries, and which – if the 'star wars' programme is fulfilled – could easily exceed half their GDP. We also question a concept of global security based solely on arming and re-arming the superpowers of the North. This is not only because both North and South alike could be condemned to a 'nuclear winter' and to the end of life-support systems as we know them through the penetration of the atmosphere by a fraction of the nuclear weapons already deployed by the superpowers; it also reflects the insecurity, in the present world disorder, of those who cannot be sure of food, clothing, shelter, health, education or welfare for themselves or their families. No new world order can be built on such insecure foundations. By contrast, we maintain that for a tenth of what the world now spends on arms each year, it could begin the process of global recovery and achieve a decade of new development for North and South alike.

Furthermore, the energy crisis (which is far from over and is not just an oil crisis) and the various ecological threats which have been largely neglected for a long time are two additional problems which extend across borders and beyond political systems. We are sure that the World Commission on Environment and Development will provide important additional



... installing water pipes by self-help groups in Colombia

suggestions in this area and beyond the scope of this report.

We also challenge the domination of the world economy by a handful of giant transnational corporations. Already, some two hundred such companies command a third of the world's total output of goods and services – massively more than the countries of the Third World. These companies dominate the finance, trade and payments of the First and Third World alike. Over half such transnationals are based in five countries of the North – the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Japan. The governments of these countries are crucial to both the funding and the policies of the IMF and the World Bank. They must assert and share accountability over their own transnationals in the South – as well as admit change in the policies of the Fund and the Bank – if we are to break the stalemate in global development.

If governments in the North were willing to recognise their mutual interests with the South, the global challenge could focus on how, rather than whether, to promote global development. But such a consensus has not emerged in the North. As a result, lip service is paid – as at Cancun – to global priorities, but there is little follow-through in specific programmes for recovery. Certainly, until the North begins the process of resolving its own crisis, there are limited prospects for genuinely global development.

Further, while recovery in the North is critical, this is not sufficient. The specific policy proposals for changes in the structure and management of the world economy, which have been called the New International Economic Order (NIEO), must be progressively implemented if there is to be any real prospect of self-sustaining global development. In addition, the countries of the South have their own special responsibility in this process. This must centre on the creation of new capacity for production and a strengthening of patterns of trade through cooperation between countries of the South.

The North should not fear such a process. Rather, it should welcome and seek to facilitate South-South cooperation as an indispensable element in global development.

The multilateral framework which could bridge the gap between North and South has not been forged. This could alter with changes in administrations or attitudes in key countries

in the North. The debt crisis may prompt some of them to reassess their relations with the South. We appeal to all the participants in the negotiations to raise their sights from short-term national self-interest, to develop the longer-term mutual interest implied by joint development of North and South, and to come prepared to examine proposals in this report and those that will emerge in the discussions, in a spirit of openness and cooperation.

For the first time, there are indications that those in the political and economic leadership of Eastern Europe may come to acknowledge openly the principle of the interdependence of the global economy, of the existence of a global economic crisis and indeed of a global economic system – ideas which, less than ten years ago, were dismissed.

It is in the interest of all peoples and governments that public institutions for cooperation should be strengthened. This involves not only the European Community (EC), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, or COMECON), but also the UN institutions. The indications of an interest in dialogue by COMECON with Western Europe and the possibility of introducing the North-South agenda into that dialogue may have major implications for the global economy. This is encouraging and to be welcomed. Before the end of the century, it may well be possible to achieve genuinely global consensus for development.

Our main proposal is for a multilateral solution to the North-South problem. But to achieve it we need to be realistic in recognising the veto on global development imposed to date by some of the developed countries. This is the essence of our argument on breaking the current stalemate by developing the mutual interest of like-minded countries, regions and institutions in North and South alike. The policy recommendations of this report are part of the bridge-building which can span the present gulf between the rich and poor, the developed and less developed, of the global economy.

Global Challenge does not attempt to detail how national internal policies might be developed. This must be determined in light of the internal dynamics and objective situations which face different countries of North and South. The focus has been on policy which is international in character, and on economic cooperation between countries of the North, countries of the South, and between North and South. Therefore the report deals with the reform of international institutions together with types of governmental action which can be undertaken by like-minded governments cooperating internationally.

Our answer to militarism, monetarism and the transnational trend of trade and payments is clear. We need recovery of global spending, a restructuring of finance and trade, and a major redistribution of resources if we are to make possible a process of self-reinforcing, sustained social development into the twenty-first century. We do not claim that such a new global strategy is easy to achieve. Certainly, it will require substantial international cooperation, born of our awareness of our essential interdependence.

At present, it is blocked by some of the most powerful vested interests in the world economy. We pose a counter-challenge, not as antagonists, but as protagonists, convinced that the option for development, democracy and disarmament is one to which many peoples and governments are now ready to respond. We have no doubt that the alternative, through the persistence of present policies, is a world sinking into increasing division between narrowing wealth and spreading misery; a world too unjust to be acceptable and too unstable to be safe.

From crisis to cooperation

In its five chapters, *Global Challenge* puts forward a wide range of proposals for feasible and radical action for the next decade to overcome the world economic crisis as it has developed in the mid-eighties. These are its main conclusions and recommendations.

Global crisis

1 The current economic crisis is both cyclical and structural. But it is not simply a repetition of the 1930s. It also reflects profound changes in the modern economy which signal the imperative of a new model of development.

2 Inflation is a symptom, rather than simply the cause, of the current crisis. Hyper-inflation in some countries of the South has not been matched by similar inflation in the North. Moreover, the post-war era of full employment demonstrated that low inflation is compatible with progressive social objectives.

3 Efforts by leading governments to reduce import demand and competitors' exports have deepened the global economic crisis. This policy, combined with subsidies and incentives to national enterprise to compete on a shrinking world market, increases the fiscal crisis of the state and reduces public revenues, spending and demand.

4 Post-keynesian policies are required, but friedmanite and monetarist influence, combined with the market philosophies of the new right, have seriously damaged the prospects of global development and imposed the cost of crisis on the world's poor.

5 International agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have contributed to 'beggar-my-neighbour' deflation of the global economy. However, the IMF acts on behalf of the Group of Ten industrialised countries, and especially the top five powers – the US, the UK, France, Federal Germany and Japan – where most of the top two hundred transnational companies, which currently dominate global payments and trade, are based.

6 Any recovery of the global economy must be based, in part, on monetary reform. It is important to recognise the original Bretton Woods represented only a partial success for Keynes's arguments for a new international order. Global reform of finance and institutions must go beyond Keynes.

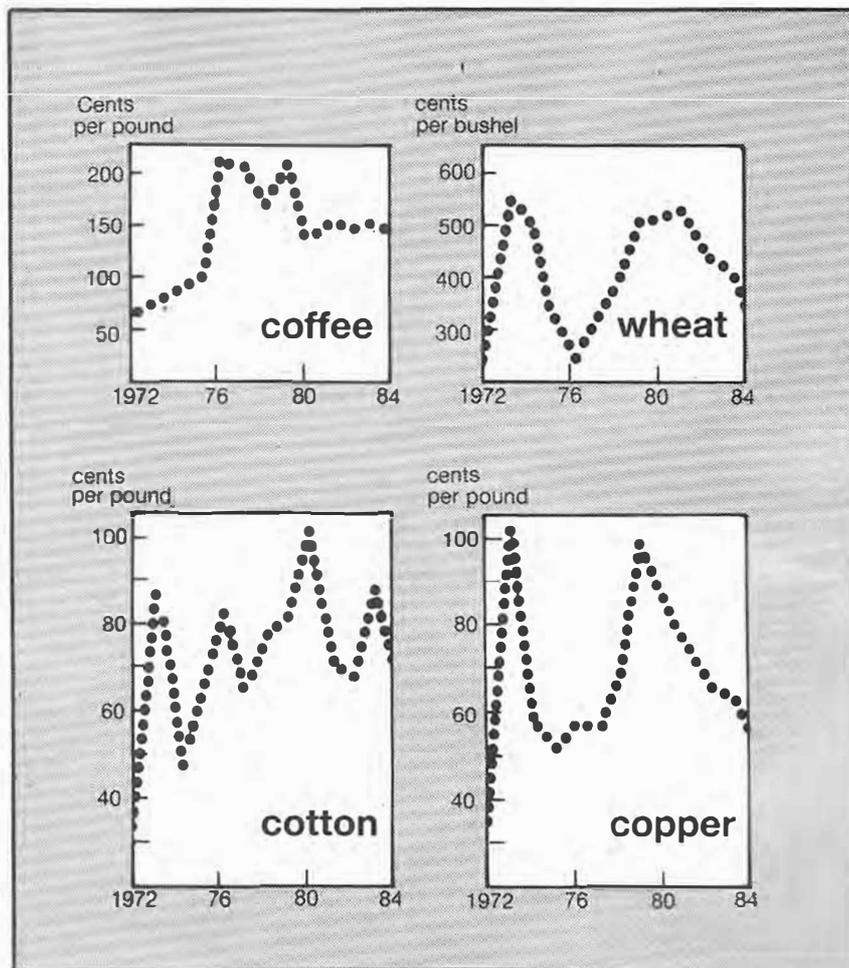
Recovery and development

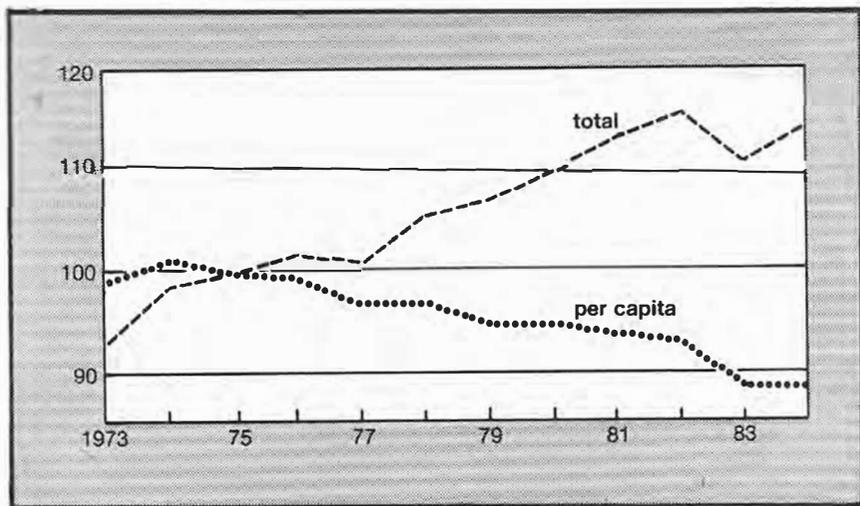
1 The geographical border between rich and poor has so far been described as North-South. But a structural dualism is becoming manifest

in all countries – the rich of North and South have stronger economic links with each other than with the poor in their own countries. The transnational trend of decision-making strengthens this inequality. Not only recovery but also the redistribution and restructuring of global resources and global power relations is essential to avoid perpetuating a dual global economy of employed and unemployed, fed and underfed, housed and underhoused, hopeful and hopeless, all over the world.

2 An emergency programme for the weakest countries and peoples is a global imperative. But there is no sign that the international community is willing to agree on effective

Price fluctuations of commodities
End-of-year prices in US\$





Food production in Sub-Saharan Africa
Index, 1974-76 = 100

measures for the poorest of the poor, despite the focus of the world on the horror of famine in recent months.

3 The refusal of key European governments to join the US in expansionary budget policies has been a major factor in the failure of the US recovery of the early 1980s to spread to the rest of the industrialised world. Other factors include protectionist policies in the North and mismanagement in the South.

4 Global recovery requires a restructuring of trade relationships which must include Third World exporters' main commodities, through measures for price stabilisation, price and income support and compensatory finance. Such restructuring must also make possible a shift in the imbalance of power between transnational companies and public authorities in developing countries, including measures by which First World governments take more responsibility for the operation of their own transnationals in the Third World.

5 A rescheduling of current debt implies a restructuring of the power relations between debtor and creditor countries, making possible a range of mutual concessions short of the sanction of debt default.

6 A change in international trading relationships implies either a restructuring of present General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) arrangements, or complementary systems for mutual and multilateral trade between different regions of the world economy. Redistribution is crucial to recovery if a short-run upturn in the global economy is not to run into the limits of demand determined by prevailing levels of income distribution.

7 The share of income spent by the poor is higher than that of the rich, whose consumption needs have, in many cases, already been met, reinforcing the argument for shifting resources to the poorest people in the poorest countries.

8 The North must accept that until it begins the process of resolving its own crisis, there can be no sustained development for the South.

9 Better-my-neighbour recovery involves several countries increasing domestic demand and imports and increasing their own exports –

resulting in a mutual increase in trade. It provides inputs for export trade and spreads earnings in the exporting country. This demand-pull stimulates exports of third-world commodities, increasing use of investment capacity, tax revenues and employment. More jobs make restructuring easier.

10 The circumstances of national economies are too diverse to allow recommendation of a specific package of measures for all to achieve a sustainable rate of real growth. If growth is generated by using the well-established methods – expanding public expenditure, cutting taxes or increasing the rate of credit creation – the economic and social benefits of recovery can be distributed through negotiated agreements on the social gains from recovery.

Increased use of investment capacity can reduce the 'unit cost' of enterprises or the cost per unit of output, thereby decreasing inflationary pressure, provided either the market mechanism or public policy ensures that such lowered costs are reflected in lower prices.

11 There are probably only three basic approaches to recovery:

(a) *Unilateral recovery* by a single country, 'going it alone' in trying to spend its way out of slump, is rarely successful, even when world trade is expanding. Unilateral reflation benefits other countries – by increasing their exports – but can impose debilitating costs on the country directly concerned.

(b) *Cumulative recovery* by some countries, joined over the medium-to-long term by other groups of countries, can be successful where the effects of reflation are widened and contribute to sustaining expansion itself. Several European economies could promote a significant recovery in the North with sizeable gains for the exports of third-world countries.

(c) *General recovery* by northern economies could add some US\$100 billion a year to global net spending – creating 1½ to 2 million jobs in Europe each year, and raising its growth of total production and real income by around 3 percent. Such growth rates, over a decade, could create, sustain or defend some 10 million jobs in the United States (depending on the degree of active or passive US participation in the recovery programme) and more than 20 million jobs elsewhere in Europe and the rest of the OECD. It could add between a fifth and a quarter to the GDP of the developing countries over five years, and an increase of between a half and two thirds over a new development decade.

12 Some OECD countries, not least Britain and Federal Germany, should take joint action to stimulate expansion by following less restrictive financial policies.

13 A double standard of IMF lending is that since its restraint of domestic money supply cuts first and foremost on public spending, its policies have denied the South the mixed-economy programmes on housing, health, education and social services from which all the

main northern members of the Fund so markedly benefit.

Restructuring trade and finance

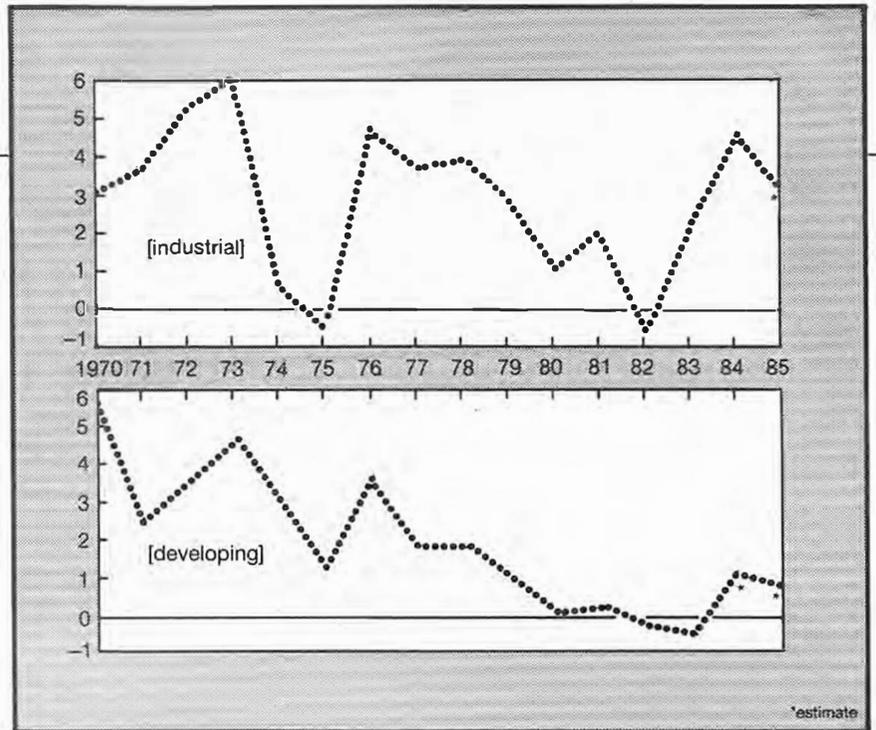
1 Some protectionist measures in less developed countries are justified, in both the short and longer term, on the basis of the infant- or adolescent-industry argument. The problem for global structural adjustment arises only when protectionist measures, instead of supporting expansion and transition to new structures of production, tend to postpone adjustment due to short-term political pressures and bureaucratic complacency.

2 Third-world countries should be encouraged to establish joint currency arrangements or regional reserve currencies, similar in principle to that being attempted in practice through the European monetary system. The global extension of Special Drawing Rights should include making available a tranche of such SDRs to support regional reserve currencies.

3 Regional economic integration may prove one of the most practical means of constructing a new international economic order. The following policy measures should also be established as longer-term objectives for the global economy:

- To build on the principles of regional multi-lateral trade and payments as stages to a global multilateralism.
- To achieve a transparency in trade and payments through new methods of accounting, especially concerning the inter-subsidiary trade of transnational companies in different countries.
- To accept that 'voluntary' export restraints and 'orderly' marketing arrangements should be matched by mutual degrees of import trade and, in the longer term, by establishing a multi-lateral safeguard system.
- To accept that measures adopted for import restraint should be taken only when a causal link has been determined between imports and structural market disruption, to be established by the importing country or group of countries.
- To recognise that such measures are more acceptable the less developed the countries concerned.
- To agree that preferences for the more advanced developing countries should not be phased out unilaterally.
- To implement a standstill on agricultural protectionism and, in due course, phase out subsidies to agricultural production where these compete with imports from third-world countries.
- To liberalise the imports of textiles and clothing within the framework of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement, with preference for the less and least developed countries; and, over the longer term, not to renew this agreement.

4 The implementation of the agreement on the Common Fund should be speeded up and more international commodity agreements under this scheme negotiated. The vicious circle of non-ratification is self-sustaining. It makes it



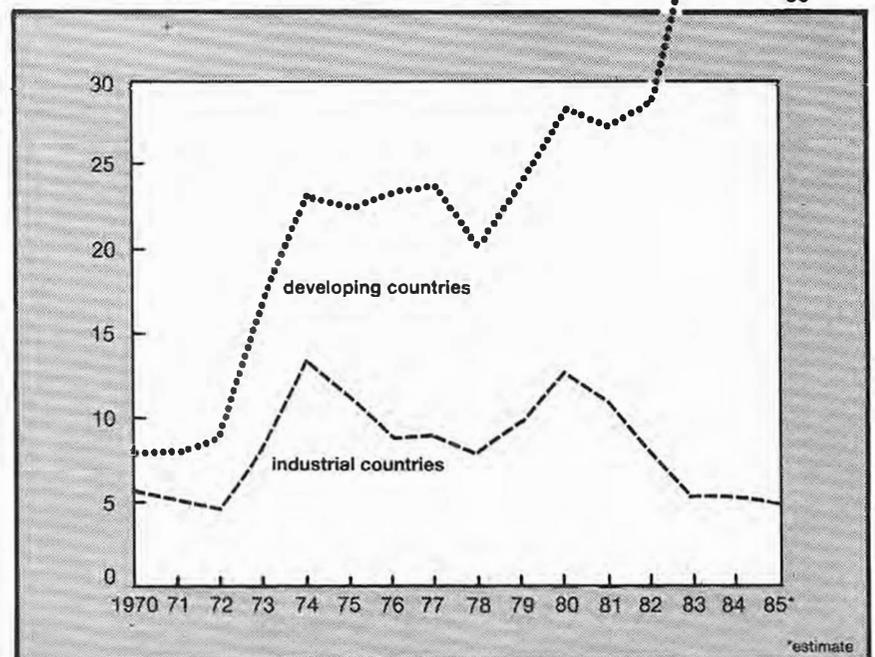
less attractive to ratify the Common Fund Agreement which, in turn, is a disincentive to improving existing agreements or negotiating new arrangements.

5 New instruments for commodity stabilisation should be introduced. The two most important are: first, strengthening the position of the exporting countries in the field of processing commodities in order to increase the employment and added value retained in developing countries; second, improving schemes of compensatory finance of export-earnings shortfalls. The latter could be achieved by integrating STABEX and the IMF Compensatory Finance Facility (CFF) in order to make them global and more grant-orientated than today.

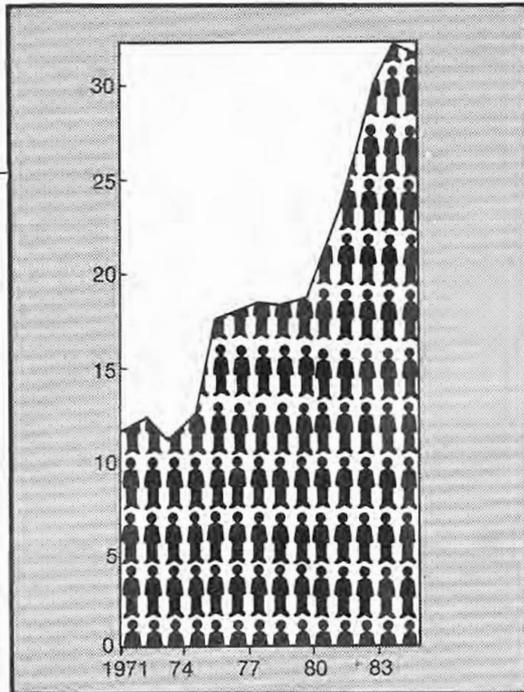
An entirely new scheme, such as was agreed for analysis at UNCTAD VI in Belgrade in 1983, could either replace existing schemes or be put into operation alongside the CFF. A new scheme could be commodity related and could

Gross domestic product
Change in percent of real GDP
(industrial countries) and real
per capita GDP
(developing countries)

Consumer prices
Average annual
change in
percent



Unemployment in industrial countries
In millions, all OECD countries



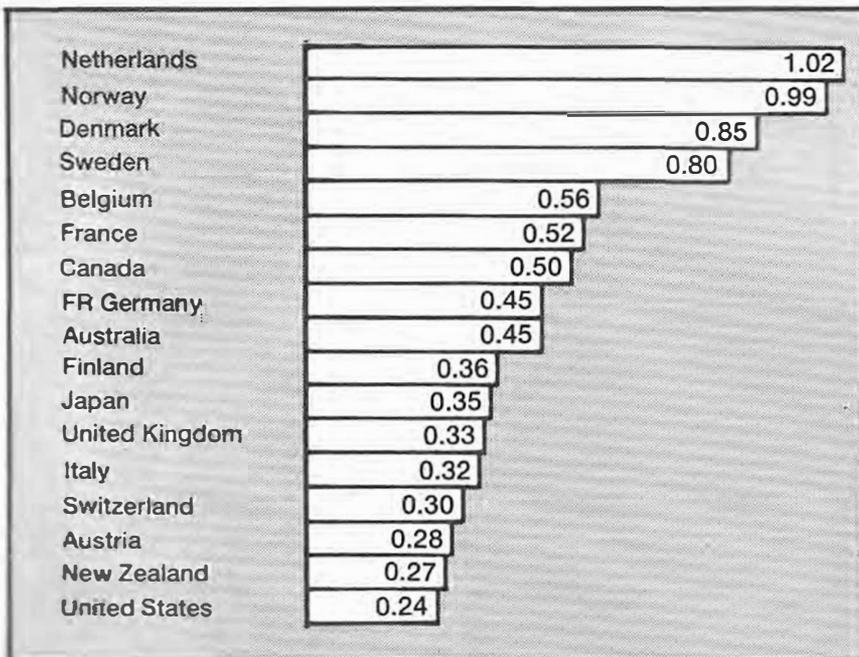
finance commodity policies (such as supply-adjustment measures) to stabilise markets.

6 Technology transfer should be subject to conditions for transnational companies' operations in less developed countries, jointly agreed with their governments and trade union organisations. This conditionality is a just counterpart of that imposed by the IMF and others on third-world governments. It could include:

- Codes of conduct agreed by governments of the First and Third World for the transfer of technology to developing countries.
- Training programmes to reduce the dependence of such third-world countries on first-world management, including both technical and senior administrative cadres.
- Public-enterprise joint ventures where industrialised countries have established expertise in basic industry and public utilities of critical interest to development.
- Development agreements relating aid by industrialised governments to transnationals in

Official development assistance (ODA)

In percent of GNP, all DAC countries, 1984



third-world countries which embody conditions for technology transfer acceptable to local governments.

- Promotion of commodity producers' associations, both to influence conditions of supply and to research new applications for traditional commodities.

7 A global response to the international debt crisis must be:

- Multilateral, including both South and North, rather than simply defending the interests of northern banks alone.
- Long term, and development and growth oriented.
- Concessional, recognising the structural problems of third-world countries.
- Integrated, relating debt restructuring to the restructuring of trade in such a way as to increase the earning capacity of the debtor countries.

In specific terms, such a global response to the debt crisis should include:

- Longer-term arrangements between debtor countries, creditor governments, international organisations and private creditors.
- New public control over the private international banking system, in exchange for support to private banks as a result of debt relief measures taken by governments.

8 There should be a major restructuring and rescheduling of debt by a range of means, including:

- Capitalising interest rates, preferably by putting up fresh money at fixed interest rates to enable debtors to repay interest charges.
- Reducing interest rates, in effect, by deferring part of the debt repayment.
- Fixing interest rates at concessionary levels for developing countries.
- Reducing the high spreads charged by the banks to developing-country borrowers and sharing the funding risk between creditors and debtors by reducing variation in the interest rates.
- Splitting interest payments into slices payable in foreign exchange, in local currency and through capitalisation of interest.
- Putting a ceiling on interest payments not higher than 20 percent of the export earnings of debtor countries, and capitalising the rest.
- Substantively extending maturities and 'grace' periods to at least fifteen and five years respectively.
- A moratorium on debt servicing (for instance, for three to five years).
- Converting dollar loans into other currencies with lower interest rates.
- Establishing an international debt re-financing facility.
- Cancelling the debts of the poorest countries and some of the debts of other countries; this would be preferable to conversion into equity, which would imply a loss of control over national resources.
- A very substantive increase in concessional finance, including official development assistance and the introduction of official guarantees

of international lending to developing countries.

- An increase in the resources available to International Development Association (IDA), the 'soft-loans' agency of the World Bank, and the World Bank.

- A substantial increase in Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

9 From this set of proposals we specifically recommend seven:

- Conversion into grants of the debts of the poorest countries especially in SubSaharan Africa.

- Rescheduling and stretching repayment periods for the remaining debts, particularly those of Latin America and the Caribbean.

- Setting a ceiling at concessionary levels on interest rates for developing countries.

- Limiting repayment demands to a maximum of 20 percent of export earnings.

- Meeting the 0.7 percent of GNP target for official development assistance, which would greatly benefit the South and create more than two million jobs in the North.

- A complementary increase in IDA funding, or action by like-minded countries to support World Bank projects such as the Africa Fund.

- A five-fold increase over five years in SDRs to US\$150 billion, focussed on lending to the lesser and least developed countries.

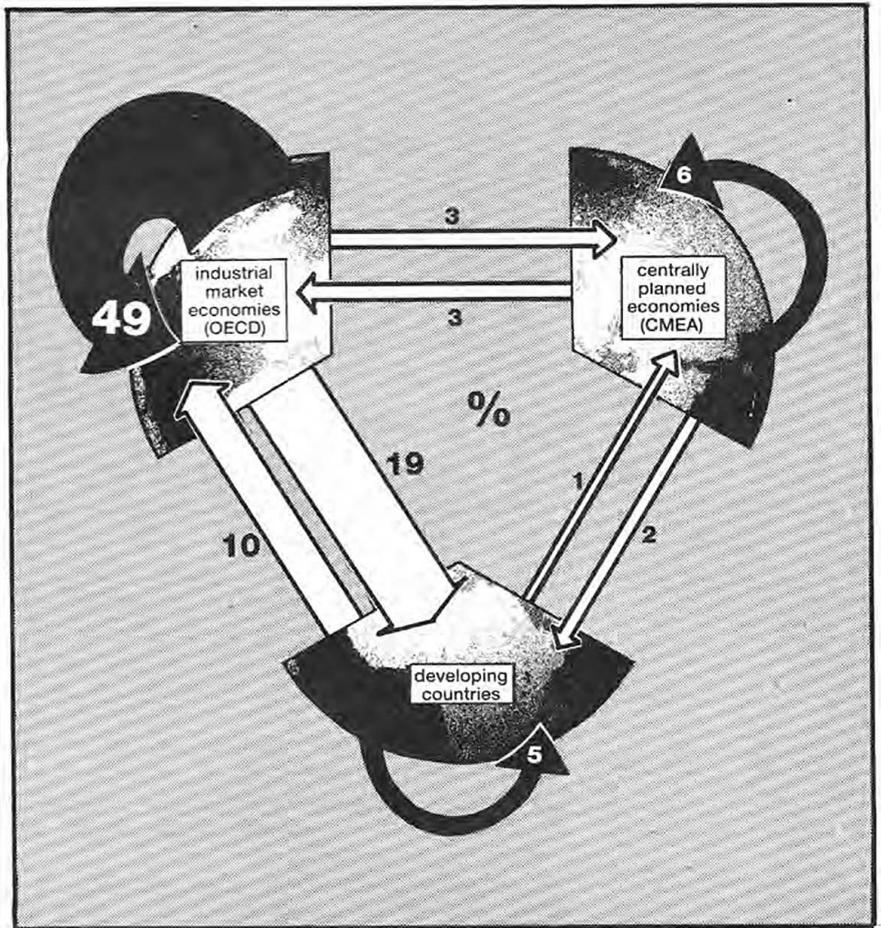
10 This injection of SDRs should be allocated so that the poor receive a greater share than current rules would permit. Their use by the South for trade and development purposes, as has been advocated by organisations such as UNCTAD and the Group of Twenty-Four in the IMF, would immediately benefit the countries of the Third World. But they would also benefit the North by releasing resources to purchase imports of capital goods and new technology.

11 Governments and financial institutions of the industrialised world should urgently meet in conference with their counterparts in the developing countries. They should agree on a comprehensive analysis of the crisis and seek urgent and specific solutions.

12 Transnational corporations in the global and national economy are largely unaccountable. Organisations such as the UN, the OECD and the EC have established codes of conduct, but with limited success.

We call for concerted joint international action to establish a more transparent system of accounting within the transnational corporations, plus governmental agreements on taxation levels and trade-union and social rights for those employed by or affected by the activities of transnational subsidiaries in the Third World.

13 Despite the concerted attack from the right, we remain convinced of the value of planning agreements in both industrialised and developing countries. The fact that there are very few governments of the left or centre in the North without a commitment to some form of



Source: UNCTAD

planning mechanism is evidence of their broadly accepted utility.

14 New development agreements, extending the principle of planning agreements and involving trade unions and governments, could also form the basis for public-sector joint ventures between North and South.

Redistribution and development

1 The experience of the North has demonstrated that, despite the conventional programme of the IMF, the factors determining social accumulation are more heavily influenced by the role of the state and the planning mechanism than by market factors.

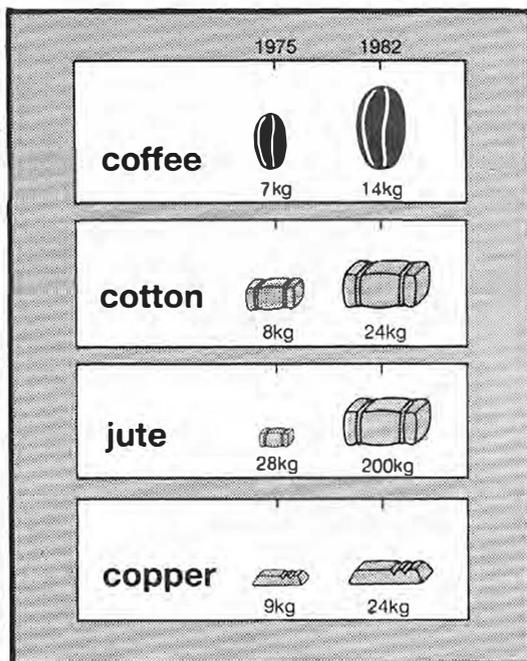
2 The international community, especially large donor countries and regional and multi-lateral donor agencies, must commit themselves to a new approach to aid, focussed on rural and agricultural development, processing and production, programme as well as project assistance, and most importantly, on 'quality' aid which matches the policy framework and objectives of the recipients.

3 Part of this reconception of aid must involve significant focus on the role of women, in society, in the family – and as paid, rather than unpaid labour. We must shift resources from export cash-crop production to food, allocate new resources for social infrastructure and give

Trade flows

In percent of total world trade (excl. oil), latest available figures

Loss of purchasing power of developing countries
Amount of export of commodity required to finance import of one barrel of oil



special access to training, technology and credit. Progressive donors should assist those governments in the South making such efforts.

4 The drought, disease and death which has afflicted the peoples of Africa has still not been met with sufficient response by the North. Local food production and self-sufficiency are necessary, but are not the only requirements for genuine development.

5 We recognise the need to raise food prices and improve incentives to farmers in Africa as part of this process, but the IMF and others should also recognise that governments in many African countries cannot raise food prices for farmers significantly without provoking social protest in the cities. Secondly, major resources have been preempted by production of cash crops. Thirdly, key crops have been hit by the declining export prices and rising input costs for fuel and fertilizers. Finally, only a fraction of the value of key commodities accrues to the producers; the rest goes to the handful of transnational companies which dominate global commodity trade.

6 Experience in the Third World has shown the potential for increased food production. But this has required the technical capacity of high-yield seeds and new forms of social organisation and state support, from production and processing through to marketing and distribution. Aid for the poorest farmers in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World may have to provide as long term as aid to the world's richest farmers in Europe and the United States.

7 Donor countries must meet the UN's Substantial New Programme of Action for the poorest countries. If stagnation and decline is not to be the fate of the least developed countries, immediate measures should include:

- Assistance by the IDA for the poorest countries only.
- New resources for the UN's International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).
- Less concessionary development assistance to middle-income rather than least developed countries.
- Cancellation of the aid (ODA) debt of the

least developed countries.

- Guaranteeing, at fixed and concessionary prices, adequate food aid and energy to the least developed countries for a period of ten years, while aiding domestic policies to increase domestic food and energy production.

- Guaranteeing adequate international support through financial flows and trade policies, in order to enhance the export capacities of the least developed countries.

8 The challenges of distribution and democracy are directly linked. This means redistribution to reinforce democracy in both North and South. Redistribution is on the agenda of many parties of the democratic left, in both developed and less developed countries. It starts from an unequal base. Yet in many respects it shares a common strategy – qualitative development versus mere quantitative growth, with the common aim of both social welfare and social justice.

9 Qualitative development implies: new ends of redistribution and new means by which institutions can be transformed and created; new mechanisms for social negotiation of change; and decentralised decision-making and planning.

10 A new approach to development will involve more equitable distribution of the benefits and costs of technological change. In many countries, in both North and South, this will mean work-sharing, the planned reduction of working hours or days, or a shorter working week, or fewer working months in a year or working years in a lifetime.

11 The distribution of both income and jobs must take a central place in the new processes of economic democracy in the developed and developing worlds. This implies:

- More equal personal incomes as an incentive to increased spending and recovered output of basic consumer goods.
- Increased social income, through extension of public services in the economy.
- Ensuring that such public services include basic needs such as housing, health, education, social welfare, community services and transport.
- Offsetting and avoiding damage to the global environment.

12 Environmental devastation is not only a disease of the industrialised world. The poorest countries and the poorest peoples of those countries are its chief victims in the South. These countries must assume greater responsibility for their own environment. But the developed countries must also help them with such programmes, not least because they have contributed to environmental damage in the South. To support the developing countries' own efforts, the following measures must be taken by the industrialised countries:

- Institutional and other forms of aid to prepare and assist strategies aiming to support locally adopted programmes to contain population growth and ensure the protection of natural resources.

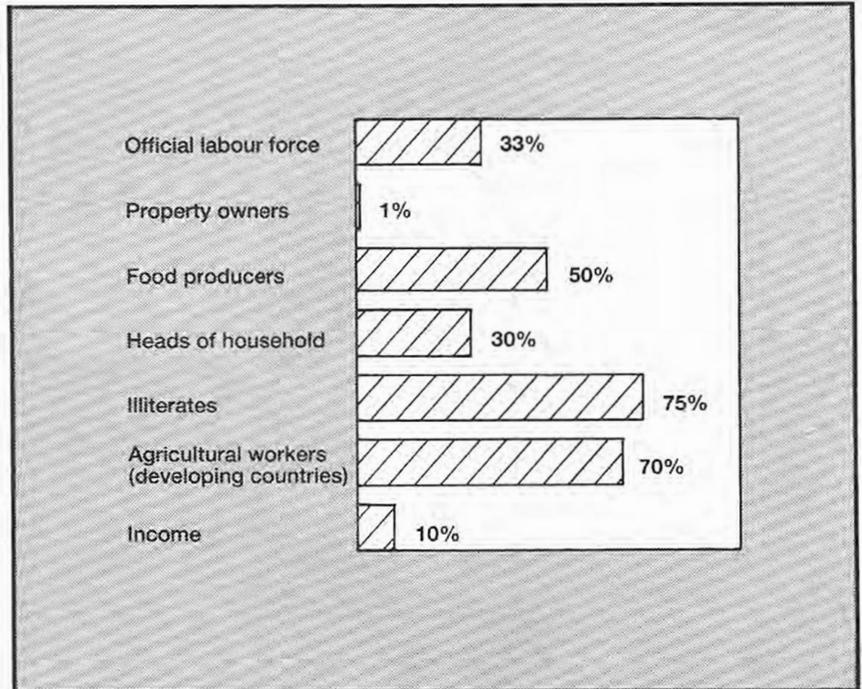
- Financial aid to fulfil more stringent standards in environmental protection, in conjunction with bilateral and multilateral promotion of investment directly helping to improve environmental conditions in the developing countries.
- Commitment by companies of the industrialised countries to abide by adequate environmental and safety standards in the Third World, and renunciation of products of processes prohibited in the industrialised countries, if necessary with legal provisions to this effect enforced by northern governments concerning the operations of their transnationals in southern countries.
- Implementation of the UN Code of Conduct and specific environmental clauses by individual countries or groups of like-minded countries.
- Assistance for agricultural policies which aim to ensure lasting improvement in food production, while reducing the use of toxic chemicals such as some pesticides.
- Assistance to promote energy saving and waste recycling in both production and consumption.

Global challenge

1 Only a truly global system of effective multilateral institutions, complementing co-ordinated national and regional action, can fully realise the momentum for the recovery, restructuring and redistribution of global resources which is the thesis of this report. It is our view that multilateralism should extend, not limit, national sovereignty and capacity.

2 The Bretton Woods system was originally conceived as promoting trade and employment, rather than simply monetary stability. This pledge is part of Article 1 of the IMF's enabling agreement. But the IMF today has distorted its original mandate and in so doing has distorted real needs. Equally important, the world of the late 1940s bears little relation to current realities. The global economy has increasingly been privatised, subjected to massive debts, and become the victim of stagnant financial flows for development. Governments and the UN have argued – for some years now – that the world needs a new Bretton Woods. Such a new international system should:

- Forestall deflationary domestic policies in major countries.
- Sustain development deficits over the long term for the least developed countries, and write off their current debt.
- Create a symmetrical balance-of-payments adjustment process, spreading the burden between surplus and deficit countries.
- Fairly represent western, eastern and southern countries.
- Recognise government intervention, both in international finance and in trade in goods and services.
- Increase international liquidity, relating global credit arrangements (including SDRs) to



global development capacity rather than to short-term balance-of-payments adjustment.

- Ensure a predictable and growing flow of capital and finance consistent with development needs.
- Restructure the funding of long-term debt, both through rescheduling and through write-off for the least developed countries.
- Foster more stable exchange rates, rather than impose self-cancelling devaluation on many of the world's economies.
- Promote more stable and lower international interest rates through joint governmental intervention in financial markets.
- Base global liquidity on a central international reserve currency, the value of which cannot be decisively influenced by the economic policy of one country alone, such as the United States.

