There is an alternative
The SI takes up the challenge
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The two- to three-yearly congress is the most significant event in the Socialist International’s calendar. Bringing together parties and people from all continents, it takes stock of past work and sets the agenda for future activities, adopts major policy statements, elects (and reelects) the officers of the SI. The seventeenth congress, held in Lima, Peru, on 20-23 June, was no different, and therefore dominates this issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

The Focus section is devoted to the main theme of the congress, “Peace and economic solidarity”, with contributions by Kalevi Sorsa and Michael Manley, and excerpts from the two major texts adopted by the Congress related to this theme. It also includes the Manifesto of Lima, the main resolution, and SI President Willy Brandt’s opening address, Pages 5-24.

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Willy Brandt

We cannot go our separate ways

There is hardly a state in the world economically strong enough to do without the conciliation of interests. That also applies to blocs and federations of states. The really important problems are of a character that transcends systems. The political system of a country and the form its economy and society take will certainly influence its ability to solve problems. But many tasks and many dangers dependent on commodities, environmental threats, the results of technological change have to be dealt with wherever industrialisation progresses. There will be a race between systems to see how problems can best be resolved. But there will be no more room for one region to pursue a path of its own without coming to an understanding with other parts of the world.

I am well aware that the thesis of one world, of the global nature of our problems and the interdependence of the world’s various regions is sometimes dismissed as a myth — in the West, in the East, in the developing countries too. I have examined the arguments with the utmost readiness to exercise self-criticism, and I cannot find my thesis dis-proved. Indeed, many of the objections raised strike me as being marked, rather, by a disinclination to overcome cherished notions, egotism, or simply the defensive pragmatism of the politics of the day.

Over the last few years, we have frequently heard it said that the economic situation of the leading industrial countries must improve before more can be done for the developing countries and for North-South cooperation. I have always regarded this as an excuse. For such an attitude fails to recognise the advantages that faster and better development of the Third World can mean for all concerned.

It would be presumptuous of me to examine those answers offered to my fellow men and women of widely differing cultures in response to the most profound of all questions. Or to whatever beliefs they hold concerning free will and what is allegedly unalterable. But without touching upon religious or ideological convictions too closely, I would say that not only should serious misgivings be voiced, a sharp protest must be raised if we — which generally means those who govern us — meet humanity’s questions about survival with a positive unwillingness to take responsibility.

Twenty-five years ago, most of us did not yet realise that we were in a unique position. In the whole history of humanity, its survival has never before been in question. For in no previous generation have men and women been able to annihilate the species as a whole, whether as the result of a war waged with nuclear weapons, or as the inevitable consequence of continued exploitation of the environment and its natural resources, or the strangulation of national economies as an alternative to investing in the future.
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 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 Council (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, committees and study groups have been established for work on Aid and Refugees, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, 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 twenty 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, IMF/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.

Members

- Fraternal organisations:
  - International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IMF/SEI
  - International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY
  - Socialist International Women

- Full member parties:
  - Australian Labor Party, ALP
  - Socialist Party of Austria, SPO
  - Barbados Labour Party
  - Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
  - Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
  - Progressive Party of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
  - New Democratic Party, NDP/NP, Canada
  - Radical Party of Chile, PR
  - National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica
  - Social Democratic Party, Denmark
  - Dominican Revolutionry Party, PDR
  - Dominican Republic
  - Social Democratic Party of Ecuador
  - National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador
  - Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
  - Socialist Party, PS, France
  - Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD

- Consultative parties:
  - People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Arab
  - Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia
  - Democratic Labour Party, PDS, Brazil
  - New Antilles Movement, MAN, Curacao/NA
  - EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
  - SV, Greenland
  - Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guinea
  - Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama
  - Peru, APRA
  - Puerto Rico, PIP
  - Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia, PLP
  - Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey
  - Social Democratic Populist Party, SLP, Turkey
  - People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

- Consultative parties in exile
  - Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party
  - Czechoslovak Socialist 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
  - Socialist Group, European Parliament
  - International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP
  - International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers, UISDT
  - Jewish Labour Bund, JLB
  - Labour Sports International, LUSCIS
  - Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCSEE
  - World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM

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Political Officers: General Secretary: Pentti Viitala; Assistant General Secretary: Luis Ayala

- Secretary General: Pentti Viitala
- Assistant General Secretary: Luis Ayala
Facing the challenges ahead

On 20-23 June the Socialist International held its seventeenth congress in Lima with the theme of 'Peace and economic solidarity' at the centre of the stage. This issue of Focus carries edited versions of the contributions by Willy Brandt, Kalevi Sorsa and Michael Manley, and thus provides a stimulating insight into the debate which took place in Lima.

The struggle for disarmament and the struggle for development cannot be separated, since peace and economic security are inextricably linked: each requires and depends on the other. Thus, Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister, sets disarmament and security initiatives within a much wider context than the highly technical negotiations surrounding arms-control agreements. 'In the long run, only a comprehensive strategy involving equitable socio-economic development, democratic and participatory reform, and the promotion of political, economic, social and cultural rights' would guarantee the solution of conflicts. Such is the nature of the dual challenge facing democratic socialists.

Discussions round the theme of 'one world', however, were not exclusively limited to the need for a new international order based on peace and economic cooperation. The last section of the Manifesto of Lima emphasises and dwells at length on the need for the transformation of the Socialist International 'from a male-centred organisation into an integrated one, giving justice to women all over the world'. That too is a major challenge.

And in facing up to the new challenges, many at the Lima Congress evoked the memory of Olof Palme, the late leader of the Swedish Social Democrats. Anita Gradin, head of the Swedish delegation, spoke for many when she said that 'Olof Palme was a man who had the courage to be in the forefront of many international battles; his work for peace and security, for freedom and justice, inspired many of us.'
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first of all I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the President of the Republic and to our APRA friends who made it possible for this congress to be held here in Lima. We are all glad to be here and we appreciate the warm welcome extended to us.

My second word is a cordial welcome to all delegates, many of whom had to come a long way for this meeting. I also welcome the numerous observers and guests from all parts of the world who are with us at this congress of the Socialist International.

I am sure that I speak in everybody's name when I say: we are also glad to be here because it gives us the opportunity to demonstrate our solidarity with the forces of progress and social democracy in Latin America.

On this occasion our special sympathy goes to the people of Peru and to its President, Alan Garcia.

We are aware of your difficulties, many of which are not of domestic origin. But you should know that you have friends all over the world. They will not let you down. We are on your side in your struggle against civil strife and misery, for social betterment and economic progress.

Evil forces are threatening in many parts. They took the life of Olof Palme, our beloved brother. But we must understand that there are situations in which defending oneself cannot be restricted to words. And there is no doubt in my mind that constructive ideas – and resolute deeds – are the only valid instrument to defeat destructive illusions.

During these days the forum of the Socialist International stands ready once more to sharpen our thinking and to concentrate on our forces:

- forces which intend to stop the insanity of the arms race in order to make world peace safer and to divert resources into more productive uses;

- forces which want to reopen the stalled dialogue between North and South and to help solve that crippling debt crisis with its particularly severe impact on Latin American countries;

- forces which recognise how much will depend on raising public awareness of those global issues stemming from the accelerating destruction of our natural environment – in addition to the global economic problems that are out of control;

- and not least, forces which intend to continue and to strengthen the struggle for individual and collective human rights; the struggle with which our movement has been closely associated from its early beginnings, an association that will remain unbreakable.

Democratic socialism without human rights would be like christendom without Jesus.

I note with great satisfaction that there are more women at this congress than we had become used to seeing at similar occasions in the past. But today, who would want to argue that the realisation of human rights includes equality of women and men in practice and not just in a formal sense? Without doubt it is part of the road from a predominantly male society to one that is truly human; in our sphere of influence we must make sure that there is full and equal participation of women at all levels of political responsibility.

In that sense we should not only pay attention to what our Socialist International Women discussed and resolved these last few days; we should analyse it and we should be ready to carry it on.

This congress in Latin America sets a landmark and a signal in the development of our international community. Meeting in Peru also means that the Socialist International is coming together in the country and on the soil of the unforgotten Haya de la Torre and at the source of ‘indo-americanism’. This is not a matter of course, and much less is it without meaning.

I recall what Haya de la Torre told us ten years ago at the conference in Caracas. He quoted Goethe, the great German poet, who has Mephisto saying that theories are rather bland while only life itself shows all the colours. What else should have been the meaning of that reference if not a reminder of the fact that all truths of life are real. Thus we should also be aware of the roots from which democratic socialism grew in Europe, and not only there. And where the points of contact can be found with regard to the indigenous forces in this part of the world, in Latin America including the Caribbean. And also what you in the Americas and we in Europe have in common with similar movements, with intellectual-political thinking in Africa and in the Middle East, in the vast continent of Asia, in the Pacific.

In its different forms of organisation the Socialist International looks back on a history of 120 years. Nevertheless we are only just at the beginning of what our predecessors had seen as their task. As a movement of ideas and as a possibility of coordination grounded on principles the period of development is still before us – if the human race actually survives, that is. But then it is the effort to assure survival which is at the centre of what we are striving for.

The Socialist International is neither a superpower nor a super-party. But it encompasses more than five dozen parties and to all, two dozen of which are in government, others in the role of strong oppositions. To us belong twelve friendly and associated international organisations; and good working
relations exist between us and numerous political organisations, especially in third-world countries.

Back in 1864, among the aims of that small European club founded in London under the name of 'International Workers Association' was the struggle for a dignified life for the working people. The struggle for peace – against colonialism, warmongering and the arms race – filled the renewed International of 1889 with life. The colouring we give to both in our present International, a club that has grown much larger and truly international, is different as the world has changed. Still, at the heart of the matter the task remains unchanged; the aim still is the welfare of the working people (and those excluded from work), their liberation from degradation and exploitation. At the centre still is the nations' right to self-determination, opposition against arrogant imperialism which uses people like pawns in a game of chess; where they are not masters of their own destiny but objects of paternalism and of outside forces.

The tradition of the International as a human liberation movement can be an inspiration; in any case, it need not make us feel ashamed. The memories of a strong tradition and of undisputed achievements can help us hold on to our guiding principles in a world that is becoming ever more complicated.

I think we might succeed in agreeing on a renewed declaration of principles, perhaps by the time of our next congress in three years. It has been some thirty-five years since the aims and objectives of democratic socialism were formulated in the Frankfurt declaration. Preparatory work for what is to replace that declaration has made good progress in small working groups. My feeling is that we might now need a wider discussion. If the programme of the Socialist International is to gain real importance it has to become a matter of serious concern for all the member parties. The Lima Declaration which this Congress will be invited to adopt is an important step in the right direction.

Perhaps you will permit me to refer to recent experience in my own party. A commission which I chaired just completed its deliberations on a draft programme which is to amend, and lead on from, our programme adopted back in 1959, the so-called Godesberg Programme. We had no problem reconfirming our basic orientations. It was more difficult, however, to deal with a number of new topics that have arisen since the 1960s:

- the full implementation of equal rights between men and women, and the future of working under conditions of increasing automation;
- claims on hyper-modern technology that assure its human appropriateness – very much in the forefront after the Chernobyl event;
- the requirements of co-determination (Mitbestimmung) and democratisation of work;
- criteria for economic growth of a kind that is acceptable in terms of its ecological and social effects; and, not least
- the meaning of combining the state of law and the welfare state, merging both into what in German one might call 'Kulturstaat', i.e. a culture-oriented society.

For our international orientation, too, we could not just repeat our earlier statements. With common survival of the human race now being at stake the question of how to organise peace must be reconsidered. The need for fundamental reforms of the world economy has become more obvious. The same holds with regard to a whole group of international organisations. It is at least as important for various forms of regional cooperation and even integration.

Unfortunately, multilateralism in general has suffered some severe blows recently. The United Nations Organisation itself is in financial trouble. The UN secretary general has asked me to assist in overcoming the existing misconception of the role of the UN. It seems ironic indeed, if not ridiculous, that financial issues of relatively minor importance are hampering the work of the UN at a time when in many conflict situations it is playing a more important role than ever before. The world really should know that the UN budget is just about the size of that of the New York City fire department.

'... internationalisation of the International' is not only possible but continues to be necessary. And what moving force, what promise it can hold.

Within the Socialist International we need to bring together the insights of democratic socialists in industrial countries and of those in countries whose development continues to be hampered – not just by outside forces. Such a combination of insights will produce additional arguments justifying why what some of us have called the 'internationalisation of the International' is not only possible but continues to be necessary. And what moving force, what promise it can hold.

The Socialist International as a global force of peace and social progress, of conservation of and care for the natural and social bases of life – this is the continuation of a tradition which keeps the flame burning instead of guarding the ashes. This could indeed inspire our future work.

Our way from the Geneva Congress in 1976 has now brought us to Lima: there were impressive stops along this road. Let me mention our congresses in Vancouver, Madrid and Albufeira; our meetings in Dakar, Tokyo, Arusha and Gaborne. And some stops which have made Latin America such an important pillar of our organisation: Caracas and Mexico in 1976, Lisbon in 1978, Santo Domingo in 1980, Rio de Janeiro in 1984.