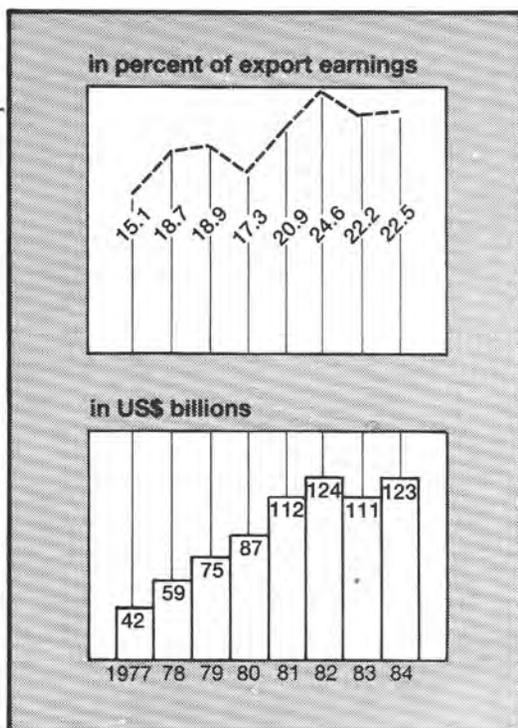
3 Institutional reform should not delay policy changes in the existing agencies. The shocks suffered by the world trading system in the early 1980s clearly illustrated the need for major changes. An international trade system serving both North and South should:

- Be non-discriminatory between northern countries.
- Be dynamic, allowing Third World countries to participate in the gains from trade.
- Allow southern countries to adopt interim measures for planned trade, to develop their own industrial base and to pursue policies for social accumulation and basic needs.
- Provide security of access to northern markets.
- Include safeguard arrangements for effective appeal against abuse of planned or managed trade.
- Foster structural adjustment through mutually reinforcing programmes for recovery of spending, trade and payments.

The role of women

Representation in percent of worldwide total

Debt service of developing countries



- Meet the needs of weaker trading partners through long-term credits to support their development deficits.
- Meet the needs not only of trade in manufactures, but also of trade in agricultural products and services, through price stabilisation agreements.
- Provide an adequate framework in both accounting for and accountability of transnational companies, including joint development agreements.
- Be multilateral, while admitting the role of regional trading areas or common markets in both northern and southern countries.

4 The increasing effect of the world's non-governmental and voluntary organisations – demonstrated vividly in famine relief in Africa – has received praise, but little more, from many governments. At present, official assistance to non-governmental agencies (NGOs) is miniscule in relation to overall aid budgets. It should be the goal of most governments to double, treble or quadruple such assistance.

5 It must be acknowledged that the United States – and several other members of the Group of Ten – have deliberately blocked progress in the multilateral system, on development issues, on trading reform and on new programmes, agencies and initiatives. The US has not only threatened to withdraw from other agencies following its abandonment of its commitments to UNESCO, but has refused to negotiate on a range of issues in the international community. We welcome a dialogue with those in the United States who are attempting to pose realistic international policy alternatives for a new administration.

6 A new role for Europe should include a clear alignment with the Third World and commitment to a new development agenda, with or without the United States. This would be a European Community which had broken through the paralysis in its decision-making. But it can also be achieved through joint action

with some EC or OECD countries, such as Austria and the Nordic countries.

7 Europe must declare itself in favour of realignment towards the South, including a change in its policies towards apartheid. Some steps are being taken to further isolate South Africa, but slowly, and often reluctantly. Given the dramatic gains made recently against apartheid, progressively tougher economic sanctions and increased assistance to the liberation struggle, the Front-Line States and the victims of apartheid is now more urgent than ever.

8 Joint action between *like-minded* governments in both North and South presents a creative alternative to the current stalemate in wider multilateral cooperation. An extended and more coordinated economic cooperation between like-minded countries in the North and in the South would imply an harmonised effort by the northern participants to the benefit of the South. One approach worthy of consideration is the 'mini-NIEO' concept under study by the Nordic countries. The northern partners would have to agree on more or less identical objectives for their development assistance policy; the southern partners would cooperate among themselves at a regional or interregional level.

9 Greater South-South cooperation is an essential precondition to recovery and redistribution for many countries of the Third World. Closer mutual trade and financial links could also yield indirect benefits in the form of increased bargaining strength relative to governments and enterprises in the developed countries. Thus, any developing country engaged in bilateral trade negotiations would have trading alternatives if blocked by multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. These options should be complemented by policy measures in the fields of transport and communications and technology. Many such cooperative measures require support from developed countries, which in turn stand to gain from such a strategy.

10 Such objectives would be aided by a Third World secretariat, which could:

- Monitor developments in the economies of southern countries.
- Identify opportunities for cooperative joint action on a regional or institutional basis.
- Prepare analyses and position papers as the basis for joint negotiation.
- Present such southern perspectives and arguments in negotiation with northern governments.
- Assist in the funding of necessary technical and advisory expertise on both a South-South and a North-South basis.
- Promote common policies towards transnational companies operating in southern countries.
- Prepare joint programmes or plans which recognise the mutual viability and joint financial needs of southern relative to northern, countries and interests.

- Service and, where necessary, summon meetings of the Group of Seventy-Seven and non-aligned countries.

- Relate such southern interests to the agenda of northern countries, to countervail their dominance of the agenda of the IMF and World Bank.

11 European governments should promote monetary cooperation in European Currency Units (ECUs) with those third-world governments which at present are starved of credit finance for developments. In due course, such ECU-denominated credit could provide a counterweight to the dollar in lending to southern countries.

12 Latin America and the Caribbean has suffered significantly as a result of the global crisis, and yet has managed to establish democratic government in most countries of the region. Those who champion the growth of the Asian Quartet of newly industrialising countries – not noted for their internal democracy – should recognise this important democratic progress. The industrialised democracies should feel a special responsibility to ensure that democracy and development are realisable goals.

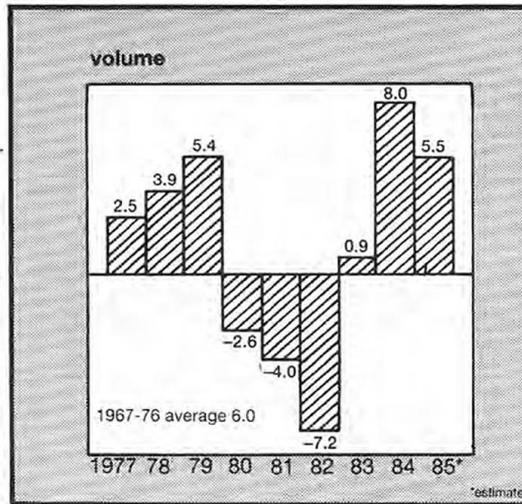
13 Efforts to launch joint action between the regional organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean, and the other African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states associated with the EC, and the Commonwealth should receive wide support.

14 The participation of OPEC and other countries in short-term 'hot-money' markets is of little long-term benefit to the client or the host country. Surpluses placed in a more selective manner in support of these European currencies, which otherwise may be threatened through domestic recovery programmes, would reinforce the recovery, which in turn, would help stabilise or sustain feasible OPEC price increases.

15 Development bonds with varying interest rates and maturity dates issued by those European economies pursuing recovery programmes would give an option to OPEC countries to place volatile hot money with unpredictable real earnings into the cooler and more guaranteed long-term bond market. Such bonds could be indexed in a package of currencies not exclusively those of the countries pursuing joint recovery programmes.

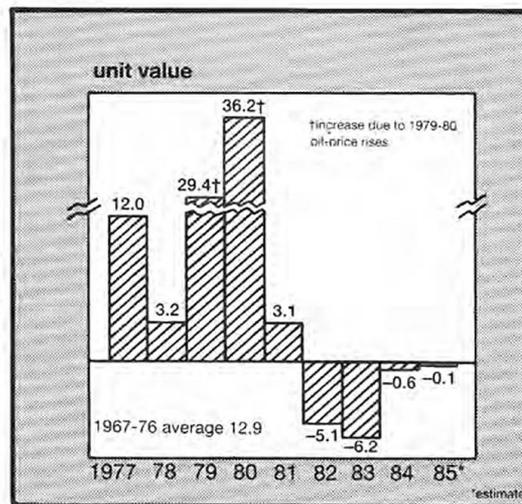
16 It is in the interest of both peoples and governments in Western and Eastern Europe alike that the public institutions for economic cooperation should be strengthened. This concerns not only the EC, EFTA and COMECON, but also those UN institutions which already embrace Eastern and Western Europe alike, such as the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva.

The recent approach made by COMECON to the Commission of the EC, with a view to new dialogue and mutual economic development, is encouraging and may lead to a



Exports of developing countries

Changes in percent



reduction of trade barriers between Eastern and Western Europe. Indications of interest in wider North-South issues by the governments of Eastern Europe and the other centrally planned economies are to be encouraged, as is the readiness on the part of China to adopt a broader international role.

17 The linkages between rising arms spending and falling resources for development are now well known. Unless some shift in resources is achieved, both arms spending and development goals will escape political control.

18 We propose a commitment to an additional spending of \$100 billion a year to make possible a new decade of recovery and development. This is 10 percent of current global arms spending. We are not suggesting a naive formula by which the world would decrease its arms spending each year by a tenth in favour of spending for development. But we do advocate that the target for a global budget to recover income and trade, and restructure and redistribute resources, should, over ten years, be at least equivalent to current global arms spending. We should be spending a trillion dollars a year more than now on additional resources to sustain global development and transform the current global crisis.

19 This report presents some of the elements of a response to the global challenge of recovery and redistribution, development, disarmament and democracy. Lasting solutions require both equity and efficiency, not only for reasons of ethics but for global survival.

Developing dilemmas

President **JULIUS NYERERE** of Tanzania, who retired recently, reflects on his country's achievements and mistakes in economic development. These provide a poignant case study of the predicament of all developing countries, but in particular of those – like Tanzania – striving for development within an equitable distribution of resources.

Despite many changes, our thrust has been consistent since independence. We have been trying to organise ourselves for the democratic and people-oriented development of our nation. And with all their faults – which must continue to be corrected as necessary – I believe that our systems of government and development planning have worked, and do work, in the desired direction.

What that direction is became clearer as we gained experience. For despite our policies we found by the end of 1966 that economic and social inequalities between our citizens, as well as other divisive attitudes, were beginning to develop. To correct this, we spelled out in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 the meaning of socialism and self-reliance for Tanzania.

We have fought against the exploitation of man by man by such methods as public ownership of the major means of production and exchange, through promoting equal access to social and public services, and through fiscal, monetary, and income policies as well as through our whole economic planning system.

We have had considerable success. One indication of this is that the ratio of urban net disposable personal income has changed from an estimated 18.8 to 1 in 1962 to 15.7 to 1 in 1966 and to 4.9 to 1 last year. This means that in 1962 the highest income was nearly nineteen times that of the lowest; last year the highest was nearly five times the minimum wage. This is a big step forward.

In February 1967 we nationalised the private financial institutions. I believe that these actions made possible our fairly steady economic progress until the late 1970s, and the strength with which we have been able to withstand the difficult period since then. For through these publicly owned institutions we have been able to develop financial services for the rural areas and the other economic sectors of our country, and also to mobilise all the financial resources of the country for the country instead of having the little we have transferred or invested elsewhere.

Thus, for example, while we had already taken the crucial step of establishing the Bank of Tanzania in 1966 – and had issued our own notes from that date – it was after the Arusha Declaration that we were able to expand commercial bank services beyond a few urban areas.

In 1967 or soon after, we also nationalised or pulled into joint ownership such few economically important production and trading establishments as existed. By these actions we emphasised the principle that the purpose of economic activities is the welfare of the people, not private profit for

capitalists. But the real economic development of the nation followed those actions; there had been very little productive investment before the Arusha Declaration.

Within six years of mainland Tanzania's independence, then, we were in a position from which we could seriously conduct that war against the poverty of our people which we had declared in December 1961. And our achievements are not small. In constant 1966 prices the per capita national income in 1964 was 510.8 Tanzania shillings per annum; in 1966 (an exceptionally good agricultural year) it was 557.1 shillings. After eleven years of socialist policies, during which we experienced two drought years and an oil price rise from about US\$1.50 to about \$13 a barrel, the per capita income had reached 680.1 shillings in 1978. And from 1967 to 1978 our population had grown from about 11.7 million to about 17 million. Thus, even with a big increase in population, per capita income in Tanzania was increasing year after year, despite great difficulties.

From 1977, however, our economy received a series of devastating and expensive blows from which we have not yet been able to recover. The break up of the East African Community (EAC) caused very expensive economic dislocation; in order to correct this, essential and urgent investments costing an estimated 2,000 million shillings had to be added to our development plans. In 1978 our country was invaded; the estimated total cost of the consequent war was approximately 4,000 million shillings. And beginning in 1979, the price of the oil we have to import for transport and energy went up again – this time from about \$13 a barrel to about \$36 in 1982!

Nor was this all. From 1979 for several years in succession we had bad crop weather so that agricultural production fell very greatly; in the three crop seasons from 1980 to 1983, we were forced to import 632,600 tons of maize (as well as rice and wheat) in order to feed the urban areas and those rural areas where the crop had failed.

In addition to these special Tanzanian problems, the ever-increasing chaos of the international economy has hit Tanzania as it has hit all other poor countries. We have had to contend with the unemployment and recession in the developed world, wide fluctuations in currency exchange rates, high interest rates and increasing protectionism. And the terms of trade – which have almost consistently moved against primary producers since our independence – became much worse as primary commodity prices collapsed at the beginning of this

decade.

In the light of these facts it is hardly surprising that the period of this parliament has been marked by a terrible fall in the per capita national income. In 1983 (still in 1966 prices) it was 589.4 shillings – lower than at any time since 1968. Thanks to almost superhuman efforts by our government and people, by last year the rate of decline had been arrested; indeed, there was a 2.5 percent increase in GDP in 1984. Unfortunately, our population simultaneously increased by 3.3 percent, so per capita income continued to decline.

The same picture of remarkable progress in the war against poverty, followed by a retreat during the last six years, can be seen in every area of our economy.

At independence there were in the whole of mainland Tanzania only 220 factories or plants which employed more than ten workers and had a capital of over 200,000 shillings! What we would really call factories could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. We were determined to change this situation and develop our own industrial structure – and not one consisting only of links in a chain of transnational enterprises.

Since 1975 we have been trying to implement a 'basic industry strategy' which will give more emphasis to the establishment of industries which can lead to greater industrial and manufacturing self-reliance. And with the help of the Small Industries Development Organisation, as well as the activities of our districts and villages and individual initiative, we now have about 1,230 small industries in the rural areas, as well as those in our towns.

'We have been able ... to mobilise all the financial resources of the country for the country instead of having the little that we have transferred or invested elsewhere.'

So we made very good progress in expanding our industrial sector until about 1979. In constant prices, the output of our manufacturing sector rose from 572 million shillings in 1967 to 1,429 million shillings in 1978 – an increase of almost 250 percent. Unfortunately, we did not pay enough attention to choosing technology which was appropriate to our economy, our level of development and our

transport constraints. And we did not – and still have not – established efficient links between the different industries or with other sectors of our economy. Nor did we pay attention to the need for continuing maintenance expenditure.

Therefore, when the foreign exchange problem became severe, the output of almost all our factories fell drastically. They are able to produce only about 30 percent of their capacity – or sometimes less – because they depend on imports for spare parts or vital ingredients, and there is no foreign exchange to finance those imports. In 1983, manufacturing output (again in 1966 prices) had fallen to 603 million shillings – which is only 5.4 percent above the 1967 level!

Until the end of the 1960s Tanzania had small surpluses on its foreign trade account. This was a sign of our lack of development activity; in those years we were to a large extent still preparing ourselves for the war against poverty. But the value of our exports continued to rise until 1977; it fell in 1978 and rose to a new peak in 1981 before beginning a decline which continues until now. The monetary value of imports, on the other hand, continued to rise until 1980 – although the volume was already decreasing very greatly. By 1984, our exports were only financing about 41 percent of our

Building a future: Brick making in an ujamaa village



FOCUS WORLD ECONOMY

imports – which, as we all know from day-to-day experience, are absolutely inadequate to keep our economy efficient.

There is no sign that the terms of our international trade are turning in our favour. On the contrary, they are likely to continue to move against our interests. For example, between March and August this year, the world coffee price has fallen by more than 25,000 shillings a ton; and the cotton price has also fallen. That is the reality of the world in which we have to try to do business. It is also the reality behind our declining productivity and our shortages – and the price rises in our shops. The foreign-exchange shortage affects every-thing. There is no escaping it.

No one else will solve this problem for us. We must become more efficient in production and distribution. We must guard what we have and allocate it only to top priorities; we must increase our exports. But whatever else we do, we have no choice but to stop thinking in terms of foreign consumer goods, and to adapt our production methods to our own internal resources and capacity. And we have to do this in every field, and urgently.

This applies to agriculture as to everything else. The productive use of our land is the key to our future. And in this area, our success has been very limited indeed. Our peasants work very hard. But although we recognised from the beginning the vital need to modernise by the use of ploughs and tractors, it has been estimated that 79 percent of our cultivation is still being done with the hand hoe. Further, very little fertiliser is being used; even worse, the use of compost, manure and even natural land regeneration methods has declined. And our woodlands are being cut very much faster than new trees are being planted. It is not really surprising that the expansion of our agricultural output is not keeping pace with population growth, and that much of our land is deteriorating in fertility.

These things have not taken place through lack of a policy, but through failure to implement our policies. We called for appropriate modernisation and organisation, with the emphasis on simple tools and application of the knowledge and good practices which already exist in some places in our country. And we have always known that the bulk of both food and cash crop production has depended upon the work of the peasants. But instead of helping them to apply these and other policies, we have lectured them, failed to provide them either with expertise or the simple tools they wanted, and made very little direct investment in agriculture.

It is not true that we inherited a flourishing agricultural sector at independence. Tanzania has always had to import food during bad years; in 1962 we imported 69,000 tons of maize. But although production has greatly increased, our population has increased faster. Now we have to import food every year. Even this year – which looks like being much better than at any since 1978 – we are unlikely to produce enough to feed all our growing urban population. And the production of most of our major cash crops has greatly declined.

Cotton sales, for example, went up from just over 114,000 tons in 1962/63 to nearly 232,000 tons in 1966/67; in 1982/83 they were only 130,000 tons. Since then they have begun to rise again, reaching 152,000 tons last season. It is expected that this output will decline again this season. Tobacco production rose rapidly until 1976/77; it has now fallen back almost to the level of 1970. A deliberate decision was made in the 1960s to reduce sisal production because of very low world prices – but it was never intended to fall back from 218,000 tons in 1963 to the present level of about 40,000 tons.

If we look again at those figures we can learn a great deal about where we went wrong. In almost all crops – certainly as regards cotton, cashew, tobacco and pyrethrum – there was a



Tanzanian development: The Uhuru Railway ...

period of expansion before the decline set in. In all these cases, the growth was due in large part to an expansion of the area planted, to better seeds, to improved husbandry, and in particular to the use of fertiliser. The decline which we have since seen is not always the result of a reduction in the acreage devoted to the crop; there has been no significant decline in the area planted for cotton and tobacco. Most often the decline has occurred because soil fertility has gone down, pest infestation has increased or the standard of husbandry has deteriorated. We have to look at why these things happened; for if the problem had simply been related to the tools our peasants use, the result would have been a stagnation at or about the peak levels, not a decline.

Even within the constraints of the hand hoe, it would be possible to increase output considerably if we use better seeds, plant properly, improve soil fertility through the use of fertiliser or organic methods, and guard the crops both in the fields and in the store against pests.

We have put the agricultural sector at the centre of all our economic planning. It now receives a very much higher percentage of our development budget. The cooperative unions have been reintroduced – their abolition was the other most serious mistake of the past years. And the activities of ministries as well as of the districts and regions are being increasingly oriented towards service to the needs of the peasants.

For it must be remembered that agricultural output and reward does not depend solely on activities which get labelled 'agriculture' or 'natural resources'. Peasants need farm implements, and consumer goods on which to spend their earnings; this is a question of industry. They need reliable transport for their crops and energy to ease their labour. They need education and health services, and so on. They also want the dignity of governing their own local affairs and participating in the government of their district and nation.

And from the peasants' point of view the picture is not all gloom. We have had considerable success in our rural development policies and in our taxation policies. It was rural children who used not to go to school and who can now do so, who had no access to medical treatment and who now have it. The real income of the average peasant is now higher than that of the urban minimum wage earner. In areas where there is a good cash crop a successful peasant can earn very much more than most of the civil servants – and he will not pay the same tax either!

But the fact remains that our agriculture must be modernised. We shall not be able to increase the production of food



... and textile mill in Dar-es-Salaam

and cash crops simultaneously unless we move away from reliance on the hand hoe. And the answer for the peasants is not, in the near future, the tractor.

The output of peasants will greatly increase, and their burden will be immensely lightened, if we expand the use of ploughs in production, carts for village transport and simple tools for threshing etc. It is the job of the leadership to ensure that such things are easily available, and that the peasants are shown how to use them and look after them. Also, the productivity of our land will be greatly increased if we increase the use of manure and compost – including green compost – as well as appropriate spacing, inter-cropping and other natural methods of fighting pest infestation. These things are not difficult to do. If we implement these practices we shall achieve great agricultural change, as well as greatly increased incomes for our farmers.

It is also necessary that we pay more attention to afforestation. On this too, some very useful work has been done. Apart from the tree planting connected with the Mufindi pulp and paper mill (which the local people say has increased the amount of rain in the area), we now have 93,570 hectares of national industrial forests as against 3,340 hectares at independence. And tree planting in the villages has been advancing at an average rate of 7,500 hectares a year since 1975. This is important and needs to be expanded. As well as helping to prevent erosion, tree planting ensures fuel and building supplies for the future; the income of the villagers could also be increased if they planted trees on that part of their land which is not suitable for other crops.

We have learned how to walk by beginning to walk! We have learned how to develop our country by trying to develop it. We never pretended to have any special wisdom about the means of developing our country. We just knew where we were trying to get to. It is not surprising therefore that sometimes we made false starts, or mistakes; we have not always foreseen problems of which we needed to be aware.

It would be quite wrong – and would certainly not reflect our own feelings – if I failed to use this opportunity to thank the many friendly countries which have given, and still give,

development assistance to Tanzania. The amount of aid we have received is sometimes exaggerated by those who wish to decry our own efforts and achievements, but it has still been very considerable – and absolutely invaluable. Many of the infrastructural, economic and social achievements would not have been possible without this help.

There are lessons which we can draw from what we have done and achieved. The vital necessity for increasing self-reliance as a method of development as well as an objective of development is now absolutely clear. We are now quite clear about the importance of systematic and organised step-by-step progress. We now know the bad effects of anger or enthusiasm flaring up and dying out like a flame and which takes no account of the interconnections of different aspects of development. We have learnt the importance of good, regular and adequate maintenance. We have recognised that it is false economy to ignore the upkeep of investments already made. We have learned that big reorganisations of government structures inevitably upset production or service for a time; these should not be undertaken frequently or lightly; and a better procedure is for marginal amendments and improvements to be made as necessary. And we have also learned also that when you have decided on the top priority of one sector or aspect of development, that has to be given top priority in action and the allocation of resources regardless of the competing demands of other essential services. In other words, we have learned that 'to plan is to choose'.

The priority at present and in the next few years has to be that of expanding production, and in particular agricultural production. We must produce enough food for our own needs every year; dependence on others for food endangers our independence. And we must increase our exports. In our circumstances both of these things are essential. They are not alternatives, but two aspects of the same priority. For a food surplus in one part of the country and starvation in another could occur if we do not earn the foreign exchange necessary to move it from one

'We never pretended to have any special wisdom about the means of developing our country ... It is not surprising therefore that sometimes we made false starts, or mistakes.'

area to another.

I think it will be clear that Tanzania's economic difficulties do not stem from our socialist policies. On the contrary, it is our socialism which has given us the strength to contend with them in unity, understanding, and with hope. And despite the encouraging signs which are beginning to be seen, our economic situation remains very bad, and it will continue to be bad for a long time to come.

We are very heavily in debt to international institutions, to other countries and to supplying firms, and have arrears of due payment which cannot quickly be paid off. And the world economy in which we operate shows no sign of improving. Even the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank predictions for the next five years are that the poorest countries of the world – which includes Tanzania – will continue to suffer from causes beyond their control. And the combination of a decline in internationalist attitudes and aggressive ideological stands by major powers will continue to add to the problems of the world's poor.

This article is an extract, concentrating on economic issues, from President Nyerere's farewell address to parliament on July 29.



Gig Mill

Smashing machines as a rational response?

'Luddite' is now a term of abuse for those who resist new technology. But the real Luddites of the 1810s did not smash machines out of ignorance, as is commonly supposed, but in the knowledge that all the benefits of the new technology of their age – new stocking frames and other machinery in the textile industry – would go to the bosses and leave them redundant.

This experience seems little different to that of many of today's working people, for, as *Global Challenge* points out, 'one of the main social costs of capitalist development lies in its incapacity to assure a sustained and balanced social distribution of the gains from technical progress and productivity'.

We reprint excerpts from **FRANK PEEL**'s nineteenth-century classic study of the Luddite movement.

It has been thought by some that the Luddite risings were confined to Yorkshire, but risings of a similar character at Nottingham preceded the lawless doings which took place in the West Riding; the discontent here being fanned into flame by the apparent success which attended the risings in the capital of the lace trade, the two being in fact closely connected.

The author of *Rejected Addresses*, James Smith, asks, in one of his poems, 'What made the quarten loaf and Luddites rise?' We purpose trying to answer that question first. If any of our readers suppose that the Luddites were all cloth finishers or croppers who had been goaded to fury by the rapid introduction of machinery, which threatened to deprive them of the means of earning a livelihood, they will find, on investigation, that they are mistaken. That the leaders of the movement in the West Riding were chiefly men of that stamp is doubtless correct; and that their prime object was the destruction of the obnoxious machines is also true; but there were connected with the risings numbers of weavers, tailors, shoemakers, and representatives of almost every handicraft, who being, in most instances, on the brink of starvation, entered the conspiracy in sheer desperation. The condition of the operative class in

this country at the time these risings took place was simply frightful.

Great events were occurring at the time of the Luddite risings. George III had again succumbed to his mental malady, and his son acted as Regent of the kingdom. Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. The weary war which the aristocracy of England undertook, to crush French liberalism and to force a king upon the French nation which that high-spirited people would not have, seemed as far from its conclusion as ever. To crush Napoleon we had not only sent our own armies, but we had also in our pay all the hordes of the despots of Europe. Truly it was a revolting and humiliating spectacle. The hard-earned money wrung from our own working people, till they rose in their misery, and even threatened king and government with destruction, went to be divided among a host of despots and slaves.

The commercial difficulties of Britain were such as might have filled the most sanguine with dismay. Closed ports on the Continent, and defective harvests at home, had caused grain to rise rapidly, until 1812, the year when Cartwright's mill was attacked, the average price of wheat was 155 shillings – a price which it had never attained before, which it has never reached

since, and in all human probability will never reach again. Bonaparte had issued his famous Milan decree, by which Britain and its islands were declared in a state of blockade, and also its colonies and dependencies in every part of the globe. The mercantile crisis, so often dreaded as the forerunner of national bankruptcy, had arrived, and such was the alarming state of commercial and manufacturing interests that Parliament interposed by decreeing a loan of six millions to tide over the difficulty.

Our foreign trade during the whole of the century had never been so low, and our home trade had dwindled into the narrowest limits, the starving population being scarcely able to purchase enough to keep soul and body together on the damaged flour at eight shillings per stone, which ran from the oven as they tried in vain to bake it. Encouraged by the high prices of grain, farmers and landlords speculated largely and gained considerable sums, but the commercial part of the community suffered dreadfully, and a more alarming account

It is a Saturday afternoon, about the middle of March, 1812. Mr. Wood's men have stopped work for the day, and are now gathered round a young man who is reading aloud from a newspaper. The whole of the group are listening intently, for it is an account of the daring proceedings of the Nottingham frame breakers.

The young man, whose pale cheek flushes as he reads of the marchings and counter marchings of the Yeomanry, and the doings of the triumphant Luddites, is evidently not one of Wood's workmen. He is evidently better educated and more refined, although he is plainly a worker at some handicraft. He is the son of the Rev. John Booth, a clergyman of the Church of England, residing at Lowmoor. There, close in front of him, is a young man with square jaws, and resolute, determined appearance, who is strongly moved by the news. This is George Mellor. Near him is a fellow workman, Thomas Smith, a man of much feebler type of character. On the other side is a man of a still more stolid aspect. This is William Thorpe, while further back were others sitting or lounging, who were also listening to the reader with intense interest.

But the reading is now finished, and a stormy discussion follows, if a discussion it can be called when all are nearly of one opinion.

Mellor is the speaker, and, like the rest, uses the broad Yorkshire dialect, which, however, we shall take the liberty of refining a little, in order that it may be read with more ease.

'Hurrah! that's right,' he cried in a hoarse voice, 'the Nottingham lams are shewing them specials and clod-hopping soldiers a bit of real good sport. O, but I wish I was there.' It would be glorious to dash them cursed frames into a thousand pieces!

'Aye,' growled Thorpe, surlily, 'but wishing's all nowt. It strikes me we've had rather too much of that.'

'Thou'rt right, Will,' answered Mellor, savagely, 'but what can two or three do? What are we doing here? Look at Booth, for instance - he'll come here and talk about the evils under which we working men groan, by the hour together, and air all his new fangled notions that he's picked up through Socialists; he knows very well that machinery is destroying us and nowt but the workhouse will be left for us soon, and yet he's never got farther than talk. Join us, lad, join us, thou'st talked long enough, it's time for action now. Isn't machinery increasing on all hands, and aren't working men half starving and seeking in vain for work? It's true these machines aren't taking Booth's trade out of his fingers, or he'd happen see things in a different light.'

'Come, now, George,' said a phlegmatic individual at the back. 'Come, now, let's have fair play. Its hardly the thing to set at Booth like that. He's never pretended to be one of us.'

Mellor's fiery appeal had moved Booth deeply. He paused for a little before speaking but at last broke silence:

'I quite agree with you, my friends, as some of you will know, respecting the harm you suffer from machinery, but it might be man's chief blessing instead of his curse if society were differently constituted. We and other countries are

already so placed by it that a very large number of people are thrown idle greatly against their will and they must be supported or starve. We know this is so, but are we therefore to conclude that machinery is in itself an evil? You are all ware that cropping by hand as you now practice it is by no means easy work; nay, we all know that it is very painful for learners to handle the shears until the wrist has become hooped. Now look at one of these machines. Observe how smoothly and how beautifully it works! How perfectly it does for the workman the most arduous part of his task. By its aid, as we well know, your task has become chiefly one of care and watchfulness. To say that a machine that can do this for you is in itself an evil is manifestly absurd. Under proper conditions it would be to you an almost unmixed blessing, but unfortunately the favourable conditions do not exist.

'What's the use of such sermons as thine to starving men?', almost yelled Mellor. 'It's a case, I reckon, of "live horse and thou'st have grass". If men would only do as thou says, it would be better, we all know. But they won't. It's all for themselves with the masters. What do they care if a thousand or two of us are pined to death if they can make brass a bit faster?'

'Hold!' cried Booth. 'No man can feel for the poor, starving workmen more than I do, but I fear the course adopted by the Luddites to remedy it is not the right one. To confess the truth, I am in a strait. I am afraid your plan will never succeed, and I don't see much chance of re-organising society on a better and sounder basis at present, working men being as a rule almost totally uneducated.'

'Feel for them that's starving,' shouted Benjamin Walker, another of Wood's workmen and one of the most violent in the band, 'thou'rt either a liar or a coward. How can thou feel for them when thou willn't lift up thy finger to help 'em?'

'I am no coward, Walker, and again I say I do feel, from the bottom of my heart, for you. It is hard for people to starve to death in their own houses in a christian land, but would it not be better to lay these things before the masters and to reason with them, rather than to infuriate them by destroying their machines and -'

'Reason with them,' impatiently interrupted Thorpe, 'reason with the stones I say, for their hearts are as hard as flints. What's the use of talking about reasoning with a man when his interest pulls all the other way? They'll have these machines if we all clam to death. The only chap that can reason with them is Enoch; that chap is the best reasoner I know of, when he breaks them into a hundred pieces - they understand that!'

'Say thou'lt join us,' replied Mellor, 'for thou sees with all thy reasoning, as thou calls it, thou can't find us a way out.'

'I will join you,' says Booth, with sudden resolution, 'my head tells me you are wrong, but my heart is too strong for it. Perhaps the masters, seeing you are driven to desperation, will after all be compelled to take your circumstances into consideration.'

of bankruptcies was never known, their number amounting in one year to no less than 2,341, of which twenty-six were banking-houses.

In the great towns of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Nottinghamshire, the poor were seeking for work, or failing to obtain it, were parading through the streets in gaunt famine-stricken crowds, headed by men with bloody loaves mounted on spears crying in plaintive, wailing chorus for bread. Goaded to desperation, all sense of loyalty was driven far from them. The world had dealt hardly with them, and they blindly sought to revenge themselves. They were too ignorant to understand that if they were miserable and starving, their masters were waging a great and glorious war. They knew only that their children were crying pitifully for bread.

When trade was prosperous with them, their fare had been poor enough. White bread, which is plentiful now on every working man's table, was only seen on Sundays, and then it was carefully portioned out. Oatcake was then the 'staff of life,' and oatmeal porridge an article of constant and universal consumption once a day at least, often twice, and not unfrequently three times.

Manufacturers everywhere were availing themselves of the many wonderful inventions that were being brought out for cheapening labour, and as the new machinery threw thousands out of employment when extensively introduced, the poor, misguided wretches, who could not understand how that could be a benefit which deprived them of the means of earning a livelihood and reduced them to beggary, met in secret conclaves, and resolved in their ignorance to destroy them.

Up to the time when the cropping machines were invented, cloth was finished by a method that was at once very slow and very costly. The instrument used was a very primitive one and the whole process plainly behind the age; when, therefore, the new machines were introduced, manufacturers at once realised the great gain in time and the great saving of money they would secure by adopting them, and the croppers speedily began to realise also that unless the introduction of the thrice accursed piece of mechanism, which did the work so deftly, could be prevented, their occupation, like Othello's, was gone.

It has been said that the croppers might have turned their attention to some other method of obtaining a livelihood, but as we have shown, trade was almost non-existent, and every occupation seemed to be greatly over-stocked with hands. Every town and village was crowded with paupers, able-bodied men most of them, who would have gladly earned their living honourably had they had the opportunity. In Nottingham alone no fewer than 15,350 individuals, or nearly half the population, were at one time relieved from the poor rates, and though matters were not quite so bad in Yorkshire, it is well known that our streets were filled with half starved workmen, wandering about in enforced idleness.

That matters were bad enough in the West Riding will be evident when we state that in many towns there were exacted in that black year four poor rates of three shillings in the pound each. It was stated in a parliamentary return that out of a population of 200,000, in the manufacturing districts, no less than 50,000 did not receive more than twopence half-penny per day each for food.

The croppers had the reputation at this time of being a wild and reckless body of men; and the desperate deeds of which some of them were afterwards found guilty seem to show that the accusation had, at any rate, a good foundation of truth. It applied at least to some of the men employed at the finishing mill of Mr. John Wood, of Longroyd Bridge, which workshop seems to have been the chief centre of the

conspiracy in this neighbourhood.

Their first object was to destroy all the obnoxious machinery, but they had also other purposes in view, such as the coercion, and, if necessary, the destruction of such masters as made themselves obnoxious to the society, either by persisting in introducing the machinery into their works, or by encouraging and supporting those who did. Condemning as they did the bloody war that brought them so much misery, they had also some crude notions about upsetting the government itself, when their organisation had spread itself throughout the land and they had collected sufficient arms and perfected themselves in military exercises. In order to carry out these aims, every member of the society was required to bind himself by their terrible oath not to divulge any of the secrets of the conspirators, and to aid in carrying out the objects of the association in every possible way.

The system of machine breaking took its rise in Nottinghamshire, towards the end of 1811, and was directed against the stocking and lace frames or machines which had lately been introduced and are now most common, neither stockings nor common lace being produced in any other manner, except on the domestic hearth by the few who kept up the good old practice of knitting. From Nottinghamshire, Luddism spread into Yorkshire, where the excesses soon rivalled those of the Midland district.

The ire of the hand croppers in this district was directed against a machine termed a 'frame' – the shear frame – as was that of the stockingers and lacemen of Nottinghamshire. The shear frame was one by means of which the two hand shears could be worked at one and the same time instead of one by the hand cropper. And with this advantage too that while the pair of cropping shears were working across the length of the two pieces, fixed and prepared on the shear boards, the man or boy in attendance had only to stand and watch the operation until the cut was completed. Then he had to run the shears off the cloth to their resting place on the shear board, unhook the cropped portions of the pieces, pull forward the other portions, hook them to the shear boards, 'raise the nap' ready for the shears to cut it down to a certain height for finished cloth, and then run in the two shears again into the position necessary for them to perform the operation of cutting. This, it is not difficult to see, was much easier for the man than if he worked the shears himself by means of the nog, a most laborious and painful operation, especially so, indeed, until the hoof on the right wrist had been formed, by which any cropper of moderate age could be identified, arising from holding the shears and their action to and fro when impelled by the nog. In fact the shear frame served mainly for the relief of the workmen, performing for them a most arduous portion of the work. Still it was a machine and as such was doomed to destruction.

Many of these machines used in this neighbourhood about 1811 and 1812 were constructed by two enterprising and industrious men named Enoch and James Taylor, who had begun life as ordinary blacksmiths, but being of an ingenious turn of mind had gradually developed into machine makers. Their residence was at Marsden and their workshop stood on what is now the site of the town's school. The great hammer used by the Luddites in breaking the frames was always called 'Enoch,' after the leading partner in the firm chiefly engaged in their manufacture in this locality, the saying being common, 'Enoch has made them and Enoch shall smash them.'

These excerpts are taken from the third edition of Frank Peel's The Rising of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug-Drawers. The book was reprinted, with a new introduction by the historian E.P. Thompson, in 1968 (London: Frank Cass & Co; ISBN 0-7146-1350-9).



Vienna conference on disarmament

SI tells superpowers to strengthen arms-control agreements

With the Geneva summit due to take place four weeks later, the issue of strategic nuclear disarmament and the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were at the core of the discussions at the SI Conference on Disarmament held in Vienna on October 16-17 at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ).

'This conference, like the first SI disarmament conference held in Helsinki in 1978, attests to the fact that disarmament has become one of the cornerstones of our activities', declared Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and chairman of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) in front of nearly a hundred delegates from SI member parties and over twenty invited guests.

These included: a delegation from the United States, headed by Kenneth Adelman, the director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; a delegation from the Soviet Union, headed by Boris Ponomarev, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and an alternate member of the politburo; Miljan Komatina, representing the secretary-general of the United Nations; Dinesh Singh, representing the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement; and a delegation from China, headed by Zhu Liang, deputy director of the department for international relations of the central committee of the Communist Party of China.

The International had adopted at its Bureau meeting, held at the same venue on October 15-16, the Vienna Appeal on Disarmament, which addressed itself first and

foremost to the two superpowers. It calls on them 'to reinforce their commitment to respect the SALT 1 and SALT 2 agreement beyond 1985, refrain from any measures which would undermine them, reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty' (*for full text, see Documents, page 36; for Bureau meeting report, see pages 29-31*).

After more than a decade of lost opportunities and broken promises, Sorsa observed, an awareness of what needed to be done seemed to be gaining ground.

'Technological fixes or mere talking will not do. States must reappraise their foreign and security policy, so as to revitalise and strengthen detente, both politically and militarily. We must regain our belief in arms control and disarmament as a viable and credible instrument of peace and security.'

Fred Sinowatz, the Austrian federal chancellor and chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) in his welcoming speech tackled the often-heard accusation that social democrats are 'too idealistic, too easily enthused by sonorous phrases and good intentions'. The self-

appointed 'realists' who put forward this view offer instead the hackneyed 'if you desire peace, prepare for war'. But peace is not secured by preparing for war; peace is secured by working for a more peaceful world.

SI President Willy Brandt focused on the forthcoming Geneva summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

One should not entertain excessive expectations for the Geneva summit, Brandt cautioned, but it would be a success if both leaders at the end of their talks would come to the conclusion that a policy of continued military confrontation made no sense. 'If both sides could agree that it is not the quality of arms but rather the quality of policies that will decide about security and stability — then a great deal would already have been achieved.'

The first of the guest speakers, **Boris Ponomarev** (Soviet Union), stressed that in the nuclear-weapon and space age, security could no longer be assured by military means. 'Nowadays it is naive to expect to solve the problem of security by perfecting the shield and the sword'. The Soviet leadership had thus come to the conclusion that modes of thinking and acting that had existed over the centuries would have to be radically changed.

Over the past forty years the Soviet Union had put forward proposals on the entire range of problems related to stopping the arms race. These encompassed

the nuclear sphere, chemical weapons, conventional armaments, the numerical strength of the armed forces, and military expenditure. 'The Soviet Union will go as far in limiting and reducing any type of weapons as its counterparts are prepared to go.'

Ponomarev outlined the proposals for disarmament presented by the Soviet Union since April: the complete prohibition on space strike weapons; a radical reduction, by 50 percent, of nuclear weapons capable of reaching the other's territory; and a mutual reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

He deplored that the US government had hitherto ignored these proposals — as well as various unilateral measures by the Soviet Union — and instead pursued its programme for a system of space weapons, whose 'purpose is to make possible the delivery of a first strike without fear of retaliation'.

Kenneth Adelman (United States) defined the primary security objective of the United States as the reduction of the risk of war while maintaining the right to live in freedom. 'Arms control is one important element of our security policy, but only one. It complements other necessary measures, such as maintaining forces for an adequate deterrent.' Security, he argued, could only be guaranteed by force — 'strength deters, while weakness is provocative'.

Arms control, then, must be part of a broader policy, because the rivalry between the East and West stems from fundamental moral and political differences. Weapons were the symptom of this struggle, not its cause.

Noting that in particular with respect to the US strategic defence initiative (SDI) 'rational public discussion on arms control has been the victim of increasing emotion, rhetoric and propaganda', Adelman provided a detailed justification of SDI and its aims.

It was often forgotten that the Soviet Union had for long been investigating the same advanced technologies for strategic defence that were now being

Olof Palme, Kalevi Sorsa, Fred Sinowatz, Willy Brandt





Karsten Voigt, Kenneth Adelman, Neil Kinnock

examined in the SDI programme, he declared.

Adelman went on to list the range of proposals made by the US: the reduction of nearly 50 percent in strategic ballistic warheads and in missiles on each side; significant limits and tradeoffs between areas where the Soviet Union had an advantage (such as destructive powers of ballistic missile forces) and where the US had an advantage (such as heavy bomber forces with associated cruise missiles); the reduction to the lowest equal level possible of the entire class of longer-range intermediate-range missiles.

imminent dangers, and never in history has there been more readiness to resist war. All this gives grounds for a certain degree of optimism', he concluded.

Dinesh Singh (Non-Aligned Movement) said that the nations of Asia and Africa perceived no advantage in aligning themselves with any of the power blocs. On the other hand, they saw that the rivalry between these blocs for influence and domination was the principal factor responsible for tensions and conflicts in the world. All wars since 1945 had been waged on their soil and involved the loss of their peoples' lives and the destruction of their economies and natural resources.

Zhu Liang (China) noted there was much common ground between the Chinese Communist Party and the member parties of the SI on such issues as checking the arms race and safeguarding world peace.

China stood for the total ban and destruction of nuclear, space, chemical and biological weapons, and called for a drastic reduction of conventional armaments. In the past few years, his country had taken concrete steps towards these goals: a large number of military industries had been converted into civilian industries, and by the end of next year the strength of the military force would be reduced by one million.

A highlight of the proceedings was the question-and-answer session in which, following a request from Willy Brandt, the heads of the US and Soviet delegations had agreed to take questions from the floor.

Stephen Loosely (ALP, Australia) raised with Kenneth Adelman the issue of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Would this not be a valuable contribution to ending the growth, development and



Zhu Liang (with interpreter)

sophistication of nuclear weapons, and should negotiations on such a treaty not be initiated as a matter of urgency?

Adelman said this was the long-term goal of the US, but a major problem was that of verification. The US had invited the Soviet Union to visit its test sites; but the Soviets had not reciprocated. For many years there had been talk of having discussions on verification; but the Soviet did not want such discussions.

But in the short term, the US and its allies would ultimately have to depend on nuclear weapons for deterrence, though this was not a situation that they wished to endure indefinitely.

Maarten van Traa (PvdA, Netherlands) asked Adelman whether in the light of the richness of debate on arms control issues in the West, he thought a more open discussion in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union could not be a very important confidence-building measure? And was it the goal of US arms policy to overcome deterrence or to strengthen it?

Adelman agreed that the strength of the West was fundamentally based on the expression of different opinions on critical issues such as arms control. And the world would indeed be a better place, and the Soviet proposals on arms control would be far more valuable, if the Soviets had to address themselves openly to a public.

Regarding deterrence, he said it had always been partly protection and partly retaliation. The US administration's view was that it would be better to have a form of deterrence that itself relied less and less on the threat of retaliation and annihilation.

Neil Kinnock (Labour Party,

Britain) asked what real security the star wars project actually offered? And did the US government really expect its allies to accept that — after spending prodigious amounts on SDI research — it would refrain from further development?

Adelman stressed that the SDI programme was designed to diminish the importance of nuclear weapons, perhaps allowing the world to move away from them altogether in the future. There was criticism of the sums of money spent on SDI research. But in fact, in the previous year only 1.5 per cent of the defence budget had been allocated to it; for the coming year the administration had requested an allocation of 2 percent of the defence budget for the SDI programme.

Horst Ehmke (SPD, Federal Germany) asked when the US would table a proposal on the testing, development and deployment of space weapons at the Geneva talks?

The US took the view, Adelman said, that the SDI Programme was going to be interpreted in such a way as to preclude testing and development of future systems, and that the programme was in conformity with that interpretation, even though legally there were other possible interpretations of the ABM Treaty. It was an interpretation that meant that basic research and some other elements could be carried out.

Neil Kinnock (Labour Party, Britain) asked Ponomarev why the requests of the Dutch government for the dismantling of SS-20s in excess of 243 missiles had not been met, and how the Soviet Union could assure the people of Europe that SS-20s from Asia could not be transferred very rapidly to Europe at any time of crisis?



Boris Ponomarev

It was thus no exaggeration to say that 'President Reagan's arms control agenda is the most comprehensive of any president in our history'.

Miljan Komatina (United Nations) highlighted the need to replace the very polarised debate within the right political context, that is, within the framework of the United Nations.

Over the last forty years, significant advances had been made in many fields, with many positive changes in the sphere of ideas having taken place. As a consequence, 'never in history has humanity been more aware of its rights, capabilities and of

Bureau adopts disarmament appeal, affirms faith in UN

Ponomarev said that the point about the role of SS-20s in relation to the Netherlands was that missiles deployed in the Asian part of the Soviet Union could not reach the Netherlands. With regard to the missiles that were being withdrawn from combat duty, the launchers were being dismantled. And concerning verification, there was no doubt that everything was monitored from outer space.

Karsten Voigt (SPD, Federal Germany) asked Ponomarev how close the Soviet government was to the Socialist International's views, especially on SDI and medium-range missiles?

Ponomarev expressed his country's willingness to promote cooperation with the parties of the SI and all those who wanted a reduction of nuclear weapons. The speeches to the conference by socialist leaders had contained important proposals. But the US representative had said nothing on these proposals. He had merely insisted on star wars. It was clear that the US insistence on SDI was a drive to ensure domination.

Ed Broadbent (NDP/NPD, Canada) asked Ponomarev whether the Soviet Union would be prepared to accept on-site verification of existing weapons if the US indicated willingness to alter radically its budget for star wars research and to adhere strictly to the ABM treaty?

Verification, answered Ponomarev, however important it might be, must play an ancillary role. The most important thing was to agree on curbing the arms race. The amount of verification must correspond to the amount of reduction; otherwise it lacked meaning and became a means of reconnaissance. However, when necessary, additional measures could be taken, and commissions could be set up to clarify the claims made and carry out on-site verification on a voluntary basis.

The Soviet Union was of the view that an agreement on arms reduction should be achieved first, and that verification be discussed subsequently. But it had never in principle rejected the necessity of verification.

The SI Bureau held its second meeting of the year in Vienna on October 15-16, at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ). The venue was the imposing Hofburg, the headquarters of the old Imperial Austrian administration, where one of the three main East-West arms-control fora, on reductions in conventional arms in Europe (MBFR), has been meeting regularly since 1974.

Thus the Hofburg — the Bureau met in the very room where the MBFR talks are held — provided a highly symbolic background to two of the issues which figured the prominently in the discussions, disarmament and multilateral cooperation. In preparation for the SI Disarmament Conference held at the same venue immediately following its meeting, the Bureau adopted the Vienna Appeal on Disarmament. In addition to the appeal, the Bureau adopted resolutions supporting the efforts to establish a chemical-weapons-free zone in Central Europe and a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific (*for full texts, see Documents, page 36 and 38; for full report on the conference, see pages 27-29.*)

Vienna, host to a number of specialist agencies of the United Nations, was a no less appropriate venue to discuss the meeting's main theme, 'The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, and multilateral cooperation'. The Bureau adopted a major statement affirming the SI's intention 'to remain one of the main international forces in support of the United Nations' (*for full text, see Documents, page 36.*)

Major resolutions on the environment, Southern Africa, Central America, Chile and finance and development were also adopted (*for full texts, see Documents, pages 36-38.*) The Middle East and Latin America

were important parts of the agenda as well.

Among its decisions, the Bureau accepted an invitation from the Peruvian Aprista Party (APRA) to hold the 1986 congress in Lima; recommended the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) of Brazil for membership of the SI; and set up a Study Group on Africa (*see reports on page 35.*)

A short text condemning terrorism was also adopted. It states that 'Democratic socialists ... affirm that under no circumstances can acts of terrorism, whether performed by individuals, groups or governments, be justified.'

Opening the meeting, Leopold Gratz, the chairman of the Viennese SPÖ and Austrian foreign minister, said that the Socialist International gave the lie to the impression, fostered by right-wing forces in recent years, that the democratic left had lost its dynamism. There was ample evidence — not least growing popular support for member parties the world over — of the fact that 'people recognise and value the efforts and intercession of the democratic left'.

It was imperative that the left continue its struggle to achieve the objectives of social justice, the participation of all men and women in decisions which affect their future, the eradication of

hunger and unemployment, and above all the preservation of peace. Although there were no miracle cures, socialists 'must show, not only in our manifestos, but above all by practical example, that we will deal with the challenges of the present; not only as "doctors at the sickbed of capitalism" but also as pioneers of a more humane society"'.

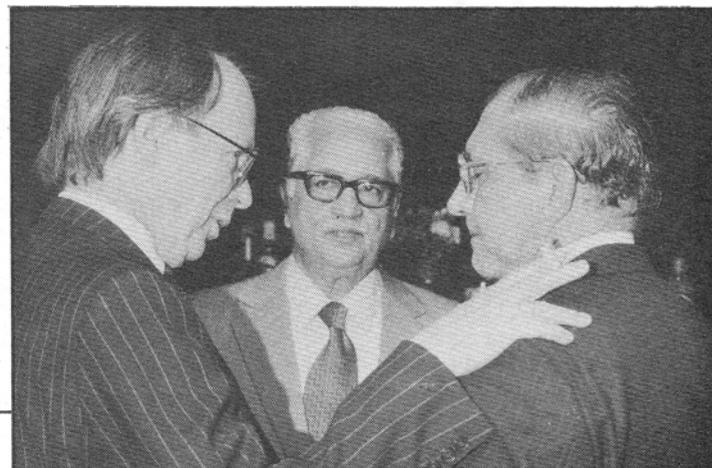
In his opening remarks, SI president Willy Brandt thanked the SPÖ for its invitation to the Bureau and for its efforts in organising the SI Disarmament Conference.

Brandt emphasised 'a very important mission we have to fulfil', namely that of realising human rights, a struggle which was indivisible. 'We must fight for them everywhere on our planet. That is why we adopted in recent years commitments towards Chile and Afghanistan, Central America and Eastern European countries, the Middle East and South Africa.'

Socialists should fight for human rights with unflinching courage, in particular in cases where conservatives had paid lip service but had done nothing else — South Africa offering most glaring example of this.

The main theme was introduced by Peter Jankowitsch (SPÖ, Austria), a former Austrian ambassador to the UN.

Peter Jankowitsch, Fernando Vera, Guillermo Ungo





Shimon Peres, Maarten van Traa

The United Nations was today under increasing attack from a phalanx led by neo-conservatives from North America and old conservatives from Europe, and other traditional enemies of internationalism. And it was no doubt true, he said, that the United Nations had disappointed many hopes and that there were many factors within the UN system which had greatly reduced its effectiveness over the years. He mentioned 'bureaucratisation and ritualisation of the multilateral process as real problems'.

But much of the criticism levelled at the UN could be attributed to the fact that the organisation had never really developed as intended. The transformation of a largely colonised world into a polity of at present 159 sovereign members of the UN had never been considered by its founders. 'The world as seen in 1945 from San Francisco was essentially white, western and christian; now it is a much more colourful place'.

Among the achievements of the United Nations, Jankowitsch mentioned: the avoidance of general war; democratisation of international relations; creation of peace-keeping forces; promotion of economic development; elaboration of an international political machinery; and heightened awareness of human rights issues.

The UN should be open to new realities, aspirations and paradigms, he said. It could do more, for instance, to monitor both the environment and societies through the collection,

analysis and dissemination of relevant information; facilitate the sharing of experiences and ideas; promote mutual understanding and education through dialogue and negotiation among countries, cultures and societies; and formulate alternative policy options for steering a world society in transition, Jankowitsch concluded.

Jan Pronk (PvdA, Netherlands) noted the link between the role of the United Nations and multilateralism and the world economic crisis. The economic, financial, and environmental problems of today could not be tackled by individual countries, but only at a global level, he said. People were still overly attached to the solutions of the 1960s and 1970s, which were no longer appropriate because the world had changed since then.

The chairman of the Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP, Michael Manley (PNP, Jamaica), reviewing the work on a strategy to overcome the economic crisis, said that *Global Challenge* — the committee's report adopted at the last Bureau and launched on September 25 — represented the first major challenge by the democratic left to the ideas of the radical right that had gained ascendancy in the early 1980s.

Introducing the Middle East discussion, Shimon Peres (Israel Labour Party) said that the main issue today was how to proceed and build the momentum for peace.

Concerning the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis on October 1, Peres said that although an act of violence, it



Rui Mateus, Elena Flores

was also an act of self-defence against a terrorist organisation which, he underlined, had not given up the covenant calling for the destruction of Israel, nor had it renounced violence.

Support for peace must include three points, Peres said: the peace process should be set above all other considerations, in order to maintain the momentum for peace; support for direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan; and the renunciation of terror.

Elazar Granot (MAPAM, Israel) suggested that, in addition, the Socialist International should declare the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian national problem could not be solved through the use of arms, and that it should call for a mutually agreed-upon end to the vicious circle of bloodletting in order to expedite the beginning of negotiations.

Other speakers stressed that the PLO would have to recognise the right of Israel to exist. At the same time, the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including a Palestinian state, would have to be accepted by all parties. Several speakers urged the Israeli government to negotiate with the PLO, for 'peace, if it is to be lasting, must be made with one's enemies, not with one's self-appointed partners', according to Karl Blecha (SPÖ, Austria).

Commenting on the issues raised in the discussion, President Brandt said that 'most of us belong to states which owe their existence to violence; this is a fact of history'. In the Middle East, however, violence could not offer a solution. 'The condemnation of violence is not enough and will not lead to

peace; we must add other elements which might lead to negotiations and perhaps to final solutions', he said.

The Austrian minister for health and the environment, Kurt Steyrer, introduced the discussion on environmental problems.

It should be borne in mind, he argued, that security policy as envisaged by socialists was not just a military or defence question but a comprehensive strategy aimed at achieving a humane existence for all people. In this understanding of the term 'security', the destruction of the environment, which affected nearly all countries, was also a problem of security. Moreover, 'environmental destruction is also a security problem because it can affect political and economic stability and thus spark off military threat or even military conflicts'.

Carlos Andrés Pérez (AD, Venezuela), speaking on behalf of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICCAC), said that the fundamental problem of the region was still that of indebtedness, with its serious implications for the democratisation process.

Regretting that there were few positive developments to report from Central America, he emphasised the need for European parties to increase their support for parties in Latin America and for the Contadora effort to end conflict in the region.

In the debate on Southern Africa, speakers reported on their parties' and governments'

contribution to the liberation struggle. Olof Palme (SAP, Sweden) noted that outside pressure on the apartheid regime was becoming ever more important — although even stronger action was of the greatest importance — and the

contributions by socialists in this effort were impressive. He cited the meeting of members of the business community with the ANC in Lusaka in September as a typical example of the effectiveness of outside pressure.

The Bureau also heard reports from the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO, in which it was noted that the region would no doubt become an area of expansion for the SI in future, if only because it was gaining in importance in global economic

and strategic terms; from the Chile Committee on its meeting in Madrid (*see report on page 35*); and from the New Declaration of Principles Committee, SINDEC, which will hold a major meeting in Madrid on February 14, 1986.

List of participants

Socialist International Bureau Meeting Vienna, Austria, October 15-16, 1985

Socialist International

Willy Brandt
Pentti Väänänen
Robin V. Sears
Luis Ayala

Australia

Australian Labor Party, ALP
Stephen Loosley

Austria

Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Fred Sinowatz
Karl Blecha
Heinz Fischer
Jolanda Offenbeck
Fritz Marsch
Peter Schieder
Peter Jankowitsch
Walter Hacker

Belgium

Socialist Party, PS
Etienne Godin

Belgium

Socialist Party, SP
Karel van Miert
Oscar Debunne
Karla Galle

Burkina Faso

Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV
Joseph Ki-Zerbo

Canada

New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD
Ed Broadbent
Steve Lee

Chile

Radical Party, PR
Enrique Silva Cimma

Costa Rica

National Liberation Party, PLN
Carlos Villalobos
Alejandro Montesino

Denmark

Social Democratic Party
Steen Christensen
Lasse Budtz
Kirsten Jensen

El Salvador

National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Guillermo Ungo
Héctor Oqueli
Jorge Sol

Finland

Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
Erkki Liikanen
Lauri Kangas
Allan Rosas
Riitta Korhonen
Juhani Aro

France

Socialist Party, PS
Jacques Hüntzinger
Jean-Bernard Curial
Pascal Boniface

Germany, Federal Republic

Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Egon Bahr
Horst Ehmke
Hans-Eberhard Dingels

Great Britain

The Labour Party
Jenny Little

Guatemala

Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
Enrique de León

Ireland

The Labour Party
Tony Kinsella
Brendan Halligan

Israel

Israel Labour Party
Shimon Peres
Uzi Baram
Israel Gat
Nava Arad

Israel

United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Elazar Granot
Arie Jaffe
Dani Biran

Italy

Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
Ivanka Corti
Antonio Cariglia

Italy

Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Claudio Martelli
Margherita Boniver
Paolo Vittorelli
Francesco Gozzano

Jamaica

People's National Party
Michael Manley

Japan

Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Roo Watanabe
Sachiko Taguchi

Japan

Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
Eiji Yasui

Luxembourg

Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSJ
Raymond Becker

Malaysia

Democratic Action Party, DAP
P. Patto

Mauritius

Mauritius Labour Party
Satcam Boolell
Balakrishna Teeroovengadam

Netherlands

Labour Party, PvdA
Maarten van Traa
Klaas de Vries
Wim Kok

Norway

Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Reiulf Steen
Thorvald Stoltenberg

Paraguay

Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF
Fernando Vera

Portugal

Socialist Party, PS
Rui Mateus

San Marino

Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU
Patrizia Busignani
Waldes Fiorino

Senegal

Socialist Party of Senegal
Léopold Senghor
Abdel Kader Fall
Caroline Diop

Spain

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
José-Maria Benegas
Elena Flores
Rafael Estrella

Sweden

Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
Olof Palme
Pierre Schori
Gunnar Stenarv
Nils Gunnar Billinger
Sture Ericson
Maj Britt Theorin

Switzerland

Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, PS
Helmut Hubacher
Heinrich Buchbinder

USA

Democratic Socialists of America, DSA
Michael Harrington

USA

Social Democrats, SDUSA
Joel Freedman

Venezuela

Democratic Action, AD
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Reinaldo Figueredo
Timoteo Zambrano

Fraternal Organisations

IFM/SEI

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International
Reinhold Eckhardt

IUSY

International Union of Socialist Youth
Dirk Drijbooms
Robert Kredig

SI Women

Socialist International Women
Lydie Schmit
Irmtraut Karlsson
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

Korea

Alliance for Democracy and Reunification of Korea
Dong Ho Bae
M.S. Rim
Gank-kook Bae

Consultative Parties

Cyprus

EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
Theodoulos Charalambides

St Lucia

Progressive Labour Party, PLP
George Odlum

Associated Organisations

CSPEC

Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community
Mauro Giallombardo

SUCEE

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe
Vilém Bernard
Stanislaw Wasik

WLZM

World Labour Zionist Movement
Gideon Kouts

Observers

Organisations

European Parliament

Socialist Group
Rudi Arndt
Paolo Maria Falcone

ANC

Tony Seedat

IAH

Kurt Partzsch

SWAPO

Anton Lubowski
Nghidimondjila Shoombe

Parties

Brazil

PDT
Matheus Schmidt
Miguel Bodea

Brazil

PMDB
Fernando Gasparian

Greece

PASOK
Perikles Nearchou

Korea

Alliance for Democracy and Reunification of Korea
Dong Ho Bae
M.S. Rim
Gank-kook Bae

Korea

SDP
Kim Chul
In Mork Park
Tai Ho Shin
Doo Young Kwon

Morocco

USFP
Abderahim Bouabid
Fathallah Oualalou
M. Lahbabi

Nicaragua

FSLN
José Pasos
Ivan Mejia-Solis
Rafael Rivera

Panama

PRD
Nils Castro

Tunisia

PSD
Hedi Baccouche
Sadok Fayala

Tunisia

MUP
Ahmed Ben Salah

Turkey

SODEP
Erdal İnönü
Dr Kubararçhibasi

USA

Democratic Party
John Loiello

Guests

Philippines

Agapito Aquino
Alberto Ortiz

Hans Janitschek

Jan Pronk

New options, tough challenges

'The next decade may be the most exciting, and toughest, that the SI has faced in its 121 years...'

After nearly ten years of work within the Socialist International and more than four years as assistant general secretary of the organisation, **ROBIN SEARS** is returning early next year to take up a new position with his party. He began his work on this magazine in 1982 and became its editor the following year. Here he reflects on the decade of growth since the historic Geneva congress of 1976, and suggests some of the prospects and potential problems facing 'the world's oldest and largest political international'.

What has been the most significant change in the SI since you began working with the organisation in the late seventies?

Sears: Oh, clearly the move away from eurocentrism – the recognition that the family of the democratic left is truly global, even if its roots are in north-western Europe. The record by comparison with any organisation is an impressive one. The congress in Vancouver, Canada, in 1978 marked the first time that the SI had held a full constitutional congress outside Europe, and the party leaders' conference in Tokyo the previous year was the first of its kind in Asia. There was the largest gathering of European and African party leaders ever assembled at our Arusha conference in 1984. And now the decision to hold the first ever congress of the Socialist International in Latin America, next June, as the guests of President García and APRA in Lima, Peru.

No other political international has been able to grow as quickly in its political horizons, membership or influence as the SI in the past decade, and a large part of that was due to Willy Brandt's prescience in the mid-seventies that the future of democratic socialism lay as much in the South as in the North.

One should not overestimate the change, though, by claiming that because the majority of member parties of the SI are now non-European the centre of political gravity has shifted south or west. It hasn't.

As a Canadian socialist, from a country with more than a hundred years of

political organisation on the left in its history, I was quite taken aback to learn in detail just how much more than anywhere else in the world social democracy is integral to the fabric of western Europe, how much larger and more powerful, richer financially and intellectually, and how important to a whole range of social institutions many of the European parties are.

So for the reasons of history, scale, collective cohesion internally and with each other, the political weight of Europe within our ideological family will not soon be shifted. What is exciting though is its being revitalised by the influences from the Americas, and from the Third World; while, in a hopefully less neo-colonial fashion, it is transmitting its not inconsiderable experience to newer parties and democracies elsewhere.

It is this, aspect of the change in our organisation which has caused some ideologues on the right the most heartburn. Fossils like Arnaud de Borchgrave (the editor of the Moonies, US house organ, *The Washington Times*) rave about how the SI has moved far left in recent years, gives comfort to the communists, and so on. But what really troubles them is the growth of support for progressive and democratic social change in the countries of the South.

But what do you think in policy terms has been the success of the SI in this period? Some critics might observe that simply establishing new geographic footholds for

the organisation doesn't in itself do more than the opening of branch offices does in any institutional structure.

Sears: Yes, that's a fair comment, to which one might add that 'socialist tourism' – the endless round of conferences in exotic locales – is only the partisan analogue to the sometimes rather meaningless globe-trotting of international agency bureaucrats. There is also the risk that the torrent of words which any political organisation generates masks inaction, rather than stimulating creative or useful activity.

But I think there are several areas in which the SI can be proud of its achievements in political and policy terms. Perhaps the two most notable are Central America and disarmament.

Work in the field of security policy is agonisingly slow and the payoff is also painfully distant, as President Reagan observed at the conclusion of the Geneva summit. Still, I think there can be no doubt that the work of the SI and in particular the SI Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) has contributed much to keeping some space for discussion of arms control issues open during the coldest months of the freeze in super-power relations in the first part of this decade.

It also provided a very useful channel for the superpowers to communicate messages to our member parties – including those in government – and an opportunity for our members to indicate their views about superpower behaviour on arms issues. Internally, the role that SIDAC played in conciliating the tensions which surrounded the heated discussion of the stationing of the euro-missiles was particularly valuable, for example.

The work of the SI in coordinating the positions of our member parties on disarmament – amidst very great differences of view, at some points – and maintaining some coherence in the public position of social democracy about the greatest issue facing the late twentieth century – the avoidance of nuclear holocaust – is certainly one of our more important achievements in the last few years.

Some might raise their eyebrows and say 'Fine, but what about a nuclear-free Pacific?' To which I would only repeat what I indicated at the beginning, the process of change is slow in the field of security policy, and sometimes current efforts are invisible until much later – which might conceal the fact that those efforts have been strenuous and will continue to be.

Despite the SI's high profile on Central America over some years, isn't it true that you have failed in your central goal, that



Robin Sears in conversation with SI president Willy Brandt

is, an effort to bring about a negotiated peace?

Sears: Yes, then there is Central America. It is hard not to recall, a little wryly, the triumphalism which surrounded the Sandinistas' emergence at our Vancouver congress in 1978, or for that matter the certitude of victory of our El Salvadorean comrades in Madrid two years later.

But one has to ask, how much worse would it have been without our consistent, and continuing, political and diplomatic and public intervention. I think you would be hard pressed to find anyone in the Reagan administration, for example, who would deny the importance of our role in attempting to moderate some of their more adventurist notions. Equally, forces on the left in the region might have taken very different directions if it were not for the opening and space, and more creative opportunities, our efforts provided them.

Our member parties in the region and elsewhere have contributed mightily to the Contadora process, to the provision of development assistance to the peoples of the region, to support building in other international fora. More than a few political prisoners and victims of torture owe their freedom to the efforts of social democrats around the world, in campaigns coordinated by the Socialist International.

We have not found peace in Central America, though. But is that really the right question? Shouldn't one really ask 'is there any alternative to that proposed by the SI since the late seventies?' To that query, the answer remains a resounding no.

There will be no peace until those who meddle in the region militarily, to serve interests of those from elsewhere, come to accept that the genesis of these conflicts is genuinely social, and that there is no possibility of 'military victory' for national armies or seedy surrogates that will

deliver any permanent stability. To that conviction, I think most of us remain absolutely committed. So the task remains the frustrating one of discouraging impatience, building confidence, searching for new avenues for dialogue and negotiation and seeking ways of reducing tension.

The opponents of peace are formidable, on the left and on the right. The conduct of some whose rights we have championed has not always been appropriate or helpful to the process. This work has opened divisions – some have been healed through the masterful and determined efforts of Willy Brandt, while others were healed by events themselves. But some haven't. The tensions between our member party in government in Costa Rica and the Sandinistas are not after all a secret...

But, as in the case of disarmament work, the payoff is sometimes long-term and results frustratingly slow. I think we can say we have contributed to peace and justice and the search for meaningful social change in very, very difficult circumstances.

It is perhaps some small token of the superpowers' perceptions of our role – in these areas in particular – that each of them has more desk officers assigned to studying and 'following' our work than those who work in the service of the Socialist International itself!

What has been your greatest disappointment or setback for the organisation? You make it sound as if the SI has created a new world of peace and harmony.

Sears: Not quite. Perhaps the greatest area of frustration for most international organisations who have attempted to play a role there has been the Middle East.

Former Austrian chancellor Bruno

Kreisky led several missions to the region in the early seventies. In this decade Mário Soares conducted three missions to the region in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The entry of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) of Lebanon into the International in 1980 and the United Workers' Party (MAPAM) of Israel three years later have broadened the membership base in the region, as have the wide-ranging contacts with everyone from the PLO to most of the governments of the region.

Still, one would have to describe our work in that region as not without its real discontents. Particularly since the tragedies of 1982 in the region, our member parties elsewhere have been of significantly different views about key issues in the area.

Internally, the tremendously gruelling financial dilemma and reorganisation we endured in 1983 were among the most trying chapters for me in recent years.

But, overall, the incident which stands out remains, inevitably, the assassination of the courageous Issam Sartawi at our Albufeira congress. That appallingly senseless and brutal act is etched in visual memory forever.

The SI is the largest of the political internationals and yet it seems clear that your competitors, new and old, are attempting to imitate your experience, and are becoming much more vigorous in their efforts outside the industrialised countries and in seeking a public profile.

Sears: Yes, it's clear that the success of the SI in the past decade has spawned a host of imitators and new activity on the left and the right.

Gorbach ev is giving clear signals that



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SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS

INTERVIEW

there needs to be what he calls 'a strong unity' of the marxist-leninist parties loyal to Moscow. So perhaps we shall see efforts at a revival of Comintern, though its prospects for unity or effectiveness would be highly dubious – particularly given tensions with even such loyal allies as the communist parties of Cuba or Vietnam.

The parasites of the democratic left, the misbegotten followers of Trotsky, are trumpeting new advances for the Fourth International currently – which is a little hard to countenance given the horrendous splits in both the UK and Australian parties in recent months.

On the right, the Reagan administration has given a whole variety of strange causes impetus to seek some form of international. Lewis Lehrman and the CIA funded that hilarious meeting of several organisations like the Laotians and the Nicaraguan contras in Unita-held territory in Angola earlier this year which dubbed itself the 'Freedom International' or some such pretentious moniker.

And our old friends, the World Anti-Communist League, WACL (known to its intimates for years as the WACO International), have even begun to don more respectable garb in recent times, meeting with Reagan's personal blessing in Dallas this fall. One does have to wonder about an organisation which has as one of its patrons the peculiar American champion of the contras, Major-General John Singlaub, and which invites Mario Sandoval Alarcón, the leader of the Guatemalan movement which describes itself as the 'party of organised violence', and somocista leader Mario Calero as guest speakers.

They are not to be confused with the decrepit Anti-Bolshevik Network, ABN (an acronym also translated more colour-

fully by its friends), which has also stirred to life recently, even though its leadership is largely octogenarian. They met in New York this spring and had the support of Reagan, Bush and Senator Moynihan.

But the most famous of the Reagan administration's children is, of course, the International Democratic Union (IDU). Flaunting a bevy of right-wing leaders from western Europe it met in Washington in July, reaffirming its intention to compete with the Socialist International as a personal 'raison d'être' and indulging in the most astonishingly flattering discussions of how to emulate our methods and workplans. If only half of what they attribute to us as hidden powers and personal successes were true....!

It's a curious organisation to be sure, formed initially in Europe to challenge the then drifting Christian Democrat International, and subsequently adopted by the Reagan administration as a champion of the right internationally. Its enthusiasm for star wars, South Africa, and somocistas has meant that until now it has been shunned by the legitimately democratic Internationals – the SI, the Liberals and the Christian Democrats – but one suspects that this is not a permanent situation.

If they were to give up their flirtation with the fascist right in the Third World – Sandoval was also in attendance at their Washington meeting, for example – then it's possible that attitudes between the three democratic internationals would change. Some christian democrats would no doubt argue that they would have to stop poaching on their political turf as well – which is fair enough. And many third-world activists on the democratic right would probably need better assurances than have been offered to date about the

independence of the organisation from US foreign policy interests.

The liberals and the christian democrats themselves have shown far greater vitality than in many years. On human rights issues the three internationals have cooperated recently, exchanging views on specific cases and issuing a joint statement by the presidents last year.

I believe that the political internationals will continue to grow in stature as they perform several unique functions uniquely well. Where else, for example, could Shimon Peres meet in private with representatives of Arab political movements, as he did at the SI meeting in Vienna in October. The internationals offer an opportunity to governments and multilateral organisations to test ideas and propositions out in private in a non-official forum, as well as offering leadership training and opportunities for international integration to hundreds of political leaders – young and old, from North and South – each year.

I hope that our international will continue to grow and develop new areas of expertise – and naturally that its primacy as a beacon for new democracies and new democratic activists will continue to be unchallenged. But it is healthy that all currents of democratic political theory have their own fora of exchange, research and conciliation. My experiences over these years in the SI are an invaluable aid to me in domestic politics, and I'm sure that that is true for liberals and christian democrats as well.

The SI will be more active in Africa and Asia in the next few years. I think it will continue its work in the field of the environment and economic policy. I hope we become as good as the conservatives claim we already are at transferring electoral and campaign expertise – specific skills in polling, fundraising, marketing ideas, organising techniques, and so on.

Growth brings with it some real dilemmas, as we have already discovered. One has to be careful about choosing new partners in areas where one's knowledge is not as great as it should be. One has to be careful to develop ways of devolving power to new entrants in a manner which is least threatening to the formerly dominant, and one has to streamline and amend internal structures so that they don't become overwhelmed by new numbers.

The next decade may well be the toughest, but among the most exciting that we have ever faced. By the time of our 125th anniversary congress in 1989, it should be clear what directions have emerged, and I predict the SI will be a more significant force in the last decade of the century than it has ever been.

GLOBAL CHALLENGE

FROM CRISIS TO CO-OPERATION:
BREAKING THE NORTH-SOUTH STALEMATE

The two reports of the Brandt Commission stirred the imagination of many, as the world slipped into bitter recession. They proposed a sometimes pessimistic but nevertheless realistic agenda for the world economy, and offered hope for a better set of global relations.

Global Challenge is a response to the world economic crisis as it has developed in the mid-eighties. Extending the Brandt Commission's analysis, and drawing on the work of experts, it maintains that until the North begins to resolve its own crisis there will be little progress for the South, or real recovery in the North.

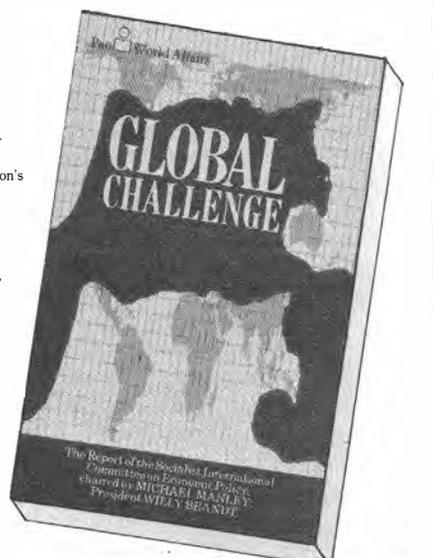
Global Challenge stresses that without a redistribution and restructuring of power between North and South, their mutual interests in recovery will be blocked by conservative governments, monetarists and market-dominated mythologies.

Global Challenge is both visionary and pragmatic. Its proposals are for feasible and radical action for this year and for the next decade. They include committing \$100 billion annually to recovery and development – less than 10% of the world's current annual expenditure on arms; building North-South partnerships between like-minded countries and joint action to create a stable economic recovery by redistributing its benefits more equally between rich and poor. With many of its authors in power in the governments of North and South, the arguments of **Global Challenge** are likely to be high on the agenda of political debate for years to come.

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Lima to host 1986 congress

Exactly ten years after the Caracas conference which signalled the SI's opening to Latin America, the International will be breaking further new ground by holding a congress in Latin America for the first time in its history.

The Vienna Bureau accepted an invitation from President Alan García of Peru, on behalf of his party, the Peruvian Aprista Party (APRA), to hold the SI's next congress in Lima on June 20-23, 1986.

Carlos Andrés Pérez, of

Democratic Action (AD) of Venezuela, who had conveyed the invitation to the Bureau on behalf of APRA, said there would be no doubt that the Lima congress would give a new impetus to democratic socialism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Details of the congress preparations, including plans for the discussion of its main theme – peace and the world economy – will be reported in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS 1/86.

Chile Committee sees hope for democracy

The SI Chile Committee met in Madrid on September 26, at the invitation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), to discuss future courses of action by the International in support of opposition forces, including its member party, the Radical Party (PR), to reestablish democracy in Chile.

The meeting was attended by representatives of seven SI member parties, including the PR, which was represented by Anselmo Sule and Luis Fernando Luego. Among the

guests from Chile attending the meeting, also representing the opposition Democratic Alliance (AD), were Armando Jaramillo, president of the Republican Party, and Hernan Vodanovic of the Socialist Party.

The meeting heard reports from the Chilean participants and analysed the present situation in Chile, in particular developments since the signing of the National Accord for the transition to democracy on August 26. A wide range of opposition forces have been brought together in the accord. Participants agreed this was the most important political development in Chile since the 1973 coup which brought Pinochet to power.

Robin Sears returning to NDP

Robin V. Sears, SI assistant general secretary, is returning to Canada to become the chief of staff in the office of Bob Rae, the leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP). He will be responsible for the legislative operations of the party, which is supporting the Liberal Party in government.

At the Vienna Bureau meeting SI president Willy Brandt thanked Sears for his major contributions to the Socialist International since his appointment in 1982. In particular, Brandt praised his ability 'to

move things forward', and his contribution to the improvement of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS (which he has edited since mid-1983) and to the preparation and publication of *Global Challenge*, the report of the SI Committee on Economic Policy.

Luis Ayala has been appointed assistant general secretary, and will take over on February 1, 1986.

A former president of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) and international secretary of the Radical Party (PR) of Chile from 1979-1983, Ayala joined the London secretariat in 1983 as secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Study group on Africa set up

Responding to calls from SI member parties, both from Africa and outside, that the International should devote more of its attention to the problems of Africa, the Bureau meeting in Vienna on October 16 agreed to set up an SI Study Group on Africa (SISGA).

Léopold Senghor of the Socialist Party of Senegal had first made a concrete proposal to establish an SI body to study the particularly acute economic, social and environmental problems of Africa at the 1984 Rio Bureau meeting.

The study group's brief is to monitor the current situation and future developments in Africa; define SI policy on Africa; establish contact with democratic forces in that continent; pay particular attention to the democratisation process and the observance of human rights in Africa, and to the continent's economic problems; and support the peaceful development of African countries.

Peter Jankowitsch, the international secretary of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ), and Abdel Kader Fall, international secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal, were elected co-chairs of the Study Group.



New SIW general secretary

Maria Rodríguez-Jonas was elected acting general secretary of the Socialist International Women (SIW) at its Bureau meeting in Rome on October 10.

She is the second Austrian in succession to be elected to the post. Irmtraut Karlsson, who became general secretary of Austrian Socialist Women, the women's organisation of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) in May, had been SIW general secretary from 1980.

For many years active in the international department of the SPÖ, Rodríguez-Jonas was also secretary to the SI general secretary from 1969-1972.

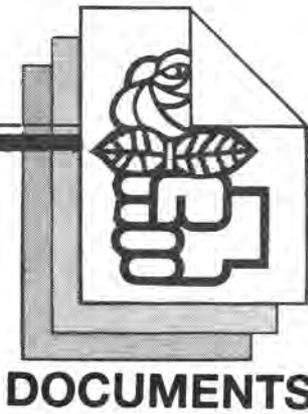


Luis Ayala, new SI assistant general secretary

Brazil's PDT to join

At its Vienna meeting, the Bureau agreed to recommend to the congress that it accept the application for membership of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) of Brazil. Led by Leonel Brizola, the governor of Rio de Janeiro, the PDT will become a consultative member party of the SI.

The SI Finance and Administration Committee (which deals with all applications for membership) also proposed – and the Bureau agreed – that the International continue to maintain close contact with the ruling Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB).



DOCUMENTS

Main resolutions adopted at the Vienna Bureau meeting, October 15-16, 1985

The Socialist International appeal on Disarmament

The continuing accumulation of weapons of mass destruction threatens the very survival of humanity. While the arms race begins to escape the control of man, more and more people realise that armaments, and governments relying on them, cannot solve the acute problems of our planet such as mass starvation, drought, environmental pollution, underemployment, and mass unemployment, with the resulting political tensions in so many regions of the world.

In the interest of humanity the arms race, with its obscene waste of material and intellectual resources, has to be brought to an end. Policies which threaten our lives must be replaced by a new constructive approach ensuring life free from the fear of war.

It is in this sense that the Socialist International urges the United States and the Soviet Union to improve their relations. It is in this sense that the Socialist International appeals to the superpowers meeting in Geneva to conduct negotiations in a constructive spirit and to refrain from all actions which may put at risk a positive outcome to disarmament efforts.

The Socialist International is particularly concerned about the danger of transferring the arms race into space, and calls upon both sides to desist from actions such as anti-missile and anti-satellite tests. The Socialist International has already made clear its rejection of the 'strategic defence initiative' (SDI) and similar concepts. The technological challenges posed by such concepts should be met by international and regional cooperation for peaceful purposes.

Governments must now realise that security needs cannot be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms buildup. It is not the quality of weapons, but the quality of politics which must be improved. Dis-

armament, peaceful cooperation and detente are the only reasonable answers to the dangers facing humanity.

Progress towards common security can be achieved when both military blocs acknowledge the threat they pose to each other. A new approach is needed based on the recognition that true security can only be built in partnership, taking into account the security requirements of each.