When I said that we are only just at the beginning of what we have set ourselves as our task I also meant that our international community as an organisation needs to adjust itself to new requirements. As an idea social democracy and...
democratic socialism were always more advanced in the international sphere than as an organisation. This being a fact, it should not prevent us from attempting some improvements.

Clarifying issues, coordinating initiatives and strengthening organisational structures are all needed if we want to give a somewhat satisfactory response to the challenges we have to expect. Some proposals in front of this congress I consider useful in this respect.

At this point I should like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the honorary presidents and the vice-presidents and to our general secretary and his colleagues, but also to those carrying respective responsibilities in our member and consultative parties, as well as in a number of friendly organisations.

The need for programmatic actions and for political and organisational efforts also results from the challenge of the neo-conservative offensive with which we have been confronted for some years and in a considerable number of countries. And as to the masterpieces which were deployed with weapons arms, that offensive goes against the concept of the welfare state and the very ideas of international social democracy. We will only be able to resist it if we do not give up the vision and the historic achievements of the welfare state, and if we do not limit ourselves to merely defending achievements of the past.

The great deception of the neo-conservative offensive lies in the complete lack of moderation with which a majority is being deceived by promises of what only a minority will ever get. But this is a serious weakness of that offensive, and it is there that we must apply the lever.

For this is the truth: we social democrats and democratic socialists, we stand for the expansion of individual freedoms of which some others only love to talk. We are the ones who recognise each individual's right to a dignified life and to personal happiness. What else is it that history shows? The history of the labour movement, of liberation movements, of democratic socialism? But history also reminds us that social decline and degradation of a majority was too high a price for the good life of minority elites.

History has demonstrated the creative talents of large groups of society and that these must be released if progress is to have its chance. History tells us that widening personal freedoms remains just a slogan as long as only a minority enjoys the benefits; and when the so-called free play of capitalism produces a rather skewed distribution of opportunities in favour of that minority.

Contrary to what the neo-conservative philosophy of the right is meant to claim, the democratic social or welfare state is not a brake on the wheel of progress but rather provides the wheel on which progress rides.

Let me put it this way: we must create a situation in which a majority understands us when we say that we want a future based more on cooperation than excessive competition. We expect nothing from competitive greed as the basic philosophy of capitalism produces a rather skewed distribution of opportunities in favour of that minority.

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It has always been our principle that peace – domestically and internationally – must be secured through freedom and justice.

Now, nobody would argue that in these last few years the world had become a safer place or that it had gained in hope – quite the contrary. For many years there have been talks about disarmament. In reality, we have seen ever more turns of the arms spiral. If this cannot be stopped there is but little hope for the future of the human race.

The fates of our globe may well depend on whether a new mode of coexistence can be achieved between the two nuclear superpowers, something of which recently one could have had the impression that it might actually be possible. Right now not much of the ‘spirit of Geneva’ seems to have survived. We must address all states with a certain military potential of their own: everyone by now should understand how foolish it would be if they did not listen to what the respective other side has to say. And this also means: all serious proposals must be taken seriously, must be appreciated and anlayed even if they happen to originate in Moscow.

Testing all relevant proposals for arms limitation to me is much more important than tests of ever more advanced weapon systems.

Everybody knows about the fundamental differences between democratic socialism and authoritarian communism. Yet we also know of the overriding obligation towards preserving peace which takes priority over opposing ideologies.

Above all we need a new way of thinking, in conformity with the rules of the atomic age. It is necessary for both superpowers – and all of us together with them – to accept the fact that for all of us and even for them there is no alternative to common security.

Last October at a special conference in Vienna we summarised and tried to project our own thinking on security and disarmament policy. At that meeting both superpowers as well as the People’s Republic of China, India – on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement – Yugoslavia and the United Nations were represented. We will have to reinforce and broaden our appeal:

- that a test ban – and in fact a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty – would make sense and therefore should be agreed; the Five-Continent summit to take place this summer could be of considerable importance in this connection;
- that new and serious talks are needed about the withdrawal on both sides of missiles which were deployed without any real need; that talks must be held about the limitation of troops and nuclear as well as conventional arms; and
- that we really do not need any new round of developing binary chemical means of mass destruction.

And we need bread for the hungry rather than weapons in space.
I already pointed to the fact that the state of the world economy continues to be a matter of considerable concern. Some objective conditions improved to a certain extent but mass unemployment and underemployment continue to exist even in the so-called North. For the so-called South a solution to the debt crisis is not in sight, and the danger of new trade wars is very real indeed.

We are all very pleased with the important progress of democratisation in Latin America. We were able to make a small contribution, and we will certainly not remain silent until Chile and Paraguay are free from dictatorship. And until Central America, free from military interventions, is allowed to seek its own way.

It deserves to be recognised that the United States did help to promote democratisation in a number of Latin American countries – as well as to end the Marcos regime in the Philippines. But one should also see the links between debt and democracy, between development and peace, and one should draw appropriate conclusions.

On several occasions during the past few years we had to concentrate on the crisis in Central America. That was not our choice. Our partners in Central America but also some in Washington informed us of their views of this problem, and I am very much aware of the fact that from a third-world point of view North-South takes on a dimension considerably different from that of many European observers. Nevertheless, I think we agree when I say that revanchism always turned out to be detrimental. And international law of course must be observed by all; it is not only binding for small states but even for the biggest. It is not some kind of two-class law.

Incidentally, I believe the areas of our activity in the coming years are pretty much predetermined; they are reflected in the agenda of this congress. Partly they are determined by problems in old and new crisis regions. Thus, repeatedly even if without real success we tried to assist in overcoming the conflicts in the Middle East. Without overextending ourselves it should be evident and there should be no doubt that our good offices will be available when they might be of use.

Not least this holds for Africa. I believe our African friends present here in Lima realise that in recent years our International has made great efforts – for us nevertheless as a matter of course – to support their justified aims. With our meetings in Arusha and Gaborone we sent out signals: above all we support the struggle against apartheid. And in my view the new report by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa is of considerable importance in this connection.

I myself visited South Africa in April, and I was rather depressed when I left. The picture I saw was much bleaker than I had anticipated from earlier descriptions. What is at stake in South Africa – and this has been demonstrated during the last few days – is more than just a verbal reaction to a pre-revolutionary situation. Really at stake is the fate of a large number of people who are threatened with being crushed. We cannot remain silent on this situation. We will have to prove our solidarity by action.

We have been in the forefront against terrorism and for the implementation of human rights everywhere. We remain adamant – not just where certain conservatives prefer to raise these issues. For us this is a matter of concern in Chile and in Cambodia; in the Middle East and in South Africa; in the case of illegal intervention and of misdeeds in the name of state security.

The struggle for human dignity and human rights, against hunger and poverty, is a task that must continue to determine our day-to-day activities. And nothing can be more important than the fate of endangered people and how best they could find relief.

That was the principle followed by Olof Palme whom we miss so much:
- time and again he told us and others that apartheid could not be reformed, that it could only be abolished;
- he was concerned about the crisis in the Middle East, and on behalf of the United Nations he tried to find a solution to the Gulf war;
- two years ago at our meeting in Denmark he told us that whoever had a kind heart could not let down an anti-Somoza Nicaragua;
- the Commission that carries his name established new standards in the moral-oriented as well as pragmatic fight for disarmament; and
- his very last signature he put to a document of the five-continent-initiative.

All this – in addition to his great contribution to achievements in his home country – had been inspired and informed by the strong tradition of Scandinavian social democracy.

I really cannot see any reasonable alternative: I see no alternative to peace and development. I see no alternative to human rights and solidarity – there is no other hope. And we will not get anything for free. We must make even bigger efforts.

Our fate cannot be left to the superpowers

At Lima, KALEVI SORSA, the Finnish prime minister and chair of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, introduced the SI's new report on disarmament and arms control.

The determined effort of the Socialist International to work for disarmament spans a period of some eight years. It was in April 1978 that the first Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Helsinki.

Subsequently, a Study Group on Disarmament - later to become the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC - started its work. A disarmament report was adopted by the Socialist International Congress in Madrid in November 1980.

SIDAC has now completed a new disarmament report. It is not just an updated edition of the previous report but an effort to take a fresh look at issues of current interest. For instance, there is not much in the 1980 report on the need to prevent a militarisation of outer space. Much to our regret, this question is now one of the primary tasks on our agenda.

We have not limited our report to questions of strategic nuclear disarmament and preventing an arms race affecting outer space, but have also dealt with regional disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, with the peaceful resolution of conflicts, with disarmament and development, I hope that our report will be of help as a basis for the disarmament and peace activities of the Socialist International during the next years.

In preparing its report, SIDAC has again been in contact with the parties concerned. We were well received last year both in Moscow and Washington and we had extensive and informative talks on a high political and expert level. The Second Socialist International Conference on Disarmament last October in Vienna was an occasion not only for discussions among democratic socialists but also for a dialogue between us and the great powers, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations. We have also been in contact several times with the two great powers during recent months.

In 1984, we felt in SIDAC that an intensification of our efforts was called for. Arms control was at a standstill. The verbal aggressiveness of the superpowers found sharper and sharper expressions. Someone must act, we thought.

During the ensuing period, the Socialist International has pressed for change, in Bommersvik in June 1985, in Vienna, in SIDAC's contacts with the superpowers. We told them that they should act now, encouraged them to meet at the highest political level, and listed a number of issues which in our opinion should be solved first, such as the preservation of the SALT agreements and the ABM Treaty and the halting of all nuclear-weapon tests.

We were, of course, not alone in putting forward these demands. In particular, the activities of the Palme Commission and of the six heads of state and government cooperating in the Five Continents' Peace Initiative are telling examples of what responsible political leadership, listening to the voices of humanity and world public opinion, can do to work for change. I feel deep sorrow over the fact that Olof...
Palme was not allowed to see all his ideals and ideas come true. But we can assure you, Olof, that we will continue the struggle and that one day the global fetters posed by the arms race will be broken. We must regain our right to life and survival, to develop our societies freely, and to live our lives in peace, freedom and solidarity.

The prospects are far from assuring. Yes, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States met last November. yes, they have both declared their readiness to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. Yes, there are talks going on in Geneva and elsewhere. But the two main actors still seem to speak beside each other and be unable to start a real give-and-take process. In fact, even past achievements such as the SALT ceilings and the ABM Treaty may now be in jeopardy. There are as yet no clear signs of a halt and then final prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Such a halt would be a good sign to the world that both parties are serious about arms control. SIDAC appeals to the United States to join in a halt on nuclear tests and to resume negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The present debate going on in the United States on the fate of the SALT ceilings prompts the following comment: if that question is to be made the main issue surrounding a possible new summit meeting, world public opinion will not be satisfied. Disregarding the SALT limits would, of course, be a dangerous step but we cannot content ourselves with the preservation of these ceilings that are far too high. The will for real disarmament that has been declared must now be put into practice.

It is noteworthy that both parties have established common ground in certain areas when it comes to declarations of objectives and principles. I am thinking not only of their commitment to reducing and finally eliminating nuclear weapons, but also of the possibilities of conventional reductions in Europe. Recent developments have shown that there is, in principle at least, a basis for making progress in this field, including the crucial question of the verification of force reductions. Here again it is now a matter of turning these words into deeds. We would all be completely disillusioned if it turned out that no real progress is made, despite the verbal commitments.

The report prepared by SIDAC testifies to a belief in systematic and determined action for arms control and disarmament. Comrades, there is no need for me to explain to this audience why it is crucial to have results now, with so many important decisions affecting our imminent future, and with all these global issues such as the debt problem demanding resources and peaceful cooperation.

It appears to become more and more evident that the era of a working relationship between the superpowers as the dominant force in arms control and disarmament is over, or at least in deep long-lasting crisis. We have entered a new, more complicated, multilateral world. In this period of uncertainty, it is more important than ever that the fate of all of us is not left to the major military powers alone. We must strengthen the mass movement for disarmament 'from beneath'. The member parties of the Socialist International, among others, must do more to help correcting the present situation. And let us pledge ourselves to be as vigilant in government as in opposition.

Regional and local solutions and even unilateral measures must be pursued as a complement to the global negotiations. Here in Latin America, one is reminded of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the need for nuclear-weapon-free zones in general. The initiatives of our host country to restrict the transfer of arms and conventional armaments in the region also deserve our full support. These examples should be followed in other regions, as has been done in the South Pacific by the recent establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that area.

Regional arms control is important not only for the sake of disarmament as such, but also because it would release expenditures badly needed for economic and social development. The solution of conflicts, whether international or internal, can only be successful in the long run if there is a comprehensive strategy involving, as SIDAC notes in its new report, equitable socioeconomic development, democratic, participatory reform and the promotion of human rights, both civil and political and economic, social and cultural rights.