The Socialist International appeals to the United States and to the Soviet Union to initiate the reduction of armaments and, to this end, to:

- reinforce their commitment to respect the SALT I and SALT II agreements beyond 1985 and refrain from any measures which would undermine the agreements;
- reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty;
- agree on a process of radical reductions of strategic arms, comprising both warheads and delivery systems;
- refrain from testing and developing anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons and from preparing for an arms race in outer space;
- agree on a moratorium on nuclear-weapons tests to begin in January 1986, and further the conclusion during 1986 of a comprehensive test ban treaty; and
- agree on halting further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and reducing and then eliminating existing systems on both sides.

The Soviet Union and the United States should refrain from further deployments of nuclear arms during negotiations, at least for an agreed limited period of time.

The Socialist International appeals to all nations of the world to make full use of multilateral disarmament fora, the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement and other organisations and movements to work for peaceful cooperation. Peoples of all nations demand results in Geneva, in Vienna, in Stockholm.

The Socialist International welcomes the Five Continents' Peace initiative of

six heads of state or government from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The aim of this initiative is to ensure that the fate of disarmament is not left to the nuclear superpowers alone.

In the meantime the Socialist International also stresses the importance of unilateral and bilateral measures in the service of peace and detente. Any offer of arms limitation or arms reduction, any offer of any other measure aimed at slowing down the arms race and reducing tension, must be seriously considered and positively answered. Any offhand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace and stability. The constructive proposal by the Soviet Union, made in Paris, to reduce nuclear weapons should be thoroughly examined.

The Socialist International welcomes steps by members of military alliances to slow down the arms race by keeping open the possibility of refraining from deploying new nuclear systems on their soil and reducing existing nuclear systems.

We have said it before: the arms race threatens the survival of humanity. The Socialist International therefore appeals, first of all to the United States and the Soviet Union, but beyond them to all governments, to all parties, to all religious and social movements and to individual men and women everywhere, in all countries on all continents, to do their utmost to turn away from armaments and to embark on a course of survival in peace, freedom and human dignity.

The Socialist International and the United Nations

Forty years after its foundation the role of the United Nations as the most universal institution committed to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war' is under serious challenge, obstructing to an increasing

degree the fulfilment of its mandate.

Although the guiding principles of the Charter – from the maintenance of international peace and security to the promotion of economic and social progress and the universal respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights – remain highly relevant, the capacity of the United Nations to translate these principles into international reality is increasingly threatened by a multifaceted world crisis that has also developed into a crisis of internationalism and multilateral cooperation.

This crisis affects most strongly the small and medium powers of the world which, irrespective of their situation in the North or the South, share a common interest in the effective functioning of multilateral institutions.

The presence of the United Nations in world affairs over the past forty years has certainly left its mark on a large number of fields such as decolonisation, efforts to avoid a spread of local conflict into global conflagration, new methods of peace-keeping, increased attention to North-South relations, and promotion of human rights and international law. But much progress has been offset by forces working at cross-purposes with the United Nations, such as old-fashioned nationalism, superpower hegemony and the continual emergence of war and violence as a means of fostering national interest.

It would be wrong therefore to put the blame for many of the most blatant imperfections of contemporary international society upon the 'ineffectiveness' or 'weakness' of the United Nations.

Regional conflict persists in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

Apartheid, racism and colonialism continue in southern Africa.

International economic relations are still a long way from a 'new international economic order' and rather increasingly reflect the inequities and injustices of the past.

And if discrimination against minorities and against women continues, it is mostly because large and small nations are increasingly ignoring persistent calls by the United Nations for a better world.

Democratic socialists, aware of the fact that twice in this century the uninhibited pursuit of national interest and economic crisis have led to political disaster, consider that the United Nations system, as the only global organisation ever set up, remains an irreplaceable instrument for peace and development.

They therefore call upon all member states of the UN to recommit themselves unequivocally to the principles of the Charter. Considering that a large majority of men and women in the industrial democracies and in the South continue to show faith in international cooperation, they urge the strengthening of the UN as the **central institution** for the maintenance of world peace and the improvement of international relation in all fields.

Careful review of the decision-making process at the UN should aim to enhance the political effectiveness and the moral authority of UN decisions. Member states of the UN should make every effort to implement resolutions adopted by the organisation.

Rejecting the current campaign of destabilisation and delegitimisation against the UN, its specialised agencies, in particular those which are supportive of Third World efforts to reform the international economic system and important elements within them, democratic socialists, firmly imbued with the ideals of international democracy and the sovereign equality of nations, propose that urgent measures be taken to reactivate and reform the UN.

In particular, democratic socialists will work for the restoration of the UN as an undisputed centre for international political crisis management, using to the fullest extent possible the mandate the Charter has bestowed upon the Security Council and the secretary-general for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council should develop procedures for initiating actions at an early stage of conflicts in order to prevent the use of force.

Democratic socialists will support a central role of the UN in the North-South dialogue and giving the organisation a guiding role in the setting up of principles for the establishment of greater economic and social justice.

Existing UN mechanisms in the field of North-South relations should therefore be strengthened and overhauled, including reform of the Bretton Woods institutions, which today only serve the interest of the major economic powers in the North, in particular its banking system.

Considering that changes in population size, growth, structure and distribution will have far-reaching implications for the global political and economic order of the twenty-first century, UN activities in the field of population deserve particular support

and their dismantling should be firmly resisted.

Financial resources to the UN development system should be increased.

Democratic socialists further consider that the UN should be restored to its role as prime promoter of human rights and reform of international law. They therefore believe that the UN institutions in the field of promotion of human rights should be strengthened and made increasingly accessible to individuals seeking redress from discrimination, persecution and injustice.

Efforts to promote the role of women should, following the Nairobi Conference held at the end of the Women's Decade, be pursued vigorously.

The authority of the International Court of Justice in all kinds of disputes should be strengthened. States which have not recognised the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court should do so.

Efforts to create new legal norms to protect the common heritage of humanity in areas such as the sea-bed and outer space should be firmly supported.

Democratic socialists continue to believe that there is no alternative to the United Nations. They will continue to work for the strengthening of the only existing world forum in which the manifold problems caused by all nations' growing interdependence can be addressed, and progress towards their solution achieved in a democratic and peaceful manner.

In this spirit democratic socialists will look towards the UN of the next decades and pledge their intention to remain one of the main international forces in support of this great endeavour for international democracy.

Statement on the environment

The Socialist International,

- recalling the fact that the labour movement was the first social movement to fight for sound environmental and economic conditions for all people,
- stressing the necessity to reconcile economic and environmental goals in the interest of long-term sustainable development of our society and of the quality of life of humanity,
- regarding severe environmental problems such as the damage to our woods as a challenge to human ingenuity in order to avoid and overcome detrimental side-effects by positive action and modern technologies,
- appreciating the achievements of environmental policies inspired and coined by member parties,

- recognising the necessity to strengthen a preventative environmental approach in the spirit of international solidarity and responsibility, and

- underlining the fact that global action is required to protect our global and common environment,

has agreed as follows:

- (1) Full employment and economic policies on the one hand and environmental policies on the other hand should be considered not as conflicting but as mutually enforcing and interdependent goals.
- (2) Economic policies and environmental policies are to be further integrated in order to promote the overall quality of life.
- (3) Sound environmental conditions must not remain or become the privilege of privileged classes or of nations with high per-capita incomes.
- (4) International responsibility and solidarity require that further effective measures must be taken in order to reduce substantially the pollution of the environment.
- (5) Special care must be given to the phenomenon of forest damage and to the transboundary air pollution caused by sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons. To this end more stringent standards and controls must be introduced and implemented in all Europe and North America, using the best technologies available.
- (6) Financing problems should not remain an insurmountable obstacle to progressive environmental policies. Thus the international community should very carefully and positively consider the establishment of an international environment fund. Such an adequate mechanism should help countries - especially those from the developing world - which have severe problems in financing pollution abatement measures to overcome them.

Resolution on Southern Africa

The Socialist International continues to be in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid.

We reiterate that no compromise with apartheid is possible. The question is how violent the changes in South Africa will be. International pressure and sanctions and binding comprehensive measures can help make the change less violent.

The liberation of South Africa will be the accomplishment of the people of the South African majority themselves, but the regime in Pretoria is obviously shaken by recent setbacks in its inter-

national relations.

The Socialist International calls on the US congress not to give up on its drive for more comprehensive sanctions.

The Socialist International is deeply disappointed that the European Community (EC) is not able to define a policy towards South Africa with real sanctions. If the EC as a whole is not able to act, different member countries should coordinate actions outside the framework of the EC.

The Socialist International calls for international support for an even more rigorous programme of action than it did in Arusha, Tanzania, in September 1984. Political developments leave us no choice.

- The Socialist International calls for:
- halting of investments in South Africa and government insurance of credits to South Africa;
 - total compliance with the existing oil embargo, which means banning the export and transport of oil;
 - reducing and cutting air and shipping links with South Africa;
 - banning the import of South African agricultural products;
 - stopping all nuclear cooperation with South Africa;
 - tightening the existing arms embargo;
 - the liberation of Namibia according to UN Security Council Resolution 435;
 - support for the actions of the UN secretary general in his efforts to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435;
 - refraining from trade with South Africa;
 - the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners;
 - increased and sustained economic support to the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC);
 - presence of its members at the United Democratic Front (UDF) 'reason trials', to be held later this year;
 - increased support for ANC, SWAPO and democratic organisations inside South Africa like the UDF; and
 - use of diplomatic relations with South Africa to further these goals.
- The Socialist International notes the loss of confidence South Africa encounters in the international banking community. It asks banks and governments to refuse to bail out the South African regime.
- The Socialist International, noting the Commonwealth heads of government meeting taking place this week, welcomes the fact that most Commonwealth governments are deeply con-

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS DOCUMENTS

cerned that real pressure should be put on South Africa, and urges them to adopt a programme of economic sanctions against South Africa.

It calls for universal suffrage for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour or the rights of any specific minority.

When sanctions are imposed, a special assistance programme has to be elaborated to counter the adverse effects of those sanctions on the Front-Line States, in the framework of the SADCC programme.

Statement on finance and development

The recent Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Seoul, South Korea, failed to address the crisis of the international financial and monetary system adequately.

The crisis, as reflected in the huge debts of Latin American and African countries, and in very unstable exchange rates, should be addressed by coordinated international reform. An outline of such a reform has been sketched by the Bureau of the Socialist International in its report *Global Challenge*, published in September 1985.

Rather than a trend towards reform, the burden of adjustment continues to be shifted onto the shoulders of the weakest and poorest. In the South, this is taking the form of imposing harsh IMF conditions on the availability of finance. In many of the powerful countries of the North, it is reflected by lack of action to fight unemployment.

Though we welcome the call for

economic growth and more resources in order to reduce or finance deficits, no concrete measures have been agreed by governments so far. Moreover, the figures suggested to increase financial flows to developing countries are insufficient. In the short term, steps are necessary to reschedule debts (for instance by relating debt service to export receipts), to roll back protectionism, to decrease interest rates, to raise substantial concessional financial resources (including to the International Development Association, IDA), and to increase international liquidity through the creation of new Special Drawing Rights. In the medium term, a world economic conference should be held in order to reform the Bretton Woods system.

It is our sincere conviction that an ultimate solution of the present international crisis cannot be provided by the free play of market forces, including the transnational banks. Governments should act together to raise and re-direct resources and to intervene in market mechanisms, where their result is inefficiency and injustice.

Resolution on Central America

The Socialist International views with concern the conflict in Central America as it prolongs and intensifies. There is an urgent need to gather forces behind the Contadora Group, so that the countries involved in the regional crisis sign the Accord and its regulations which aim to ensure peace, democracy, stability and self-determination in the region.

The creation of the Support Group,

consisting of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, strengthens this initiative and reflects the concern for the preservation of the principle of non-intervention in the subcontinent.

The Socialist International is concerned about the severing of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Nicaragua, which affects the spirit of Latin American unity.

The Socialist International reiterates its profound anxiety at the deterioration of the situation in El Salvador and the aggravation of armed conflict, along with the persistence of serious human-rights violations in this tragic spiral of violence.

The Socialist International therefore urges the resumption of dialogue between the government and the FDR/FMLN, interrupted by the former ten months ago. A peaceful global solution to the conflict should be reached through direct negotiations between the representative political forces in that country.

The Socialist International appeals to the government of the United States to contribute constructively to the Contadora Accord and the search for peace in El Salvador.

The Socialist International reiterates that the general election in Guatemala, due on November 3, must constitute the beginning of a real process of democratisation to bring an end to the human-rights violations in that country.

The Socialist International fully supports its member party, the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala (PSD), in its efforts to contribute to peace and democracy in Guatemala.

The Socialist International reaffirms the importance of the process of pluralist institutionalisation initiated in Nicaragua; its aim being the discussion and preparation of a new constitution.

The Socialist International is looking forward to this dialogue including all sectors interested in a democratic political solution.

In the case of Nicaragua there is an urgent need to ensure respect for the principles of international law and the self-determination of its people. For this, it is imperative that the United States government withdraws its support and aid for the destabilising forces in the region.

The Socialist International wishes every success to its member party in Costa Rica, the National Liberation Party (PLN), in the next general election in that country, due in February 1986.

The Socialist International considers that the efforts of the PLN in the search for peace in Central America are an important contribution to the peaceful resolution of the crisis in the region.

Resolution on the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty*

The Socialist International welcomes the treaty declaring the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, concluded by the countries of the South Pacific Forum at the initiative of the Labor government of Australia and supported by the Labour government of New Zealand.

The Socialist International acknowledges the significance of the treaty as a constructive measure which has made a real contribution to the processes of nuclear disarmament, and calls upon the nuclear weapon states to respect the treaty by signing the protocols.

*Adopted with the abstention of the Socialist Party, PS, France

Resolution on Chile

The Socialist International expresses its full support for the reestablishment of democracy in Chile.

The advance and consolidation of democracy throughout Latin America today signals the urgent need for a change in Chile. The democratic opposition in that country requires, more than ever, the active support of the international community in its efforts to bring an end to dictatorship and for a peaceful transition to democracy.

The signing of the National Accord for the Full Transition to Democracy in August this year indicates the broad unity of political forces in Chile to

realise those aims. The Socialist International convinced that it reflects the existence of a viable alternative for the urgent transition to democracy gives its full support to the Accord.

The Socialist International, has decided to send a mission to Chile in the near future with the purpose of extending support to its member party, the Radical Party (PR), and to the Democratic Alliance (AD), and other organisations and institutions in that country which are so strenuously working for the defence of human rights and the restoration of civil and political rights of the Chilean people. The mission will also report to SI member parties on developments in Chile.

Resolution on a chemical-weapons-free zone in Europe

The Socialist International, pursuing the objective to ban all chemical weapons in the world, welcomes the initiative, approved by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) of Federal Germany and the Socialist Unity Party (SED) of the German Democratic Republic, to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe.

This initiative provides a model for regional solutions of arms reductions, transcending as it does the frontiers of blocs. It demonstrates that verifiable

disarmament steps, including international on-site inspections, are possible once both sides are committed to cooperate on the basis of their common interest and in conformity with loyalty to their respective alliances. It sets an example that should have a positive effect on current negotiations between the superpowers and should be seen as an important step towards a complete ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons.

It is now the responsibility of the governments to make use of the initiative as a basis for progress in abolishing chemical weapons.



This issue's Horizons highlights the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, the efforts to stage fair elections in Guyana, and an evaluation of Rajiv Gandhi's first year in office as prime minister of India.

South Africa

What media bans cannot hide ...

When **GÜNTER VERHEUGEN** visited South Africa recently, to talk to students, trade unionists, religious leaders, businesspeople and officials of the apartheid regime, his overriding impression was one of impending catastrophe.



During my first visit to Soweto, on a Sunday morning, the city seemed a picture of peace. White visitors were neither stared at nor accosted. We could wander around freely anywhere in this, the largest of all the black townships.

Günter Verheugen

is a member of the foreign-affairs committee of the Federal German parliament, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) spokesman on Southern Africa.

Not once did we see a policeman.

But the sense of peace was deceptive. I became aware of this the same evening, when I met a young black who is a voluntary social worker in the highly industrialised and densely populated Vaal Triangle, south of Johannesburg.

'The police are probably looking for me. I spend each night in a different house', says Dennis, who is about twenty-six years old. What is his job? 'I give advice, help and act as an intermediary in dealing with the problems people bring to me. I am particularly concerned about the young people.' Do the young trust him? 'Yes, they trust me. I was once an activist

in the resistance myself, and imprisoned for seven years on Robben Island. So the young people trust me. I learn what they are thinking and sometimes what they are doing.' Do they listen to the appeals for non-violence? 'No. Their hate and frustration are too great. They want to fight. They know they are not to blame for their miserable situation and that apartheid offers them no prospects. There is even more violence to come.'

For its part, the South African government is doing everything it can to stir up even more hatred. The next morning I met four young blacks aged between sixteen and twenty-three. They

had just come out of prison. On the day when the state of emergency was declared they had returned by bus from a funeral and were arrested. All four said they had been beaten and ill-treated. The whole time they were in prison they had no contact with either families or friends, nor, of course, with any lawyers.

What were they accused of? 'We don't know. We were repeatedly asked: Who are the leaders? Who gives the orders? Where are the arms stored? Who belongs to the ANC?'

One of the four had been under particular suspicion. She kept lists of those travelling on her bus and collected contributions towards the travel expenses. On the instructions of the ANC? 'No, I am active in the churches' youth work. Our youth group decided to attend the funeral.' She then told me about the interrogation. She received electric shocks. Once she was also given an injection but doesn't know what it was. And the police who mistreated her, were

understandable why the fury of the blacks is directed first and foremost towards the collaborators, who are considered traitors. 'These spies are everywhere. The system of control by the use of spies is worked to perfection.'

Naude was of course aware that the television pictures of lynchings, broadcast throughout the world, were damaging the cause of freedom in South Africa. 'There is no excuse for that dreadful incident when a young woman was knocked down and burnt. But one can understand their fury when one realises that she was accused of having handed over seven young men to the executioners.'

Embittered during the decades spent fighting against this injustice in South Africa, and had only a faint hope that the government will change course in time. 'Perhaps it is already too late, and peaceful change is no longer possible.' Yet people must do what they can in Africa and abroad. Their actions were having an effect on the regime.

funerals of the victims of the riots. 'We are not even allowed to mourn.'

What do you expect from abroad? 'Do something. Show our government that you no longer support this system. At least begin with a couple of symbolic actions.'

And on the question of disinvestment and sanctions? 'The objections to them are pure hypocrisy. Nobody bothered about our jobs before. Why should they do so now? Those who adopt this argument are not really concerned with us but themselves and their profits.'

Does he see any hopes of a dialogue with the South African government? 'Yes, but it must be a dialogue with the true leaders of the blacks.' Who are they? 'The men and women in the prisons, before the courts and in exile.' He did not see himself as a political leader a politician at all. 'I am amazed that so many people listen to me. I have nothing to offer. I have obtained not one concession from the government. They don't even want to talk to me.'

Tutu also mentioned the problem of time, and the increasing radicalism of the young generation. 'This generation is becoming unreachable.' A fight against time. That is indeed the most concise description of the situation in the Cape.

The church is playing an increasing role in the religious anti-apartheid front. Archbishop Hurley of Durban unsparingly criticised the brutality of the police. 'This system can be maintained only by force, and the force will increase unless it is made clear to the white minority that nobody will support them any longer.'

Frederic van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the country's official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), also considered the growing pressure from abroad useful. Yet he was as firmly opposed to serious sanctions as the spokesmen for the chambers of commerce and industry.

Van Zyl Slabbert thought that Botha's government is simply incapable of understanding the country's real problems. 'The government still feels that its raw materials and its anti-communist stance can protect it against the threat of isolation.'

The discussion abroad about sanctions has produced some initiatives in South Africa itself. Nor was this disputed by Helen Suzman, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner in the South African parliament. She said she did not believe in sanctions, but she did want a more resolute attitude by the West. A dialogue on the democratisation process was urgently needed, but she was not very optimistic about the likelihood of this happening. There was a rumour that 'reforms' would soon be announced. 'It will probably be too little and too late.'



Untenable situations: In Guguletu on September 7, a policeman fired into a funeral crowd, killing two mourners; they are being dragged off by South African security forces; the policeman who killed them was lynched by the crowd ...

they blacks or whites? 'Mostly blacks. Our own people.'

Beyers Naude, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches explained the political context. 'It is still to the regime's advantage to depict the conflict as one among the blacks themselves; it claims that the country would be reduced to chaos without the whites' power of control.' It was quite

That was also the opinion of Desmond Tutu, the anglican bishop of Johannesburg and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. In South Africa itself he has become the main spokesman for the oppressed majority. 'I realise the risks.' He was obviously very touched by the message of solidarity which I had brought on the instructions of Willy Brandt.

That morning he was very angry. The government had placed restrictions on the



John Hubby/Thom / Sipa Press

Appeal for justice: Demonstrators, including Desmond Tutu, demanding – in vain – clemency for Benjamin Moloise

In Durban I talked to three of the leaders of the extra-parliamentary opposition, the United Democratic Front (UDF), who were then still at liberty. (They were all arrested a few days after our meeting.) They expressed themselves in plain terms. A couple of days previously they had delivered memoranda to the western embassies in Pretoria. 'The governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and Federal Germany should finally make up their minds as to where they stand. These governments are the main props of the apartheid regime.' The threat hangs in the air – later we will treat you in the same way that you are treating us now.

The UDF leaders also claimed that the influence of Gatsha Buthelezi, the chief of the Zulus, was greatly exaggerated. They accused him of failing to halt the terrorist raids by his Inkatha movement. 'The situation in the Zulu townships is no different from anywhere else in South Africa. With free elections they would elect ANC candidates and not one from Inkatha.'

All the people I talked to felt that the influence of the exiled African National Congress (ANC) was considerable. They all rejected a common impression in the West that the riots are controlled by communist or Soviet elements. Not even the representatives of the industrial sector placed all the blame on Moscow.

Industrialists are giving serious thought

to their own role. Leading businessmen have even held discussions with the ANC. Yet – and this is unusual in an industrialised nation – the government is not listening to the appeals from the business sector. The explanation is simple: there are not many supporters of the ruling

'The objections to sanctions are pure hypocrisy. Nobody bothered about our jobs before. Why should they do so now? Those who adopt this argument are not concerned with us, only with their profits.'

Desmond Tutu

National Party to be found here.

Robert Godsell, a kind of employees' representative in the Anglo-American Corporation, the largest mining company in Africa, told me: 'We are against apartheid. We cannot build a modern

industrial society under the conditions of apartheid.' His company and the entire mining sector were at that time threatened with a strike.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, distinguished between strikes and political objectives. 'Strikes are held to obtain more pay and a holiday on May 1. But we are also organising a boycott of white firms.' The blacks in South Africa were discovering the means of exercising their power – strikes and boycotts. 'The regime can no longer oppress us. It needs us because it cannot cope with wildcat strikes.'

Ramaphosa did not accept the arguments against economic sanctions either. 'The black workers prefer to bear burdens, which for some time now have been even heavier, in the certainty that their situation is improving, rather than to continue to accept the present conditions.' He was referring specifically to the mining sector, which provides the lion's share of South Africa's wealth.

As I was leaving, Ramaphosa showed me his secretary's electric typewriter. 'From the German mining industries' trade union', he explained. I am afraid it is no longer a question of donating typewriters.

Talking to the government. I discovered, was like a dialogue with

the deaf. It made little sense. Officials boasted about the 'reforms'; plus all the hackneyed arguments: 'the blacks cannot govern themselves'; 'the blacks are in a better position than the rest of Africa'; 'the Soviet Union also is infringing human rights'. Yet there were also a couple of insights. They admitted the homelands concept had failed and that the 'constitutional reform' was abortive. Other 'reforms' were being considered, but only when the blacks are thought to be ready for them. What is obvious is that this government will not allow any discussion about power. In that respect it is still heading for disaster.

There are some signs of hope. Many young whites are refusing military service because they do not want to be used

'It is to the regime's advantage to depict the conflict as a struggle among the blacks. This leads to the conclusion that the country would be reduced to chaos without the whites' power of control.'

Beyers Naude

against their non-white compatriots. White students are forming links of solidarity fellow black students. But most of the whites are blind. They seem not even to be contemplating the possibility of a peaceful multi-racial society.

More clear-sighted whites are aware that the government's half-hearted steps towards reform merely accelerate the revolutionary process. Tocqueville knew that revolution begins when a weak government makes the initial concessions...

Although revolution is not around the corner, South Africa will never be the same again, for the oppressed have learned that their lot is not inescapable but the result of a man-made system of exploitation and degradation.

One day the system will collapse of its own accord if it has not been removed before then. South Africa has a growing demand for skilled black workers and they will claim their rights. Few people in Europe realise how much the racial conflict in South Africa is essentially a class conflict. In its present form, the apartheid system is intended first and foremost to ensure a large reserve of cheap labour – without political or social rights.

Many blacks I talked to know little about 'serious' politics and ideology. They talk – understandably – about the lack of hope, their poverty and the struggle to survive. But they are surprisingly well aware that they alone can free themselves from their shackles.

Is there any way of avoiding the catastrophe? I am increasingly doubtful. Apartheid would have to be unconditionally dismantled. It cannot be 'reformed'. The political prisoners would have to be released and the liberation movements would again have to be accepted. Discussions on a new direction for the country would then perhaps be possible. But not before.

The fight for freedom must be carried on and won in South Africa itself. But this fight is dependent upon inter-

national solidarity. And political pressure and diplomatic gestures on their own produce no results. This policy is illusory and essentially hypocritical. The oppressed majority in South Africa expects western governments to take decisive action. Even a moderate leader

'The black workers prefer to bear burdens ... in the certainty that their situation is improving, rather than to continue to accept the present conditions.'

Cyril Ramaphosa

like Bishop Tutu has said that, during the struggle and after liberation, the blacks will not forget who helped them.

But despite the growing internal and external pressure on the white minority government, the situation has not improved. The time for peaceful change is expiring rapidly. All opportunities must therefore be exploited to make the government in Pretoria at least see reason.

Action against South Africa should not take the form of punitive measures that destroy the country's economic base. It should instead unambiguously indicate that the West is no longer prepared to stabilise a regime which, by force and suppression, deprives 25 million people of their fundamental rights.

To be sure, human rights violations also occur elsewhere, and they must not be tolerated or ignored anywhere. Nonetheless, South Africa is a unique case. Nowhere else in the world is there a state founded on the principles of a racism that is contemptuous of human dignity. This racism is the source of violence and discord throughout southern Africa. One of the goals of a comprehensive policy for safeguarding peace, which involves the elimination of causes of conflict, must be to perceive and limit the danger of the conflicts in South Africa spreading.

It is not true that international action against apartheid would first and foremost harm those who are supposed to be helped. The oppressed majority wants, indeed demands, such action. People are prepared to make sacrifices because they know that only in this way can the situation be improved.

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The Namibians

Minority Rights Group (MRG)

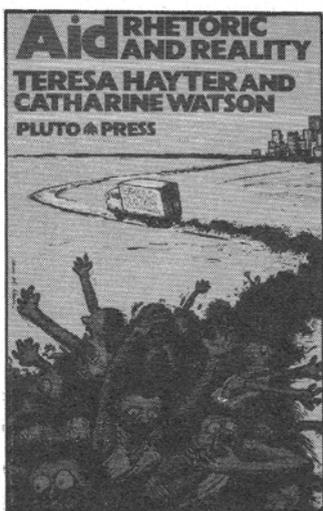
London: *The Minority Rights Group**, 1985 (Report No 19); 34pp; £1.80/US\$3.95 ppbk (plus 20% p&p)
ISBN 0-946690-27-8

This report gives an account of Namibian history and the present situation. It contains sections on the international diplomacy which has surrounded the Namibian question, internal political developments, the war and human rights abuses, and focuses on evidence of the exploitation of Namibian land, resources and labour by outsiders. It reports also on the continued resistance of Namibians to South African domination and their support for the liberation movement of SWAPO, and its allies, in that struggle.

*The Minority Rights Group
29 Craven Street
London WC2N 5NT
United Kingdom

Aid – Rhetoric and Reality

Teresa Hayter and Catharine Watson



London and Sydney: Pluto, 1985; 302pp; £4.95/A\$12.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-86104-626-9

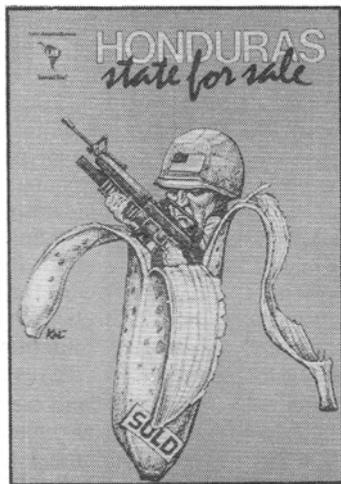
In a followup to *Aid as Imperialism* the authors argue that existing forms of aid from the West to the Third World are not in the interests of the poor.

Aid is shown to be channelled to keep right-wing governments in power, to subsidise exports and ensure that third-world countries stay within the capitalist world market. Even where specifically targeted at the poor, most of it is lost in waste, corruption and elite consumption.

In the face of these realities an alternative strategy of 'solidarity, not aid' is sketched out.

Honduras: State for Sale

Richard Lapper and James Painter



London: *Latin American Bureau**, 1985; 132pp; £3.50 ppbk (£4.25/US\$8.00 inc. p&p)
ISBN 0-906156-23-8

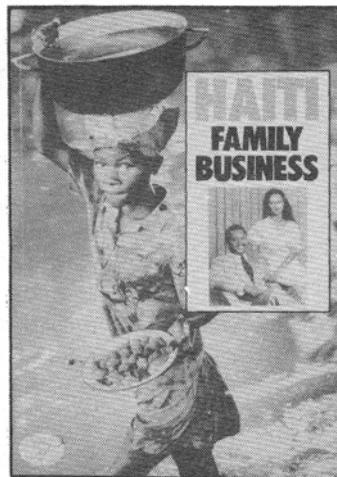
This book traces the transformation of Honduras from banana enclave to the linchpin of US military strategy in the region. It analyses the elements which distinguish Honduras from its neighbours and explores the reasons why endemic poverty has not yet generated violent social conflict. The way US influence has affected political and economic developments since 1980 is also examined.

Haiti: Family Business

Rod Prince

London: *Latin American Bureau**, 1985; 84pp; £3.50 ppbk (£4.25/US\$8.00 inc. p&p)
ISBN 0-906156-19-X

This book traces the historical origins of the 'Duvalier system' shows how and why it has survived until now. It examines the



modern Haitian economy, the country's social structure and the role of the United States, for most of this century a key actor in Haitian political life. It also looks at the forces for change in a country which has in recent years undergone some economic modernisation and assesses the future prospects of the 'Duvalier system'.

*Latin America Bureau
1 Amwell Street
London EC1R 1UL
United Kingdom

How War Might Spread to Europe

Miroslav Nincic

London and Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis (on behalf of SIPRI), 1985; 109pp; £9.00/\$16.00
ISBN 0-85066-302-4

European security is usually examined in the context of East-West relations in Europe, but not many people believe that a war is likely to start in Europe. It appears to be a continent with settled boundaries. Scenarios of sudden, unprovoked incursions across the border by either NATO or Warsaw Pact troops seem implausible today.

The risks of war are much greater in many other parts of the world. In most of these troubled areas the United States and the Soviet Union confront each other by proxy. The possibility cannot be excluded that these indirect conflicts might at some time become direct. It is then that war might well come to Europe. This book examines these risks. The author studies the areas outside Europe where the super-powers confront each other, looks at ways in which a war might spread, and puts forward suggestions on how the risks might be reduced.

The Third World Coalition in International Politics

Robert A. Mortimer

Boulder and London: Westview, 1984; 194pp; \$30.00/20.25 hdbk, \$16.50/£11.00 ppbk

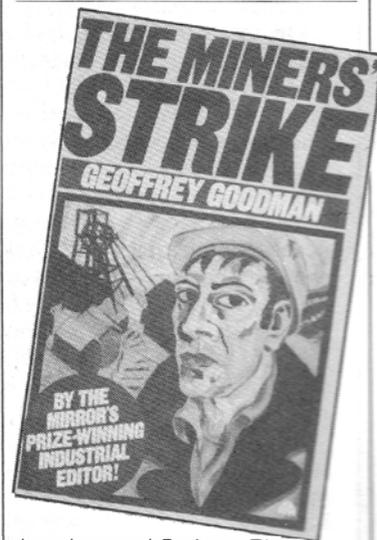
ISBN 0-86531-773-9 hdbk,
ISBN 0-86531-734-7 ppbk
Second, updated edition

The author examines the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 up to the recent North-South negotiations at UNCTAD VI in 1983.

The book examines the process by which a heterogeneous group of states launched the call for greater equity through a new international economic order; analyses the political and organisational techniques by which the durable third-world coalition has held itself together during times of economic recession and political turmoil; and concludes with reflections on US policy toward the reality of poverty that lies at the root of the very existence of a third-world coalition.

The Miners' Strike

Geoffrey Goodman



London: and Sydney: Pluto, 1985; 192pp; £3.95 ppbk
ISBN 07453-0073-1

The author, the industrial editor of *The Mirror* daily newspaper, indicts the Thatcher government and produces evidence that it deliberately set out to provoke the strike of the British miners in 1984-5. He argues that the strike became a turning point for relations between the government and the unions and a focal point for splits within the British labour movement.

The book examines the government's preparations and its motives, documents the twists and turns of the year-long dispute, and describes the forces which influenced its outcome.

Beyond Burnham

Deploring the drift towards an 'anti-popular, anti-working-class dictatorship' under Forbes Burnham, **RUPERT ROOPNARAINÉ** analyses the particular crisis of Guyana – where the doctrine of the 'paramountcy of the party' has led to harassment of opponents of the regime, electoral fraud and economic collapse – and assess the scope for change since the dictator's death earlier this year.

Guyana after the death, by natural causes, of Forbes Burnham on August 6 is an anarchy of possibilities.

It did not take long for the prime minister, Desmond Hoyte, to become President Hoyte on the basis of the constitutional provision setting out the succession. The new president reported to the nation on his first sixty days in office shortly before announcing an election on December 9. Although he promised to excise relatively minor electoral abuses, this does not yet ensure fair elections.

On the economy, he had nothing remarkable to say, but not because he is new to the job. He inherited an economy racked with a production crisis. Inherited? The new president has for many years been vested with responsibility for economic planning.

The peculiar nature of Guyana's crisis needs to be stressed. The World Bank has claimed, not unfairly, that mismanagement of the economy is a key factor in the country's growing economic failure. Guyanese economists, both of the market school and of the marxist school, have all made a similar analysis.

Since colonial times, Guyana's leading sectors of economic activity – as well as its leading foreign-exchange earners – have been rice, sugar and bauxite. Although bauxite earns the highest amount of foreign exchange, sugar is said to be the highest net earner. The bauxite industry was nationalised in 1971 and 1974; and the sugar industry was largely nationalised by 1976.

Guyana once had a near monopoly of the world's calcined bauxite supply, both in quantity and quality. But it has managed to lose this advantage to the People's Republic of China.

Rupert Roopnarainé

is chair of the political bureau of the Working People's Alliance (WPA) of Guyana.

It is agreed by many in Guyana that the decline in production in the state sector has been due in large part to the proclamation by the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) of the doctrine of the 'paramountcy of the party' in December 1974 and its implementation in the public sector and in the communities.

At its first biennial congress in 1975, the PNC decided that all trade unions in the public sector should be affiliated to the ruling party. The accomplishment of this objective by the use of dubious and dictatorial methods (except in the sugar industry, where the main union was founded by the opposition People's Progressive Party, PPP) brought about a situation in which a number of trade unions ceased to represent the economic interests of the workers and became agencies of the ruling party.

The machinery then moved to have all public sector workers, in addition to their unions, affiliated. This was done by a series of measures which turned the public sector workers into the political dependents of the PNC. It became, and still is, mandatory for them to attend state and party rallies and other public functions, to form a captive audience for visiting friends of the PNC, and in some places to become forced donors to the PNC's various fund-raising efforts.

The doctrine of the 'paramountcy of the party' means just what it says: all rules, all systems, all human interests must take second place to the need of the PNC to stay in power and to appear to be a popular organisation.

Since the 1870s, Guyana has had a system of increasingly popular representative local government – first of large and then of smaller property owners (householders) and finally on the basis of adult suffrage. However, since 1970 there have been no local government elections. This means that half a generation of villagers and townspeople are not learning the art of administration of the state at the local level as their foreparents did, even in colonial times. Yet all of the present

rotten councils were deemed by the 1980 constitution to be 'local democratic organs'.

Once it had seized an overall majority in the parliament in 1968 and a two-thirds majority in 1973, the PNC made it very clear that party favour would decide everything. The Afro-Guyanese youth, then wholly within its constituency, began to lose interest in study and began to depend for placement on the Young Socialist Movement, the youth arm of the ruling party. As a result, apart from a handful of high achievers, the mass of the Afro-Guyanese youth led the march to underschooling which eventually spread to the whole child population – with the exception of the children of the more prosperous who could pay tidy fees for tutoring after school.

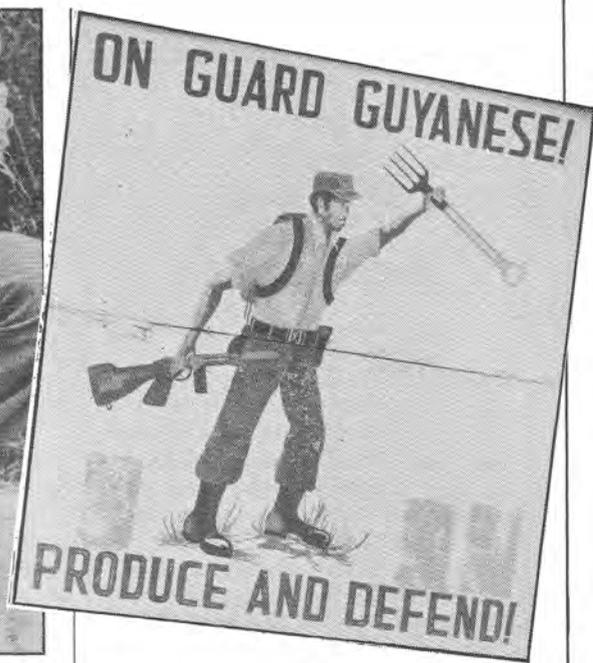
Keeping sweet with the party could excuse the offender from any of the normal disciplines of a law-abiding state, including sanctions for crime.

The forces of law and order were tampered with, and eventually became chief partners in the process of election rigging, at times expelling legitimate agents from polling stations, carrying out the duties of ballot box custody for the unlawful purposes of the PNC leadership, and themselves voting in elections under the eye of and at the command of their superior officers.

In order to give credence to the rigging and the false claims of the PNC to having a popular base and hence a democratic mandate, the rights of other political parties are suppressed. The population is therefore intimidated. The little struggles that in the normal course of things build up into general struggle suffer early collapse because key figures are selected for sanction, in particular, threatened with loss of jobs.

In addition to these difficulties, protest beginning in particular places tends to be stillborn, not from lack of support, but because news of the action is likely to remain there. The state-owned media suppress the news and the whole population is unaware of the elements of courage within itself. The electric effect of anger exploding in one place, sweeping the country in a few minutes by transmission on radio, or even through the daily press, is absent in Guyana. There are no national media. Politically aware and especially courageous persons must wait on weekly broadsheets published by the opposition parties and other organisations to know the pulse of the nation, when events have already changed.

The ruling party fears that any defeat would assign it to oblivion. At the same time it evaded or rejected offers of the PPP for coalition government, mainly because it would have to be the junior



Uncertain future: Bauxite workers waiting to go on shift and (inset) government propaganda

partner in such a coalition, and because, having come to power with the patronage of the United States, it could not accommodate the very 'possibility' which the US intervention had been aimed at defeating, that is, of a pro-Soviet PPP government.

The PNC therefore decided on a course of electoral fraud, which relied on amendments to the electoral laws reducing the Elections Commission to a farce, elevating the role of the minister of home affairs, introducing the overseas vote, liberalising the proxy vote, and empowering the chief elections officer (controlled by a party minister) to decide on places of counting the vote, a power which he has always used in such a way as to make transportation of the ballot boxes over long distances necessary. In the chief executive officer's 1973 report, the last we have seen, it is confirmed that the boxes were so transported as to elude the scrutiny of opposition party representatives.

Given racial voting, which has prevailed between the 1957 elections and the 1980 elections, the result of all these measures is to deprive Indo-Guyanese of political power in perpetuity. Although sections of their elites, especially the commercial elite, have been able to prosper remarkably by making a series of adjustments, the mass of the Indo-Guyanese – who constitute about 62 percent of the total population – has remained for sixteen years without direct representation and without representatives of their choice.

The second movement of the rigging, however, went beyond depriving Indo-

Guyanese of their chosen representatives or the full weight of their suffrage. It also misrepresented the choice of the Afro-Guyanese. This was very marked during the referendum of 1978, the first occasion since 1955 on which both major race groups took common political action, namely the historic boycott.