In our report we also noted that the arms race has become more and more influenced by tactical political considerations rather than prudent needs of national security. This, of course, is a regrettable trend. It indicates, on the other hand, that regional solutions, unilateral steps and other similar measures may be of considerable value because they – even when their strictly military value is limited – have a political impact. Bad policies must be replaced by good policies. The argument that regional measures may be detrimental because they might foster alternative armaments in other areas is in my view utterly unconvincing. We have listened to this argument over the years but, comrades, where are the results of the global negotiations? In what way has refraining from regional solutions improved the global scene?

I firmly believe it has not, and I feel that we must draw the necessary conclusions. Not only regional and local solutions are called for, but we must strengthen indigenous and independent approaches in general. For instance, the non-nuclear-weapon states of Europe should come together and put up a common front against the nuclear arms buildup.

The Socialist International has made a serious and sustained effort for disarmament and we will continue to do so. We have made our own analyses and put forward our own demands. We challenge the other political forces to do the same. In the arms race there are only losers, in the survival race there are only winners.
Conclusions and recommendations of the SIDAC report

In the view of the Socialist International, the above-mentioned perspectives and goals require that the following measures be taken in order to further strategic disarmament:
- All arms control and disarmament agreements in force must be scrupulously upheld by all parties concerned.
- The limits set by the SALT I and II agreements should also continue to be respected by both parties.
- The US government should reciprocate the Soviet moratorium on nuclear-weapons tests.
- The negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) must be immediately resumed, as required by the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty. A verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and it should apply to all nuclear-weapons powers.
- A process for the reduction of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems should be pursued vigorously with the aim of eliminating nuclear arms. It should be initiated by reducing by 50 percent the number of strategic nuclear warheads and corresponding restrictions on launchers and on missile-testing.
- To allow the reduction of offensive arms, the development and deployment of anti-missile systems and an arms race affecting outer space must be prevented.
- The Soviet Union and the United States must reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty. Negotiations should be pursued to establish unambiguous limits to research and to ban the fixed ground-based ABM systems allowed under the Treaty.
- Negotiations should also be pursued to ban the testing, deployment and use of anti-satellite systems and all other space weapons. Outer space must be preserved for peaceful purposes and international, regional and bilateral cooperation in this field strengthened. The technological challenges posed by anti-missile and anti-satellite programmes should be met by such cooperation.
- Within the framework of the United Nations or in a regional context, international arrangements for the verification of arms control and disarmament agreements by satellite or otherwise should be initiated.
- A global ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons should be concluded without further delay within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament.
- In order to further the early conclusion of a global ban on chemical weapons, states which possess such weapons should strictly abide by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in war and should refrain from the production and deployment of new types of chemical weapons, in particular binary weapons. Governments should dismantle special units trained for chemical warfare.
- In order to reduce the risk of nuclear war, a series of confidence- and security-building measures should be initiated, including disengaging and reducing tactical nuclear and conventional forces and devising mechanisms for the prevention of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war.
- The principles of non-use of nuclear weapons and of non-use of force should be strengthened by appropriate treaty arrangements and by security stability, on as low a level as possible, of nuclear and conventional forces. The main military alliances should conclude an agreement on the renunciation of force, including the use of nuclear and conventional weapons. This agreement should encompass the obligation to withdraw those nuclear weapons which are designed to have the capability of implementing the concept of first use.
- In the view of the Socialist International the present situation calls for the following measures of relevance for regional nuclear and chemical disarmament,
- The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be strengthened by both the nuclear-weapon powers and the non-nuclear-weapon states. All states should adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty while the nuclear-weapon powers must pave the way for non-proliferation by promptly initiating real nuclear disarmament, including the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.
- The negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty should be pursued to establish unambiguous limits to research and deployment of anti-missile and anti-satellite systems and to prevent the testing, production and deployment of new types of space weapons. Outer space must be preserved for peaceful purposes and international, regional and bilateral cooperation in this field strengthened. The technological challenges posed by anti-missile and anti-satellite programmes should be met by such cooperation.
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frontier of blocs and being based on the notions of common detente and security. 
- A conference of the European non-nuclear-weapon states should be convened. This would provide a forum for a common non-nuclear-weapon perspective to European security and could promote a broad dialogue with the nuclear-weapon powers.

To further conventional disarmament, and the peaceful settlement of disputes as well as economic and social development, the Socialist International recommends the following measures, in particular:
- In the Stockholm Conference, the first agreements, to be concluded well in advance of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in October 1986, should include, in addition to the first-generation CBMs on notification and observation of military activities, significant measures on constraints and the strengthening of the principle of non-use of force. After the Vienna meeting, the process should focus upon measures of European arms control and disarmament.
- In the Vienna talks a reduction of manpower in Central Europe should be promptly concluded and further negotiations on the reduction of forces initiated, taking into account also the possibility of making headway through unilateral action and informal bargaining. A first agreement should not be limited to symbolic reductions and to the freezing of existing forces, but the original aim of reducing the level of forces down to the previously agreed number of 900,000 soldiers on both sides and including a reduction of conventional armaments should be maintained.
- Confidence- and security-building measures should be created for other regions too, such as Central America, the Middle East and Southwest and Southeast Asia. The European experience can be of help but the initiative must come from the countries concerned.
- Restrictions on arms transfers should be brought back to the agenda of international arms control. The suppliers and the recipients should agree upon the limitation, reduction and control of such transfers. These measures are of particular importance in sensitive areas and with regard to weapons that are by their nature indiscriminate or destabilising.
- Recipient countries should cooperate within a regional framework to promote the limitation of arms transfers to the region. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru, put forward to other South American states, to restrict jointly the influx of weapons to the region.
- All states that have not done so should, without reservations, ratify or accede to the 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the protection of victims of war and to the 1980 UN Convention on Prohibition or Restriction on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons. The possibilities of strengthening international scrutiny of the application of humanitarian agreements should be actively promoted by governments and international organisations. The right of international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out their humanitarian functions even in internal conflicts must be respected.
- The peace-building and peace-keeping role of the United Nations must be strengthened, eg. by lending support to the efforts of the secretary-general, in cooperation with the Security Council, to foster the UN system of collective security as defined by the Charter. The Security Council should use its powers more actively in the case of threats to peace, breaches of peace or acts of aggression. The possibilities of the UN machinery to resort to fact-finding, conciliation and other measures of conflicts settlement should be improved.

- Equally important is the strengthening of regional institutions in the settlement of conflicts. The peace-keeping role of regional organisations could, for instance, be developed in cooperation with the United Nations. Neutral and non-aligned countries as well as transregional fora and bodies could also make a significant contribution. In the European CSCE context the possibilities of designing new mechanisms for the settlement of disputes among the CSCE countries should be further explored.
- In order to give concrete substance to the idea of promoting development through disarmament, an international institution should be established. The Socialist International welcomes the French proposal to create an international disarmament for development fund. A preference of allocations from such a fund should be established, such as the favouring of the least developed countries, the heavily indebted countries and countries hit by regional conflicts and refugee problems.
Developing common economic approaches

At Lima, MICHAEL MANLEY, the former Jamaican prime minister and chair of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, introduced the SI's action programme on the world economy, based on the conclusions of the Global Challenge report.

It was a tragedy of history that the work of the Brandt Commission fell foul of the historical forces dominating electoral politics at the end of the 1970s. However, this was a temporary reversal: as the 1980s unfold it is becoming clear that the essential vision of Willy Brandt will survive and that that of Reagan and Thatcher will perish.

After the Cancun conference which effectively halted the vision of the Brandt Commission, there were efforts in 1981 to find new ways to restart the North-South dialogue. Indeed, there was a conference in Kingston, the very pertinent initiative of Bruno Kreisky in Europe in 1982, looking at problems of European recovery, and so we came to Albufeira in 1983, which established the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy. Beginning its work in 1983, the Committee produced Global Challenge two years later. Global Challenge is the title given to the formal summary of two years of work examining these economic problems.

Global Challenge was not only based on the primary analysis of the Brandt Commission but also tried to extend it further by aiming to set ideas for cooperation in political motion. In 1985 the Bureau of the SI formally adopted Global Challenge in Bommersvik. The report has been translated into Spanish and Portuguese, and efforts are being made to translate it into other major languages. With a view to pressing political parties to commit themselves to put its recommendations into action, the Bureau also instructed the committee to extract a tight, precise action programme from Global Challenge.

Given that the problem of debt is a stumbling block and the most difficult single item in the international economic agenda, it was also decided at Bommersvik that a special task force be set up to take the broad ideas that were emerging in the movement about the handling of debt, and to give them a more precise elaboration.

There can be no doubt that Global Challenge is of genuine historic significance. For the first time the Socialist International has agreed on questions of economic policy and now proposes that we jointly commit ourselves to an action programme based on these policies. It is historic because it could open new avenues for international action and cooper-
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Global Challenge contains ten central aspects that are crucial to an intellectual and analytical understanding of it:
- Firstly, Global Challenge threw down a direct challenge to monetarism as an idea and deflation as a strategy.
- Secondly, it proposes a plan for joint recovery in the North and development in the South.
- Thirdly, it identifies three elements in such a plan: the recovery of spending in the North; the restructuring of the world economy, particularly in relation to the management of trade and finance; and also the redistribution of wealth towards poorer countries and peoples in the world.
- Fourthly, it rejects the idea that all change must await international consensus. Experience has shown that, while we remain absolutely committed to multilateralism, consensus can become the graveyard for hopes for change. Central to the strategic thinking of Global Challenge, then, is the idea that while we await firmer multilateral support, like-minded governments in North and South can already begin to cooperate in a common plan of action within their means.
- Fifthly, it asserts that general recovery will curtail and control inflation because greater production for larger trade will reduce unit costs of production. This is of central importance to the type of debate in which we will have to engage if these programmes are to move forward politically.
- Sixthly, it rejects the 'trickle-down' theory and the false dichotomy between social and economic development and repudiates the sacrifice of human values, the sacrifice of medical care, of education, of care for the aged on the altar of monetarism.
- Seventhly, it recognises that debt is the result of an economic system that is unjust and is now becoming unworkable, and that debt has become the biggest single obstacle to recovery and development and as such requires a global solution.
- Eighthly, it calculates that an annual increase in spending of $100 billions in the North, for example, could create millions of jobs and, within a period of ten years, could lead to a 5 percent annual growth in third-world exports as well as lay the foundation for an estimated 50 to 66 percent growth in the third-world GDP.
- Ninthly, it reminds us that this additional spending of $100

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billions a year must be seen alongside the fact that at present the world is spending $1,000 billions a year on arms of death, regardless of all other considerations. We believe that the transferal of one tenth of the expenditure on death to expenditure on life could move the whole world forward in a new and positive direction. Disarmament is linked to economic recovery and disarmament and development must play their part in the building of justice and democracy in the world.

Jorge Sol once beguiled us with a comment on what is taking place in the world of international finance by saying that the world is currently playing an elaborate game of 'charades'. When there is a financial crisis, the country 'pretends' that it can meet a programme it has worked out with the IMF: the IMF 'pretends' that the country can meet the programme; the commercial banks, on whose behalf the IMF acts as a gendarme, 'pretends' that all this is going to work; and more importantly still, President Reagan 'pretends' it will work, so that he will not have to face a global solution to the problem. So we are all taking part in this elaborate game.

More often than not, we find that we can predict almost to the month when the next defaults are going to take place. Simultaneously, we watch how the democratic process and social progress are slowly undermined. We are grinding on the road downwards when we should be struggling to move upwards.

I say to my third-world friends, particularly my Latin American colleagues, that we are failing in our duty before history, when those of us who are debtors each try to pursue our own individual salvation in our private deals with the International Monetary Fund. It was Lord Keynes who reminded us, more than fifty years ago, that if you owe a man £100 you are in trouble; but if you owe him £1,000,000, he is in trouble. Nobody is calling for unilateral default or irresponsible actions; what we are saying is that a common position would give the debt-ridden countries the power to force the world to deal with us all together and to demand a summit that would free us from the chains of this problem.

There can be no question that there is a vital need for an international conference on debt. Four principles are central to dealing with the problem:

- Firstly, the debts of the least developed countries, particularly the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, should be cancelled or converted into grants.
- Secondly, there should be a massive rescheduling of the remainder of the debt, involving thirty year terms and periods of moratorium, as well as a ceiling on interest rates.
- Thirdly, if the economies of the Third World are to get their breath back, there must be some form of relationship between debt servicing on the one hand, and export earnings on the other. The economies of the Third World need the oxygen of foreign exchange in their systems to be able to buy manufactured goods from the First World. Our proposal is for debt repayments of not more than 20 percent of export earnings in any one year. In this regard, Peru is the first country to be putting into practice the theories that we have been talking about for nearly two years and deserves our absolute support and cooperation.
- Fourthly, there is the proposal to raise special drawing rights to a total of $150 billions by annual increases of $30 billions over the next five years.
- Fifthly, an international debt organisation should be created.

By realising these ideas, we can start a whole new forward march to social democracy in the First World, the Third World, and, indeed, all of the world.