The political situation since those days or earlier, as witness the formation of the WPA in November 1974, is no longer marked by automatic racial response or racial choice. Large sections of the masses respond not only to their class needs, but consciously against race-oriented politics. Within organised labour, there have been significant shifts from the PNC towards a non-racial alternative. It began with the birth of the Organisation of the Working People (a workers' collective) from within the Guyana Mineworkers' Union, which signalled its lack of interest in being towed by political parties or serving the interests of an ethnic leader.

The achievement of organised labour in 1984 in wresting the leadership of the Trade Union Congress (TUC) out of the hands of the PNC was largely but not entirely due to the action of the shop stewards in the bauxite area who launched the food struggles in 1983. It was independent action, but arose after union officials had rejected a proposal to join in sponsoring a petition for the reimportation of essential foods, an end to violent crime and the right to march. The WPA, with three other organisations, including the

Clerical and Commercial Workers' Union (CCWU), as sponsors, collected 45,000 signatures to this petition.

Pro-WPA workers and others also joined the Sugar and Bauxite Workers' Unity Committee in the sugar belt in solidarity with bauxite workers in 1983, after twenty-four of them had been arrested in a food march. It was the rebellion of the bauxite workers over the food situation which caused some unions to unite to defeat the PNC's candidate at the 1984 TUC elections.

If the growing rejection of race-oriented politics continues, the WPA can score electoral victories. But although signs are encouraging, they are not universal. The spate of anti-Indo-Guyanese violent housebreaking crimes, an openly right-wing development which has been vexing the country for some few years, are now expanding into Afro-Guyanese areas, and have done considerable damage to enthusiasm among Indo-Guyanese for a non-racial front precisely what the attacks are designed to do). Also, in a free and fair election, there will be a considerable number of older Indo-Guyanese voters who will redress the electoral manipulation against the PPP in the 1960s with a vote in its favour.

Most Guyanese are today concerned, inevitably, with the role of President Hoyte. He himself is aware of this, conscious of the fact that his lamp has been kept under a bushel during the long night. Though an essential part of the government since 1968, he never was really a member of the core of the dictator, but of his orbit. He is attempting, he has said, 'to put my own stamp on the presidency'.



RETROSPECTIVE

The Fourth Congress

In 1931, the LSI held the fourth — the greatest of its Congresses between the Wars. It met in Vienna in July. I have a vivid memory of visiting, with Leon Blum, the houses, the schools, the crèches for children, the parks, swimming pools and playgrounds constructed as ‘unemployment works’ by the Socialist City Council of Vienna. Their work had won them world renown; I remember Blum saying: ‘It’s a dream, a Socialist dream, come true.’

Philip Noel Baker
From *Socialist Affairs* Nov-Dec 1973

Cit. Jung announced that a new paper [Tagwacht] had been started by the members of the International of Zurich. Amongst the points of their programme were separation of Church and State, separation of the schools from the Church, gratuitous education in the higher branches of learning, gratuitous care of the sick, nationalisation of railways, prohibition of children under 12 working in factories, and that from 12 to 16 their hours of labour should be limited to 8 a day and those of adults to 10 and that the factories should be under the supervision of government inspectors. The *Progrès* of Locle and the *Egalité* of Geneva were against the programme as being too political; they were against politics.

Cit. Marx observed that the reduction of the hours of labour had been resolved by two congresses and it could only be carried out by compelling the existing governments to take it in hand. The *Progrès* and *Egalité* had no right to complain.

From the minutes of a meeting of the First International's General Council held in January 1870

Though under Burnham he is on record for excesses of manner, he had never been called upon to make the big speeches and shine close to the dictator until he became prime minister after the retirement through illness of Ptolemy Reid in 1984. His selection was accompanied by rumours that his rival Hamilton Greene was not acceptable to the technocrats in the State Planning Secretariat, the ‘recovery boys’ commissioned by Burnham in 1983 to do whatever was necessary to keep the economy afloat.

At his first public rally at the end of the PNC congress this year, in a calculated departure from Burnham, Hoyte addressed himself to the housebreaking crimes. Burnham had never shown a knowledge of them in public; the crimes that concerned him exclusively were the new so-called economic crimes.

Hoyte also declared that Burnham was not a dictator. Yet he gives the impression of being liberated by the death of Burnham, to whom he had been ‘chief assistant’ as prime minister. Merely an occasional public speaker in the past, he now makes full use of his power to visit workplaces and districts and of the monopoly enjoyed by the PNC on the state radio. Showing a relatively acute sense of public grievance, he descended on the municipal markets in August into the lengthening rice queues and promised that waiting in line would end within one week. He seemed appalled, not so much at the thought of hunger, but at the blow to Guyana's reputation of self-sufficiency in food. Needless to say, the queues did not disappear within one week or even one month, as there was and is a very real shortage of rice.

The new president has introduced limited electoral reforms: the limiting of the proxy vote; the abolition of the postal vote which was introduced after Burnham was forced in 1973 to modify the proxy vote, but which retained the abuses of the proxy vote in its place; and the virtual abolition of the overseas vote (by which persons married to Guyanese had the right to vote in Guyana), a right widely abused in previous elections.

It should be stressed that the PNC had developed the habit of seizing the lion's share of every type of vote, and of using the proxy vote to disenfranchise voters by the claim that they had given over their right to vote to a party-appointed voter. It is just as well that the proxy vote has been reformed, for the iron obedience to unlawful instructions no longer exists generally in the PNC. The man to whom all factions were loyal is dead.

But the country is still looking out for three important reforms. They are: the removal of the control of elections from the minister of home affairs back to the

Elections Commission; the preliminary count of ballots at the polling station instead of the combining of votes from several, so that the party standing by polling divisions is hidden; and, most important for an opening of the political system, an end to citizens being put on a ‘negative list’, victimised, dismissed or subject to harassment for their political attachments.

Assuming that Hoyte is acting without all his colleagues' consent, one should not rule out a backlash against even these reforms within the PNC itself. This could conceivably build up around the man who has logistical control of registration and elections, the minister of home affairs. No one in Guyana is sure whether Hoyte will free the ballot boxes or whether, if they are freed, they will have been freed with the consent of the whole party.

By coming out and denouncing violent crimes, a position never taken by Burnham or Greene, Hoyte has warmed the hearts of many in the country. What is significant is that it has brought him praise from some Indo-Guyanese who compare his position with that of Burnham. There are also wide expectations that Hoyte will bring back wheat for the milling of flour. In private he is brushing aside many of the burnhamite prescriptions with light disrespect. It is conceivable that he will revive the PNC to a limited extent so that its showing in a fair election will be better than during Burnham's lifetime.

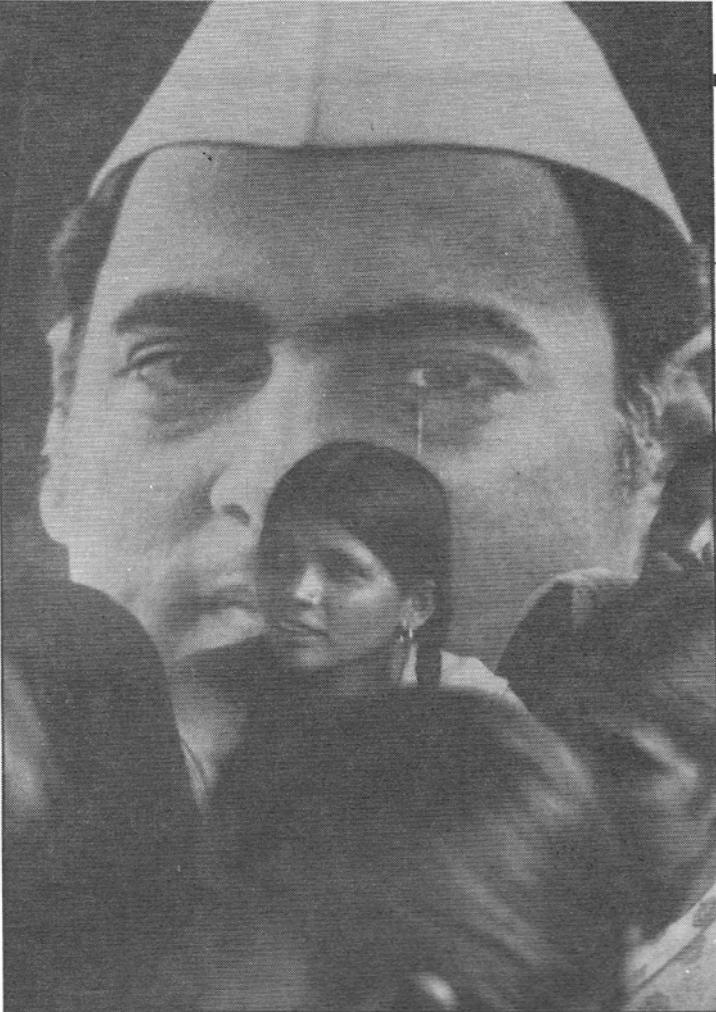
A victory for political democracy in Guyana, starting with free and fair elections, would liberate trade unions to act as they see fit politically and compel industrial democracy, or impel the struggle for it, in the massive public sector.

The WPA will campaign for the reconstruction, strengthening and expansion of the national economy and for creating within it a people's economy. The private sector should not be denied facilities extended to the public sector, nor should the public sector be denied the expertise of the private sector. The WPA also proposes the renewal of the village economy in order to stop the drift into the city.

In foreign policy, the WPA favours a pluralist approach. It will continue what dignified relations are open to it with the socialist countries. It will not look on any country as monolithic and will not write off institutions, individuals, organisations or achievements of any country. But it remains firmly in the camp of those who engage in the worldwide battle for peace, against nuclear crematoria, against poverty, and for a genuine multiracial power of the working people.

India one year after Indira

PRADIP BOSE offers an evaluation of Rajiv Gandhi's first year as prime minister of India.



Dilip Mehta / Colorific

When the Indian prime minister, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated in New Delhi on October 31 last year, a deplorable aspect of Indian political life was fully exposed. Having concentrated tremendous power in her own hands during her lifetime, her sudden disappearance created a deep crisis in the system. Her elder son, Rajiv Gandhi, quickly stepped into her shoes. Although he was a member of parliament, he had no ministerial experience. The well established constitutional precedent of the senior cabinet minister succeeding a deceased prime minister for an interim period, in order to allow the ruling parliamentary party to elect its leader and the new prime minister, was summarily abandoned.

However, the brutal killing of Indira Gandhi created a spontaneous wave of sympathy for Rajiv. Moreover, his composure and quiet dignity in the midst of the crisis, effectively put across by television and radio, made a positive impression on people's minds. And some of his statements and actions in his first

few days as prime minister also considerably enhanced his standing.

Gandhi and the ruling Congress (Indira) Party took full electoral advantage of the political atmosphere, and called parliamentary elections at the earliest possible moment. The general election, which in any case would have had to be held by January 1985, was brought forward to December 1984. They scored a spectacular electoral victory, exceeding the previous records set by Rajiv's mother and his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, at the peak of their political careers. Congress(I) gained 49.7 percent of the votes and secured 401 out of 508 seats contested.

This was possible because the elections were turned into a virtual referendum on the issue of the integrity and security of the country. The pressing economic and social problems facing were hardly discussed. In his whirlwind election campaign – across a country with seventeen languages, eight hundred dialects, seven religions, six ethnic groups and innumerable castes and subcastes among the Hindus – Rajiv Gandhi repeatedly warned the people that there was a major conspiracy, with international ramifications, to destabilise the country, of which the assassination of his mother had been a part. This election strategy provided political dividends for the ruling party far beyond expectations.

The main reason for the Congress(I) victory was that the non-communist opposition parties, which are strong in the 'political heartland' of the Hindi-speaking areas of north India, could not arrive at an

electoral understanding among themselves, and thus failed to offer an alternative government to the electorate. This meant virtually conceding defeat even before the elections took place.

Although the so-called 'Rajiv cyclone' uprooted the opposition in large areas of the country, it had no effect in Andhra Pradesh and little effect in West Bengal, Tripura and Kashmir.

In the rest of the country there was a virtual slaughter of the opposition. The major non-communist parties were decimated. The Janata Party (JP), which ruled the country from 1977 to 1979, secured only 10 seats. The Hindu-oriented Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which had fielded the largest number of candidates among the opposition parties, won only 2 seats. Another breakaway group of the Janata Party, the Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party (DMKP), obtained only 3 seats.

However, elections to some of the state assemblies held two and a half months after the parliamentary elections revealed a somewhat different picture. Even though the non-communist opposition parties again had no electoral understanding among themselves, they obtained a respectable number of seats. For instance, in the southern state of Karnataka the Janata Party won only 4 out of 28 seats in parliament in December 1984, but was voted back to power with an overwhelming majority in March this year.

Nevertheless, by scoring an impressive electoral victory at central level, Rajiv Gandhi emerged as the leader of the Congress(I) in his own right.

Pradip Bose

is president of the Indian Centre for Democratic Socialism, an organisation of political activists, trade unionists, academics and journalists, based in New Delhi. He has written two books and a number of booklets on political, ideological and international affairs as they affect India.

Having received a massive mandate, Rajiv Gandhi, in a significant shift, altered his mother's confrontationalist approach towards the opposition parties. He has developed channels of communication with opposition leaders. States ruled by opposition parties have been assured that they will be treated on a par with the Congress(I)-ruled states. Tensions between the ruling and opposition parties, which had considerably heightened during Indira Gandhi's time, have thus been reduced since the elections.

The Gandhi government has expressed a preference for a free and independent press and an independent judiciary, and has put great emphasis on improving the educational system.

It would be difficult to find fault with the new political design presented to the country. However, it is too early yet to say how successfully some, if not all, of the new ideas can be put into practice.

In his first year Gandhi has two political achievements to his credit.

The most important has been the solution of the Punjab problem. The government came to an agreement, in an imaginative and courageous way, with the moderate section of the major Sikh party, the Akali Dal. (The Congress(I) was defeated in September in elections following the agreement, and the Akali Dal has formed the state government.) Not that all problems are solved by any means, but the Sikh extremists are in political retreat – although their capacity to cause mischief remains.

Rajiv also negotiated an agreement to overcome the problem created by the heavy influx of refugees from Bangladesh into the eastern state of Assam, which had resulted in a demographic imbalance and widespread discontent among the local Assamese people. (The state will go to the polls in December 1985.)

What about economic policy? The government's main concern seems to be to prepare the country to face the challenges of the twenty-first century effectively, by catching up as fast as possible with the industrially advanced countries.

India has made considerable advances in the process of industrialisation during the last three decades, being now the tenth industrial power in the world and capable of producing most of the necessary consumer goods. Even in the more sophisticated spheres of science and technology, such as nuclear energy and space technology, it has made its presence felt.

Yet in terms of per capita income, India is ranged among the poorest nations. In fact, it has the single highest concentration

of poverty, illiteracy and ill-health in the world. At the same time, through periodic democratic elections the social and political consciousness, of the Indian people has grown steadily over the last three decades, and it will not tolerate growing economic disparities for an indefinite period.

It may be useful to recall a few basic facts regarding India's social and economic situation.

– For many years the gross national product has been growing at around 3.5

'Whatever Rajiv Gandhi's achievements in internal and international politics, they will all be nullified at the popular level if prices go on rising as they have in recent months.'

percent, while population has been growing at a rate of 2.1 percent. Per capita income has thus increased at only 1.4 percent per year.

– In spite of various legal provisions regarding land reforms, no significant distribution of land has been made since independence. Out of 22 million potential surplus acres, 4.1 million acres have been declared surplus and 1.8 million acres have been redistributed. This constitutes only 0.58 percent of India's total cultivated area. As a result, the poorest 60 percent of rural households continue to own less than 10 percent of the land, and the richest 2 percent own about 25 percent of all agricultural land.

– Poverty in India is immense. Statistically, it is measured by an individual's food intake. People who cannot afford to have 2,400 calories per day (in rural areas) or 2,100 (in urban areas) are considered to be living below the poverty line. According to the sixth five-year plan (1980-85), 317 million people, or 48 percent of the total population, were living in poverty. Although the seventh five-year plan (1985-90) published recently claims that now 37 percent of the population fall in that category, many observers of India's economic scene are not yet prepared to accept this figure since there is no convincing evidence for the assertion.

– What makes such poverty so reprehensible is that it coexists with enormous affluence. In rural areas the poorest 10 percent own 0.1 percent of land assets, and the richest 10 percent own 81 percent. And in urban areas the richest 1.2 percent own 24 to 27 percent of the total wealth.

– The sixth five-year plan estimated that there were 20.75 million unemployed in the country. The new plan estimates unemployment in 1985 at 9.2 million. But the respected Indian daily *The Economic Times* puts the figure at 23.5 million.

– The unreported 'black' economy is estimated to have grown from 6 percent of national income in 1953-54 to about 50 percent.

– The Indian Constitution of 1950 promised to abolish illiteracy in ten years, but today two thirds of the population remain unable to read and write.

What has been Rajiv Gandhi's response to these mind-boggling problems? He initially imposed business-oriented ideas on the government; his approach seemed to be technocratic and managerial. In his government's first budget, income and wealth taxes were slashed and death duty abolished.

Private industry has been virtually set free to respond to market forces. Restrictions on monopolistic practices are being quietly dismantled. There are no signs of attempt to discourage the already high concentration of industrial power in the hands of a few families.

Almost all new major industries are now being set up on the basis of co-operation with foreign companies, a large number of them transnational corporations. This involves expensive royalties, payment of 'know-how' and continuing import of spare parts. It is being justified on the grounds that it keeps India up-to-date with technological developments abroad.

There should be no objection to foreign collaboration in crucial areas of the economy where India lacks technological expertise. But what is actually happening is that much precious foreign exchange and scarce resources and skills are being frittered away in the production of consumer goods for the upper and middle classes. For instance, a number of agreements have been signed with Japanese companies to produce private cars, while public road transport remains in an abominable condition – a policy for promoting private opulence and public squalor.

Soon after the budget in March, prices of all essential commodities shot up, and a general feeling spread that the new Rajiv government, in the name of modernisation and efficiency, was on the side of the rich.

There was widespread though subdued murmuring from different sections of the Congress(I) party as well. To subdue the popular disaffection against the new economic policies, suitable amendments along conventional lines were then made.

After months of intense behind-the-scene struggle, the final draft of the seventh five-year plan (1985-90) was presented on November 8-9. It contained certain changes in emphasis. Rajiv Gandhi, who had never talked of 'socialism' in his first few months of office, said that the purpose of the new plan was to reach 'the cherished goal of socialism'. He added: 'Development must be accompanied by equity and social justice - by removing the social barriers that oppress the weak. That is the essence of our concept of socialism.'

Of course, there has never been any dearth of talk about 'socialism' in the past by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. After initial waverings, however, Rajiv Gandhi has apparently now decided to follow a 'traditional' Congress line of talking about socialism while promoting capitalism.

He has talked about intensifying 'our direct attack on poverty' - this appears to be a rejection of the 'trickle-down' theory - and gave assurances that the anti-poverty programmes would be expanded

and the public distribution system, meeting the needs of the weaker sections of the people, would be spread to new areas in the countryside. Proposals have been made to increase employment faster than the growth of the labour force.

'As in the past, so in the future, the public sector will occupy the commanding heights of our technologically modern economy and industry', he said, clarifying the public sector/private sector controversy.

According to the new plan, in absolute terms the number of poor is expected to fall from 273 million in 1984-85 to 271 million in 1989-90. The existing programmes in education, health, provision of clean water and sanitation will be expanded.

There are some positive indicators to the Indian economy. Firstly, India is self-sufficient in food, except for edible oil. Secondly, last year's rate of economic growth was about 5 percent. Thirdly, India does not have a massive foreign debt like many third-world countries. (In fact, India adjusted rather well to the second oil shock and the marked deterioration in the international economic environment. Rates of growth and real investment were maintained.) Fourthly, with an improved political situation and the new government's liberal economic policies, there is

increase in investment.

While there are indications that expansion in economic activities both in agricultural and industrial fields will be rapid, the main fear concerns uncontrolled inflationary trends. The government will have to undertake a considerable amount of deficit financing to realise the goals of the new five-year plan.

It is of course too early to predict the precise consequences of the new economic policies. Whatever Rajiv Gandhi's achievements in internal and international politics, they will be nullified at the popular level if prices go on rising as they have in recent months.

While being innovative in the economic sphere to promote modernisation and efficiency, the Rajiv government's initial policies have offered little to the poor, although some modifications were made in the new five-year plan.

The opposition parties, having been badly defeated, are still in disarray at the national level but are quite effective in some of the states. They are licking their wounds and waiting for Rajiv Gandhi to falter and fail. This possibility cannot be ruled out, because India has massive and complex problems which cannot be solved by gimmickry or cosmetics.



Survival International

International secretariat
29 Craven Street
London WC2N 5NT
England
(Tel 839-3267)

National sections
IHEAL
28, rue St Guillaume
75007 Paris
France

Survival International (USA)
2121 Decatur Place NW
Washington, DC 20008
United States

Survival International campaigns for the rights of threatened tribal peoples. It aims, in particular, to help tribal people to exercise their right of survival and self-determination; to ensure that the interest of tribal peoples are properly represented in all decisions affecting their future; and to secure for tribal peoples

the ownership and use of adequate land and other resources. Survival International's presi-



dent is Robin Hanbury-Tenison and director is Stephen Corry. It is a registered charity in the United Kingdom and recognised non-governmental organisation at the United National and the European Community.

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Catalyst

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(Tel 01-235-0626)

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Catalyst, published quarterly, is intended to stimulate more effective, open public debate on the great issues of today, and aimed not only at politicians, but leaders in all fields concerned with the quality of life; including industrialists, managers, trade unionists, and the providers of financial and professional services.

Articles in Catalyst are not primary research papers but they embody the results of the latest research, translating into plain words academic jargon and expertise. Rather than be categorical about any solution, it

emphasises the diversity of evidence and research conclusions.

Contributors are writing for those who feel a need to know, in reasonable depth, about questions on which they have no specialist knowledge, ranging from industrial relations to fiscal or defence policy. There is nothing even in the most complex problem which cannot be treated in this way.

The first number, published earlier this year, deals with the future of economic management.

Future issues will deal with defence policy and welfare benefits, education and training, restrictive practices, overseas aid, and the changing nature of modern government.

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ELECTIONS

Guatemala

'Enough of violence!'

MARIO SOLÓRZANO MARTÍNEZ was the presidential candidate of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala (PSD) in the elections held on November 3, the broadest in thirty-one years of military rule. Here he explains the background to the elections and the difficulties and dangers attached to his party campaigning, and why the PSD decided to take part even though the military still cast a long shadow over the poll.

What were the most important reasons for you and your party to return to legitimate political existence?

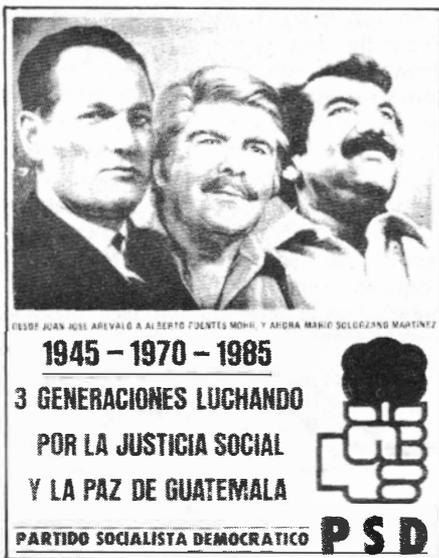
Solórzano: In Europe, people have difficulty in believing that here in Guatemala a swing to democracy has come about. People are often drawing unjustified comparisons and forgetting that our political history has run a quite different course. We have never known the kind of democratic tradition which you enjoy. For our party, after thirty years of almost non-stop violence, it was of great significance to be able to take this step and come out into the open again. Moreover, support for the extreme right has weakened. And the United States has declared the way free for mildly reform-oriented, albeit still traditional, formations, the Union of the National Centre (UCN) and the Christian Democrats. This has made it possible for us to begin to seek political agreement. A mini-current has been set in motion, as is also shown by the fact that we were able to give up our clandestine existence.

However, within the 'swing to democracy' proclaimed in 1983, radical and necessary changes have yet to be detected.

Solórzano: That's true. Irrationality is still clearly prevalent on all sides and there is a lack of political will to make any real progress. The question is, however, whether anyone is truly interested in making a breakthrough in this initial process.

Our position is aimed primarily at seeking solutions and unity. That is not an easy task, but neither was it any easier for you in Western Europe. If, for example, human rights continue to be violated here in a countless number of areas, then we are obliged to condemn it.

As a socialist party, we can rely on the portion of the population which tradition-



ally votes for the left. Many of the abstentions in last year's elections for the constituent assembly came to us, and we hope that in future more will do so. This will have a major effect not only here in Guatemala but also in other countries of Central America. And, for us to be able to assume this kind of pioneering role, it is also necessary to convince the people of our strictly democratic objectives.

Are you also referring there to the propaganda being waged against the PSD?

Solórzano: Socialists, communists, subversives, guerrillas, they are all readily tarred with the same brush. It was still necessary during campaign rallies to make clear to people that we are not communists and that we totally reject the path of violence.

Socialism is for us the same as freedom. In order to be able to achieve freedom, democracy is necessary. In order to build a democracy, you have to follow the electoral course, whereby a people is able

freely to elect its government and free to reject all forms of dictatorship, those of capitalism as well as of communism.

We are faced with two fundamental problems. Military rule has resulted in complete chaos. The current economic crisis is not being seriously fought, corruption is rampant and, moreover, no-one is bothering to clean up the mess. The other associated problem relates to the distribution of power, in other words, the misery suffered by the vast majority of the population. In our country it has also been shown, however, that it is impossible to impose a dictatorship over the proletariat. Because no dictatorship is able to create that precise social justice for which we are now struggling.

Armed revolutionary movements are also of the firm conviction that they are fighting for social justice.

Solórzano: There is a radical left here which has a long-standing plan for Guatemala but one which is contrary to our objectives. This plan of the guerrillas lacks flexibility and, above all, political substance. We say, enough! An end now to war, an end now to violence! Everyone is sick of it. Violence has only ever deceived people. We want to have a serious left, liberated from the path of violence.

How genuine is the dialogue in Guatemala? Was your party involved, for example, in the national dialogue concerning the economic crisis?

Solórzano: No. Neither were we invited. This national dialogue is no more than a table discussion between CACIF, the private business organisation, and what we call 'the new CACIF' - the army, which is regrouping and adopting new positions for the post-elections period. Neither of these two parties is helping to achieve a balance between the true



**LOS GORILAS
AL ZOOLOGICO
LOS HOMBRES
AL PODER**

'Gorillas to the zoo, men to power'

interests of the population. They are Guatemalans, but they consider the problems from the positions of their bank accounts in the United States.

Large population groups, such as the indians and the workers, are miserably off. What does the PSD think it can do for them?

Solórzano: In Guatemala it is normal to differentiate between the *indigenas*, the indians, and the *ladinos*, the non-indians. We prefer to speak about 'national communities', each with their own culture, language, religion, social values etc. The right of these groups to exist has been

suppressed over a long period. Not only the rights of the indians, but also for example those of women and young people. All of them must be able to seek their own course, wherever possible in collaboration with others, but never within a paternalistic structure of at best tutelage and often oppression, such as that which still exists today. The class struggle affects all sections of the population.

Trade unions were cruelly suppressed some years ago and have only recently been able to surface again to some extent. Does the PSD choose sides in this matter?

Solórzano: A political party alone is

unable to achieve much in the present situation. We are obviously seeking the best possible contacts with the trade unions, as an integral part of an organisation which reaches the entire population, so that the population as a whole will also be able to put its weight behind a new system. That after all is what distinguishes us from other political parties in Guatemala. They only wish to pump new blood into an old system. We say, the system is decadent, broken down and must completely disappear.

No candidate gained an absolute majority in the presidential elections. Who will the PSD support in the runoff - Vinicio Cerezo, the Christian Democrat, or Jorge Carpio, of the Union of the National Centre?

Solórzano: The PSD will be in opposition, but we have agreed to support Cerezo in the second round, following talks with him in which we stressed the need for the future government to pursue a policy of neutrality in the Central American conflict, reform the tax system, and improve the human rights situation and trade union freedoms.

Do you really expect the military to give up their power?

Solórzano: I don't know. One shouldn't look at it too much in terms of black and white. In Guatemala's present situation, many institutions could play a major role. The military, private business, but also, for example, the national university, which for a long time has been heavily involved in social and political issues, and the catholic church. As far as these latter bodies are concerned, we assume that there is at least a willingness to seek a peaceful solution, perhaps only step by step, but it exists. The simple or not so simple fact of participation, interest and involvement is of major importance in this country. If we can now consolidate, make ourselves more widely known and are in future able to participate in further elections, then we will have already come a long way.

That all sounds extremely cautious.

Solórzano: Cautious? Yes, who doesn't have to be cautious here? We have learnt a great deal. Previously we were romantic, and consequently we made mistakes. We have now left behind all those left-wing slogans of no real substance. We have become realistic. That is also why we are back.

*Mário Solórzano was interviewed by Kees Broere.
Reprinted with thanks from Voorwaarts.*

ELECTIONS RESULTS

Deadline November 30, 1985

BELGIUM

Socialists poll well in leftward shift

Both Belgian Socialist parties gained ground in general elections held on October 13, although not enough to dislodge the centre-right coalition in power since 1981.

The elections were called three months early following a government crisis over ministerial responsibility for the Heysel Stadium football tragedy of May 1985.

A central feature of the election outcome was the squeezing of the regionalist parties, both in Flemish-speaking Flanders and in French-speaking Wallonia.

Of the two Socialist formations, the Flemish SP performed particularly well, increasing its share of the vote from 12.4 to 14.6 percent and its representation in the 212-member Chamber from 26 to 32 seats. The Walloon PS also pushed up their vote, from 12.7 to 13.8 percent, but its representation was unchanged at 35 seats.

In an election turning of economic issues, both the SP and the PS campaigned vigorously against unemployment and government policies of retrenchment in public spending.

Within the ruling coalition, both wings of the Christian Social party gained seats, with the Flemish CVP led by the prime minister, Wilfried Martens, consolidating its position as the country's strongest party. The right-wing Liberals (PVV and PRL) did less well, especially in Flanders.

But overall the four parties of the outgoing coalition retained an overall majority of 115 seats, enabling Martens to form a new administration.

After many years of gradual advance, the smaller regionalist parties this time saw their voting strength being eroded. The Flemish nationalist People's Union (VU) lost 4 seats and the Francophone Democratic Front (DFD) had its representation halved.

Among other smaller parties, the poujadist Democratic Union for Respect of Labour (UDRT)

was reduced to one member of the Chamber, while the Communist Party ceased to be represented for the first time since 1945.

Major successes were, however, recorded by both the Flemish and the Walloon ecologist parties. In Flanders Agalev doubled its representation to 4 seats, while in Wallonia Ecolo advanced to 5 seats.

PORTUGAL

Defeat for Socialists

The Portuguese Socialist Party (PS) led by Mário Soares was defeated in general elections held on October 6.

The country's dominant political formation since the 1974 revolution, the PS had been in government since 1983 in coalition with the Social Democratic Party (PSD). Under the new leadership of Anibal Cavaco Silva, the PSD had precipitated the elections by declaring an end to the coalition, thus depriving Soares of his parliamentary majority. The party had designated António de Almeida Santos as successor to Soares in the premiership (in view of the latter's candidacy for the presidency next January).

The results showed that the Socialists lost over fifteen percent in electoral support, slumping from 36.4 to 20.8 percent, giving the party 57 seats in the 250-member Assembly as against 101 previously. The party lost particularly heavily in

Results of the Belgian elections 1985 (1981)

	percentage	seats	
Flanders			
Christian Social Party (CVP)	21.3 (19.3)	49	(43)
Socialist Party (SP)	14.6 (12.4)	32	(26)
Freedom and Progress Party (PVV)	10.7 (12.9)	22	(28)
People's Union (VU)	7.9 (9.8)	16	(20)
Ecologists (Agalev)	3.7 (2.3)	4	(2)
Flemish Bloc	1.4 (1.1)	1	(1)
Wallonia			
Socialist Party (PS)	13.8 (12.7)	35	(35)
Reformist Liberal Party (PRL)	10.2 (8.6)	24	(24)
Social Christian Party (PSC)	8.0 (7.2)	20	(18)
Ecologists (Ecolo)	2.5 (2.2)	5	(2)
Francophone Democratic Front (DFD)	1.2 (2.5)	3	(6)
Democratic Union for Respect of Labour (UDRT)	1.2 (2.7)	1	(3)
others	3.5 (6.3)	0	(4)

traditional PS strongholds such as Lisbon and Porto.

The principal beneficiary was the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), formed recently by supporters of President Eanes, which secured 18.0 percent of the vote and 45 seats. With the PRD making inroads into the Socialist vote, the way was open for the PSD to establish itself as the largest party.

To the left of the PS, the United People's Alliance (APU) dominated by the Portuguese Communist Party slipped from 44 to 38 seats.

A PSD minority administration under Cavaco Silva was sworn in on November 6.

GUATEMALA

PSD returns

Having fought a courageous campaign under difficult circum-

stances, the Democratic Socialist Party (PSD) and its presidential candidate, Mario Solórzano Martínez, polled 3.8 percent of the vote on November 3, in Guatemala's broadest elections in thirty-one years. They were for president, vice-president, the 100-member Congress and city mayors. The PSD also won 2 seats in the Congress.

At its congress in January the PSD had decided that, despite a political situation in which the military still exerted a powerful influence in the runup to the promised elections, it would return from exile to register the party and organise an electoral campaign. The leadership had moved the party's base to Costa Rica in 1980, following the assassination of many PSD members by right-wing death squads.)

The military, which has ruled the country either direct or through civilian surrogates since 1954, had made clear, in the course of 1984, its intention to hand over power to an elected civilian government.

The PSD had boycotted the 1982 presidential elections and the 1984 elections for a constituent assembly because minimum conditions for fair elections could not be guaranteed at that time - a view confirmed by the widespread accusations of fraud made by most foreign observers.

Results of the Portuguese elections 1985 (1983)

	percentage	seats	
Social Democratic Party (PSD)	29.8 (27.0)	88	(75)
Socialists Party (PS)	20.8 (36.3)	57	(101)
Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)	18.0	45	-
United People's Alliance (APU)	15.6 (18.7)*	38	(44)
Christian Social Centre (CDS)	9.7 (12.4)	22	(30)
others	6.1 (5.6)	0	(0)

*Total includes 0.5% for Popular Democratic Union (PDU)

Christian Democrats ahead

The PSD was the only left-wing group to contest the elections. It was boycotted by left-wing guerrilla groups, which have been waging an armed struggle against the military for twenty years.

Voting was observed by representatives from fourteen countries, the United Nations and the Organisation of American States. An indication that the poll was more representative than the previous military-inspired polls was offered by the decline in the percentage of spoilt and blank ballot papers. In 1984 the number of invalid votes was officially put at 26 percent; in this election it was 8 percent. The overall turnout was around 72 percent, significantly higher than in previous elections (although it was still below 50 percent in many rural areas).

In the presidential race, eight candidates, all civilian, competed on behalf of twelve parties. According to official results announced by the electoral tribunal on November 7, Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo of the Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party (DCG) obtained 38.7 percent of valid votes; Jorge Carpio Nicolle of the conservative Union of the National Centre (UCN) 20.2 percent; Jorge Serrano Elias, representing a centrist coalition of the Democratic Party of National Cooperation (PDCN) and the Revolutionary Party (PR), 13.8 percent; Mario Alarcón, the candidate of an extreme-right coalition led by the National Liberation Movement (MLN), 12.6 percent.

Notable in particular was the relegation of the MLN – the self-proclaimed ‘party of organised violence’ – from second place in the 1982 presidential elections (when it obtained 28.2 percent) to fourth place, losing more than half its support.

Since no candidate gained an absolute majority, a runoff between the two top-placed candidates will be held on December 8. After the results were announced, Cerezo appealed to Carpio to withdraw on the grounds that the runoff would be a formality, but Carpio refused. The PSD has agreed to

support for Cerezo in the second round.

SWEDEN**Small parties advance locally**

The pattern of results in regional and communal elections held in Sweden on September 15 reflected that of the general elections held the same day (see SOCIALIST AFFAIRS 3/85), with the Social Democrats (SAP) losing some ground but retaining their overall dominance.

In both Stockholm and Gothenburg the erosion of Social Democratic support enabled small local parties to secure the balance of power between the socialist and centre-right blocs.

In Sweden's third city, Malmö, the latter wrested power from the Social Democrats for the first time since 1919, although they will depend on the separatist Skåne Party for an overall majority.

The Ecologists made significant gains in the communal elections, almost doubling their representation, but failed to secure representation at regional level.

DENMARK**Social Democrats on top**

The Social Democratic Party maintained its position as the country's strongest political formation in local elections for the 14 county councils and 275 municipal councils held on November 19. It took 35.6 percent of the vote, virtually the same proportion as in the last such elections in 1981 and significantly ahead of its 31.6 percent share in the January 1984 general elections.

Among the parties of the ruling centre-right coalition, the Conservatives obtained 19.8 percent of the vote, up on their 1981 performance (17 percent) but well down on their 1984 general elections showing (23.4 percent). The locally strong Liberals recorded 16.1 percent as against 17.2 percent in 1981

and 12.1 percent in 1984.

To the left of the Social Democrats, the Socialist People's Party made a major breakthrough at local level, climbing from 7 to over 11 percent. On the far right, the anti-tax Progress Party suffered a further decline in support, managing 2.3 percent of the vote compared with 7 percent in 1981 and 3.6 percent in 1984.

BRAZIL**PDT wins in Rio and Porto Alegre, PMDB strongest party**

The Democratic Labour Party (PDT), led by Leonel Brizola, won control of Brazil's second city, Rio de Janeiro, in municipal elections held on November 15, the first since the military coup of 1964.

The victor in most of the 201 mayoral races across the country was the main constituent of the eight-month-old centre-left civilian government, the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB), which won control of 17 of the 23 state capitals.

But in Sao Paulo, Brazil's financial and industrial centre, the PMDB candidate lost former president Jânio da Silva Quadros, standing for a right-wing coalition.

The PDT's mayoral candidate in Rio was Roberto Saturnino Braga, a senator. The party also won control of Porto Alegre, another state capital in the south.

Of the other progressive parties, the trade union-based Workers' Party (PT) won one state capital – Fortaleza, in the north-east – and gained 20 percent of the Sao Paulo vote, as well as coming close to victory in the state capitals of Goiânia and Vitoria.

The elections attracted a turnout of 18.5 million voters, most of whom were voting for their mayors for the first time. There were 700 candidates from about thirty political groupings, some of which were splinter groups of the two parties permitted to function under the military regime, some derived

from the illegal opposition parties of that era and some were of very recent formation.

SPAIN**Socialists gain seats in Galicia**

The ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) gained seats in elections for the regional parliament of Galicia in north-west Spain held on November 24. Its tally of 22 seats in the 71-member parliament represented a gain of 6 as compared with its showing in the first Galician regional poll in 1981. PSOE's share of 28 percent was 9 percent up on its 1981 showing.

Principal victor in the election was the conservative Popular Alliance (AP) led by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, himself a native of Galicia. Campaigning strongly in this rural right-wing stronghold, the AP increased its representation from 26 to 34 seats and will lead the new regional government. But its hopes of achieving an overall majority were disappointed, principally due to the strong showing of a new regional grouping, the centrist Galician Coalition, which won 11 seats.

Principal loser was the Social Democratic Centre Party (CDS), led by former prime minister Adolfo Suárez, which failed to win a seat in what was regarded as a test run for the general elections due in 1986. In 1981 the Centre Democratic Union (precursor of the CDS) had obtained 24 seats in Galicia.

NETHERLANDS**PvdA first in new province**

In the first elections to the legislature of the newly constituted province of Flevoland – consisting of reclaimed land in the IJsselmeer (the old Zuyderzee) in the country's centre – on September 18, the Labour Party (PvdA) emerged as the strongest party, gaining 33.8 percent of the vote and 14 seats in the 39-member assembly.

ELECTIONS RESULTS

AUSTRIA

SPÖ remains in opposition in Upper Austria

In state elections in Upper Austria on October 6, the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ), the ruling party at federal level, polled 38.0 percent (a loss of 3.4 percent) of the vote, but retained its 23 seats in the 56-member legislature.

The Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) defended its absolute majority, slightly increasing its share to 52.1 percent and gaining 30 seats, one up on the 1979 elections. The Freedom Party (FPÖ), the junior coalition partner at federal level, lost 1 of its 4 seats.

NEW CALEDONIA

Regional councils elected

The new constitutional arrangement passed by the French National Assembly in August – part of the Socialist government's plans for the future of this South Pacific overseas territory – was inaugurated on September 29 with elections to the four new regional councils.

The pro-independence Kanak Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS) gained control of the councils in the Northern, Central and Loyalty Islands regions, where native Kanaks are dominant. The Rally for Caledonia in the Republic (RPCR), allied with the far-right National Front (FN), which oppose any loosening of the links with France, gained control of the Southern region, where most of the non-Kanak settlers live.

Results for the elections of the new councils – which will have wide-ranging powers, in particular regarding rural development, education, local culture and language – were as follows: in the Northern region, the FLNKS won 6 seats, the RPCR 2, and the Rally for Peace and Custom (RPC), the latter's Kanak ally, 1; in the Central region, the

FLNKS won 5 seats and the RPCR 4; in the Southern region, the RPCR won 17 seats, the FN 3 and the FLNKS 1; and in the Loyalty Islands, the FLNKS won 4, the RPCR 2, and the centrist Kanak Socialist Liberation Party (LKS) 1.

There were no disturbances during the poll, in marked contrast to the outbreaks of violence between pro- and anti-independence groups during the previous election in November 1984 (which was carried out under a different constitutional framework).

Owing to the demographic dominance of the Southern region, the RPCR and its allies hold a 12-seat majority in the 46-member territorial congress, which is comprised of the four regional councils. RPCR leader Dick Ukeiwé was elected president of the congress at its first meeting on October 7.

ARGENTINA

Vote of confidence for Alfonsín

The ruling centre-left Radical Civic Union (UCR) strengthened its position in the Chamber of Deputies in mid-term congressional elections held on November 3. Half the legislature's 254 seats were up for renewal, along with some 6,000 provincial and municipal posts.

These were the first mid-term congressional elections in twenty years, all previous ones being preempted by military coups or cancelled by military regimes.

The UCR, led by President Raúl Alfonsín, in power since December 1983, won 65 seats of the 127 seats contested (a gain of one), although its share of the popular vote, 43 percent, was 5 percent down on its 1983 performance.

The party did well in the regional elections, gaining control of all but four of the country's twenty-four provincial legislatures.

The opposition peronist Justicialist Nationalist Movement (MNJ) – badly divided between reformist and traditionalist wings, which actively

campaigns against each other – gained 35 percent (4 percent down) and 48 seats, a loss of 8. The peronists also lost control in eight of the ten provinces previously held by them.

The Intransigent Party (PI), led by Oscar Alende, gained 6 percent of the popular vote, doubling its number of deputies to six. The right-wing Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD) gained 5 percent and one additional seat.

The UCR now holds 130 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, the MNJ 103, the PI 6, the UCD 3 and smaller provincial parties the remaining 12 seats.

HONDURAS

Liberals reelected

Presidential, parliamentary and mayoral elections which took place on November 24 resulted in a victory for the ruling Liberal Party of Honduras (PLH).

It was not clear until hours before the voting whether the presidency would be decided by an absolute majority or a plurality of votes, a question which arose because although the PLH gained 51 percent of the vote, this was divided between candidates representing four recognised factions within the party.

The electoral court ruled that the votes for the candidates of each party faction should be totalled and the presidency awarded to the leading candidate of the leading party.

On the basis of this ruling, the PLH's José Azcona del Hoyo, who gained 25 percent of the popular vote, was declared the victor. The party's second candidate, Oscar Mejía Arellano, gained 20 percent. Jorge Arturo Reina, representing the left-wing Revolutionary Democratic Liberal Movement (MOLIDER) within the PLH, gained 3 percent.

Rafael Callejas of the opposition conservative National Party (PN) gained 41 percent out of a total PN share of 45 percent.

Other candidates represented the left-wing Innovation and Unity Party (PINU) and the

Christian Democratic Party (PDC).

In the elections for the new 132-member National Assembly (replacing the outgoing 82-member house), the PLH won 67 seats and the PN 61. MOLIDER strengthened its position within the PLH, winning 4 seats and forming a significant parliamentary bloc for the first time.

BERMUDA

Snap election a disaster for Labour

The snap general election of October 29 reduced the strength of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) to 7 seats in the House of Assembly, while the ruling United Bermuda Party (UBP) won 31 seats and the new National Liberal Party (NLP), formed by PLP dissidents, the remaining 2.

The conservative UBP government of John Swan was thus confirmed in office. It has held power ever since limited self-government was introduced in this British colony in 1968.

HONG KONG

First elections for 140 years

The first elections in 140 years of British colonial rule took place on September 26-28, when less than 0.5 percent of the 5.5 million population voted for 24 elective seats on a new 56-member legislative council.

The council is intended to ensure a measure of representative government prior to the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in 1997. Its other 32 seats were filled by designated government appointees and civil servants.

Chosen from professional, trade and other bodies, the electorate potentially totalled about 70,000, but less than 40,000 were registered to vote. Of these only 25,000 actually voted.

The poll was not conducted on party political lines.

Socialist International Women



BULLETIN

Publisher and Editor: Irmtraut Karlsson

An economy for women?

Global Challenge, the Socialist International's programme on the world economy has described the world economy from a predominately male viewpoint. **GITA SEN's** book *Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions*, is like a running comment to the book from a third-world women's perspective.

Two chapters, one on the balance of payment and debt crisis, the other on population programmes and reproductive rights, are good examples.

The balance of payments and debt crisis

Although insofar as third-world countries are concerned, a crisis exists in the form of unmanageable debt burdens and balance of payments deficits, these are but symptoms of a larger crisis in the post-war

world financial and monetary system, as well as in the related mechanisms of international trade and capital flows. In the Bretton Woods system, despite the intentions of at least some of its founders, the onus of adjustment to imbalances in international payments falls entirely on deficit countries. Given the structural weak-

nesses with which most third-world countries were saddled in the colonial era, their role has been one of perennial 'adjuster'. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has extensively argued the need for inward-oriented, import-substitution strategies to reduce balance of payments





SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN ECONOMY FOR WOMEN

pressures, and to give economic growth an internal momentum. Simultaneously, ECLA favoured land reform as a mechanism for increasing agricultural productivity, reducing income inequality, and expanding the domestic market for industrial commodities. The mixed results of the land reforms undertaken during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s have been documented. On the import-substitution side, the mid-1960s saw the beginnings of a growing disillusionment and even reversal of earlier policies. It was argued that the 'easy' phase of substitution in consumer goods would have to give way to a much 'harder' phase of technology-intensive capital goods production.

Most important, the import-substitution phase did not appear to have improved the balance of payments position of Latin American countries as had been its intention. Although the growing requirement of imports of capital goods and intermediates for domestic industrialisation was blamed for this, insufficient attention was paid to another contributing factor, that by setting up protective barriers against imports, multinational corporations began to locate and expand industrial production in these countries. The extent to which the growth of industrial imports can be directly attributed to MNC production, the extent to which import bills were inflated by 'transfer pricing', and the extent to which attempts to deepen domestic industry were weakened by multinational control and commercialisation of technology are not fully known. Certainly all three did occur. But even apart from the imbalance on trade, the outflows due to profit repatriation and other such payments were considerable by the late 1970s. Thus, development strategies aimed at controlling trade while allowing relatively free capital movements could neither control trade nor improve the balance of payments.

By the late 1960s and 1970s export promotion was again becoming a dominant priority. After 1973 the recycling of petrodollars by commercial banks through lending to third-world countries is well known. While banks were eager to find profitable outlets for these funds, the loans were usually allocated according to priorities negotiated between governments, private lenders, and private borrowers (whose borrowing was sometimes guaranteed by governments). Rarely was there any accountability to the needs or interests of the people. Thus, as with other development policy making, neither the investment priorities nor the mechanisms were democratically determined. The loans were often spent for militarisation, for infrastructure projects with long gestation lags, and in some

instances for social services. There was also some leakage of the funds into foreign bank accounts.

With the slowing down of the world economy and world trade, the adjustment pressures on Latin American countries faced with large debt burdens became severe. The rapid growth of the debt burden and the inability to repay are due in part to the current worldwide recession and the resultant decline in exports from third-world countries, a problem worsened by protectionism in industrial countries. But the ballooning of the debt is also due to the operation of variable international interest rates, which are affected by the US policy of managing its own domestic and balance of trade deficits through high interest rates and capital inflows. The consequent instability in the international monetary and financial system not only makes it difficult to service the debts in the short run, but makes long-term planning well nigh impossible. It is in this context that the structural adjustment packages being negotiated by the IMF and the World Bank, operating in tandem, must be understood.

First of all, the structural adjustment packages are unlikely to lead to the required increase in exports in the face of growing protectionism in the advanced countries. Second, if the export promotion programmes do succeed, especially in agriculture, they are likely to reduce domestic food availability to the poor. Third, this will have a detrimental impact on human survival because of the cutbacks in consumer goods imports, in domestic subsidies for items like food and fuel, and in expenditures on health and education. Indeed, the international agencies and the business community are well aware that the 'hard' phase of debt management lies ahead, and that there will be considerable civil and political turmoil occasioned by their structural adjustments programmes.

Furthermore, although there is considerable pressure on third-world countries to 'structurally adjust', there is precious little openness in the multilateral agencies or the governments of the advanced countries to structural adjustment of the system as a whole. And unless adjustment burdens are shared between surplus and deficit countries, and unless the most powerful countries stop living beyond their means, the crisis of the system will not be resolved.

As already mentioned, the roots of the Third World's balance of payments crises go back to *before* 1973 and debt expansion. The structural roots lie in the openness to private capital flows and the large outflows resulting therefrom.

Balance of payments weakness was therefore built into the production and trading system during the import-substitution phase and thereafter. The debt overhang only heightened and precipitated the crisis.

It is equally clear that the basic needs of the majority of the population will now be a low governmental or multilateral priority. Although it is too soon for a systematic assessment of the effects of 'structural adjustment' in the 1980s, informed guesses of the negative impact of cutbacks on nutrition, morbidity, mortality, child survival, sanitation, transport, and education are unlikely to be far off the mark. Budgetary cutbacks will also be felt directly in public sector employment. If the experience of Chile after 1973 is an indicator, the further opening of the economy to free goods and capital movements, and increases in prices of imported inputs, will have a recessionary impact as small- and medium-size firms go out of business. Large-scale unemployment combined with reductions in social services led to rapid and severe impoverishment in Chile, while capital flight worsened the pressure on the balance of payments.

For women the 'structural adjustment' programmes are likely to have a number of effects. The effect of stabilisation programmes on women's employment will probably be mixed. Their employment in small- and medium-size firms producing for the domestic market will tend to decline as these firms go out of business. On the other hand, if export-oriented industries expand under governmental stimulus, women's employment is likely to expand as well, since female workers tend to predominate in this sector. As is well known, although wages and working conditions may sometimes be somewhat better in the larger factories in free trade zones, the work is temporary with high turnover and severe discipline. Many women in export units work under sweatshop conditions with low pay and high job insecurity.

In response to the debt crisis, international agencies have advised some countries to generate foreign exchange through further expansion of export agriculture. Women's employment in this sector has grown as a result. This employment, in agribusiness plantations or estates, bears strong similarities to third-world women's factory employment, in terms of working conditions and vulnerability to seasonal variation. An example is the commercial production of winter fruits and vegetables in Mexico.

Women's employment also tends to expand in services, commerce and in 'putting-out' work. These are the so-called 'informal' activities that grow



together with increased work participation by women. While poor women have always worked for wages, the pressures of the stabilisation programmes on incomes and consumption force even more women (older and younger) into the search for jobs. Domestic employment also offers an outlet, although the impoverishment of the middle classes may reduce the demand for paid domestic servants. Thus, women's employment may increase as a consequence of the 'structural adjustment' programmes, but it does so perforce and mainly under the negative conditions of the so-called 'informal' sector.

The specific effects of measures such as import restrictions (adopted as part of structural adjustment packages) on the range of activities encompassed in this sector are difficult to predict. On the one hand, by blocking or reducing the influx of imported consumer goods and other manufactures, the demand for goods that can be produced locally may increase. Yet certain occupations that depend on imported raw materials or goods (eg. types of vending or trading) would be harmed by import restrictions. The reduction in mass purchasing power as a result of the structural adjustment programmes translates into reduced demand for many goods, but there may also be a switch to cheaper goods produced in the 'informal sector'.

A second major impact of the IMF backed programmes on women is through cuts in social service expenditures. These cuts occur at the same time that demand for these services increases, resulting from growing unemployment and poverty. Restrictive fiscal policy implies that services

such as education, health, social housing, subsidised food, and transport are reduced, eliminated, or become available only at much higher prices. The implications for women are threefold. *First*, since women are the main household members responsible for tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and health care, their work burden is likely to increase. For example, lower social expenditures on health combined with poorer nutrition will increase the demands on women to make up the difference through health care at home. The time women spend waiting in queues will increase as bureaucratic procedures tighten and service availability shrinks. More time may have to be spent at public water taps, health centres, etc. *Second*, since women are usually responsible for managing the household's basic needs, the pressures to reduce their own personal access to such services as health and education will grow. So also their nutritional status. *Third*, the school drop-out rate of young girls is likely to increase as they are forced to substitute for older women in home tasks or as they are drawn into putting-out work or sweatshops in order to supplement the family's real income.

As we mentioned earlier, the evidence for these effects is still being researched and collected. However, there is already considerable evidence about the impact of governmental service cutbacks on women in advanced countries, particularly the United States. While Europe differs in a number of respects from the United States, most notably in current unemployment levels and stagnating internal demand, the relative insulation of the social welfare state, and labour and

income security policies, there are a number of parallel trends. But we confine our analysis here to the US because it provides the clearest illustration of the negative impact of governmental policies on women and the poor.

No matter how poverty is measured, the number of poor Americans grew by more than nine million in just four years, with the greatest concentration among minorities and low-income white women. This represents the largest increase since the government began collecting poverty figures in 1960. Female-headed households comprise the bulk of recipients affected by government fiscal and monetary policies. Well over one-third of all female-headed households are below the poverty line, and more than half of all black and Hispanic households headed by women live in poverty.

Even before the Reagan administration took office in 1980, poverty programmes contained serious gaps. While the popular view in the US is that substantial benefit increases were provided over the previous ten or fifteen years to the poor as a whole, the reality is that major increases during this period were to the elderly and to a small number of white male-headed households. Benefits in major programmes plummeted because they were not adjusted for inflation, and eligibility requirements changed such that many in need of assistance were excluded. During this period, the purchasing power of poor female-headed households declined, and many lost access to subsidised services.

Today, programmes targeted to low-income individuals and families comprise less than one-tenth of the federal budget. Yet, under the Reagan presidency, these



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Programmes have received the deepest cuts. Sizeable reductions have been made in the public assistance programme for poor single-parent (primarily female) families, programmes providing basic health care coverage for low-income families and the elderly, low-income housing, public service employment and job training, and unemployment insurance benefits. Contrary to the claims of this administration, these cuts do not

represent actual reductions in overall spending by the federal government, but rather a shift from spending in domestic to military sectors. Military spending has increased by over 40 percent from 1980 to 1985, larger than the total of all decreases in domestic spending since 1980.

While the majority of recipients of public assistance programmes are white, these programmes serve minorities in large numbers. Thus, while about 12

percent of the overall US population is black, over 40 percent receive public assistance in the form of income transfers, food stamps, medical coverage, etc. In the past four years, black families lost more than three times as much in benefit reductions as the average white family. Hispanics have been affected by the budget policies in much the same way, and poverty has been rising more rapidly among Hispanics than any other group.

Charter of the rights of working women

The first Charter was adopted in 1965, revised in October 1975 by the 11th World Congress and updated in 1985 by the ICFTU Women's Committee and the 4th World Women's Conference of the ICFTU held in Madrid, Spain, on April 23-26 1985.

Preamble

The economic activity of women is essential for the economy, society at large, the family and women themselves. By their work, women contribute to the development of their country, to improving their families' living standards, to the enhancement of their own personalities and their individual capacities. This contribution should be recognised all the more since the economic recession and the resulting unemployment tends to conceal from the public eye the economic reality of women's labour.

In all countries, women still encounter considerable discrimination, both from the social and legal point of view. This is at variance with women's fundamental rights.

Even in economically and socially advanced countries, while some progress has been made, discrimination still exists and much remains to be done.

The principle of equal pay for work of equal value has not yet been fully implemented. Access to certain jobs and professions is still restricted. Vocational education and training opportunities are more limited for women than for men, and their access to new technologies, skilled jobs and professions, is therefore more difficult. The social infrastructures designed to meet the needs of workers with family responsibilities are clearly inadequate.

In the developing countries, the problem which women workers have to face are substantially the same as in the industrialised countries, but they are aggravated by underemployment, the persistence of customs which treat women as inferiors, illiteracy, and a lack of

infrastructure and equipment. The living conditions which prevail impose particularly heavy burdens upon women.

By their commitment to the advancement of women, trade unions have made a fundamental contribution towards improving living and working conditions for women and will continue and further strengthen their action thereof.

Objectives

The solution to the problems of women workers, which are part and parcel of those of all workers and society as a whole, requires that the following objectives be attained:

- the creation of conditions which give women the opportunity to enjoy equal rights and opportunities in employment;
- the elimination of discrimination based on sex or marital status in all fields; and
- a change in thinking and attitudes as to the respective roles of men and women.

To this end, the international free trade union movement will do all in its power to secure for women the rights set down in this Charter.

I. Right to education and training

- 1 Children, both girls and boys, should have equal opportunities for development, whatever their social background. Schools should prepare children for a society in which men and women share equal responsibility in their work, social and family life.
- 2 Inequalities in access to education and training and in programmes must be elimin-

ated, as should anything in their curriculum content, teaching material and their use which helps perpetuate the concept of an outdated division of labour between men and women which discriminates against the latter. Co-education should be favoured.

- 3 Adult education should follow the same equality principles. Positive measures should be taken to redress earlier discrimination in women's education and training.

II. Right to employment

Access to employment and promotion

- 4 The right of women to employment is a fundamental right. All efforts must be made to achieve and maintain full employment. Women should have full access to economic life, and their rights to paid employment must be recognised in every country. In compliance with ILO Convention No. 111 all discrimination must be eliminated, notably in relation to access to jobs and profession, education, vocational training, promotion at work, and job security. There should be no more arbitrary division between male and female tasks.
- 5 Positive action programmes should be put into operation with a view to changing stereotyped attitudes and compensating for the effects of discrimination.

Vocational training

- 6 Women and girls should have equal access to vocational guidance and training including on-the-job training in technical skills. A special effort must be made to train them for new technologies and to ensure the retraining of those who have been absent from the labour market.

Remuneration

- 7 The implementation of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value is an essential aspect of equal rights and a priority aim of the international free trade union movement. This remuneration includes not only the ordinary or minimum basic salary, but also any additional emoluments either in cash or in kind.



These budget cuts were accompanied by a major realignment of the tax system favouring high income tax payers and large corporations. The tax benefits that were supposed to accrue to low-income families were more than wiped out by inflation (which pushes families into higher income tax brackets) and by rising social security taxes. Until 1981, the US congress had cut taxes to offset some of the effects of inflation on the tax burdens

of the poor, but ended this pattern in 1981. Low- and moderate-income working families have always paid a larger share of income taxes, but this share now greatly exceeds that paid by large corporations. In the 1950s and 1960s, corporate income taxes contributed 25 percent of all federal tax revenues. By 1983, corporate taxes provided just 6 percent of such revenues.

These policies were justified as a means to break the cycle of inflation and

recession, and to produce a long-lasting surge of economic growth. However, many analysts believe that the key structural weaknesses of the US economy which produced the recession will also prevent a sustained economic expansion. Any positive upturns in the economy must be seen in the light of the low-depths of the recession from which they began. Many economic indicators have not rebounded to their pre-1981 position. While

- 8 ILO Convention No. 100 should be ratified in all countries and implemented without delay, either by law including the right of appeal or other means. No departure from the principle of equal pay for work of equal value will be allowed in collective agreements.

Social security

- 9 All direct and indirect discrimination against women in social security schemes must be abolished. Equivalent benefits should correspond to the same obligations.

Social and health protection

- 10 The international labour standards relating to social and health protection must be complied with. In the light of new technological and scientific developments and knowledge, and trends in working conditions, standards only applicable to women should be reviewed with a view to extending them to all workers.

III. Maternity protection

- 11 Women must have the right and the opportunity to plan their families and to choose motherhood freely.
- 12 Maternity protection is a duty of society. The aim of maternity protection is to safeguard the health and welfare of mother and child and prevent women workers from being economically penalised on account of their giving birth to children. It should not be a cause of discrimination in any field.
- 13 The minimum standards of maternity protection laid down in ILO Convention No. 103 and Recommendation No. 95 should be implemented. Appropriate steps should be taken to ensure that legislation and collective agreements guarantee the application of these standards to all working women, including those employed in industrial homework, part-time work, in agriculture and in domestic service.
- 14 The working woman who gives birth to a child should be granted sufficient compensation for loss of earnings during the maternity leave period, which should be at least twelve weeks.

- 15 Every precaution and safety measure should be taken to ensure that the work does not put pregnant women or those who may become pregnant at risk. Studies on the possible effects of new techniques and materials on the reproductive system of both sexes should be undertaken.

IV. Family responsibilities

- 16 Family responsibilities should be shared equally between men and women. It is the duty of society to place at the disposal of workers the social infrastructure necessary for them to combine their occupational and family lives. They would be aided by certain general measures such as all-round reduction in working hours, flexible working hours and better adjusted school hours.
- 17 The mother and father should have the right, after the maternity or adoption leave of the working woman, to take leave for a period up to one year, and the rights linked to their employment should not be forfeited, particularly as far as employment security, promotion rights and social benefits such as health, insurance, pensions and other rights are concerned.
- 18 Measures will be taken in compliance with ILO Convention No. 156 and Recommendation No. 165 to give workers with family responsibilities the opportunity to participate in or continue economic activity.

V. Right of association

- 19 ILO Convention No. 87 lays down that all workers have the right to form and join the trade union of their choice. This right also applies to women, without discrimination.

VI. Integration of women in the trade unions

- 20 Women, like men, join trade unions not only to improve their working conditions but also their living conditions, that is to protect and defend their interests as working women in the broadest sense.
- 21 The aspirations and demands of women workers must be an integral part of trade union policies and programmes. The entire trade union movement, both men and

women, must respond to their aspirations and fight to satisfy their demands.

- 22 The integration of women in trade unions and their participation in trade union activities and responsibilities is one of the permanent objectives of the international free trade union movement.
- 23 Trade union structures should be revised in response to the aspirations of women workers. Participation of women at all decision-making levels of trade unions should reflect the membership composition.
- 24 Appropriate bodies should be set up at all levels of the trade union structure to analyse the problems facing women workers, to propose solutions, eliminate discrimination against them and encourage their participation in trade union activities.

Trade union training

- 25 In order to train women trade unionists to take up duties at all levels of the trade union organisation, it is necessary to ensure that they have equality of access to trade union training.
- 26 Trade union training, including training in economic and social policy, must include the study of women workers' questions and equal rights.
- 27 Education activities must be adapted to the time available to the majority of women, and to their situation.
- 28 Training programmes for women only or aimed specifically at women should be undertaken as positive action within unions.
- 29 The skills acquired by women trade unionists during their training should be systematically used by trade union organisations. Discrimination which may remain in this field must be eliminated.

Appeal

The ICFTU calls on its affiliated organisations, governments, the United Nations, and its specialised agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation, and all other progressive forces, to commit themselves to the promotion and implementation of the principle set out in this Charter.



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capacity utilisation rose initially, it is still well below its usual peak. Unemployment in 1982 was at its highest in forty years, and although the current rate has dropped back to 1981 levels, the number of long-term unemployed remains high. The US trade deficit has reached massive proportions, due in part to the long-run decline in the competitiveness of US manufacturing and to more recent factors such as the overvaluation of the dollar and high interest rates (products of the administration's tight monetary policies). For the first time since the New Deal, the US has become a debtor nation.

The economic growth that has occurred has been due primarily to the expansion of service industries. The long-term shift toward a service-sector economy has resulted in a greater relative share of low-wage jobs than has been the case in an economy dominated by a heavily-unionised manufacturing sector. Federal tax laws favouring the substitution of machines for workers have also reinforced technological changes that both upgraded and downgraded a vast array of middle level jobs, and resulted in what some have called 'the disappearing middle'. There is now an even greater polarisation of low-wage and high-salary jobs and hence, wider inequalities in the income distribution of workers. The effect of this shift for women has been mixed. Their employment has increased because of the expansion in such services as retail trade and insurance, and because of the growth in non-union plants, sweatshops and industrial homework characterising the reorganisation of older manufacturing industries. However, women's jobs are on the whole low-wage, low-status; and dead-end. In addition, there is increasing documentation of the growing importance of 'informal sector' activities for women in urban and rural areas.

If the cutbacks and trends have been so inimical to women in an advanced country, they will be even worse for poor third-world women who begin from a much lower level of basic needs fulfilment. However, women, individually and collectively, have been discovering mechanisms for coping with these problems. It should be remembered that women are neither responsible for the crisis in the world system, nor can they be expected to resolve it. Such a resolution requires concerted action through multilateral negotiations among countries. But the solutions to the systemic crises that are being put into place (vis. structural-adjustment programmes) are creating a major reproduction crisis, especially in the indebted third-world countries. Since women are responsible for the basic needs of households, they are affected both as producers and as consumers of the means

to fulfill those needs. It is not our intention to glorify women's role in household labour or in the 'informal sector'. Particularly in the context of the debt crisis, the interests of poor women appear to lie in joining their voices to the struggle for a more structurally sound international and national economic order. This is of particular importance given that the supposed scarcity of resources has not prevented spiralling military expenditures in both the advanced countries and the Third World.

Population programmes and reproductive rights

The increase in relative inequality and in the number of people living in absolute poverty has often been attributed somewhat simplistically to rapid rates of population growth. This ignores the fact that in many instances growing poverty is linked to reduced access to arable land, lack of grazing rights for cattle, privatisation of previously common waste or forest lands, and difficulties in obtaining water or other resources due to the pressures and incentives for profitable commercial cultivation. The dispute about the roots of surplus population can be traced back at least to Malthus and Marx. While Marthus held that human populations have a natural propensity to outstrip resource availability. Marx believed that the roots of surplus population are social. In particular, he argued that in capitalist society population is not excessive relative to natural resources but to employment, since the system has inherent tendencies to recreate job scarcity and unemployment. Thus it is only those with means of survival other than wage labour who appear constantly to be in surplus.

The early programmes of population control in the Third World tended simply to assume that poverty could be reduced by limiting societal fertility, which could be effected through wide dissemination of contraceptive technology and knowledge. The recognition that many of the early programmes simply did not work generated a spurt of research into the factors underlying fertility behaviour. Some of the literature held that rural poverty, the economic roles of children, and concern of old-age security, as well as patterns of property inheritance were major causes of high fertility rates. A major turning point in terms of policy was reached at the Bucharest population conference in 1974. The need to move away from narrow, technology-oriented family planning programmes to strategies that located these programmes within a broader perspective of improving health and education was recognised. It has also come to be argued

that poverty and female illiteracy are prime breeders of high fertility, although the evidence on this score is somewhat ambiguous.

In its world development report of 1984, the World Bank identified the following as key incentives to fertility decline: reducing infant and child mortality, educating parents (especially women), and raising rural incomes, women's employment, and legal and social status. While this recognition of the links between women's autonomy over their lives and fertility control is to be lauded, multilateral agencies and national governments continue to treat women in an instrumental manner with respect to population programmes. For example, there is little understanding among policy makers of the mixed responses to family planning programmes by third-world women themselves. While there can be little doubt of the considerable unmet need for birth control among women, the methods actually available are all highly unsatisfactory. Many international pharmaceutical companies treat third-world women as guinea pigs for new methods; chemicals such as depo provera (which is banned in most advanced industrial countries as dangerous to health) are widely dispensed to third-world women, often with the knowledge and participation of international agencies.

The negative aspects of available contraceptive technology are insufficiently researched by the agencies or by national governments, which often find it convenient to accept the findings of the private firms producing the products. Nor are the specific problems experienced by poor women given much credence or importance. More and more evidence being unearthed by concerned women activists and researchers show that under third-world conditions of sanitation, health care, and female nutrition, many of the contraceptive methods being promoted can have serious side effects and even result in infertility. For example, the problem with intrauterine devices is not just that they alter bleeding patterns and therefore 'may be culturally unacceptable or restrict the activities of users'. Often IUDs are inserted in rural women without proper sanitation or after-care. The heavier bleeding takes a severe toll on an already undernourished woman suffering from iron deficiency anemia. The need for an early return to hard labour after insertion, to which most rural women are accustomed, worsens the situation. Female sterilisation especially when done in temporary sterilisation camps, has similar hazardous effects.

In the context of the development of more invasive techniques (eg. IUDs and hormonal implants), the trend toward

making birth control more 'woman centred' can have negative implications for women. It lets men off the hook in terms of their responsibilities for fertility control and places the burden increasingly on women. If women's own ambivalence toward contraceptive technology is to be removed (and this is crucial to any programme short of forced sterilisation), the technologies themselves must become better adapted to the social and health environments in which they are used. International agencies and national health ministries also need to establish higher standards for the testing and delivery of contraceptive techniques.

Governments do not view women instrumentally only when it comes to limiting fertility. In some situations they are interested in promoting births among certain sections of the population while limiting them in others. Government programmes in Singapore, which attempt to increase the fertility of educated women while reducing that of others, display both naiveté and class biases. Similarly, in some European countries there is an expressed concern over the relative differentials in the fertility of indigenous women vis-a-vis immigrants from their former colonies.

Control over reproduction is a basic need and a basic right for all women. Linked as it is to women's health and social status, as well as the powerful social structures of religion, state control and administrative inertia, and private profit, it is from the perspective of poor women that this right can best be understood and affirmed. Women know that child bearing is a social, not a purely personal, phenomenon; nor do we deny that world population trends are likely to exert considerable pressure on resources and institutions by the end of this century. But our bodies have become a pawn in the struggles among states, religions, male heads of households, and private corporations. Programmes that do not take the interests of women into account are unlikely to succeed. More important, the requirements of a genuine, people-oriented development necessitate the acknowledgement of this fundamental need and right.

In this regard, as on the issues of resources, income, and work, the problems of poor third-world women are inextricably caught up in the overall development process, and therefore must be addressed at that level and in a manner that acknowledges and builds on women's responsibilities in producing goods and 'reproducing' human beings. Only in this way will societies be able to tackle the full-blown crisis of reproduction (in its broader sense) that now afflicts the poor, both women and men.



Equal pay

The general principle of equality of remuneration between men and women has been accepted for some time in many constitutions, labour codes and other legislative and administrative texts. As early as 1951, the ILO adopted the Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100), which has now been ratified by one hundred and five member states. Reality, however, often differs from the law and in most parts of the world full implementation of the principle of equality of pay remains a target to be achieved in the distant future.

In assessing progress in this domain, it needs to be kept in mind that there are three quite different concepts of what constitutes equality of pay. One of them implies simply the absence of any overt sex discrimination in wage determination. If men and women are doing the same jobs, or essentially equivalent tasks, then they should receive equal remuneration. While two or three decades ago collective agreements or wage scales often provided for different male and female rates for the same jobs or grades, such blatant forms of discrimination have tended to disappear. In this respect legislative action has made some progress. On the other hand, it is regrettable to have to note that in some countries one still finds statutory minimum wage orders for some sectors



that fix lower rates for female workers.

The broader concept of equality of remuneration implies the absence of any sex discrimination or prejudice in the determination of the rates of pay for various jobs. In the formulation contained in ILO Convention No. 100 the goal is 'equal remuneration for work of equal value'. Women workers are, in fact, often assigned more or less different tasks from men, for which they receive lower pay. It is often not at all clear that the observed differences in pay correspond to legitimate differences in the value of work performed, as assessed by objective criteria free of overt or implicit sex bias. Instead, pay differences often appear to reflect varying degrees of social prejudice against the value of 'female' work. Whereas such disguised discrimination is generally believed to be widespread, proving its existence and measuring its



extent in concrete ways has turned out to be a quite difficult practical problem. At first sight, job evaluation, by clarifying the basis for wage structure decisions, might appear a useful means to establish reasonably objectively the 'relative worth' of jobs. And, in a number of countries, its expanded use in recent years would appear to have contributed to the reduction of pay discrimination. But there is no universally accepted system of job evaluation and schemes vary as to the selection and definition of factors and the weight assigned to each of them. As a result there is no guarantee that job evaluation itself will always be free of social prejudices against certain types of work. Thus it is frequently complained that these schemes systematically undervalue some of the characteristics often encountered in jobs mainly occupied by women, such as speed, accuracy, dexterity or monotony. Moreover, job evaluation is not widely practised in many countries and industries, particularly in the Third World. Thus, despite the multiplication of efforts made through collective bargaining and legislative action to deal with implicit as well as overt forms of pay discrimination, it is not at all certain that substantial progress has been achieved over the last decade.

The broadest and, from the woman's perspective, undoubtedly the most meaningful concept of equality of remuneration, is associated with the absence of all forms of discriminatory treatment in the labour market. In this regard it needs to be kept in mind that women must contend not only with crude or subtle forms of pay discrimination but also with restricted access to training opportunities, to better-paying sectors of employment and jobs, and to normal career advancement in those jobs that they do manage to get. It is these inequalities of treatment plus more restricted access to educational opportunities and to full participation in the labour market that accumulate to create the wide gaps in earnings observed between men and women in most parts of the world.

The available evidence suggests that progress in moving towards this broad concept of equality of remuneration has been distressingly slow. Although between 1960 and the beginning of the 1970s there were signs that in many industrialised countries the earnings gap was tending to close, thanks mainly to a higher demand for female labour and more active equal pay policies, in more recent years this has no longer been so evident, at least as earnings surveys in some countries have shown. Although differences in the scope and methodologies of these surveys make



international comparisons difficult, nonetheless it is evident that the earnings gap remains considerable in most developed market economy countries, with no marked tendency for it to diminish significantly. In five of these countries – Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden – the gap did narrow appreciably, but for the rest it remained fairly stable and in the case of Japan actually widened.

There are some indications that under the impact of the recession over the last few years, the gap may actually have widened again in a number of these countries. It seems that many governments have been preoccupied with immediate economic issues at the expense of social questions like equal pay. Moreover, the recession has often resulted in the displacement of jobs held by the least skilled men. The result has been to widen the male/female earnings gap. In the United Kingdom, for instance, after a peak in 1977, women's pay as a percentage of men's in important occupations steadily declined back to or below the position of 1975, when the Equal Pay Act first came into effect. From 1975 to 1981, out of seventeen occupational groups with a predominantly female workforce which were surveyed, only five were found to have improved their earnings relative to the average male wage since 1975. Eight groups of women workers actually lost ground. These included professional women supporting management, nurses, laboratory technicians, telephonists, women in catering, cleaning and hair-dressing, home and domestic helpers and textile machinists.

For developing countries only limited data are available. But from the information at hand, there are few signs of a marked overall tendency towards narrowing. Moreover, the range of ratios

observed is much wider than that found in developed countries. In Brazil, in 1970, the income of the active male population was 54 percent higher than that of the active female population. By 1980 this difference had increased to 67 percent. In El Salvador men received income 27 percent higher than women in 1972, dropping to 16 percent higher in 1976, after which the difference increased to 23 percent in 1980. In Costa Rica, data are available for 1978 and 1980 from three household surveys for each year. While in 1978 men received income that was 13.73 percent higher than that of women, by 1980 the difference had increased to 18.5 percent.

Of course the earnings gaps reported above are only crude indicators of the extent of pay discrimination. On the one hand the wage surveys on which they are based often do not cover many low-paid traditional, informal and home-based industries where women are often concentrated in developing countries. Nor do they cover various forms of indirect remuneration and social security that women have reduced access to as a result of the temporary, part-time and uncertain nature of many of the jobs they hold. On the other hand, the reported earnings gaps tend to overstate the extent of pay discrimination, since there exist many other factors such as age, length of work experience, hours of work, occupation and education, explaining why men and women receive different earnings.

However, in various industrialised market economy countries, many recent studies that have adjusted wage differences between men and women for such factors have still found significant residual differences in pay that are generally considered to be the result of discriminatory practices. The same result is apparent in the Third World. Thus a recent analysis

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of the situation in selected countries of the Latin American region gave sufficient empirical evidence to support the contention that discrimination against women in workplaces is a persistent and pervasive phenomenon.

In view of the poor record in reducing male/female earnings differences, there has been a growing recognition of the need to reinforce equal pay policies. Thus, on the occasion of International Women's Year, the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations made a general survey of the application of Convention No. 100 and Recommendation No. 90. It observed in its conclusions that 'the principle of equal pay itself is generally accepted as a matter of public policy, but there are hesitations and shortcoming in putting the principle into effect'. It identified a series of difficulties, such as the definition of the principle, the scope of legislation and problems of enforcement. It states that 'the means of enforcement are inadequate almost everywhere' and that 'special measures are certainly necessary in this field'.

In the past ten years considerable

progress has been made in some of these problem areas in a number of countries, whereas in many others the situation has remained unchanged. One of the areas in which improvement is apparent concerns the scope of application of the equal pay principle. Some countries which used to rely only on collective agreements to implement equal pay have now introduced special legislation that extends the right to equal pay to all workers, including the unorganised. This was the case in Austria (1979), Belgium (1975), Denmark (1976), Greece (1984), Italy (1977) and Norway (1978). In the developing world, India (1976) and Guyana (1980) adopted special constitutional or legislative provisions aimed specifically at ensuring equality of remuneration between men and women.

These new legal provisions not only prohibit discrimination on grounds of sex but also provide individual workers with a right to claim equal pay for work of equal value. In this connection a notable development at the international level was the EEC Equal Pay Directive (Directive 75/117/EEC) which laid down, in article 2, that member states 'shall introduce into their national legal systems such measures as are necessary to enable all employees who consider themselves wronged by failure to apply the principle of equal pay to pursue their claims by judicial process after possible recourse to other competent authorities'. Moreover, whereas Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome refers to equal remuneration for 'equal work', Article 1 of the Directive stipulates that the principle of equal pay applies to the same work or work to which equal value is attributed. In fact, many of the European laws referred to above were adopted in response to this Directive. In a few other countries as well (eg. the federal jurisdiction of Canada), the narrow concept of equal pay for the same or substantially similar work has been replaced by the broader notion of equal pay for work of equal value in conformity with Convention No. 100.

In the industrialised centrally planned economies, equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by constitutional and labour code provisions and by a centralised system of regulating wages and salaries. In given sectors, men and women workers having the same skills and the same working conditions receive the same rates of pay. In addition, in many of these countries a number of measures have recently been taken that improve the relative income position of women. For instance, in the USSR, in the period 1976-80, pay increases were negotiated for workers employed in 'non-industrial' sectors, in which women constitute more than 70 percent of the workforce. Also,

laws have been introduced in some cases to grant special privileges with regard to women's pay. For example, in the USSR, an expectant or nursing mother who is transferred to lighter work retains her former pay. Also, the income position of women in these countries has been substantially improved in recent years through the more rapid growth of public social consumption funds as compared with direct remuneration from work. These funds provide many benefits of special importance to women. In the 11th five-year-plan period in the USSR (1981-85) these funds will have increased by 23 percent, while wages and salaries are planned to grow by 14.5 percent. In Bulgaria, public funds have increased 1.9 times for the 1975-82 period and comprise 21 percent of the workers' incomes. In Hungary, compared to 1975, the benefits provided by these funds in 1980 rose 1.3 times in per capita terms and consisted of 38 percent of average monthly earnings.

While there has been considerable progress towards the generalisation of legal protection against wage discrimination on grounds of sex, experience shows that the existence of legal provisions cannot, by itself, ensure adequate implementation of the principle of equal pay and that it must be actively promoted, monitored and enforced through special implementation machinery and appeal procedures. Deficiencies in this regard are serious in most parts of the world. Firstly, in the vast majority of countries, the enforcement of equal pay provisions is left to the labour inspectorate, which is often short-staffed and more than fully occupied with various other tasks such as safety and health inspections and the settlement of individual disputes. Secondly, 'disguised' wage discrimination is extremely difficult to detect and document through routine inspections. Indeed, in most cases, a detailed examination of wage-fixing practices is required in order to determine whether and to what extent existing wage structures reflect discriminatory treatment of women. Such investigations are only practicable where there exist specialised agencies for equal pay or discrimination issues.

To date, such agencies have been created in only a few countries. In the United Kingdom, the Equal Opportunities Commission has the statutory duty of working towards the elimination of discrimination and of monitoring the application of the Equal Pay Act of 1970. It can, for example, assist an individual complainant or actually represent him/her at industrial tribunal proceedings.

In Canada, the Human Rights Commission has developed guidelines for employers detailing how the notion of 'work of equal value' should be applied.



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It is also empowered to undertake investigations of remuneration systems to check for discriminatory practices, to give its opinions when complaints are made of violations of the equal pay principle, and to seek a settlement with the employer.

In the United States, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission administers, inter alia, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964). It receives and investigates complaints filed by individual workers or groups of workers. It tries, through conciliation, to reach an agreement with the employer to eliminate the alleged discrimination. If this fails, it may itself bring the case to court. For instance, in 1981 the EEOC had to deal with almost 72,000 cases, a quarter of which concerned equal pay issues. These efforts resulted in total recovery payments of 91 million dollars to 38,000 individuals.

At the international level, mention should be made of the action taken by the EEC Commission against member states which, in its view, do not adequately apply the principle of equality of remuneration embodied in the 1975 Directive. The Commission alleged that certain national laws were not in conformity with the principle and brought cases before the European Court. Some countries, namely Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, took corrective measures in 1979 before the matter proceeded any further. In two cases - Luxembourg and the United Kingdom - the Court ruled against the states concerned. In the case of the United Kingdom, the problem was that under the Equal Pay Act of 1970 a woman who considered herself discriminated against had no possibility of taking action against her employer if the enterprise did not have a job evaluation scheme. Following this decision, the 1970 Act was amended in January 1984 to provide for such a possibility.