Commitment to action

Part 3 of the Action Programme on world economic recovery

We are and remain committed to the multilateral solutions to global problems recommended in the two reports of the Brandt Commission. This is the most genuinely global response to the crisis in world development. Recent economic developments have made the implementation of these recommendations even more necessary.

However, pending such a multilateral resolution of the global crisis, we commit ourselves to working jointly and with like-minded countries to prototype and pioneer the new model of development outlined in this Action Programme. In particular:

SI parties in general

undertake to:

(a) promote among member parties awareness of and commitment to the analysis and recommendations which form the basis of the 'Global Challenge' report and, specifically, the proposals of the action programme;
(b) ensure that reference to the Action Programme is contained in election manifestos and forms a basis for election campaigning;
(c) create public support for the action programme and the positive view of the world and its possibilities upon which it is based; this will be pursued within institutions, national and multilateral, with the press, and among the members of the public;
(d) organise conferences, seminars, workshops and other forms of discussion to promote the Action Programme and the 'Global Challenge' report.

SI parties holding office

undertake to:

(a) initiate joint action to implement this programme;
(b) strengthen the multilateral system and its various institutions and particularly those of the UN;
(c) initiate proposals within multilateral and regional institutions, such as the IMF, World Bank, regional development banks, OECD, the European Community and UN agencies, aimed at the implementation of the reforms proposed in this programme;
(d) take action in cooperation with other like-minded governments, even where there is not yet international consensus on a particular point of the Action Programme, or in the face of opposition to multilateral action.

SI parties holding office in the developing world

undertake to work to establish, along with other like-minded governments, a Third World secretariat to facilitate the planning of South-South cooperation projects.
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The Manifesto of Lima

We reprint in full the text of the main resolution adopted on 23 June by the Seventeenth SI Congress.

(1) This Lima Congress of the Socialist International commits itself to the struggle for peace, world economic development and the protection of the environment. These goals demand increased cooperation between the nations, not short-sighted selfishness and cynicism. The paradox of our time is that the peoples of the earth are more interdependent than ever before, yet there has not been an effective multinational response to this unprecedented reality. The post-war system is inadequate. It must be adjusted to cope with new realities.

(2) There will be far-reaching political, economic and social developments in the remaining years of the 1980s, and they will be truly global in their impact because of the unprecedented interdependence of the world economy in recent years.

(3) It is, then, particularly important that this historic first Congress of the Socialist International in Latin America should address these issues in Lima. President Alan Garcia has pointed the way not simply to a future which will benefit Peru but toward a common solution to the common crisis of the world economy of the eighties. President Garcia, and his party, the Peruvian Aprista Party, are the heirs of a vision of a continental struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of all Latin America first articulated by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. These are particularly fitting auspices for a new socialist manifesto whose essential focus is the global perspective of late twentieth and twenty-first century socialism.

(4) For the great new reality of these times is the unprecedented internationalisation of the human condition. That is the decisive military, economic, social and political fact which requires a creative restatement of the basic principles of democratic socialism. The socialist movement has always been internationalist in theory, but these conditions demand of us more of a practical commitment to that internationalism than ever before.

(5) We take the relationship between North and South as a dramatic example of the new interdependence of the globe in every sphere of life. Practical politicians have learned in the 1980s that even the debts of the poor nations are a threat to the wealth of the rich nations. Hunger and underdevelopment have always been a moral outrage, but they are now elements in a common crisis, the result of a wrenching economic unification of the world which has far outstripped our political, social, and national institutions. A common solution is our only hope.

(6) This is particularly true since the assumption that the world has entered upon a new era of steady growth based on national and international anti-egalitarianism is in for a rude shock. And one of the key reasons is precisely that the austerity imposed upon the Third World in the eighties is a threat to the rich of this planet as well as a scourge for its poor. This raises the danger that unemployed producers will face hungry consumers, and threatened creditors will confront impoverished debtors.

(7) Many of the most threatening environmental and developmental problems today are caused, to a considerable extent, by the widespread poverty and the inequitable distribution of resources within individual nations and among nations and regions.

(8) Meanwhile, unless there is a drastic reversal of present trends, the arms race will become even more ominous as new weapons systems tend to subvert the very possibility of arms control.

(9) And regional conflicts — in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa, the Far East and elsewhere — will not only bring death and destruction to those areas but could become the occasion of superpower interventions and conflict.

(10) The advanced western economies, still trying to cope with the chronic instabilities which ended the post-war boom in the 1970s, will almost certainly be forced to structural transformations as the very uneven and contradictory recovery of the past three years comes to an end.

(11) Eastern bloc economies are still in a deep crisis rooted in undemocratic and excessively centralised planning, bureaucracy, and lack of individual motivation. The future will no doubt force them to deep conceptual and structural transformations in order to meet their own needs and to participate in a fruitful economic interaction between North and South. In a world which is more and more interdependent, these economies cannot isolate themselves

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from the rest of the globe, nor should they be isolated by others. They must be part of the international effort to create a new economic order.

(12) We commit ourselves to work toward a strengthening of global cooperation in the multilateral framework of the United Nations, representing all peoples on the basis of a charter aimed at guaranteeing human rights, the provision of basic human needs and peace and security for all. The role of the UN should be strengthened both in the field of international economic cooperation and in that of peace and security. Present efforts to undermine the UN by unilaterally withdrawing funds or bypassing this multilateral system by concentrating decisions in small groups of countries should be countered by new initiatives to make the UN the main forum for international cooperation. Such initiatives should go beyond supporting the UN system in its present form and include renewed promises of consultation within the UN as well as efforts to improve its efficiency and effectiveness.

(13) It is within this basic framework of an analysis of the common crisis of the world economy and policy that we speak from Lima, with a sense of the renewed relevance of our socialist principles in a time when far-reaching change is on the agenda. We can obviously only outline in the briefest way some of the most urgent aspects of trends which could well make the end of the eighties as turbulent as its beginning. But even such a "tour d'horizon" suffices to show why we believe, not that we have the solution to all of these difficulties, but that we have a significant socialist contribution to make, in action as well as in thought, in resolving the present crisis.

(14) We adopt this Lima Manifesto as an International with a majority of its parties from the Third World, speaking to the North as well as the South, to the East as well as the West. We have an analysis which demonstrates how, more and more, humanity is implicated in a single common fate; and as socialists, we propose an international vision, a political direction, which can animate men and women in every corner of the globe.

The common crisis

(15) The basic theme of the International's analysis of the world economy, clearly articulated in our Manifesto of Albufeira and Global Challenge, as well as in the two reports of the Brandt Commission, is the need for a common solution to the common crisis of the North and South. The destructive reality, and the even much greater destructive potential, of the global debt crisis is a confirmation of our worst fears.

(16) That crisis had its origins in the breakdown of the Bretton Woods financial system in 1971-73. This development coincided with the end of the decisive hegemony of the American economy in the post-war world. And it coincided with an ominous trend: between 1965 and 1970, the percentage of GNP from the OECD economies devoted to development assistance declined from 0.49 to 0.34, and the role of private cash flows started to increase.

(17) That trend was then accelerated by the quadrupling of oil prices in 1974. The major western banks rightly boasted that they had successfully recycled billions in oil profits and thus made it possible for the non-oil Third World to survive and the advanced economies themselves to avert a depression. In the short run, they were right and even unwittingly demonstrated the validity of one of our most basic proposals - that a massive transfer of funds from North to South is a critical part of the common solution to the world economic crisis - but they also laid the foundations for the debt crisis of the eighties at the same time.

(18) We take it as evidence of the practicality and soundness of our own strategy of global reflation in the interest of the South and North that the banks strategy did in fact work in that short run. Between 1973 and 1981, the average annual rate of growth of the non-oil Third World was 5.1 percent (compared to 5.8 percent between 1967 and 1972). And this happened even with a huge jump in energy costs and despite the fact that the growth rate of the industrial countries dropped from 4.4 percent in 1967-72 to 2.8 percent between 1973 and 1981.

(19) Note well: the North gained from this debt-financed performance of the South since that growth in the developing nations provided export outlets for the rich powers. Our concept of a common solution is not, then, an abstraction. It took place in the seventies - but in a perverse, uncoordinated fashion that did not lead to balanced development.

(20) The key to that perversity was that the financing came from private banks rather than from official development lending. That meant that when the crisis came, profit-making institutions could not, economically or, in many cases, legally roll over the debt as official donors could. The debt solution of the seventies turned into the debt crisis of the eighties primarily because international cash flows between North and South had become hostage to private banking priorities.

(21) That crisis was then exacerbated by the monetarist assault on inflation in the United States which, in addition to helping create the worst recession in half a century in that country, raised the interest rates on the currency in which oil prices were denominated and thus set off a reverse flow of funds from the South to the North. And that trend was further accentuated by the increase in arms' sales to the South as well as by the flight of capital on the part of the rich countries.

(22) Commodity prices for third-world exporters had already begun to go down during the recession of 1974-75 in the advanced economies. And then there were the new OPEC increases of 1979, the soaring American interest rates which made those energy costs even greater and, above all, in 1981-1982, the deepest recession in the West since the Great Depression. These events were an economic disaster for the Third World. And, as oil prices began to fall, even the developing countries with that resource saw their incomes reduced almost exactly parallel with commodity prices.

(23) These developments struck the regions of the Third World in different ways. Latin America was most seriously affected: four of the seven major borrowers in the world were found in that region, with debts of almost US$300 billion. The Philippines contracted more than $13 billion in debt. South Korea borrowed more than $31 billion but the cruel success of its authoritarian, low-wage model of dependent economic development made it capable of dealing with that debt. Other Asian countries followed a similar model and were able to profit from a combination of anti-democratic repression and subordination to the priorities of the western transnationals.

(24) These problems were then made worse by the conventional capitalist wisdom, enforced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It insisted upon austerity, the reduction of domestic consumption, devolution to promote
exports and limit imports, and government spending cuts at a time of grievous human suffering. In effect, the masses of the Third World, and of Latin America especially, had to pay with their living standards for debts which had often been undertaken by anti-democratic regimes and had, in any case, been artificially and unfairly increased by the anti-inflation policies of western conservatives.

(25) But if this crisis had its most brutal impact upon the poor of the world, it also had a very negative impact upon the rich. Since the debt was primarily owed to private banks rather than to governments, their repudiation, in fact and/or on principle, would precipitate a major financial crisis in the advanced economies, the United States first and foremost.

(26) At the same time, the reduction of living standards within the developing countries, and the related export-oriented devaluation strategies, meant that the major western powers lost foreign markets and faced a new wave of competition. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York calculates that, between 1981 and 1983, the United States lost nearly 250,000 jobs as a result of a 40 percent fall in exports to Latin America.

(27) Indeed, these consequences were so obvious to the governments of the advanced economies that they committed themselves, in a grudging, inadequate and ad hoc way, to seeing to it that the world financial system did not collapse. The United States came to the aid of Mexico in 1982 and other arrangements were made with other debtor nations. But nothing was done to deal with the underlying causes of the debt crisis.

(28) And yet, even before the dramatic fall in oil prices in 1986 opened up a new chapter in the crisis, it was clear that an international financial structure had been created which could not be saved by business as usual. For instance, even if the debtor countries were to follow successfully the anti-social priorities of the IMF, the abolition of their debt would require that the advanced nations run an enormous trade deficit with the Third World.

(29) It is in the context of the related goals of international justice and social democracy that we endorse the Global Challenge resolution and Action Programme adopted by this Congress.

(30) We most emphatically reject the notion that democracy is a privilege reserved to the advanced economies. Just as the struggle of the people from below has challenged the rule of the rich and powerful in the North, socialists in the South rely on the same popular forces, even if in a different historical and cultural context. We are, therefore, enormously heartened by the democratic victories of the past three years in the Third World. We hail our member parties and friends who participated in these events in a number of countries around the world. We are dedicated to the redistribution of income and wealth, to economic democracy, welfare and social justice in both the North and South. Therefore, we give priority to supporting those forces that are democratic or moving toward democracy, and that respect human rights.

(31) In the light of some of the special problems of the Third World we urge: the reduction in extreme differentials of income and wealth; a principled battle to implement the Forward Looking Programme of the UN Conference on Women adopted in Nairobi in 1985; and an end to all forms of racial and ethnic oppression. Each one of these points, we will show, has its analogue in the advanced democracies.

(32) We do not believe that human rights and democracy in the Third World are luxuries to be acquired by the people after they have been tutored in economic development by an elite, even by a national elite. We believe that the redistribution of income and wealth, women’s rights and the combating of racial and ethnic prejudice all free mighty forces which can speed economic development and guarantee that technological progress is a means of human liberation and not of new forms of oppression.

(33) Therefore, all of us, of the South and the North, meeting in Lima, pledge that the moral issue of justice and the common political interest of North and South in the Third
World are critical and imperative values which unite us, and that they must become animating principles of all our actions in the years ahead.

The environment and natural resources

(34) We are now aware of the growing devastation of the environment and pressure on our limited natural resources. We have seen deforestation and desertification in the countries of the Third World; the increasing role of air pollution and acid rain in the death of our forests and their detrimental effects on human health; overcropping in agriculture; the spoliation of our seas; lakes and drinking water; and threats to the atmosphere and our genetic resources. Our attention has also been increasingly drawn to the effect on people's health of various external environmental factors and the risks inherent in our working environment.

(35) The Chernobyl disaster underlines the international nature of our environmental concerns. Radiation does not respect national frontiers. The disaster also points to the underlying dangers of nuclear energy. Although all member parties of the SI do not agree on nuclear energy, it is time to begin planning for energy production without nuclear energy, and all states have the obligation, and the right, to inform, and to be informed about developments and accidents concerning nuclear plants.

(36) Although we now face a host of environmental problems, at the same time we have the knowledge and the technological resources that provide a unique opportunity to remedy them.

(37) Our joint management of the biosphere is of importance for both national and international security. Human activities can seriously disturb the equilibrium of the ecological system. This entails a threat to the basic conditions for life on our planet and also a risk of international conflicts. The connection between interference with the environment on the one hand and political and social destabilisation on the other is so manifest that it cannot be disregarded. We are therefore faced by the important task of developing long-term strategies for protection of the environment and management of our natural resources. We must find a development strategy which is compatible both with the demands for economic and social development and those for a safe and enduring world.

(38) Important steps have been taken, within the framework of the Brundtland Commission, to reactivate global acceptance of responsibility for management of the environment and natural resources. The industrial countries can play an important part in easing the pressure on global resources and also in developing and spreading technology which satisfies the requirements of sound management of our resources and the environment. The important conclusion to be drawn from the response to increased oil prices in the seventies is that this can be done. It is clearly possible to make far more stringent demands than those stipulated by national standards or international conventions today.

(39) In the name of international cooperation it is therefore essential that:
- technological development and exploitation of natural resources comply with the demands made by the global system;
- the industrial countries take greater responsibility for the transfer to the Third World of technology which is effective, in harmony with environmental needs and economical in terms of resources;
- greater attention be paid to the environmental aspect in development assistance programmes;
- a ban be placed on the exportation to other countries of activities involving environmental hazards which are not acceptable in a domestic context;
- greater resources to made available and political instruments elaborated to save the world's forests, i.e. to prevent clear-felling of the rain forests, deforestation in third-world countries and the accelerating death of the forests in the industrial countries;
- greater efforts be made to reduce air pollution across national borders;
- activities involving a risk of polluting seas, lakes or drinking water be prohibited by international conventions;
- greater attention be paid to endangered species of plants and animals;
- and greater attention be paid to the problems connected with the working environment and health and welfare both in
the industrial countries and in the developing countries.

**Controlling the new insecurity**

(40) Peace and disarmament are essential for survival, development and freedom. The arms race threatens the very existence of humanity. It hinders effective action for economic and social development. It poisons human relationships.

(41) As individuals and nations we are being deprived of our right to life and survival; our right to fully develop our societies; and our right to live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.

(42) Nuclear war would devastate our whole planet and annihilate humanity. Let there be no misunderstanding: nuclear war would be the ultimate crime against humanity.

(43) The arms race is not restricted to nuclear weapons. More and more effort is spent in creating new and more destructive conventional weapons. The arms race is beginning to escape human control. It is not enough to prevent the outbreak of wars. The arms race spiral itself must be broken. There are no winners, only losers, in both nuclear war and the arms race.

(44) Governments must realise that their security needs cannot properly be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms build-up. It is not the quality of weapons but the quality of politics which must be improved.

(45) True security is common security. It can only be built in partnership, taking into account the security requirements of all countries and aspirations of all peoples. We need a new policy of cooperation, trust and openness, and thus a new detente.

(46) In our view all states, particularly the major military powers, are under a firm political, moral as well as legal obligation to stop the present madness. There is an alarming contradiction between this obligation and the state of disarmament negotiations. The Socialist International condemns the failure of the governments concerned to come to terms with the most pressing imperative of our times. All states have to prove that they are not just trying to cover militaryisation by speaking about arms control and deferring tangible results, which must include effective verification arrangements.

(47) The Soviet Union and the United States have both declared their readiness to eliminate their nuclear arsenals, beginning with a 50 percent cut. The Socialist International welcomes this readiness but calls for these words to be turned into deeds. World public opinion would be completely disillusioned if it turned out that they did not mean what they said. Therefore, it is imperative that the limits set by SALT I and II should be scrupulously upheld by both parties, and deep cuts, with appropriate verification arrangements, made into the existing arsenals.

(48) The halting and then final prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests would show that the governments concerned are serious about arms control. In fact, all nuclear tests should be halted. The Socialist International strongly appeals to the US government to abandon its negative stand on the question of a comprehensive test ban. The negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) must be immediately resumed, and a verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and applied to all nuclear-weapons powers.

(49) The Socialist International also stresses the importance of verifiable 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 off-hand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace, and stability.

(50) It is also important to prevent the development of anti-missiles and anti-satellite systems, whether ground-, air or space-based. The 1972 ABM Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States must be preserved and strengthened. Outer space must be used for peaceful purposes only.

(51) Strategic nuclear disarmament will also strengthen the nonproliferation regimes. In order to enhance non-proliferation, the non-stationing and removal of nuclear weapons, as well as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and corridors, should be actively pursued.

(52) The Socialist International notes with satisfaction the Treaty of Tlatelolco establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty of 1985. The SI invites all states that have not done so to join these treaties, and calls upon all nuclear powers to respect the treaties by signing the respective protocols.

(53) 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.

(54) Pending the final elimination of chemical weapons, everything should be done to halt their further development and deployment. The proposal for an agreement to establish a zone in Europe free from chemical weapons, jointly elaborated by the SPD of the Federal Republic of Germany and theSED of the German Democratic Republic, can be considered as a model of a bilateral and regional plan for arms reduction, crossing as it does the frontiers of blocs and being based on the notion of detente and common security.

(55) In view of the Geneva negotiations on a global ban on chemical weapons, the Socialist International appeals to the United States of America and other powers not to produce new types of chemical weapons such as binary nerve gas. We condemn the use of any such weapons and all breaches of the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

(56) The Soviet Union and the United States should immediately halt further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and agree on reducing and eliminating existing systems on both sides, including those systems which were deployed in Eastern Europe in response to the placing of the new US intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe.

(57) Nuclear arms control should not be allowed to legitimise a build-up in conventional arms. The interrelation between nuclear and conventional weapons and forces and the increased destructiveness of modern conventional arms calls for renewed and more resolute efforts at conventional disarmament. All the governments concerned should take immediate steps to ensure that, in Europe, the Stockholm

* The Socialist Party, PS, France, expressed a reservation on paragraph 52.
Conference and the Vienna talks produce positive results initiating a process of European disarmament. Similar processes should be initiated in other regions.

(58) The limitation of arms transfers should be brought back to the arms control agenda. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru in restricting the inflow of arms to the region.

(59) The United Nations, during its forty years of existence, has become a major and permanent factor in international relations. But the UN has not received enough support in its primary task – the safeguarding of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. There must be a real will for countries to join forces under the auspices of the UN in order to prevent ongoing regional wars and to prevent new conflicts from emerging.

(60) The Socialist International condemns any use of force contrary to the UN Charter. The Socialist International is alarmed by the growing acceptance of military interventions as a means of solving international, regional and national conflicts. The world must not be led along a path of vengeance, hatred and reliance on military might. To a degree never before apparent, acts of terrorism have come to disturb and destabilise national and international life. Terrorism cannot be considered as just another form of war or armed struggle. Its indiscriminate threat is directed at the very fabric of civilised national and international life and hits most directly at those who are defenceless. Terrorism breeds more terrorism and thus is directly responsible for the spiralling of violence. It obstructs rather than facilitates political solutions. Democratic socialists therefore voice their categorical rejection of this murderous means of action. They affirm that under no circumstances can acts of terrorism, whether performed or supported by individuals, groups or governments, be justified. They therefore launch an energetic appeal for a return to peaceful and non-violent means of political action and for the isolation and condemnation of those who continue to resort to terrorism as a means to further their political aims.

(61) The major problems of today, such as starvation, unemployment and threats to the environment, can only be solved by patient and determined negotiations aimed at significant measures of arms control and disarmament, and the diversion of resources which are now wasted on armaments. These resources must be redirected to economic and social development and the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(62) The Socialist International believes that there can be no finer memorial to our comrade Olof Palme than to regain our right to live in peace, freedom and solidarity.

Regional conflicts

(63) Some of the most important struggles for freedom are taking place in Latin America and the Caribbean. We favour peace in the region, the right to national self-determination and sovereignty and respect for the principle of non-intervention. We endorse the specific applications of these principles set forth in the resolution adopted by this Congress on Latin America and the Caribbean.

(64) The Middle East is clearly an area of bitter conflicts which involve not simply the immediate parties but other nations in the region and the big powers as well. The resolution of these hostilities is, therefore, critical for the work of regional and international peace as well as putting an end to the bloodshed.

(65) The SI welcomes the efforts of its member parties in Israel to try to reach a just and lasting peace in the region. It considers that this can only attained by political negotiations between all the parties concerned, including the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. This peace must be founded on the fundamental right of all states in the region to live in peace and security within recognised borders, and according to fundamental rights, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own national homeland. This should mean at some point a mutual and simultaneous recognition of each other by Israelis and Palestinians, and a cessation of all violence.

(66) The SI sees the role of the United Nations, and any other appropriate international agency, as positive in helping this process. The SI expresses its deep concern over the continuing stalemate in efforts to make progress towards just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It re-affirms its belief that peace in the region and peace amongst and within its nations can only be attained through a patient search for new foundations of coexistence between Israel, the Palestinian people and their Arab neighbours. In a spirit of solidarity with the peoples of the region, the SI appeals to all parties to the conflict as well as to the UN to pursue any alternatives towards the resumption of a political dialogue, renouncing violence and terrorism and building a framework for peace.

(67) The SI expresses its concern about the existence of settlements in the occupied territories, which is contrary to international law and to United Nations resolutions, and which contribute to reducing the basis for negotiations.

(68) The road towards peace is long and difficult. The SI recognises the proposals of the government headed by Shimon Peres as positive and useful steps. It also keeps in mind the Arab Fez plan.

(69) Since the previous Congress in 1983, the situation in Lebanon has been marked by further suffering for the Lebanese people, the Palestinian refugees who have sought refuge there, and for the foreign victims of terrorism. Reaffirming its resolute support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of this country, the SI appeals to all Lebanese to unite around a programme for national reconstruction and development and for a strengthening of its democratic institutions which alone are capable of finally bringing civil peace; and to oppose terrorism and violence. The SI considers that the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory would help to reduce the grave tension prevailing in Lebanon.

(70) The SI, having adopted a resolution on Cyprus at its Slangerup Bureau meeting in April 1984, and having sent two missions to the island, the most recent being in August 1984, reiterates its previous resolution on Cyprus, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the implementation of UN resolutions on Cyprus, and supports the effort of the UN secretary-general to reach a settlement of the Cyprus issue.

(71) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the war which has lasted nearly six years between Iraq and Iran. There is no justification for its continuation. This conflict endangers the stability of the region and is the cause of immense human and material losses for two countries which have been diverted from the course of development. It is not for the SI to apportion blame for the start and continuation of this war. But, faithful to the determined action of its vice-president, the late Olof Palme, it condemns all violations of the Geneva Convention (prohibition of chemical weapons, respect for the rights of prisoners of war) and appeals to both
sides to proclaim a lasting ceasefire, and to search for peace based on the respect of treaties and international borders, and on non-interference in the internal affairs of nations free to choose their own government. It supports the efforts of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference and all other parties striving for peace.

(72) The future peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region is dependent on the establishment of stable and democratic political systems in the Philippines and Korea.

(73) The SI therefore welcomes the movement towards more democratic government in the Philippines. The application of ‘people power’ in the Philippines has provided the opportunity for meaningful political reform. The SI hopes that the new president, Corazon Aquino, can now establish a stable democratic system in the Philippines based on a successful economic reconstruction.

(74) The SI sees as encouraging the increased pressure for democratic reform in South Korea and the growth of alternative democratic forces in the face of very difficult circumstances.

(75) The SI supports moves to find a political solution which will facilitate the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

(76) We strongly reaffirm our support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa as it was highlighted by the special conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in September 1984, and reaffirmed by the special meeting of the International in Gaborone, Botswana, in April 1986. There can be no compromise with apartheid. It must be abolished. It cannot be reformed.

(77) We look to the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the emergent trade unions and all the progressive forces of whatever racial origin as the hope of South Africa and indeed of humanity itself. We strenuously condemn the recent attacks by South Africa on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

(78) South Africa continues to destabilise and put illicit pressure on the front line states. South Africa wants to weaken and bleed them by all means, including actual attacks on neighbouring countries. South Africa is willing to cause an enormous human and economic sacrifice of the population and of refugees in order to remain master of the region.