The above review indicates that, while progress has been made over the last ten years in certain countries, in most parts of the world there still exist many obstacles to the satisfactory implementation of the principle of equality of remuneration between men and women. To confer on all women the right to equal pay through legislation certainly constitutes a necessary first step. But it must be accompanied by policies that make it possible and practicable for a woman to take action against her employer when she considers that she has been subject to pay discrimination. This implies the existence of specialised implementation agencies that are able to assist claimants in proceedings. It also implies effective general monitoring and promotional programmes in order to heighten public awareness of equal pay problems. The creation of such pro-

grammes is bound to involve considerable staff costs and operating expenditures. Yet this appears to be the only way in which significant progress can be made in achieving the goal of equal pay. As has been observed elsewhere, it may well be

that 'the difference between countries in the future may be less a matter of technical differences in their policies than of political will in carrying them out'.

ILO, Report VII, 1985

Convention No. 100: Equal Remuneration, 1951

Date of entry into force: 23 May 1953 Total ratifications: 105

Country	Date of ratification	Country	Date of ratification
Afghanistan	22.08.69	Israel	09.06.65
Albania	03.06.57	Italy	08.06.56
Algeria	19.10.62	Ivory Coast	05.05.61
Angola	04.06.76	Jamaica	14.01.75
Argentina	24.09.56	Japan	24.08.67
Australia	10.12.74	Jordan	22.09.66
Austria	29.10.53	Lebanon	01.06.77
Barbados	19.09.74	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	20.06.62
Belgium	23.05.52	Luxembourg	23.08.67
Benin	16.05.68	Madagascar	10.08.62
Bolivia	15.11.73	Malawi	22.03.65
Brazil	25.04.57	Mali	12.07.68
Bulgaria	07.11.55	Mexico	23.08.52
Burkina Faso	30.06.69	Mongolia	03.06.69
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	21.08.56	Morocco	11.05.79
Cameroon	25.05.70	Mozambique	06.06.77
Canada	16.11.72	Nepal	10.06.76
Cape Verde	16.10.79	Netherlands	16.06.71
Central African Republic	09.06.64	New Zealand	03.06.83
Chad	29.03.66	Nicaragua	31.10.67
Chile	20.09.71	Niger	09.08.66
Colombia	07.06.63	Nigeria	08.05.74
Comoros	23.10.78	Norway	24.09.59
Costa Rica	02.06.60	Panama	03.06.58
Cuba	13.01.54	Paraguay	24.06.64
Czechoslovakia	30.10.57	Peru	01.02.60
Denmark	22.06.60	Philippines	29.12.53
Djibouti	03.08.78	Poland	25.10.54
Dominica	28.02.83	Portugal	20.02.67
Dominican Republic	22.09.53	Romania	28.05.57
Ecuador	11.03.57	Rwanda	02.12.80
Egypt	26.07.60	Saint Lucia	18.08.83
Finland	14.01.63	Sao Tomé and Príncipe	01.06.82
France	10.03.53	Saudi Arabia	15.06.78
Gabon	13.06.61	Senegal	22.10.62
German Democratic Republic	07.05.75	Sierra Leone	15.11.68
Germany, Federal Republic of	08.06.56	Spain	06.11.67
Ghana	14.03.68	Sudan	22.10.70
Greece	06.06.75	Swaziland	05.06.81
Guatemala	02.08.61	Sweden	20.06.62
Guinea	11.08.67	Switzerland	25.10.72
Guinea-Bissau	21.02.77	Syrian Arab Republic	07.06.57
Guyana	13.06.75	Togo	08.11.83
Haiti	04.03.58	Tunisia	11.10.68
Honduras	09.08.56	Turkey	19.07.67
Hungary	08.06.56	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	10.08.56
Iceland	17.02.58	USSR	30.04.56
India	25.09.58	United Kingdom	15.06.71
Indonesia	11.08.58	Venezuela	10.08.82
Iran, Islamic Republic of	10.06.72	Yemen	29.07.76
Iraq	28.08.63	Yugoslavia	21.05.52
Ireland	18.12.74	Zaire	16.06.69
		Zambia	20.06.72



Deadline November 30, 1985

DISARMAMENT

World leaders offer third-party verification of test ban

The six world leaders participating in the 'five continents' peace initiative' have urged both super-powers (and the other nuclear weapons states) to agree to at least a twelve-month comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. They have offered the services of their countries to monitor compliance.

An appeal to this effect was signed by presidents Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina, Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and prime ministers Rajiv Gandhi of India, Olof Palme of Sweden and Andreas Papandreu of Greece. It was presented to the Soviet and US foreign ministers during the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in New York on October 24, four weeks prior to the Geneva summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

Pointing out that 'the prevention of nuclear war is a key issue not only for your peoples ... but for all people on every continent', the appeal describes the summit as offering an 'historical opportunity to step boldly out of the vicious circle of the escalating arms race'. It expresses the hope that 'new impetus will be imparted' to bilateral negotiations between the two superpowers and also to the multilateral negotiations in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna.

The leaders propose to the Soviet Union and the United States that they suspend all nuclear tests for a period of twelve months. 'Such a suspension could be extended or

made permanent. We expect that the other nuclear-weapon-states also should take corresponding action. We believe that this would improve greatly the prospects for substantive agreements and would restrain the development of new, faster and more accurate weapons, which continues unabated even as negotiations are under way.'

At their first meeting in New Delhi in January, the participants in the initiative had called for a complete ban on the testing and a halt in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, to be immediately followed by substantial reductions in nuclear forces. They had also stressed the urgent need to prevent an arms race in outer space and demanded a ban on space weapons.

Monitoring possibilities

The supposed lack of precise means of detecting and measuring underground nuclear tests has been a major stumbling block to gaining acceptance for test-ban proposals. Thus, when in August the Soviet Union unilaterally announced a moratorium on its testing programme until the end of the year, the United States refused to reciprocate on the grounds that compliance could not be properly verified.

'The problems of verifying the suspension we propose are difficult, but not insurmountable', according to the six leaders. And 'if it would be considered helpful', they offer their own good offices – including the establishment and use of

the requisite seismic devices in their countries – to make effective verification arrangements possible. 'Third-party verification could provide a high degree of certainty that testing programmes have ceased', the appeal concludes.

SWEDEN

Three new faces in Palme government

Following the general election victory of the Social Democratic Party (SAP) on September 15, the prime minister, Olof Palme, reshuffled his ministerial team during the first half of October, changing some responsibilities within the minority SAP government and making three new appointments.

In the portfolio changes, Sten Andersson moved from health and social affairs to the foreign ministry, whose previous incumbent, Lennart Bodström, became minister of education and cultural affairs. Bodström replaced Lena Hjelm-Wallén, who was herself appointed to the cabinet-level post of minister for international development cooperation within the foreign ministry. The new defence minister is Roine Carlsson, hitherto junior industry minister, who replaced Anders Thunborg.

Ingvar Carlsson, the deputy prime minister, also became minister for the environment, in addition to the portfolios of research and development he held in the previous administration. (Environmental issues had hitherto been the responsibility of the ministry of agriculture.)

Those newly appointed to the cabinet were: Sten Hulterström, the SAP leader in Gothenburg, who became minister of transport and communications; Bengt Johansson, who took responsibility for government wage policy, banking and insurance and consumer affairs within the finance ministry; and Bengt Lindkvist, who became a junior health and social affairs minister responsible for public health and medical services (currently president of the

Swedish Association for the Visually Handicapped. Lindkvist is Sweden's first blind cabinet minister).

Bengt Säve-Söderberg, the former director of the Swedish International Labour Centre (AIC) has been named as the new deputy minister responsible for international development. And in November, Nils-Gunnar Billinger, the assistant international secretary of the SAP, was named as official spokesman for the defence ministry.

FEDERAL GERMANY

Rau to be SPD chancellor candidate



Johannes Rau, the prime minister of Northrhine-Westphalia and a vice-chair of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), will almost certainly be the party's candidate for chancellor at the next election, due in January 1987.

ASSOCIALISTAFFAIRS went to press, the formal decision had yet to be taken, but on September 19 the SPD executive had announced it had made a preliminary decision to nominate Rau. It is expected to be approved at the party congress in Nuremberg in September next year.

Rau, who assumed the premiership of Federal Germany's most populous state in 1978 and led the party to sweeping victory in the regional elections last May, had ended months of speculation earlier in September when he agreed to stand.



FRANCE

Government accepts responsibility for Greenpeace bombing

The government has acknowledged that French agents blew up the Rainbow Warrior, the flagship of the Greenpeace environmental movement, and has placed the blame for the attack on the chief of the country's foreign intelligence service (DGSE), Pierre Lacoste, and on the defence minister, Charles Hernu, who resigned on September 20.

A Dutch photographer was killed and the ship sunk when two limpet bombs fixed to its hull exploded in Auckland harbour, New Zealand, on July 10. The Rainbow Warrior was to

have led a flotilla to French Polynesia to protest against France's nuclear testing programme at Mururoa atoll.

When, two weeks after the bombing, two French secret agents were arrested in New Zealand and charged with the murder of the photographer, President François Mitterrand ordered a high-level inquiry into the affair, promising that 'those guilty, however high-ranking, will be severely punished'.

In the government's explanation of the events, the prime minister, Laurent Fabius, said on September 22 that 'the following facts have been established: agents from the DGSE sank this ship, and they acted on orders'.

It had taken more than two months to establish this because Bernard Tricot, the senior civil servant who had been asked to carry out the initial investigation into the affair in early August, had been lied to, Fabius said. The government had uncovered the 'cruel truth' only a few days before the public announcement.

Compensation would be paid immediately to the widow and family of the Greenpeace photographer who was killed in the explosion.

Following Fabius' admission of French responsibility, the New Zealand prime minister, David Lange, called the sinking 'a sordid act of state-backed terrorism'.

Lange's deputy, Geoffrey Palmer, and the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, met on September 25 at the UN General Assembly to discuss New Zealand's claims for damages, which cover compensation for the death of the crewman on the ship, the cost of police investigations, the loss of the ship and for the violation of New Zealand sovereignty. A working group was set up to negotiate a level of financial compensation, which France has in principle agreed to pay.

At issue in the discussions is also the fate of the two DGSE agents, who on November 22 (having pleaded guilty) were convicted of manslaughter and criminal arson and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The French government has asked



Thwarted protest: Wreck of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland harbour

that they be allowed to return to France on the grounds that 'they were simple executors of the mission who only obeyed orders.' Up to the beginning of December, when SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, the New Zealand government had refused to countenance this.

(The reduction from the earlier charge of murder followed an appraisal of the evidence against the accused, who, although deeply involved in the action against the Rainbow Warrior, did not actually place the bombs that killed the photographer and sank the ship.)

Following the resignation of Hernu, Paul Quilès, the minister of transport, urban development and housing, was appointed Hernu's successor; Jean Auroux, deputy transport minister, took over from Quilès.

● At his own request, Edgar Pisani, the minister in charge of implementing the government's constitutional plans for the South Pacific territory of New Caledonia, left the cabinet on November 15. He joined the staff of the presidential office as a special envoy. In another change in the Socialist govern-

ment, Louis Mexandeau, a junior minister in charge of posts and telecommunications, was elevated to full minister.

ITALY

Nicolazzi new PSDI secretary

On October 11 the central committee of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI) elected Franco Nicolazzi, the minister of public works in the five-party coalition, as its new secretary. He replaced Pietro Longo, who had indicated some weeks earlier his intention to resign the leadership. He had headed the party since October 1978.

'The PSDI has no need of an ideological revision', Nicolazzi told the committee, but 'it must strengthen its presence and its initiatives within the coalition government (which has ruled Italy since August 1983).

Graziano Ciocia, Ferdinando Facchiano and Gianni Manzolini were elected vice-secretaries, and Antonio Cariglia international secretary.

IN BRIEF

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Manuel Marín, a junior minister in the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) government, has been appointed one of Spain's two commissioners to the European Community (EC). He will become vice-president of the commission on January 1, 1986, the date when Spain and Portugal will join the Community.

As secretary of state for relations with the EC, he took a prominent part in the negotiations on Spain's terms of entry.

FEDERAL GERMANY

Helmut Schmidt, the former chancellor and vice-chair of the SPD, was elected chairman of the Inter Action Council on November 10. The council, which consists of some thirty former world leaders, aims to promote peace and development through both private contacts with government leaders and through public statements.

SAN MARINO

Pier Paolo Gasperoni, a member of the executive of the Unitarian Socialist Party (PSU), has been elected one of the two captains-regent (head of the executive branch of government). He was the PSU's political secretary from 1979-83 and has been a member of parliament since 1978.

Tristan Stegmann / Gamma

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Battěk released

Rudolf Battěk, a spokesman for the Charter 77 human rights group and a member of the Committee for the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS), was released from prison at the end of October, two months before completing a five and a half year sentence for 'subversive conduct'.

Battěk, a spokesman for the Independent Socialists Group, which expressed an ideological affinity with the Socialist International, is an honorary member of the executive committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in exile (CSDvE).

He was taken into custody in June 1980, accused of collaborating with 'foreign subversive ideological centres' and sentenced to seven and a half years' imprisonment in July 1981. The charge specifically referred to letters he had written

to SI president Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky and Olof Palme, both vice-presidents, drawing attention to the unlawful treatment of Czechoslovak citizens by the police. An appeals court later reduced the sentence.

The Socialist International and individual SI member parties had on a number of occasions called on the Czechoslovak authorities to release Battěk. His early release took place in advance of a visit to Czechoslovakia which Brandt made on November 8-10 in his capacity as chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

In a statement the CSD said that, despite the pardon, 'which is conditional on his subsequent good behaviour for the next two years', the case of Rudolf Battěk 'remains a telling instance of the arbitrariness and injustice to which the Czechoslovak authorities [can] resort when they are reminded of their obligation to comply with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act stipulating respect for human rights'.

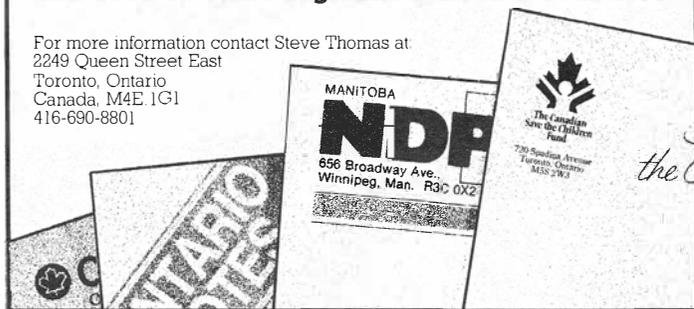
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Nothing to lose, everything to gain: Delegates (including Laurent Fabius, right) at the PS congress

FRANCE

Socialists prepare for electoral test

Central to the discussions at the biennial congress of the ruling French Socialist Party (PS), held in Toulouse on October 11-13, were the decisions on the party's strategy and the programme to be presented to the voters in the National Assembly elections due to be held on March 16, 1986.

Jean Poperen, the PS deputy first secretary, in his opening report to the 1,400 delegates said that those who accused the Socialists of committing errors were only right in the sense that the PS had underestimated the problems it was to face when it assumed power in 1981. But despite the many difficulties encountered, 'the government's successes in the last four years are incontestable', he said.

The congress unanimously adopted a policy resolution (in effect a blueprint for the election manifesto) which commits the party in equal measure to: continued economic modernisation, with emphasis on reinforcing competitiveness and maintaining a strong public sector; and further improvement of social welfare, with emphasis on a

'minimum social wage' to protect the most vulnerable in society and on retraining and special assistance for those adversely affected by the restructuring of the economy.

The resolution, a composite text, essentially maintained the policy formulations of the majority draft presented jointly by three of the party's four recognised factions, while embracing some of the general aspirations of a minority draft proposed by the faction led by Michel Rocard, the former agriculture minister.

In pre-congress voting among regional branches, 4,612 votes (71.5 percent) were cast for the majority draft, and 1,839 votes (28.5 percent) for the minority draft.

The latter had called in particular for less emphasis on the public sector, and for the consideration of a possible coalition with centrist elements in case the PS does not obtain a working majority in the elections.

Regarding the latter, the text said that 'if the Socialist Party

Jacques Torregano / Sipa Press



Campaign start: PS leader Lionel Jospin

does not have sufficient seats or sufficient allies to govern on the basis of its own proposals and values, and on a left-wing policy, it will be in opposition'.

Appeals for unity

In his message to the congress, President François Mitterrand had told the delegates that 'no-one should forget that the Socialist government had carried out the greatest reforms in the history of the Fifth Republic'. He appealed for party unity so that Socialist policies could continue 'to evolve in the future' in government rather than in opposition.

The prime minister, Laurent Fabius, also made a forceful appeal for unity. He said that the PS was 'a bearer of hope and generosity', and urged the party to strengthen its specifically socialist identity.

On the basis of the results of the regional balloting in advance of the congress, the main faction led by Jospin gained 56 seats on the 131-member management committee (a loss of 10) and the Rocard faction 38 (a gain of 18). Of the other seats, 19 are held by the left-wing Ceres group led by Jean-Pierre Chevènement, the education minister, and 18 by supporters of Pierre Mauroy, the former prime minister.

Three days after the congress the management committee

unanimously reelected Lionel Jospin as first secretary. It also elected a new executive and a new national secretariat. The only change in the latter was the election of Louis Le Pensec, a former minister of maritime affairs, as secretary responsible for international relations, in succession to Jacques Huntzinger.

Campaign launch

On November 9-10 the PS held a national convention in Paris to endorse its lists of candidates and to finalise its election manifesto.

In his address to the meeting, Lionel Jospin said that 'the right is more right-wing than ever, and we must be no less left-wing'. He described the right's policies as demagogic, elitist and dogmatic. 'Our policy should be directed towards the people, and be realistic and open'. Among the areas in which there were major differences between the PS and the right Jospin mentioned social security provisions, the role of the public sector, the absorption of the immigrant community, and taxation.

The PS officially launched its election campaign on November 29 at a mass meeting in Paris addressed by Jospin and Fabius.

BRITAIN

Kinnock calls for realism

In a major speech to the opposition Labour Party's 84th annual conference held in Bournemouth on September 29-October 4, the party leader, Neil Kinnock made a strong appeal not to repeat the mistake of making 'impossible promises', which he said had been a significant contributory factor to the party's defeat in the 1983 election.

Delivering the parliamentary report to the conference on October 1, Kinnock denounced in detail the economic and political record of the Conservative government. The rise in the level of unemployment to record levels (around 3.4 million, according to official figures) since its

election in 1979 offered the clearest indication that its policies were bankrupt – and had been so from the beginning.

It was incumbent upon the Labour Party to remove the Tories from office, he said. 'We must win a general election ... To get the support for this we need those who are not poor, not unemployed, not victimised', that is, those outside the party's traditional working-class base.

Kinnock made a strong appeal to the conference not to pass 'far-fetched resolutions', which could not win elections. Answering critics within the party who accuse him of being 'obsessed with electoral politics', he declared that there was no need to surrender socialist values, but 'principle without power is idle sterility'.

Economic strategy

At the conclusion of a major debate on economic policy, the conference adopted a resolution setting out the major planks of a Labour strategy to create jobs and revitalise industry. These included national and sectoral planning, exchange controls, the creation of a national investment bank, investment in major infrastructure works and curbs on the powers of multinational companies.

Outlining the programme, the deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, said: 'The Labour Party stands accused of wanting to interfere

with the free operation of market forces, I plead guilty.' Labour's strategy to solve the chronic crisis of the British economy would go far beyond small-scale tinkering. 'We need to change the pattern of ownership and organisation.'

The conference also called for consultations with the unions on the establishment of a statutory minimum wage and for the introduction of a 35-hour week.

Other resolutions urged a future Labour government to bring back into public ownership all public services and industries sold off to the private sector by the Conservative government.

In the field of defence the conference reaffirmed Labour's commitment to a non-nuclear defence policy and also called for a ban on the use or deployment of weapons in space. As in previous years, resolutions urging Britain's withdrawal from the NATO alliance were heavily defeated; also defeated yet again was a motion calling for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, although the party's commitment to Irish reunification was reaffirmed.

Kinnock and Hattersley were reelected leader and deputy leader unopposed. Elections for Labour's national 29-member executive committee produced three changes, which did not alter its political balance. Syd Tierney of the USDAW shopworkers' union was elected party chairman for the year 1985-86.



AUSTRIA

SPÖ to increase women's representation

An 'historical event, which will give a major impetus to a stronger representation of women in politics' was how the leader of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) and federal chancellor, Fred Sinowatz, described the party's decision to increase the representation of women in its political activities.

The change in the statutes, prescribing the representation of women on a quota basis in all party posts and on candidates' lists for public office, was overwhelmingly adopted at the SPÖ's ordinary congress held in Vienna on November 11-13.

The federal conference of the Socialist Women, which preceded the congress, had agreed to table a motion demanding that women's representation should reflect the proportion of female party members, roughly one third (the SPÖ being a party with only individual membership).

'The world needs the joint efforts of men and women ... to make society more humane. That is why we will work for the goal of more women in politics', stressed the chair of the SPÖ's women's organisation, Jolanda Offenbeck.

In his address to the congress Sinowatz said that 'although any quota regulation would contradict the principle of equality, a guideline in the statutes would help to overcome a certain inertia or even prejudice in male society'. Since a change of statutes requires a two thirds majority, he presented a compromise proposal, which was adopted by 500 votes to 4.

The new clause in the statutes reads as follows: 'In elections to party posts and in the nomination and listing of candidates for public office it should be ensured that women are represented at least in proportion to the number of female party officials and in a ratio never lower than 25 percent of all candidates.' Provincial organisations may increase the share, but cannot reduce it.

New perspectives

The main theme of the congress, 'With courage into the future', was presented in a collection of programmatical and practical documents, summed up under the title 'Perspectives 90'. A commission of the party executive has been given the responsibility to work out a draft for a new programmatic statement by mid-1986, based on the party programme adopted in 1978.

Such a statement will not, as the coordinator Herbert Tieber put it, 'merely be a description of what the future will be like; it should say how socialists *want* the future to be'.

The Perspectives 90 project was initiated at the 1983 party congress, and discussions have been held at all levels of the party since then. The main issues dealt with are the democratisation of everyday life, control by society of technological progress, and reform of participation in decision making.

Fred Sinowatz was reelected chairman with 96 percent of the votes cast; and Karl Blecha, Heinz Fischer, Leopold Gratz, Hans Gross, Karl Grüner, Ernst Höger and Jolanda Offenbeck were elected to the presidium.

NEW ZEALAND

Labour unites on economic policy

Economic issues dominated the annual conference of the ruling Labour Party, held in Christchurch on August 30-September 2.

When Labour came to power in July 1984, it faced an economy under severe stress, with large balance-of-payments and budget deficits and spiralling inflation. Moreover, many of the country's economic problems were largely concealed by wage and rent controls. The new government moved towards deregulation by, among other measures, devaluing and floating the dollar, removing interest-rate and foreign-exchange controls, and reducing and streamlining industrial assistance schemes and farm subsidies.

At the same time direct

income was supplemented through the social welfare system, and major reforms of the tax system initiated.

The proposed introduction of a 10 percent goods and services tax - coupled with a reduction in income tax - has been a particularly contentious issue in New Zealand, also within the Labour Party, and was a focus for the economic debates at the five regional conferences leading up to the annual conference.

Critics argued that this policy had not been mentioned in the party's election manifesto. Their views found some echoes in the opening address by party president Margaret Wilson, who warned that 'while there is a willingness to see if the government's new approach to old problems will work, there is an indication that people will not wait too long before they see some sign of policies working'. That was the economic challenge that faces the government in the coming years, she said.

After a five-hour, often heated debate, however, all major planks of the government's economic policies were endorsed, and motions calling for the rejection of the new indirect tax were defeated.

Defence votes

The Labour government's anti-nuclear defence policy was overwhelmingly endorsed. In the leader's speech to the conference, David Lange, the prime minister, said that the anti-nuclear policy had 'brought home to New Zealanders that a small country could speak up for itself and stand up for what is right'.

Refusal to admit nuclear-powered or -armed vessels into New Zealand ports has led to a conflict with the United States because of its policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on board its ships. The dispute has yet to be resolved.

The conference passed resolutions which went further than official government policy, however, by calling for an end to the ANZUS defence alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and for a non-aligned foreign policy. This was the fifth time in



Margaret Wilson

six years that these or similar motions were passed by the conference.

(Under the party's constitution, resolutions passed at conference are referred to the party's policy council and need to be ratified by the parliamentary group. They are not binding on the government.)

The conference strongly approved the government's handling of the Rainbow Warrior bombing in Auckland harbour on July 10.

Maori concern

In a major report to the conference, the chair of the Maori policy and advisory council, Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan, called for a major effort to improve the situation of the Maori people (the indigenous community which constitutes about one tenth of New Zealand's population).

She highlighted the rehabilitation of young unemployed Maoris as an area of particular concern to the council.

The conference called for an increase in the number of seats in parliament reserved for Maoris (at the moment fixed at four). It also supported changes in school curricula to better reflect Maori culture and history, and a vigorous programme of recruitment of Maori teachers.

NZLP

JAMAICA

PNP demands elections, defines economic strategy

The demand for immediate general elections was reiterated by the 47th annual conference of the opposition People's National Party (PNP) held in Kingston on September 19-22. The conference also endorsed the party's new economic and social plan, which presents a comprehensive alternative to the policies currently being pursued

IN BRIEF

DENMARK

The opposition Social Democratic Party and the LO trade union federation on October 31 presented proposals to introduce compulsory profit sharing.

Under the scheme, 10 percent of net profits of all companies would be paid into funds controlled by the unions. Subject to an agreement between workforce and management, the money would remain in the individual companies as wage-earner capital. Otherwise it would be transferred to county-based collective funds, to which the public sector would also contribute.

DISARMAMENT

Talks on how to achieve a nuclear-weapons-free zone in central Europe began in November between working groups from the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) of Federal Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) of the German Democratic Republic.

The talks had been agreed during a meeting in September in East Berlin between the SPD chairman, Willy Brandt, and Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED central committee.

MAURITIUS

M. Anil Baichoo was elected general secretary of Mauritius Labour Party, in succession to V. Venkatasamy, on August 23, at the first meeting of the party's executive since the congress in July. Party leader Satcam Boolell and deputy leader Ramesh Jeewoolall were reelected unopposed.

by the right-wing Seaga government.

The PNP had refused to contest a snap election called by Seaga in December 1983, because in doing so he broke a pledge that no poll would be called before the completion of a new electoral list. The PNP consequently does not acknowledge the legitimacy of the 1983 vote, and this year's conference renewed demands for 'elections now' (on updated lists), it called specifically for them to be held by mid-December, the end of the five-year term to which the government was elected in the last legitimate poll in 1980.

Economic plan

Addressing the conference, PNP leader Michael Manley described the party's new economic and social plan as designed to 'mobilise, modernise and prepare Jamaica for the twenty-first century'.

A central plank of the programme is the strengthening of public participation in decision making. To this end the PNP proposes the reintroduction of community councils to enable people to express their views on national issues.



Michael Manley

The PNP's alternative economic strategy calls for the reintroduction of a fixed exchange rate for the dollar, greater regulation of the economy to protect domestic producers against cheap imports and dumping, and greater emphasis on regional cooperation.

Manley confirmed that while a PNP government would be prepared to negotiate with the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) to ensure continued financial support from that body, it would do so only on the basis of 'what the people of Jamaica want' rather than what the 'wealthy minority at present in government' wanted.

In seeking economic assistance, Manley said that a new PNP administration would give priority to developing ties with Western Europe, particularly with member parties of the Socialist International from that region.

He also stressed that the PNP was 'not an enemy, but a friend' of the United States. Perceived policy differences which had strained relations between the 1972-1980 PNP government and the US were never as great as many had suggested at the time, he said.

Manley was reelected party president, and P.J. Patterson and Paul Robertson were confirmed as chairman and general secretary respectively.

NORTHERN IRELAND

SDLP backs Anglo-Irish talks

Prospects for an Anglo-Irish agreement which would give the Irish government a role in policy making in Northern Ireland were given a major boost when the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) backed the package - whose exact terms were not known at the time - at its fifteenth annual conference in Belfast on November 8-10. The agreement was actually signed by the Irish and British prime ministers less than a week after the conference, on November 15 (see report on page 72).

However, SDLP leader John Hume, who had been kept informed of the year-long negotiations, cautioned against excessive expectations, since the Anglo-Irish talks would not produce 'a final settlement or an immediate solution'.

'Whatever happens during the next few weeks, a once-and-for-all solution to the problems between Britain and Ireland will not be forthcoming. That is the

crucial factor', insisted Hume, 'that makes the hysterical wailing of the unionists so uncalled for'.

'What we do not aim for is the overnight removal of the border or any thing that amounts to a sudden transfer of sovereignty to Dublin from London. Such stuff is relegated to the dreamers and not to the more pragmatic. The signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement signifies the launch of the process of the three Rs - reform, reconciliation and reunification.'

'Let us hope that the [agreement] will mark a start of the long and difficult road to a real unity and a firm departure from the outdated language of victory and defeat', Hume concluded.

The conference agreed to support the agreement on the grounds that it would help the process of healing the rift between the protestant unionist and catholic nationalist communities. It rejected all attempts 'to see any resolution of the conflict in Northern Ireland [in terms of] in any way the crushing or the defeat of the protestant heritage', as advocated by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (which advocates the reunification of Ireland by violent means) and the other main nationalist party in the province.

The SDLP called for economic, political and social reforms in Northern Ireland so that, as nationalists 'improve o their current second-class citizenship, 'we can never return to the days of unionists' hegemony and one-party rule which led us into the current disaster'.

● On November 19 the SDLP rejected categorically a call for an electoral pact with Sinn Fein, which opposes the Anglo-Irish agreement. Sinn Fein had nevertheless called for a joint anti-protestant front with the SDLP to contest the byelections resulting from the resignations of the fifteen unionist members in the British parliament. They resigned in protest at the ratification of the Anglo-Irish agreement, and vowed to fight the byelections as a form of referendum on the deal.

XVII ORDINARY CONGRESS OF IFM-SEI

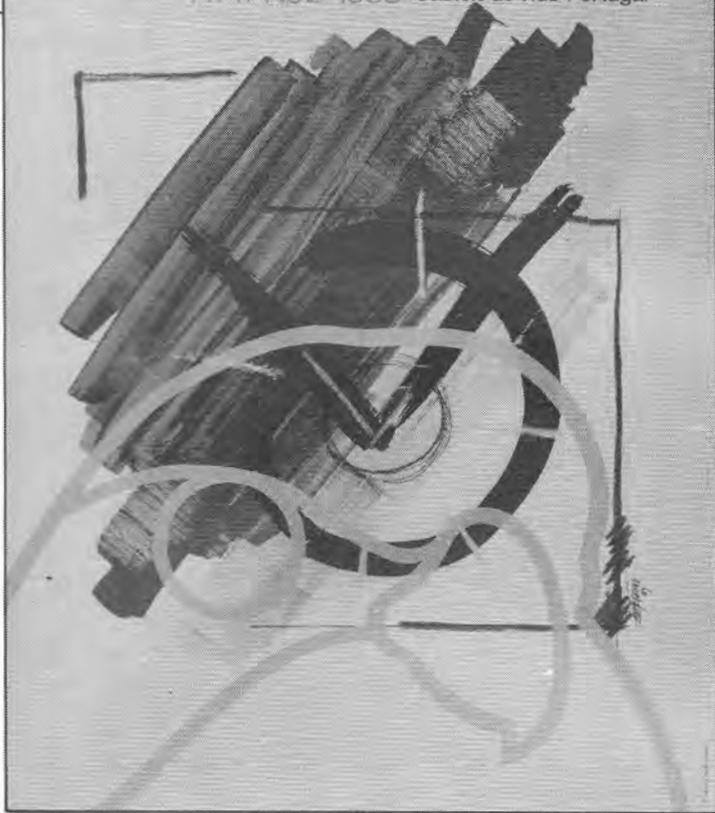


INTERNATIONAL FALCON MOVEMENT SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL INTERNATIONAL

XVII CONGRESSO ORDINÁRIO DO IFM-SEI

14/17 Nov. 1985 Castelo de Vide Portugal

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IFM/SEI

Focus on poor children's rights

The seventeenth ordinary congress of the International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International (IFM/SEI), a fraternal organisation of the SI was held in Castelo de Vide, Portugal, on November 14-17. It was attended by delegates from twenty seven-countries as well as representatives of the PLO and Polisario.

In his opening address, the IFM/SEI president, Nic Nilsson, reviewed the work of the organisation in the field of education and children's rights. He referred in particular to the IFM/SEI's conference held on July 20-August 3 in Döbriach, Austria, which it had drawn attention to the fact that poor and working-class children, 'which have always had fewer opportunities to develop their political, social and economic human rights, have even less chance of doing so in a world ... dominated by the arms race and starvation. In many countries

social services were being cut back or abolished altogether, and this again hurt working-class families and their children most.'

The problem of child labour will figure prominently in the IFM/SEI's future work, it was decided, and a seminar on this topic is being planned.

The general secretary, Jacqui Cottyn, highlighted the enormous efforts of the GOBI campaign (an acronym for growth charts, oral rehydration, breast feeding and immunisation) sponsored by UNICEF and non-governmental organisations and aimed at improving children's health worldwide. 'The GOBI campaign and the campaign for clean water supplies would surely ensure the success of the "children's revolution" ... provided that there was sufficient political will and adequate funds.' In fact, he said, only a very small part of total world expenditure on arms would be required to guarantee success.

The main resolution passed by the congress described as 'immoral' the fact that the superpowers were increasing their arms arsenals at a time

when more and more children are dying from starvation. 'Children all over the world are in need because profit making plays a bigger role than the protection of children and their rights.'

In other resolutions, the IFM/SEI condemned the apartheid regime in South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia, and gave 'total support' to the ANC and SWAPO liberation movements, which it resolved to offer whatever practical support it could in their struggle. It expressed its concern about recent developments in Nicaragua, which it noted were the result of the war situation; in this context, the resolution affirmed that 'solidarity means defending the progress made in Nicaragua, in particular that which has helped the children of that country'.

The congress reelected Nic Nilsson (Sweden) as president and Jacqui Cottyn (Belgium) as general secretary. Robert Bernard (France) was reelected a vice-president, and he was joined by António Calado (Portugal), Saara Maria Paakinen (Finland) and Volker Tegeler (Federal Germany).

JAPAN

Protests against Nakasone's military buildup

Opposition parties have reacted strongly against the conservative Liberal-Democratic (LDP) government's medium-term defence programme. Particularly controversial is that, if realised, the proposed defence budgets for the next five years would almost certainly break the hitherto accepted all-party guideline that defence spending should not exceed 1 percent of gross national product.

The 1-percent ceiling, which surveys show has broad support, was agreed in 1976, and all Liberal Democratic governments since then have abided by it.

But in September the Nakasone government had an-

nounced plans to spend 18.4 trillion yen (US\$90 billion) on defence for the 1986-1990 period, with increased outlays mainly for the maritime and air self-defence forces. Such a level of spending would, on present official estimates, constitute 1.04 percent of predicted GNP for the next five years.

The Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ) accused the government of trying to revive militarism and nationalism. In crossing this 'symbolic barrier', the government has 'trampled on the concept of a defence-only military', the SPJ said in a statement. 'By removing the only limit to the military budget, there is a real danger that spending will continue to expand.'

In anticipation of the government's move, which had been widely expected, the SPJ had also organised a campaign jointly with the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) of nationwide meetings and rallies, culminating in a mass rally in Tokyo on October 27, during UN Disarmament Week.

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), also an SI member party, argued that although the 1-percent-of-GNP ceiling could not be considered an 'appropriate' guideline for defence spending, it had 'served as a brake on the growth of defence spending', and the government should 'make every effort to keep its word' to keep the defence budget within this framework.

Other major opposition groups, including the centrist Clean Government party (Komeito) and the Japan Communist Party, as well as some members of the LDP, also criticised the medium-term defence programme at a special session of the Diet opened on October 14. During the debate the prime minister argued that although his government respected 'the spirit' of the 1-percent ceiling, it considered the new medium-term defence programme more important to Japan's security than abiding by the guideline.

On October 30 the government promised to keep military spending within the ceiling, 'at least for the coming year'.

FEDERAL GERMANY

'Red-green' coalition in Hessen

After nearly a year of negotiations, the prime minister of Hessen, Holger Börner, on October 16 announced the signing of a coalition agreement between his Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the Greens.

The new coalition, the first of its kind in Federal Germany at regional level, brought to an end the SPD minority government which had been in power since September 1983.

The Social Democrats hold 51 seats in the 110-member state parliament, and the Greens 7.

An earlier, informal five-month alliance between the two parties broke down in November 1984 over nuclear energy policy.

Under the agreement, the Greens will take up a newly created ministry for energy and environment (which, however, will not be responsible for nuclear energy), and provide a state secretary for women's affairs.

Although the coalition proposals were approved by Green party members at a special congress, it was marked by a lengthy argument over power sharing with the SPD between 'pragmatic' and 'fundamentalist' wings of the party. The Greens' national committee had in fact appealed to the Hessen section to reject the coalition.

PARAGUAY

PRF leadership changes

The Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF) elected a new leadership during an extraordinary congress in Asuncion on August 31-September 1. Fernando Vera was elected party president in succession to Euclides Acevedo, while Nils Candia Gini took over the post of general secretary and Jaime Ortiz Duarte that of international secretary.

The party reaffirmed its determination to continue the struggle against the Stroessner regime (which has been in power since 1954 and is Latin America's longest-surviving dictatorship).

The PRF, the only legally registered party within the opposition National Accord (AN) alliance - the others are banned by the regime - boycotted the elections for 190 municipal districts on October 25. Amid widespread allegations of fraud, the ruling Colorado Party gained its usual vast majority, with 88 percent of the vote according to the official count. The balance was shared by two liberal parties.

DISARMAMENT

European socialists reject star wars

The member parties of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSPEC) on November 5 presented a joint statement in which they reject outright the introduction of strategic defence systems, and state their opposition 'to any participation by their governments' in the US strategic defence initiative (SDI) or 'star wars'.

The statement, prepared by the CSPEC ad hoc committee on SDI and Eureka (the programme aimed at strengthening European cooperation in high-technology research), calls instead for an agreement 'to renounce the introduction of such systems in both East and West, together with a drastic reduction in defensive nuclear weapons on either side'.

The CSPEC rejects the claim that strategic defence systems can overcome the present system of nuclear deterrence. 'The idea that the conflicts between East and West can be overcome by introducing increasingly sophisticated weapons technologies is an erroneous one prompted by an obsession with technology'. For 'reconciliation cannot be imposed by technology; enmity cannot be overcome by technology'.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Anglo-Irish agreement

The British and Irish governments have launched a major political initiative to help to improve relations between the protestant and catholic communities in Northern Ireland and to break the cycle of violence that has cost 2,500 lives since 1969.

On November 15 the prime ministers of the two countries, Margaret Thatcher and Garret FitzGerald, signed a treaty which gives the Irish government a significant consultative role in Northern Ireland, through an inter-governmental conference, for the first time since the island's partition in 1921. At the same time, the Irish government formally accepted that the republic's constitutional claim to the North can only be enacted with the support of a majority of Northern Ireland's people.

The agreement recognises the need to acknowledge the rights of the two major traditions that exist in Ireland, both the protestant unionist tradition and the catholic nationalist tradition of 'those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland achieved by peaceful means and through agreement'.

SDLP and Labour parties' support

The initiative has the support of the Irish Labour Party, the junior partner in the coalition with FitzGerald's Fine Gael party, and the opposition Labour Party in Britain. And crucially, it has been strongly endorsed by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in Northern Ireland, whose constituency is overwhelmingly catholic and nationalist.

For SDLP leader John Hume, 'recognition of the validity of both traditions, nationalist and unionist, so explicit in this agreement, is the only true basis for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland which involves in any way the crushing or the defeat of the protestant heritage. Not only would that be unthinkable, it would be impossible', he declared during the debate on the treaty in the British

parliament.