(79) The SI believes that Namibia should immediately be liberated according to UN Resolution 435. There is no other way to a truly independent Namibia. There can be no doubt that SWAPO is the most representative force in Namibia. Linkage between the question of Namibian independence and the possible withdrawal of Cuban troops is unjustified. Support for UNITA in Angola further complicates any settlement and means in fact nothing else than supporting South African domination of Namibia.

(80) On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising in 1976, the South African regime stepped up repression and violence by declaring a state of emergency. Each day non-white children are being killed by state terrorism. South Africa continues to destabilise and attack neighbouring states. The world at large has a responsibility to stop this outrageous system. (81) International sanctions might be the last chance for peaceful change. The opposition in South Africa supports them. Therefore, the SI calls for: halting investments in South Africa and ending government
insurance of credits to South Africa;
- strengthening the oil embargo by the oilproducing countries by banning the export and transport of oil to South Africa, and embargoing the export of coal from South Africa;
- cutting air and shipping links with South Africa;
- and banning the import of South African agricultural products.

(82) If international bodies such as the UN and the European Community are unable to define a policy towards South Africa with real mandatory sanctions, countries alone and in concert should pursue these actions.

(83) The SI also reaffirms its support of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. We reiterate our support for the initiation of direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco to achieve a just, definitive solution to this conflict.

(84) The SI believes that the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination, which has persisted for thirty years, must be settled by the principles upheld by the United Nations and the OAU.

(85) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the protracted Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The SI is deeply concerned about the grave violations of human rights perpetrated by the Soviet/Kabul forces against both the resistance fighters and the civilian population, and about the situation of the four million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran. The SI supports the UN-sponsored efforts to achieve a political solution to the war, and considers that such a settlement should essentially be based upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the restoration of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to their national self-determination. The SI calls upon all member parties to work for increased humanitarian aid to the Afghan population, both in the refugee camps and inside the country.

(86) We are also very concerned about continuing violations of human rights, particularly by actions that run counter to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on 'the free circulation of all people and ideas'. We are therefore in solidarity with all democratic movements in Eastern Europe, like Solidarnosc, with the struggle for basic freedoms, including trade union rights, religious liberty and the defence of the rights of national minorities. Indeed, we believe that our commitment to disarmament and detente will create a more favourable situation for these movements.

(87) At the same time, the SI is keenly aware of the deteriorating situation of the Jews of the Soviet Union, and, in particular, of the halting of the emigration of the Soviet Jews despite their desire to leave for Israel. We are also aware of the continuing harassment of those Jews seeking their internationally guaranteed right of emigration. We call upon the Soviet government to release those Jews currently imprisoned simply because of their effort to secure exit permits, and to allow all Jews seeking to leave the Soviet Union to do so without hindrance. We are also gravely concerned about the denial of such basic cultural rights to the Jews as their right to study and teach their own language.

(88) Given the death and destruction, the violation of human rights and the subversion of economic development, which are the common characteristic of the regional conflicts we have noted, it is well to end this brief, and selective, review on a more positive note. The situation in Northern Ireland has continued to result in terrorism, death, destruction and division. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland must be seen as a positive and potentially hopeful achievement, designed to bring about stability and ultimate reconciliation on the basis of mutual respect for political and cultural traditions in Ireland. Both governments, and our member parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic, deserve full support in their efforts to achieve peace and communal harmony. In particular, European socialists can provide practical support and help in tackling the grave economic crisis within Northern Ireland.

From Geneva to Lima

(89) In Geneva in 1976, when Willy Brandt took over the leadership of the International, we committed ourselves to build a truly worldwide organisation. We have not completely achieved that goal but we can say, with pride and accuracy, that more than most political movements, we have succeeded in what we set out to do.

(90) Yet we cannot be complacent. We must redouble our ongoing efforts to reach out to emerging socialist and progressive forces around the world. To that end we hope to develop fraternal relations with the fledgling labour and socialist parties in the small island states of the South Pacific.

(91) And in the work of elaborating the Declaration of Lima, our new statement of principles, we must frankly confront our failures and disappointments as well as our successes.

(92) In terms of our own internal organisation, we believe that the emergence, both within the International and without, of a dynamic women's movement requires that we transform our organisation from a male-centred organisation to an integrated one, giving justice to a very large part of our membership and electorate. Such an initiative would be welcomed by women all over the world. As a sign of our determination in this area, we must follow the lead of a growing number of our member parties which have adopted quota regulations for encouraging and assuring the full participation of women in decision-making bodies. These quota regulations range from a very modest 15 percent to 50 percent. The ideal figure would, of course, be that of the percentage of the female population.

(93) The World Action Programme for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women stresses the desirability of promoting women's participation in political organs. The Socialist International invites its member organisations to work for the establishment of machinery, preferably a ministry or secretariat of state, for implementing programmes to ensure equality between women and men. The Socialist International calls upon its member parties to facilitate women's participation in political life on an equal footing with men, ensuring women's representation on all party levels; as candidates for local, regional and national elections; and on all delegations to meetings of the Socialist International.

(94) The Socialist International to this end declares its full support for the goals of the 'Socialist Decade for Women', announced by the Socialist International Women at their Lima Conference.

(95) In particular, we feel it appropriate to include such new departures in a Manifesto of Lima, as a declaration of the first congress of the SI in the Third World.

(96) From Lima, then, the Socialist International reaffirms its determination to work for the principles in this resolution: for a world in which people will live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.
First congress in the Third World

Peace and economic solidarity – the SI’s alternative to war and misery

Hungry and under-development have always been a moral outrage, but they are now elements in a common crisis, the result of a wrenching economic unification of the world which has far outstripped our political, social and national institutions. A common solution is our only hope. (Manifesto of Lima)

This in a nutshell was the message of the seventeenth congress of the Socialist International, the first to be held in the Third World. Aptly, in view of the SI’s expansion of membership and activities in Latin America over the last ten years, it was convened in Lima, Peru, on 20-23 June, at the invitation of the ruling Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP).

The Congress was held almost exactly ten years since the memorable conference of Latin American and European socialists in Caracas, Venezuela, in May 1976. That meeting, as former Venezuelan president Carlos Andres Perez pointed out, marked the beginning of a ‘new and remarkable’ stage in the history of the International. By branching out in this way, the SI became aware – perhaps far earlier than other organisations – of what the Manifesto of Lima, the main resolution adopted by the congress, called ‘the great new reality of these times ... the unprecedented internationalisation of the human condition’.

To illustrate this interdependence, the Manifesto cites the example of how the reduction of living standards in the developing countries precipitates the loss of export markets for the major industrial countries. For instance, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York has calculated that between 1981 and 1983, nearly 250,000 jobs were lost in the United States as a result of a 40 percent fall in exports to Latin America. Dealing with the common crisis, the environment and natural resources, controlling the new insecurity, regional conflicts and the development of the SI in the last ten years, the five sections of
Decisions at Lima

The following is a summary of the main decisions taken by the seventeenth congress of the Socialist International, held in Lima, Peru, on 20-23 June 1986.

The Congress adopted two resolutions:
- Manifesto of Lima
- Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean

The Congress adopted two reports:
- Action Programme drawn from the ‘Global Challenge’ report on world economic recovery, submitted by the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP)
- 1986 Report on Disarmament, submitted by the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC)

The Congress adopted the Mandate of Lima, the basis for the new declaration of principles of the Socialist International.

The Congress took note of the preliminary paper submitted by the Working Group on Debt.

The Congress approved the admission of six parties as consultative members of the Socialist International, and of one organisation as an associated organisation.

The Congress elected a new presidium of the Socialist International.

The Congress adopted new statutes of the Socialist International.

The Congress issued a statement on recent events in Peru.

Many different countries, criminal terrorists organised the seizure of several prisoners, took hostages and captured arms. ‘Numerous citizens and members of the security forces were also assassinated in the past few days.

“All this was done so as to blackmail our democracy in front of the peoples of the world...’

‘The government... urged the rebels to surrender. A peace commission made up of men of good faith went to the prisons to beg, to implore the prisoners to avoid bloodshed. This attempt failed, and the state was forced to impose its authority.

President García thus instructed the armed forces to put down the uprising and free the hostages. In the course of the operation, members of the armed forces committed horrific excesses, the most glaring of which — it emerged later — was the killing in cold blood of hundreds of Sendero members who had already surrendered. Subsequently the president announced that several inquiries would be set up to investigate possible excesses.

SI President Willy Brandt responded in his opening address with an expression of solidarity with the new Peruvian democracy during this difficult time. He also announced that a group of SI vice-presidents would hold discussions with Peruvian comrades. The fruit of these was a statement adopted by the Congress on 22 June. (For the full text of the statement on events in Peru, see page 27.)

Increasing effectiveness

Willy Brandt in his opening address and SI general secretary Pentti Väänänen evaluated the work of the International in the three-year period since the Albufeira congress. The latter described it as a ‘steady continuation of the political lines and activities we adopted at the Geneva congress ten years ago.

Both stressed the fact that because the SI is today a global organisation, and is involved to some extent in most of the major political developments throughout the world, it must further develop its effectiveness so as to be able to react to any crisis. (For the full text of Brandt’s opening address, see the Focus section, pages 6-9.)

Peace and economic solidarity

But the SI does not just react to international developments and crises. It initiates policies, measures and actions with the aim of steering the world towards the realisation of democratic socialist ideals. The 1986 Disarmament Report and the Action Programme on world economic recovery, adopted by the Congress at the end of the debate on the main theme, provide two telling examples of this.

Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), introduced the new Disarmament Report. This report is not merely an...
updated version of the first report adopted at the 1980 Madrid congress. It is also an attempt to take a fresh look at, for instance, the need to prevent the militarisation of outer space. Sorsa stressed the importance of not leaving the fate of the world to the major military powers alone. 'We now live in a more complicated, multilateral world, and we must strengthen the mass movement for disarmament in which SI member parties have played a prominent role. Among those discussed were regional nuclear-weapons-free zones (in the South Pacific and the Nordic areas in particular); chemical-weapons-free zones and nuclear corridors (in Central Europe); restrictions on regional arms trade and cuts in defence budgets; taxation of arms sales (the proceeds of which would be paid into a development fund; verification mechanisms for nuclear-test bans; and confidence-building measures regarding troop movement and manoeuvres.

The second part of the main theme, 'economic solidarity', was introduced by Michael Manley, the leader of the People's National Party (PNP) of Jamaica and chair of the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP).

He regarded the results of SICEP's three years of work - the 'Global Challenge' report and the Action Programme drawn from it, as well as the preliminary paper on debt - as a forceful rejoinder to the radical right, which had exploited the misinterpretation of world inflation to put monetarism at the centre of the political agenda; he also considered it as a powerful reinforcement of the realisation by the countries of the South that their continuing crisis has its roots in the structural crisis of the world economy.

But, as Manley pointed out, having found agreement on issues of global economic policy within the SI, the crucial question of followup action arose. There were two choices. Either the report and action programme would be allowed to become museum pieces, gathering dust in the archives of the SI's research departments, or whether SI member parties, in government or opposition, could seize the initiative and develop confidence-building measures regarding troop movement and manoeuvres.

As an indication of the political turnaround in the region, José Francisco Peña Gómez, the leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), pointed out that when the SI's Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), of which he is chair, was set up in Santo Domingo in 1978 the political situation in the region was such that it could only meet in a handful of countries. That had changed dramatically in a matter of eight years.

He and other speakers also stressed that although great strides had been made in establishing political democracy, the region was still at the early stage of building an economic and social democracy. It was imperative to add social and economic rights to political and civil rights.

Apart from that of Olof Palme, the legacy most often invoked at the congress was that of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the founder in 1924 of what is now the International. (For the full text of Manley's introduction and excerpts from the Action Programme, see the Focus section, pages 14-16; and for a report on the paper submitted by Working Group on Debt, see page 31.)

A detailed account of the host country's efforts to overcome the injustices inherent in the present world economic system was provided by Luis Alva Castro, the Peruvian prime minister.

**Gains for democracy**

In view of the venue of the present Congress, the debate on peace, democracy and human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean took on added significance. It highlighted the advance of democratic rule (in particular in the Southern Cone, where dictatorships remain only in Chile and Paraguay), the debt crisis and the conflict in Central America. (For the full text of the Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean, see Documents, page 32.)

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**Statement of the Socialist International on the events in Lima, Peru**

The Socialist International reasserts that the universal appellation of human rights is one of its fundamental principles. Human rights have to be respected in any situation by any government. We also reassert that terrorism cannot be allowed to destroy the democratic state. The democratic state has the right and the obligation to defend itself against terrorist activities with adequate means.

The Congress of the Socialist International declares, before the government and the people of Peru, our consternation and sorrow resulting from the events which have taken place in Lima.

During the Congress, a mutiny in three prisons in Lima has been suppressed. Serious concerns have been raised about the methods used and the number of inmates killed, described as being excessive by the communiqué issued by the government of President Alan Garcia.

President Garcia has recognised the gravity of these events by giving his assurances that there will be several investigations, including one by parliament. He has given his assurances of the complete independence of such investigations into the possible violation of human rights. There is a clear determination to learn all the facts and to guarantee punishment of all those found responsible for any wrongdoing.

President Garcia has also stated that the doors of Peru are open for international human rights organisations to probe this matter.

We welcome these decisions as another sign of the desire of the government to strengthen democracy in Peru.

Lima, 22 June 1986
now the Aprista Party. He was the first to articulate a uniquely Latin American socialist perception of the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the continent, and was a seminal influence in the development of a Latin American democratic socialism based on the general principles of European socialism but applying them to the historical and social circumstances prevailing in the region.

Solidarity action for Southern Africa
An area in which the SI has been in the forefront of developments in recent years has been the anti-apartheid struggle in Southern Africa. Abdel Kader Fall, the international secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal went so far as to say that he knew of no organisation which had taken as advanced a position on sanctions as the International had at its special meeting in Gabonone, Botswana, in April this year.

The question was no longer whether or not to apply sanctions against the apartheid regime, but to select ones that would achieve the quickest results, as Joop den Uyl, the leader of the Dutch Labour Party observed. The argument about effectiveness has been drowned in blood of the thousands of deaths for which the regime is responsible. The suffering caused by sanctions can never be worse than the current ever-increasing repression.

Speakers did stress, though, that a position in favour of effective sanctions also required real and direct support for the front-line states, which would indeed be in the front line of the regional economic confrontation – if not worse – that would invariably follow the imposition of sanctions. As den Uyl put it, ‘Sanctions must be applied. We must do our utmost to change the present course of events. We must show that solidarity is not just a word.’

Mandate for new declaration
As Michael Harrington, the secretary of the New Declarations of Principles Committee (SINDEC) reported to Congress, that the work on an update of the 1951 Frankfurt Declaration had been extended. The committee’s chair, Felipe González, was unable to attend the Congress, as he was leading his party to a second successive victory in the Spanish elections on the very day that it was drawing to a close.

But since there was general agreement that the new declaration should be a text adopted in the Third World, so as to stress the importance of the Third World in the future work and perspectives of the International, the Congress voted to adopt the Mandate of Lima, which contained the basic common principles of democratic socialism and would act as a guideline for the future work on the new declaration. (For the full text of the Mandate of Lima, see Documents, page 35.)

Solidarity in times of crisis
It was undeniable that the tragic events in Lima had a great impact.

At the concluding press conference, Willy Brandt spoke for many delegates when he said that ‘We could not justify to ourselves abandoning the democratically elected government of Alan García ... as he embarks on the ambitious project of securing democratic rule in his country’. That project ‘is put in danger by an indirect conjunction of extreme left and extreme right forces’, he said in an interview after his return from Lima.

Brandt said that he could not exclude the possibility that groups such as the Sendero Luminoso or elements within the Peruvian armed forces opposed to democracy had tried to use the presence of the Socialist International in Lima to attract attention to themselves or to embarrass the Aprista government. ‘But the question is whether one allows oneself to be used. We did not run away.’

It was not an easy decision. But in the defence of democracy, sometimes very great risks and very difficult decisions have to be taken. And assurances that an enquiry into the events would take place provided the guarantee sought by delegates that those responsible for the killings would be brought to justice.

New and old names
The Congress, as the highest statutory body of the Socialist International, approves applications of membership and elects the organisation’s officers (president, honorary presidents, vice-presidents, general secretary).

The Congress accepted the following parties as consultative members of the SI:

- Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia
- Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
- Forward Party, Siiumut, Greenland
- Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama
- Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey
- Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey

It accepted the following as an associated organisation of the SI:
- Socialist Group of the European Parliament

The Congress elected the following presidency of the Socialist International:

- President
  Willy Brandt

- Honorary presidents
  González Barrios (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)
  Jos van Eynde (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)
  Michael Foot (The Labour Party, Great Britain)*
  Bruno Kalins (Social Democratic Party of Latvia, LSDP)
  Sisco Manhsholt (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)
  Ian Mikkardo (The Labour Party, Great Britain)
  Sandro Pertini (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)*
  Irène Pétry (Socialist Party, PS, Belgium)*
  Ramón Rubial (Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party, PSOE)
  Giuseppe Saragat (Italian Democratic Socialist Party, (PSDI)
  Léopold Senghor (Socialist Party of Senegal)*
  Fernando Vera (Fidainronista Revolutionary Party, PRF, Paraguay)*
  Gough Whitlam (Australian Labour Party, ALP)

- Vice-presidents
  Rodrigo Borja (Democratic Left Party, ID, Ecuador)*
  Ed Broadbent (New Democratic Party, NDP/NP, Canada)
  Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norwegian Labour Party, DN)*
  Ingvart Carlsson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP)*
  Bettino Craxi (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)
  Abdou Diouf (Socialist Party of Senegal)*
  Felipe González (Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party, PSOE)
  Anita Gradin (Socialist International Women, SW)*
  Bob Hawke (Australian Labour Party, ALP)
  Anker Jorgensen (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)
  Lionel Jospin (Socialist Party, PS, France)
  Walid Jumblatt (Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon)
  Neil Kinnoch (The Labour Party, Great Britain)*
  Bruno Kreisky (Socialist Party of Austria, SPO)
  David Lange (New Zealand Labour Party)*
  Michael Manley (People’s National Party, PNP, Jamaica)
  Karel van Miert (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)
  Eiichi Nagasue (Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP)*
  Daniel Öduber (National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica)
  José Francisco Peña Gómez (Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic)
  Shimon Peres (Israel Labour Party)
  Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)
  Lydie Schmit (Luxembourg Socialist Workers’ Party, LSAP/ POSL)
  Enrique Silva Chimna (Radical Party of Chile, PR)*
  Mário Soares (Socialist Party, PS, Portugal)
  Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democratic Party of Finland, DSP)
  Guillermo Ungo (National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador)
  Joop den Uyl (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)

- General secretary
  Pentti Väänänen

*newly elected
Bureau hears mission reports

Reports from the three SI missions to Central America, the Philippines and Haiti, which took place in the first six months of this year, were the main items on the agenda of the meeting of the SI Bureau held in Lima on 19 June, the eve of the Congress.

The meeting - historic if only because it would be the last gathering of the Bureau - made a number of recommendations to the forthcoming Congress on such matters as applications for membership, nominations for presidium and the adoption of the new statutes.

The Bureau also discussed arrangements surrounding the proposed mission to Chile (agreed at the previous Bureau meeting in Vienna in October 1985) and heard a report from the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) on a conference of Mediterranean socialist parties on the crisis in the region and terrorism.

The delegates were welcomed by Carlos Roca Cáceres, the chair of the international commission of the host Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP), who thanked them for the solidarity shown by the International in the difficult circumstances faced by the PAP and the Peruvian government at the present time. He reaffirmed the government’s determination to continue its democratic revolution and to face the terrorist threat.

Mission reports

In accordance with the SI’s policy of supporting the efforts for peace in the region, the Vienna Bureau had decided to send a mission to Central America and to other countries with the aim of making contact with governments, political parties and other interested organisations in favour of negotiation and dialogue.

Led by Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela), the mission visited Caracas, San Jose, Managua, Guatemala City, Mexico City and Washington between 3-10 February (see SI NEWS 1/86, page 26).

In his report, Pérez reviewed recent developments in the Contadora peace process and internal developments in the region. He referred specifically to the presidential elections in Costa Rica (won by Oscar Arias Sánchez, the candidate of the National Liberation Party, PLN), Guatemala and Honduras in the two months preceding the mission as positive developments. Against that, however, there had been ‘very discouraging’ developments in the peace process in the weeks leading up to the Bureau meeting, in particular during and following the meeting of the Contadora Group in Panama on 6 June. He also expressed his deep concern over the Reagan administration’s apparent determination to bring about a war-like solution to the problems of the region.

Conny Frederiksson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP) introduced the report on the situation in the Philippines. An SI delegation visited the country from 2-11 February to observe the presidential elections held on 7 February and to explore the possibilities for the development of democratic socialist forces in the post-Marcos era (see SI NEWS 1/86, page 25).

The election of Cory Aquino had raised hopes for the implementation of major changes, he noted. Many opposition groups were now able to work freely, and a new constitution was being drafted. But, he noted, the basic political structure erected during the Marcos dictatorship still remained in place - until now, for instance, provincial governors and village authorities appointed by Marcos had not yet been replaced.

Carlos Andrés Pérez also presented the report on the mission to Haiti, which took place on 13-14 May (see SI NEWS 2/86, page 19). Having met representatives from all shades of the country’s political spectrum, the mission had found a number of political parties and groups keen to establish themselves after twenty-nine years of repression under the Duvalier dictatorship.

But, Pérez warned, there was a serious danger of violence and instability if the transition to democracy was thwarted and if massive economic help for the Americas’ poorest country was not forthcoming. For this reason the report stressed that (a) the democratic process must be supported and (b) economic aid is indispensable to ensure the success of democracy in Haiti.

The Bureau adopted the three reports unanimously and without amendment.

From Bureau to Council

Concluding the meeting, Willy Brandt confirmed that the next Bureau meeting would be held in Bonn, Federal Germany, on 16-17 October at the invitation of his party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The main theme of the meeting – which, since the Congress subsequently adopted a revision of the statutes, will be the first SI Council meeting – would be ‘Economy and the Environment’. 
New member hosts SICLAC meeting

The conflict in Central America, the democratisation process in the continent, the fulfilment of the Panama Canal treaties and the region’s foreign debt problem were the main items on the agenda of a meeting of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), held in Panama City on 25-26 September.

Hosted by the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), one of the International’s six new consultative member parties, the meeting was attended by over fifty representatives of SI member parties and guests. The committee adopted resolutions on Panama, Chile, Paraguay and Central America, which will form the basis of its report to the forthcoming SI Council meeting in Bonn on 16-17 October.

Solidarity with Panama

In the resolution on the situation in Panama, SICLAC affirmed its solidarity with the Panamanian people and the PRD in their efforts to ensure that the United States government fulfils its obligations under the Torrijos-Carter treaties on Panama’s reversion of the Canal to Panama.

(The US commitment to these treaties, which regulate the canal’s phased return to full Panamanian control by the year 2000, has increasingly come into question under the Reagan administration.)

The committee also supported Panamanian authorities in their refusal to allow ‘the training of Nicaraguan contra units or any other irregular or foreign forces in the foreign military bases temporarily located in Panama’. The headquarters of the US military and intelligence operations for Central America are located in the Canal Zone.

Solidarity with Chile, Paraguay

SICLAC demanded an end to the repressive measures of the military regime in Chile, an end to the state of siege, and the immediate agreement on a timetable for the return to democracy. It also expressed its solidarity with the democratic forces in Paraguay in their efforts to bring to an end the oldest dictatorship on the continent.

Central America

Regarding the present situation in Central America, SICLAC expressed its concern over the difficulties affecting the peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

It condemned the violations of human Rights in El Salvador, and demanded a resumption of the dialogue between the government and the Revolutionary Democratic Front / Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front ‘in conditions of continuity, seriousness and mutual security’.

China visit

SI general secretary Pentti Väänänen visited China on 11-23 September at the invitation of the international liaison department of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) central committee. He was accompanied by his wife and Harry Drost, the editor of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

The visit marked a further development in relations between the International and the Chinese Communist Party. First informal contacts between the two sides began in 1982, and delegations from the CCP had attended the SI Disarmament Conference in Vienna in October 1985 and the Lima Congress in June.

At a meeting with Hu Qili, a member of the political bureau and the secretariat of the CCP central committee, on 20 September, Väänänen said that he was encouraged by the results of the discussions with his hosts on peace, development and many other issues. ‘Although we have our obvious historical and ideological differences’, it was clear that ‘our views are quite similar’ in a number of areas, in particular peace and security. This would provide a basis for further bilateral relations, he added.

Hu expressed the CCP’s strong interest in exchanging more information and promoting mutual understanding with the International.

The delegation also had extensive discussions with the head of the international liaison department, Zhu Liang, and members of his staff. Reflecting the area of greatest mutual interest, the delegation exchanged views on disarmament and security issues with Li Daoyu, the head of the foreign ministry’s department of international organisations and conferences. And the nature of China’s economic reforms and development policies were explained by Xu Lu, a former bureau chief of the state economic commission.

During its twelve-day stay, the delegation visited a number of local industrial enterprises, a television factory, the country’s largest chemical complex, sites of historical interest and cultural events in Beijing, Xi’an, Shanghai, Wuxi and Nanjing.

First Council meeting in Bonn

‘Economy and the Environment’ will be the main theme of the first meeting of the SI Council (formerly called the Bureau) to be held in in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, on 16-17 October, at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

The meeting will be opened by SI President Willy Brandt, who is also the chairman of the SPD; and the welcoming address will be given by Johannes Rau, prime minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen and the party’s candidate for the chancellorship in next January’s federal elections.

In addition to the main theme, which will be introduced by Neil Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, other items on the agenda include Southern Africa, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as disarmament and European security.