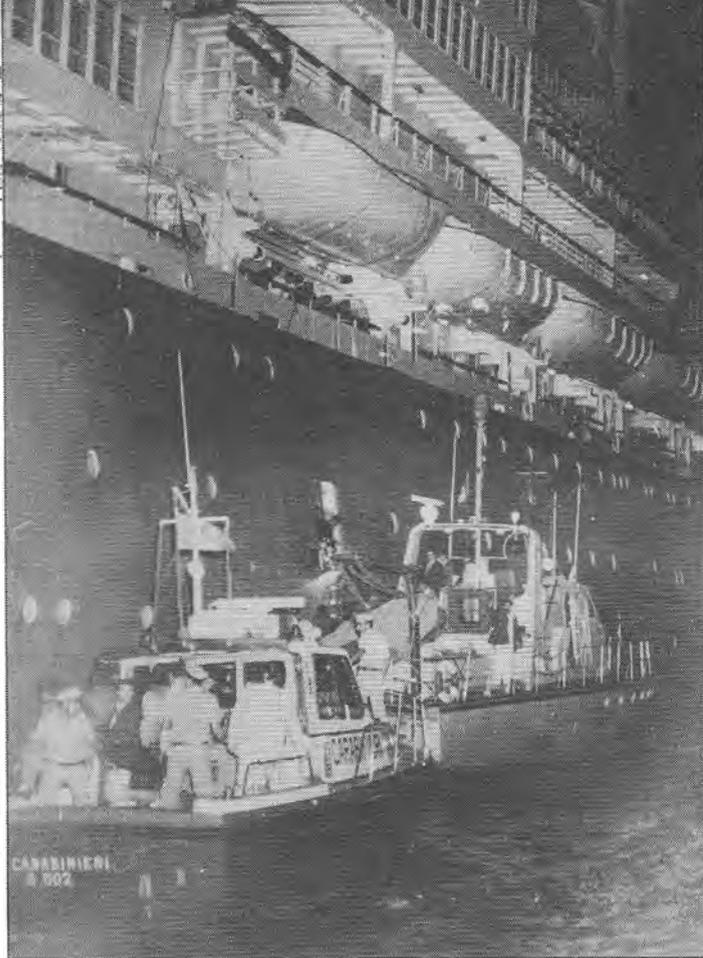
It also removed the justification for the use of violence to achieve Irish unity, Hume underlined, since the British government had formerly declared that if a majority wanted Irish unity it would not only facilitate it but support it.

Both the Irish and British parliaments ratified the accord in late November. In the Dail the opposition Fianna Fail party voted against, and in the House of Commons it was adopted by an overwhelming majority, with the support of all four main parties. However, it was vehemently denounced as a betrayal of protestant interests by the fifteen members from the two Ulster unionist parties in Northern Ireland. They resigned their seats in protest and vowed to fight byelections as a form of referendum on the deal.

Inter-governmental conference

The Anglo-Irish accord acknowledges the need to 'recognise and respect the identities of the two communities in Northern Ireland and the right of each to pursue its aspirations by peaceful constitutional means', and commits itself to 'a society in Northern Ireland free from discrimination and intolerance, with the opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government'.

Through the mechanism of an inter-governmental conference, the Irish government will be able to put forward its views and proposals in all areas of policy affecting Northern Ireland and its minority catholic community (which constitutes about a third of the province's population). It will be able to press its views on political, security and legal matters (including, for instance, police and army policies to combat violence, and the administration of justice and prisons). It imposes an obligation on the two governments to make 'determined efforts through the conference to resolve any differences'.



Safe return: Magistrates board the Achille Lauro upon its arrival in Italy

Signorelli / Sipa Press

The conference – made up of ministers and officials from both sides, and backed by a permanent secretariat based in Belfast – is described as being ‘a framework within which the two governments work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions which exist in Northern Ireland’. Its functions will include measures to foster the cultural heritage of both traditions, changes in electoral arrangements, the use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination, as well as the consideration of a possible bill of rights in Northern Ireland.

The two governments’ affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland’ and ‘recognise that the present wish of a majority there is for no change in that status’. If in the future a majority were to wish the establishment of a united Ireland, the two governments ‘will introduce and support legislation in the respective parliaments to give effect to this’.

The agreement makes provision for a review at the end of three years or earlier if requested by either government.

ITALY

Ship hijacking precipitates government crisis

The five-party coalition government, led by the Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi, was thrown into a serious crisis in October as a result of internal divisions over the handling of the hijacking of an Italian cruise liner, the Achille Lauro, in the eastern Mediterranean.

Four Palestinians, members of a group called the Palestine Liberation Front, held 547 passengers and crew members hostage for two days. They surrendered to Egyptian authorities on October 9. It subsequently emerged that they had killed one of the American passengers.

The Republican Party (PRI), the third largest in the coalition, forced the government to submit an offer of resignation to President Cossiga on October 17 after withdrawing its support because it objected to the decision to release a Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) official, Mohammed Abbas, despite an allegation by the

Reagan administration that he had masterminded the hijacking. The PRI also accused the prime minister of failing to consult the defence minister and PRI leader, Giovanni Spadolini, over the release.

Abbas had been allowed to leave Italy soon after the Egyptian plane carrying him and the four hijackers – who had been granted safe conduct after their surrender – to Tunisia was intercepted by US planes and forced to land in Sicily. Italian authorities rejected a US request for his arrest pending extradition charges because insufficient evidence was provided of his involvement in the hijacking.

The government crisis was settled two weeks later when the leaders of the five coalition partners – in addition to the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and the PRI, the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI), the SI’s other member party in Italy, the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Liberals (PLI) – agreed on new consultation procedures within the cabinet.

They also adopted a foreign policy statement, which, while striking a balance between Israel’s right to exist and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, states that the PLO has a role in the Middle East peace process ‘only if it follows without reservation the road of peaceful negotiation’.

Subsequent to this agreement President Cossiga refused the government’s offer of resignation (which he had only accepted provisionally in any case) on October 31 and asked it to face a vote of confidence in parliament. This was duly obtained at the end of the three-day debate on November 6.

(On November 15, the coalition became the longest-serving of Italy’s forty-four administrations since the end of the second world war. It has been in power since August 4, 1983.)

Craxi’s report of events

In his speech to parliament on October 17, Craxi detailed the sequence of events that followed the hijacking of the Achille Lauro.

He stressed that the government’s primary objective had

been ‘preventing a tragedy and acting in such a way that our decisions would not prejudice ... the sovereignty of the country’.

Following an indication that the US had ‘fixed a starting date for military action’ to free the hostages, Craxi said he had informed the US ambassador that ‘the ship was Italian and that the Italian government had from the very first considered the possibility of a military intervention in case of absolute necessity and that it had already prepared men and means for this aim’.

Craxi said that around 3.30pm on October 9 news arrived from Egypt that the ship had been released and that all persons on board were in good health. The Egyptians had granted the hijackers safe



Bettino Craxi

conduct – as previously agreed with the Italian government if no acts of violence had been carried out on board. Accompanied by two PLO officials, including Mohammed Abbas, they were being taken to Tunisia (where the PLO headquarters are located) in an Egyptian airliner.

It was only at 6.10pm that day that the government learned from the ship captain that the hijackers had murdered one of the American passengers and had thrown him overboard. The

government had immediately asked Egypt and the PLO for the 'extradition of the four hijackers, so that they could undergo a proper trial in Italy'; the US had also been informed of this. As to a US request to try those responsible for the murder of the US citizen, the Italian prime minister said he had presented the position 'that since the crime was committed in international waters, on an Italian ship, it must be taken as a criminal act perpetrated on an Italian territory'.

Once the Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers and officials had been intercepted by US fighters and forced to land in Sicily, the Italian authorities had asked Egypt for permission to take the four hijackers into custody and to question the two Palestinian officials. While the first request was accepted, Craxi said, the Egyptians could not accept the second, 'since the two officials, who were in Italy against their wishes and refused to leave the plane, should be considered guests of the Egyptian government'.

Bearing in mind that the airplane enjoyed the extra-territorial status and its passengers had diplomatic immunity, the Italian magistrate could no longer hold either the plane or some of its passengers.

The US request for temporary arrest and extradition of Mohammed Abbas was examined at this time but, declared Craxi, insufficient proof was presented for the accusation that he was involved in the hijack.

An extradition request was subsequently issued by an Italian magistrate. At a preliminary trial, the four hijackers were convicted of several charges. They will face a charge of murder at a subsequent trial.)

Craxi strongly criticised the United States for its role in the affair. Specifically he said that Italian airspace had been violated on two occasions, by a US military transport plane (with troops on board) which had landed in Sicily shortly after the Egyptian airliner had been forced to land there by US fighters, and by the fighters who had followed the Egyptian airliner after it had been allowed to leave Sicily.

SOUTH AFRICA

International pressure intensifies

Anti-apartheid protests in South Africa escalate, despite the racist white minority regime's attempts to quell resistance through repression. At the same time, many international fora and organisations, as well as individual governments (in particular those of SI member parties) announced further economic and other sanctions against the regime in recent months.

Some right-wing governments, such as the Federal German coalition, the Reagan administration and the British government, still fought anti-apartheid measures. The Thatcher government, in particular, thwarted the adoption of strong measures by both the Commonwealth and the European Community.

Commonwealth

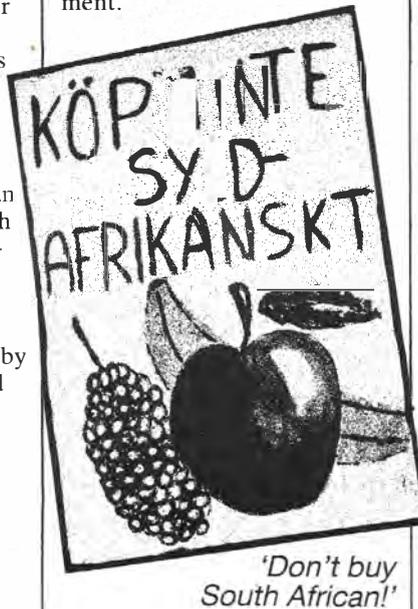
Apartheid dominated the biennial conference of the Commonwealth heads of government in Nassau, Bahamas, on October 16-22. The leaders of forty-nine countries – the United Kingdom and former British colonies, representing a quarter of the world's population – established a small group of seven eminent people whose brief will be to promote the evolution of 'the necessary process of political dialogue between the true representatives of the majority black population and the white population in Southern Africa'. The group will report on its contacts with the various interest groups in South Africa by June 1986.

The idea of setting up such a group originated with the Australian Labor government. In the view of the prime minister, Bob Hawke, it should 'advance proposals for a peaceful transition in South Africa to a multiracial society based on universal suffrage'.

The main elements of the sanctions package agreed by the Commonwealth are: extending the existing economic measures

by a ban on the importation of krugerrand gold coins and on government support for trade contacts with South Africa; an arms embargo; and a ban on exports of nuclear equipment and on computer technology for the military and police.

Many of these sanctions have been enforced by individual countries for years. But the far more comprehensive economic sanctions demanded by nearly all member countries were rejected by the Thatcher government.



European Community

On September 10, the European Community (EC) and Portugal and Spain (which are due to join the EC in 1986) agreed to implement certain sanctions, including bans on the sale of arms and domestic oil, a ban on military and nuclear cooperation, and the discouragement of certain scientific, cultural and sports contacts with South Africa. (The United Kingdom initially reserved its position, but later fell in line with the package and withdrew two military attaches from Pretoria.)

Most of the measures adopted had already been imposed by a number of individual member countries. But in the face of opposition from the Federal German and the British governments, the EC as a group was unable to agree on stronger steps such as the suspension of new investments in South Africa.

The Socialist Group in the

European Parliament subsequently tabled a motion calling on the Community to act without delay to end all economic, financial, cultural and military links with South Africa. Its leader, Rudi Arndt, described the list of measures as an 'absolute scandal', since it was even weaker than the sanctions announced by the Reagan administration a few days earlier.

However, against Socialist Group opposition, the four centre-right parties, which together form a majority in the parliament, endorsed the package.

Socialist governments

The French prime minister, Laurent Fabius, announced on November 13 that France would stop coal imports from South Africa for its state-owned energy companies. Although existing contracts would be honoured, nearly all expire on January 31, 1986. The ban, removing nearly a quarter of French coal imports, will cost more than 200 million francs through higher prices paid for replacement supplies.

Since July France has banned all new investment in South Africa and recalled its ambassador, and sponsored a UN Security Council resolution condemning apartheid and calling for voluntary sanctions against South Africa.

The Swedish government, which has already adopted among the most comprehensive sanctions in the industrial world, in October gained parliamentary approval for a new anti-apartheid law which bans all fruit and vegetable imports from South Africa as well as the sale of krugerrands. The government also issued a recommendation to Swedish companies not to import other South African goods and services.

Among measures announced by the Austrian government on September 26 were an end to investment in South Africa by state-owned firms, an end to the state liability coverage for export loans, and a suspension of cultural and sporting links with South Africa. Moreover, Austrian banks have reached a voluntary agreement to stop importing krugerrands until



further notice.

The Labour government of New Zealand, having broken off diplomatic relations with South Africa earlier this year, announced a ban on krugerrands and a suspension of state aid to companies trading with South Africa on November 12.

Abdou Diouf, the Senegalese prime minister and the leader of the Socialist Party, in his capacity as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), visited a number of southern African countries on October 1-10, to show the OAU's determination 'to confront the apartheid regime and to do whatever is in the OAU's power to resist its destabilisation efforts in neighbouring countries'.

Trade union action

In a potentially far-reaching

development, maritime trade unions from across the world have adopted a declaration intended to ensure a more effective implementation of the



United Nations oil embargo against South Africa. Organised by the British National Union of Seamen (NUS), the conference, held in London on October 30-31, was attended by representatives

of twenty-eight seafarers' and dockers' unions from twenty-two countries.

Stressing that apart from the UN's mandatory arms embargo the oil embargo was perhaps potentially the most effective peaceful means for those outside South Africa to assist in the ending of apartheid, the unions resolved the following: to press for legislation in their countries to ban the supply or transport of oil to South Africa; to exchange information on ships and companies violating the embargo; to take direct action against the vessels of any companies violating the embargo; and to coordinate their activities to facilitate the fullest implementation of the embargo.

The declaration warns 'all shipowners, shipping management companies, shipping agents and the oil companies that until assurance is received that they are not involved in the

delivery of oil ... or that their involvement has ceased, the vessels under their jurisdiction are liable to trade union action, including boycott'.

The declaration also requests the UN to organise a full-scale conference of oil producers and transporters, with the participation of governments, ship-owners and trade unions, to lay down very specific mandatory procedures to make the oil embargo truly effective.

Trade unions are taking increasingly tough stances against links with the apartheid regime in many countries. Thus, transport workers in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden began a boycott on October 20 aimed at closing their countries' markets to all South African goods; and in Australia, the postal workers' union announced it would stop handling mail to and from South Africa from October 21.

UDM

PERU

García's economic and security priorities

On October 5 President Alan García announced an extensive economic package designed to stimulate the country's depressed economy.

The measures include a cut in interest rates, a small rise in real wages (through the suppression of a special tax), a freeze of the official exchange rate of the sol

IN BRIEF

CYPRUS

The House of Representatives dissolved itself on November 1, and early elections were called for December 8.

The decision, agreed by a unanimous vote, ends a stalemate that had existed since February, when the AKEL Communist Party and the right-wing Democratic Rally (DYSY) joined forces to push through a motion censuring President Kyprianou's policy on the reunification of the island.

The two parties had demanded the resignation of the president - who was supported by the EDEK Socialist Party, which holds three seats in the 35-member parliament - over his handling of the summit meeting with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Rauf Denktaş, in New York in January. The two leaders had been unable to agree on a UN-sponsored plan for reunification.

GUYANA

Despite the lack of a guarantee of a fair vote, both the Working People's Alliance (WPA) and the main opposition party, the People's Progressive Party (PPP), have decided to participate in the early elections called by the new president, Desmond Hoyte (the successor to Forbes Burnham, who died in August).

The two parties had threatened to boycott the election, to be held on December 9, unless the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) - which they accuse, supported by foreign observers, of rigging previous elections - accepted reforms in electoral procedure.

On November 11 President Hoyte announced some reforms, but he rejected demands for an independent commission to oversee the polling.

against the dollar, a ban on the import of some two hundred items, and a selective relaxation of price controls. At the same time, the prize freeze in operation since early August was broadened to cover state-produced goods and services.

The measures represented the second phase in the APRA government's programme of economic recovery. The first - the emergency austerity package introduced soon after García and APRA assumed power on July 28 - had achieved its twin aims of reducing inflation (then running at some 170 percent) and restoring confidence in the government's ability to manage the economy, García said.

Much of the government's initial efforts were centred on the sixty-day emergency economic programme, whose main plank had been a comprehensive wages and prices freeze.

Protecting human rights

As promised by García in his inauguration speech, an advisory 'peace commission' was established on September 14 to explore the possibilities of ending subversion and achieving 'the country's pacification in an atmosphere of respect for the constitution'. A human rights bureau, which will report on abuses by the authorities, was also set up.

In its first few months of office the government pursued its initiatives to curb excesses by the security forces in their counterinsurgency effort and to end the corruption associated with Peru's huge illegal drug trade. These were rampant under the previous right-wing government.

In mid-September three senior generals, including the head of the armed forces, were dismissed after an internal investigation demanded by the president had implicated army counterinsurgency units in the massacre of sixty-nine civilians in the southern department of Ayacucho in August.

More than 5,000 people have died since 1980 as a result of the guerrilla war waged by the extreme-left Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) movement in the southern Andes; and according to the local attorney-general's office, more than 2,000

people have 'disappeared' after being arrested by security forces in the region.

And in the context of the clampdown on the corruption spawned by the drugs trade, 153 police commanders were sent into early retirement in August and September as part of the re-organisation of the police force.

Security forces have also mounted a joint operation in the northeastern jungle region, in cooperation with the Colombian authorities and the US Drug Enforcement Agency, to combat cocaine trafficking.

● In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 23, President García said that Latin America faced a stark choice between 'debt or democracy' and warned that the countries of the region could never pay off the foreign debt 'because the effort to service it on time will keep our democracies trapped in misery and violence'.

AUSTRIA

Pioneer anti-pollution measures

On October 1 Austria became the first European country to make the sale of lead-free petrol obligatory. This is one of the range of measures to combat air pollution approved by the Socialist-led government in July as part of its broad campaign to protect and improve the Austrian environment.

The package also includes the gradual introduction of stricter controls on exhaust emissions from cars and lorries; a further reduction of the sulphur content of diesel and heating oil from 1986; and a tightening up of legislation on air pollution. In all these areas the new limits set on dangerous substances are stricter than any presently demanded in Europe.

From January 1, 1986, Austria will also become the first country in Europe to introduce (by 1988) the stringent norms on car-exhaust emissions applicable in the United States. Concessionary grants will be available in the interim to encourage a voluntary move to environmentally more

acceptable cars. The new norms, which can be achieved only by the use of catalytic converters, are expected to reduce exhaust emissions by 70-90 percent.

Environment Fund

The minister of health and the environment, Kurt Steyrer, proposed an 'international environment fund', modelled on the Austrian Environment Fund, at a conference on the future of the Third World in Vienna on October 7.

Steyrer called on countries to find ways and means of establishing a coordinated financing scheme for environmental protection programmes in all regions of the world. Diverting a small percentage of current worldwide armaments expenditure to ecological programmes should also be considered. 'Environmental protection is not only a national, but also an international concern. International cooperation on environmental issues protects not only the environment, it also secures peace', Steyrer said.

Austria's Environment Fund, set up in late 1983, grants subsidies to industrial companies for conservation-related projects aimed primarily at reducing air pollution and noise levels and at improving safety in the handling of hazardous wastes. It also provides an advisory service for industrial companies on environmental technology.

Administered by the ministry of health and the environment, the fund allocated subsidies worth 500 million schillings (US\$25 million) in 1984 and 1 billion schillings in 1985. To date, nearly 3 billion schillings have been invested in environmental improvements with the fund's support.

● Five other European countries and Canada will follow Austria in implementing the US norms on car-exhaust emissions in their countries. A declaration to this effect was signed by Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Sweden at a meeting of environment ministers, hosted by Svante Lundkvist, the minister of agriculture and the environment in the Swedish Social Democratic government, in Stockholm on July 5.

DISARMAMENT

Brandt, Sorsa comment on Geneva summit

'The Geneva summit achieved the optimum of what appeared possible within two days. The relationship between the two superpowers may be improved, a new phase of detente may even begin. The superpowers seem to recognise that they are forced to move from mutual assured destruction to mutual assured security. This should give some hope. But real work on arms reduction still has to be done.'

This was the evaluation offered by Willy Brandt, SI president and chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), of the summit meeting – the first in six years – between the leaders of the two superpowers in Geneva on November 19-20.

The meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev produced a few concrete results, the main ones being the arrangement of two more summit sessions in 1986 and 1987 and the endorsement of the principle of 50 percent reduction in their offensive strategic weapons systems. But 'serious differences remained on a number of critical issues'.

Kalevi Sorsa, the leader of the Social Democratic Party of

Finland (SDP) and the Finnish prime minister (who is also chairman of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council) commented: 'It must be clearly said that the summit meeting did not meet with the expectations put on it... Yet the atmosphere was quite surprisingly warm. The meeting apparently succeeded in reducing tensions which have accumulated during the long years of suspicion and distrust. It seems that the superpowers are ready to continue their dialogue and that perspectives for creating more confidential relations are opening. ... The world is now at least permitted to expect action around the negotiating table.'

Among the concrete results of the summit meeting were agreements on: the resumption of US-Soviet cultural exchanges (which had been curtailed by the US in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979); new communication links to improve air safety in the North Pacific area, to avoid incidents such as the shooting down of a South Korean airliner in 1983; the opening of one additional consulate in each country; and research on thermonuclear fusion for

peaceful purposes.

● In his acceptance speech for the Einstein Peace Prize, given in the week preceding the Geneva summit on November 13, Willy Brandt urged the leaders of the two superpowers to break the present stalemate in arms control negotiations. 'They should authorise their negotiating teams to work out a treaty cutting the number of nuclear weapons by half. But even such a reduction ... may not be deep enough to lower the risks of nuclear war if the United States and the Soviet Union get involved in what is called strategic defence'.

Brandt was awarded the prize, presented annually by the Albert Einstein Foundation, in recognition of 'his work and continuous efforts towards reconciliation and world peace' since his resignation as Federal German chancellor in 1974.

EL SALVADOR

Duarte's daughter released

Inés Guadalupe Duarte Durán, the daughter of President Duarte, was freed on October 24, six weeks after being kidnapped in San Salvador by a group which claimed to be a part

of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the alliance of five left-wing guerrilla armies.

The abduction had been condemned by Guillermo Ungo, the president of the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the SI member party in El Salvador, and by other leaders of the FDR.

She and a companion were released as part of an accord between the centre-right government and the FMLN. Under the agreement, negotiated with the mediation of the catholic church, the Salvadorean authorities released 22 political prisoners and allowed 96 disabled and wounded guerrillas to leave the country, and the FMLN released 38 mayors and municipal officials. Church representatives said it was also agreed that there would be no more kidnapping of relatives of political or military leaders.

The outcome of the kidnapping raised hopes for a resumption of the national dialogue to find a negotiated settlement to the six-year civil war. 'We remain open to talks with the Duarte government or any other, in order to find a real and lasting solution to the crisis in our country', declared Ungo on October 15 – the first anniversary of the La Palma meeting between the FDR/FMLN and the government.

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TECHNOLOGY

Eureka takes off

Eureka, the programme proposed by France earlier this year to stimulate European co-operation in high technology research, was given its formal structure by ministers from eighteen European countries at a conference on November 5-6.

Meeting in Hannover, Federal Germany, the ministers set up an organising body for Eureka and established a framework within which specific research projects could be approved. A small secretariat is also envisaged to enhance transparency and efficiency within the project.

Under the rules laid down for the definition, development and approval of specific research projects, companies and research institutes in any of the eighteen countries – the ten current members of the European Community, and Austria, Finland, Norway, Portugal,

Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Turkey – can submit proposals that involve the participation of at least one other Eureka country. Such projects then could qualify for government subsidies.

The conference also endorsed the first ten Eureka projects, in the areas of educational computers, lasers, anti-pollution devices, new industrial materials, robotics and manufacturing systems.

● The Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSPEC) strongly endorsed the Eureka programme on November 5 as a means of meeting 'the technological and political challenge' posed by the Reagan administration's strategic defence initiative (SDI) project.

Although Eureka should not be regarded as a 'European SDI', the statement argues that if European countries do nothing in the areas directly or indirectly affected by SDI, 'they will be irrevocably outdistanced

in their technological performance in areas of crucial importance'.

The CSPEC proposes the extension of the programme to include research into new ecological, medical and food technologies.

ISRAEL

Price freeze extended until June 1986

The Knesset on October 4 agreed to extend, by law, many of the provisions of the emergency regulations that froze prices of goods and services in July.

The new law fixes all prices of goods and services at their July levels and prohibits all increases until June 1986. It was part of a comprehensive package of further austerity measures agreed, after prolonged negotiations, between the national-unity government led by Labour leader Shimon Peres, the Histadrut trade union federation and the employers' organisation. Wages, taxes and social-security payments will continue to be tightly controlled.

The July measures had included a three-month freeze on wages and prices, a devaluation of the shekel and a freeze of the exchange rate and a sharp cut in government subsidies (thereby increasing prices of a number of basic commodities).

The austerity measures have led to a reduction in inflation of monthly rates of 15 percent earlier this year to around 4 percent in recent months. (Cumulatively, prices rose by 168 percent in the first three quarters of this year, against 313 percent in the corresponding period of 1984.) Real wages, which according to government figures, had fallen by 20 percent between June and October, were raised by 4 percent in November in line with the new regulations.

In early September the government also announced a monetary reform, with the introduction of the new shekel, equal to 1,000 old shekels.

As part of the government's longer-term strategy, a five-year economic plan (covering the period to 1990) is now in operation, based on the need to build up exports and encourage investment.

NETHERLANDS

Despite widespread opposition, cruise approved

Parliament on November 13 sanctioned deployment of cruise missiles in the Netherlands. The Tweede Kamer rejected by 80 to 69 votes a Labour Party (PvdA) motion calling for the reversal of the centre-right government's decision, announced on November 1, to accept its share of weapons agreed in principle by NATO countries in 1979 as part of its rearmament plans.

The motion declared that the new medium-range nuclear missiles formed 'no contribution to the security of Western Europe' and were 'undesirable for political and military reasons'. It was supported by all left-wing parties and six dissidents from the ruling Christian Democrats.

The government's approval of cruise had been widely expected once NATO sources had confirmed an increase in the number of SS-20 intermediate-range missiles deployed by the Soviet Union since June 1984. Under a compromise formula at that time – which had helped to resolve disagreement within the coalition – deployment would only be rejected if there had been no such increase and if some progress in arms-control talks between the superpowers had been made by November this year.

The PvdA is pledged to reverse the decision if it gains power in the forthcoming general elections, due in May 1986.

Labour leader Joop den Uyl charged the cabinet with 'merely doing a counting job', disregarding the opposition to cruise of a majority of the Dutch people. 'That could lead to a rift in Dutch society', he told parliament. He

Getting high on technology: Press conference at the Eureka ministerial conference





Melanie Friend

'Deployment? Never!': Anti-cruise demonstrator in Amsterdam

also described as 'unforgivable' the declining of an invitation to discuss the deployment issue from the Soviet prime minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov (which reached The Hague two days before the government's decision).

The issue of cruise has been one of the most hotly debated in the Netherlands ever since NATO took its 'dual track' decision in 1979 to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Europe pending an arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union. The Dutch peace move-

ment had organised a number of demonstrations in the days leading up to the cabinet announcement, and had presented an anti-missile petition signed by more than 3.7 million people to the prime minister, Ruud Lubbers, on October 26. In October 1983, the largest demonstration in post-war Dutch history, an estimated 450,000 people had demonstrated in The Hague against deployment.

The missiles are due to arrive at the Woensdrecht air base,

near the Belgian border, in 1988 two years later than originally scheduled. If deployed, the Netherlands would become the last of five European NATO countries to accept its share of new medium-range missiles.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Cooperation agreement with EC

Six Central American countries and the European Community (EC) on November 12 signed a five-year agreement on economic and development assistance. It aims to strengthen trading links and commits the Community to a substantial increase in aid to Central America.

The agreement lays out, for the first time, a broad framework for economic cooperation and political consultation between Central America and the Community. Signed during a two-day meeting in Luxembourg by the ten EC countries and Portugal and Spain (which are due to join it in 1986) and Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama, it is the fruit of a process of improving cooperation initiated at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the same countries in San Jose, Costa Rica, in September 1984.

The agreement also expresses its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a regional peace treaty. To underline this, the Community had also invited the foreign ministers of the other three Contadora Group countries (in addition to Panama) to the meeting. Claude Cheysson, the EC's commissioner in charge of North-South relations, said that the Community's aim was 'to avoid the risk of Soviet-American tensions' in Central America.

New Contadora draft

The Contadora Group tabled a revised draft of the regional peace treaty, which incorporates amendments proposed to the

previous draft presented in September 1984.

At a two-day meeting of its foreign ministers and their Central American counterparts in Panama on October 7-8, a deadline of November 20 was set to settle remaining differences among the five prospective signatory countries - Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. But as SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, the dead-line had passed without an agreement being achieved.

The Contadora Group - Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela - has since early 1983 coordinated negotiations on the peace treaty, whose main thrust is to reduce foreign military influence, establish mechanisms for arms control and end conflicts in Central America.

Under the new terms, three work groups and an 'international corps of inspectors' would be responsible for monitoring compliance with the treaty's provisions.

Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, supported by the Reagan administration, had expressed strong reservations to the earlier draft, in particular regarding the proposed verification procedures, and had submitted extensive amendments. (Nicaragua had accepted the draft unconditionally.)

Costa Rica protests against border violations

The National Liberation Party (PLN) government of President Luis Alberto Monge has in recent months repeatedly accused Nicaragua of violating Costa Rican territory and airspace along the San Juan River border between the two countries.

The situation in the border region has been tense ever since forces fighting the Sandinista government (the contras) began operating in the area in 1982.

Relations with Nicaragua were seriously strained when two Costa Rican civil guardsmen were killed on May 31 in a clash with Sandinista soldiers on the border.

JANATA: Voice of Democratic Socialism

Editors Prem Bhasin and J.D. Sethi

Managing Editor G.G. Parikh

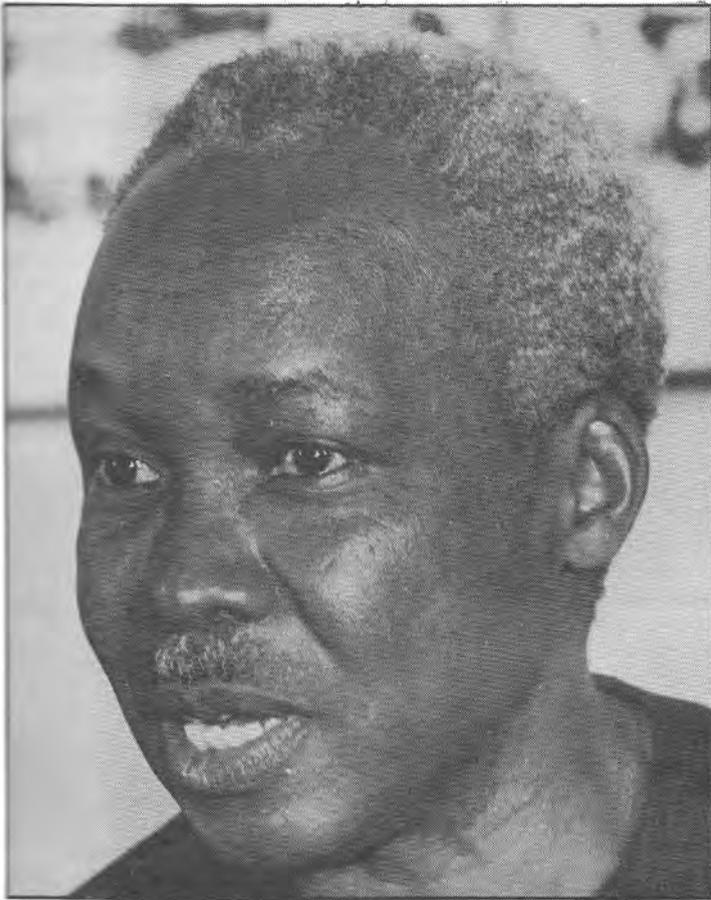
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TANZANIA

Nyerere steps down

Julius Nyerere, who had been president of his country since independence in 1961, retired in October, having decided not to stand for a further term of office.

His successor is Ali Hassan Mwinyi, until recently president of the government of Zanzibar. He was the sole candidate for the post in the general elections held on October 27, and was sworn in on November 5.

Nyerere will continue to serve as chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Party (CCM) at least until his term expires in 1987, and will thus remain active in public life.

Throughout his twenty-four years as president, initially of Tanganyika and (from 1964, after the merger with Zanzibar) of the United Republic of Tanzania, Nyerere has been a strong advocate for a new international economic order, for international action against apartheid and the South African

minority regime (he was for many years chairman of the front-line states) and for disarmament (he was one of the leaders participating in the Five Continents' Peace Initiative launched in 1984).

SOUTH AFRICA

Independent trade unions join forces

In a move that observers predict could change the country's economic and political structure, thirty-six independent trade unions joined to form the Council of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) on December 1.

The new federation, is by far the largest movement of organised labour, with around 500,000 members (nearly 40 percent of South Africa's 1.4 million workers unionised) in the mining, metalworking, food, retailing and transport industries.

COSATU committed itself to playing a far more active role than unions have done hitherto in the struggle against apartheid. It demanded a range of political reforms, including the abolition of the pass laws (restricting the movement of blacks within South Africa), and declared its support for disinvestment. The president of the new federation, Elijah Barayi, said that COSATU 'will not only concentrate on wages, it will also concentrate on politics'. He called on President Botha to resign and 'to make way for the real leader of the people, Nelson Mandela', the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC) liberation movement.

● In an interview with the *Cape Times* published on November 4, Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, urged the white minority regime to create a climate for talks with his organisation. 'There is always a possibility of a truce' in the armed struggle, Tambo said. 'It would be very easy if, for example, we started negotiations.' A condition for starting talks, however, would be the release of Nelson Mandela, Tambo said.



Truce?: ANC president Oliver Tambo

The article was the first substantial interview with Tambo published in South Africa since the ANC was banned a quarter of a century ago. The newspaper's editor, Anthony Heard, was detained four days after its publication and charged with quoting a banned person (which under South African law is allowed only with government permission).

TURKEY

Merger on the centre-left

Two legal centre-left opposition parties formally merged on November 3 into a single organisation. The Social Democracy Party (SODEP) voted to dissolve itself to join the Social Democratic Populist Party (SDHP), which had come into being when a congress of the Populist Party (HP) decided to change its name and approve the merger with SODEP.

The HP was one of the three parties which Turkey's military rulers allowed to stand in the November 1983 general elections that formally restored civilian rule. It gained 117 seats in the 400-seat parliament, but lost heavily in local elections in March 1984. At that time SODEP, founded in June 1983 but barred from the November elections, became the second-largest party behind the ruling Motherland party, with 23 percent of the vote.

It was to safeguard parliamentary representation that the two parties agreed to maintain the legal structure of the re-named SDHP and that SODEP formally dissolved itself and transferred all its assets to the SDHP. Resignations of HP deputies opposed to the merger have reduced the new party's parliamentary strength to 88 seats.

Negotiations between the two parties started after Aydin Güven Gürkan was elected chairman of the HP in June.

Justifying the merger, SODEP leader Erdal İnönü said that the move was 'the natural stage which has been reached following the policies pursued by SODEP since its establishment. There is nothing in this merger which is in contradiction with our past, principles and goals'.

Güven Gürkan, who will remain leader of the new party at least until a congress planned for May 1986, outlined the characteristics of the new party programme as 'a mixture of the HP and SODEP programmes'. These included a commitment to defending popular democracy

IDAF

unconditionally; the creation of autonomous universities, television, radio and other constitutional organisations; the upholding of the concept of a state of law; support for Turkey's membership of NATO (while reserving the right 'to decide independently and freely even within this alliance'); and a commitment to full membership of the European Community.

New left party

The formation of a new left-wing political party, the Democratic Left Party (DSP), was announced on November 14. At its founding convention on November 23, Rahsan Ecevit, the wife of former prime minister Bülent Ecevit, was elected party leader.

(Bülent Ecevit led the Republican People's Party, CHP, a member party of the Socialist International, until its disbandment by the military after they took power in 1980. He is one of about a hundred former leading politicians barred by the present constitution from active participation in politics until 1992.)

The DSP rejected a merger with the newly formed Social Democratic Populist Party (SDHP) on the grounds that it lacked true grassroots working-class support. 'Conditions conducive to the establishment of a truly social democratic party should not be expected to be given from above', the DSP leader told the convention in her acceptance speech. 'As we lay the foundation of a grassroots-based party, we are also building up a popular movement that helps pave the way for democratisation and for social democracy.' Unlike the SDHP, she said, the DSP's 612 founding members were mostly 'workers, farmers, artisans or owners of small businesses'.

AS SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, five independent members of parliament had announced they were joining the DSP.

DSP programme

The convention adopted a programme which defines the DSP's aims within the tradition

of social democracy, taking into account the experience and the features that distinguish Turkish society. As practised in western countries, the concept of social democracy 'has come to transcend the bare content of the two words and in fact comprehends the full range of interlocking processes that make up democracy'.

For the DSP, then, democracy is a political, social, economic and cultural whole. 'Political democracy accords freedom, equality and rights to all, guarantees equality under the law, and envisages ever increasing participation by the people in the process of governing.' 'Social democracy brings about the social and economic conditions which will foster liberty, the removal of obstacles to human development and equality of opportunity.' 'Economic democracy envisages workers and staff sharing in management, profits and responsibility, and a concentration of ownership of capital and the means of production more with the people than with individuals or the state.'

'Cultural democracy extends opportunities for education, culture, the arts and communication to all, and gives the people and mass organisations access to the information which is necessary to be able to govern.'

It is the goal of the DSP to bring about a democracy in which 'the political, social, economic and cultural augment and sustain each other.'

PANAMA

Ardito Barletta resigns

Nicolás Ardito Barletta resigned as president on September 28, only eleven months after he took office in October 1984. He was succeeded by the vice-president, Eric Arturo Delvalle.

Ardito had come under growing criticism from a wide spectrum of public opinion for his government's acceptance of austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). His resignation became inevitable when his own party and the largest in the

governing coalition, the left-wing Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), withdrew its parliamentary support in early September.

Although Ardito did not attribute his loss of support to differences of opinion over economic policies but to pressure from the country's powerful military, a statement by the PRD castigated his attempt to subordinate

Panama's national sovereignty 'to arbitrary foreign interests'.

The PRD and the other two coalition parties (apart from Delvalle's Republican Party, which holds two seats in parliament) have made their support for the new president conditional on a reversal of Ardito's economic policies and a renegotiation of agreements made with the IMF.



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THE LAST WORD

'Apartheid as Anti-Christ'

The State in its oppression of the people makes use again and again of the name of God. Military chaplains use it to encourage the South African Defence Force, police chaplains use it to strengthen policemen and cabinet ministers use it in their propaganda speeches. But perhaps the most revealing of all is the blasphemous use of God's holy name in the preamble to the new apartheid constitution.

In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of nations and the history of peoples; who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own; who has guided them from generation to generation; who has wondrously delivered them from the dangers that beset them.

This god is an idol. It is as mischievous, sinister and evil as any of the idols that the prophets of Israel had to contend with. Here we have a god who is historically on the side of the white settlers, who dispossesses black people of their land and who gives the major part of the land to his 'chosen people'.

It is the god of superior weapons who conquered those who were armed with nothing but spears. It is the god of the casspirs and hippos, the god of teargas, rubber bullets, sjamboks, prison cells and death sentences. Here is a god who exalts the proud and humbles the poor – the very opposite of the God of the Bible who 'scatters the proud of heart, pulls down the mighty from their thrones and exalts the humble' (Lk 1:51-52). From a theological point of view the opposite of the God of the Bible is the devil, Satan. The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God – the antichrist.

From the Kairos Declaration

DISSENT:



Frances Kissling, executive director of Catholics for a Free Choice, a national organization that supports a woman's legal right to reproductive choice, spoke out recently in The Washington Post, taking issue with her church. "Natural" methods [of contraception] are frequently contraindicated for women in developing countries. They involve careful scrutiny of changes in cervical mucus to determine fertility, and are most reliable in healthy women in clean, stable environments. Malnutrition and infection, frequent side effects of poverty, will alter mucosity, making determination of fertility less reliable. In addition, "natural" family planning requires a high degree of motivation and cooperation between partners, including abstinence from vaginal intercourse for almost half a woman's menstrual cycle. The subordinate status of women in many cultures makes this cooperation highly improbable. To describe such methods to Third World couples as medically 'as reliable as artificial contraception,' a claim frequently made by natural family planning advocates in the Catholic Church, is to perpetrate a cruel hoax on couples seriously committed to controlling their fertility."

From World Development Forum,
3/18, October 15, 1985

'But you don't really think that any one of us would have continued using our cars if we had known that *this* would happen?!



Cartoon by Freimut Wössner
Vorwärts, August 3, 1985

Star peace?

The Soviet Union will respond with offensive and defensive counter-measures, including space-based defensive weapons, if the US strategic defence initiative – 'star wars' – goes ahead, says the chief of the general staff of the Soviet armed forces.

Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, writing in yesterday's edition of Pravda, said: 'If (SDI) is continued, nothing will remain for us but to adopt counter-measures in the field of both offensive and other armaments, not excluding defensive ones and including those based in outer space.'

From The Observer, October 20, 1985

We the peoples of the United Nations

We the peoples

Determined

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, **and to** reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, **and to** establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, **and to** promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, **and to** unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, **and to** ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, **and to** employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.