There will also be a number of organisational matters to be decided, since the first major meeting following a Congress traditionally establishes the SI’s committees and study groups.

A full report of the meeting will appear in the next issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.
Debt Group urges concerted action

The Working Group on Debt, a subcommittee on the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP), has called for the setting up of an international debt agency to promote a coordinated approach to solving the debt crisis. In a paper submitted to the Lima Congress, it made specific proposals on just terms for restructuring debts and on policies to be adopted by debtor and creditor countries.

The subcommittee, which brought together a small group of financial experts, was set up by the Bureau at its meeting in Vienna in October 1985, with a brief to analyse the foreign debt crisis — described by SICEP chair Michael Manley as ‘the great economic imperative of our time’ — and to elaborate on the principles of action and procedure outlined in SICEP’s ‘Global Challenge’ report on world economic recovery.

The Lima Congress took note of the Working Group’s preliminary paper, and directed it to present a further report at the next Council meeting.

Detailed recommendations

The Working Group’s paper highlights the following five measures recommended in the ‘Global Challenge’ report as of ‘key’ importance in tackling the debt crisis within the context of global recovery. These are: (i) the conversion into grants (ie. cancellation) of the debts of the least developed countries, in particular those in Subsaharan Africa, and part-conversion of the debts of other developing countries; (ii) the rescheduling of debts through extending the time periods for repayment, in particular for the major debtor countries of Latin America; (iii) a ceiling on interest rates; (iv) a fixing of the ratio of debt repayments to export earnings; and (v) an increase in the availability of special drawing rights (SDRs) over a five-year period to an equivalent of US$150 billion, to support the process of debt readjustment, recovery and development.

On this basis, the paper makes a number of specific recommendations, including:
- maturities should be extended to at least thirty years;
- debt service should not exceed 20 percent of export earnings;
- interest rates below the market level should be accepted;
- debts should be repayable in currencies other than the originally agreed currency, so as to enable developing countries to achieve a better matching of their debt service with their export relations;
- and debts should be considered to constitute full worth, so that no provisions for bad debts need be made.

The proposed international debt organisation (IDO) would serve to negotiate, along the terms suggested, ‘an agreement with each individual debtor country concerning repayment of existing debts, fixing instalments, interest rates and maturities, as well as administer and supervise such agreements’.

The organisation should be set up at a joint conference of debtor and creditor countries, including representatives of the banks. Its decision-making procedures should be radically different from those of the present multilateral financial institutions; its decisions should reflect a balance between the interests of debtors and creditors.

Development policies

In further recommendations, the Working Group argues that debtor countries ‘should undertake policies which permit them to adhere to the agreed terms of the arrangements’. Such terms must allow for fulfilment of the basic needs development needs of the peoples and countries concerned. Conditions should not be imposed that impair the debtor country’s sovereignty in shaping its economic system, particularly as regards the distribution of functions between the private and public sectors.

Debtor countries should also take measures to introduce minimum social standards, limit arms expenditure and combat flight of capital. The latter is described as a major problem, which inhibits new lending. The Working Group urges debtor and creditor countries to give priority attention to instituting joint information and double taxation agreements to deter such capital outflows.

The developed creditor countries, in turn, should open their markets to the products of developing countries and support measures to stabilise world raw material prices. They should also increase their official development assistance to 0.7 percent of gross national product and take measures to encourage increased investment and transfer of technology to developing countries.

Joint session of SIDAC and SICEP on disarmament and development

The Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) and Economic Policy Committee (SICEP) will hold a joint meeting in Helsinki, Finland, on 19-20 October. The first of its kind, the Helsinki meeting will focus on the relationship between disarmament and development, and will try to find ways of increasing security through disarmament while at the same time freeing resources for economic and social progress. It will also prepare recommendations for future activities and meetings of the International in this field.

The discussion will be based on SIDAC’s 1986 Report on Disarmament and on SICEP’s ‘Global Challenge’ report and the Action Programme drawn from it, all three of which were adopted by the Lima Congress.

The meeting will be co­chaired by Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and chair of SIDAC, and Michael Manley, the former Jamaican prime minister and chair of SICEP, and will be hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Finland (SDP).

New statutes take account of changes

The Lima Congress approved a number of changes to the statutes of the Socialist International.

Proposing the new provisions, the SI general secretary, Pentti Vääränen, said that the old statutes — last revised at the 1978 Vancouver Congress — had been drawn up for a much smaller organisation than the present International, and there was therefore a need for updating them to correspond to present realities and practices.

In the new statutes approved at Lima, the name ‘Bureau’, which suggests a relatively small body, is changed to ‘Council’. The Council remains the main decision-making body of the International between meetings of the Congress.

The new statutes also further clarify the position of the president as the political leader of the International. In future, the president will be able to convene meetings of either the presidium — president, honorary presidents, vicepresidents and the general secretary — or of party leaders at his or her discretion. The presidium becomes a legal body of the SI, while party leaders’ conferences will not need to be held each year.

In another change, the Congress of the SI will now meet every three years, rather than every second year.

New SIMEC chair

Hans-Jürgen Wischnerowski, a former deputy chair and treasurer of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), was elected the new chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC) at the Lima Bureau meeting on 19 June.

The post had been vacant since the resignation of Mario Soares, the then general secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS), following his election as president of the republic on 16 February.
Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean

The Socialist International expresses its deep satisfaction at holding its congress, for the first time in its history, in Latin America— in Lima, Peru, with the Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP) and its leader, the president of the republic, comrade Alan García Pérez, as host. The Aprista government, the first in Peru’s history, reflects the will for change and transformation throughout the Latin American continent. The Congress of the Socialist International appreciates the action taken by the government of Peru to surmount the problems stemming from unjust international economic structures.

The Congress of the Socialist International also reaffirms its condemnation of terrorist acts and expressed its solidarity with the democratic government of Peru in its efforts to maintain and defend the rights and freedoms of its people.

Democracy is today a reality in most of the countries of the region. The contributions made by the parties and governments of the Socialist International to the heroic struggle of the Latin American people have been decisive.

The struggles conducted by Latin Americans against dictatorships, to ensure a respect for human rights and in support of the economic and social demands of the majority of the people, have opened the way to new possibilities for political progress in the region.

The strides made by democracy have resulted in the recent overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Jean Claude Duvalier in Haiti, the...
To firmly establish democracy in Latin America, it is necessary that it be implemented at all levels of society. Only a true economic and social democracy can guarantee a lasting political democracy.

The existence in Latin American societies of deeply rooted inequalities, together with oligarchically oriented economic groups and interests, have prevented the fulfillment of the aspirations for justice and freedom of people in those countries. Unjust international economic relations have also resulted in Latin America and the Caribbean suffering the consequences of an unbalanced trade and financial conditions which seriously affect the region.

In consolidating democracy, the forces which are holding back the progress of freedom, both nationally and internationally, must be defeated. It is imperative to establish a new international economic order which would eliminate the injustices of the unbalanced trade between the developed and the developing nations.

The reaffirmation of the political and economic independence of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean today requires that their right to development, self-determination and sovereignty be defended.

The Socialist International is committed to supporting the struggle for democracy and social justice in Latin America and the Caribbean. Today democratic socialism, through the action and dedication of its member parties in the region, is furthering the task of building free, just and solidary societies on the continent.
In working towards the consolidation of democracy it is essential to face up to the present debt crisis stemming from an unjust international economic order which generates a continuous cycle of exploitation and poverty for the countries of the region.

In Chile the Pinochet dictatorship responds with increasing violence to the peaceful mobilization of the people who demand with ever more strength the immediate reestablishment of democracy. The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle to regain political freedom and put an end to the violations of human rights, and expresses its full support for the Radical Party (PR) of Chile and for other democratic forces in their efforts to overthrow the dictatorship.

In Paraguay, the struggle for democracy and against the dictatorship of Stroessner signals an end to the oldest dictatorship in the continent. The efforts of the Paraguayan people, along with the mobilization of the democratic parties, strengthens the possibilities of achieving freedom. The Socialist International expresses its solidarity with the Federista Revolutionary Party (PRF) and with the other democratic forces of Paraguay and decided to send a mission in order to establish direct contacts with those forces and to gather information on the current situation in that country.

Central America continues to be threatened by a deepening of the present crisis which compromises the peace and stability of the region. The worsening of that crisis also represents a threat to international peace and security. The achievement of a lasting peace in that region must continue to be a priority for the international community in order to consolidate the progress towards democracy and to solve its serious economic and social problems. The proposals of the Latin American foreign ministers calling for a Latin American solution, self-determination, non-interference in the affairs of other states, territorial integrity, pluralist democracy, a ban on foreign troops or advisers, non-support for subservient groups and respect for human rights, constitute essential elements in the search for peace in Central America.

The Socialist International reiterates its firm support for the Contadora Group initiative and its efforts for peace, security, political pluralism and development in Central America, and in particular the fundamental aims announced by the Latin American foreign ministers:

- an end to foreign support for the irregular forces and subservient groups operating in the region;
- an end to the acquisition of arms and their programmed reduction;
- elimination of international military manoeuvres;
- elimination of the presence of foreign military advisers and foreign military installations;
- a commitment to non-aggression by the five Central American countries;
- effective steps leading to national reconciliation and the full achievement of human rights and individual freedoms;
- the expansion of regional and international cooperation to alleviate the pressing economic and social problems afflicting the Central American region.

With regard to Nicaragua, we reject the Reagan administration's policy of destabilisation, economic blockade and support for military assistance to the irregular forces that are operating against that independent and sovereign nation. That policy, which has been increasingly criticised both within the United States and by other countries of the world, enhances the possibilities of a generalised military conflict in the region and runs counter to a negotiated political solution to the Central American crisis.

In the case of Nicaragua, it is also noted that the institutionalization, development and implementation of the Sandinista revolution's declared objectives of non-alignment, pluralism and a mixed economy have not yet been accomplished.

These objectives have been and will be supported by the Socialist International, and we shall continue to work towards the achievement of a peaceful solution in Nicaragua.

The use of Honduran territory as a base for military actions in Central America not only threatens its sovereignty, but also extends the regional conflict and endangers the development of democracy in that country, worsening its economic and social problems. The existence of those bases also constitutes a threat to the achievement of political solutions to the conflicts in the region.

In El Salvador, we hope that the recent proposals for a dialogue between the government and the Revolutionary Democratic Front / Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) will lead to serious talks that would put an end to the armed conflict, with its dramatic consequences of human rights violations and an increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons.

Our member party in El Salvador, the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the people of that country and the international community insist on respect for human rights and the existence of full political freedoms. The government of the United States should not insist on placing this conflict in the context of the East-West confrontation, so that a solution can be sought and found through Latin American channels and perspectives.

In Guatemala, the transition to civilian government has initiated a process for the democratisation of Guatemalan society after years of military rule. The Socialist International supports the efforts of those democratic organisations in Guatemala working to further this process, in particular its member party, the Democratic Socialist Party (PSD).

The policy announced by the new president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias Sánchez, reaffirming his country's vocation for peace and neutrality, constitutes a decisive contribution towards strengthening democracy and encouraging the creation of a favourable climate for the solution to the crisis in Central America.

Confronted by the evident intensification of the Central American conflict and the dangers posed to peace in the hemisphere by an armed conflagration, involving the presence of military forces of the major powers, the Socialist International demands of the Reagan administration and the United States Congress that they put forward constructive solutions which would make it possible to reestablish peace.

With regard to Panama, the fulfilment of the Canal Treaties and the respect for the neutrality of the zone must be guaranteed so that the waterway fully reverts to the Panamanian nation. Latin American and international solidarity with the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the people of Panama must be broadened until these aims are fully accomplished, particularly in view of the attempts to demerit Panamanian involvement and to prolong the military and administrative presence of the United States in the Canal Zone.

In the case of Puerto Rico, the Socialist International supports the resolution of the Special Committee of the United Nations of 14 August 1985, and extends a fraternal and solidarity greeting to the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

The Socialist International has viewed with serious concern several recent developments in the English-speaking Caribbean which endanger the maintenance of the region as a zone of peace. The invasion of Grenada in 1983 constituted a dangerous precedent which must not be repeated. The militarisation of that region must be strongly denounced, as must any attempt to involve this zone in the East-West conflict.

The Socialist International supports the holding of elections in Haiti as soon as possible in answer to the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people.

We call upon the government of Great Britain to initiate immediately negotiations with the government of Argentina on all aspects relating to the future of the Falklands/Malvinas, Georgias and South Atlantic Islands, with special emphasis on sovereignty, in the open spirit reflected in the joint declaration signed by President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina and the British Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, at the Paris meeting in September 1985.

Finally, the Socialist International warmly welcomes the affiliation as consultative members of our organisation, of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) of Brazil, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Panama and the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) of Bolivia.

The Lima Mandate

In this historic first meeting of the Socialist International in Latin America, the mandate of our organisation to adopt a new statement of principles, to be called the Lima Declaration, on the basis of the following.

(1) In 1951, the Socialist International was reconstituted after the enormous disruptions of the second world war. At that point, decolonialisation had only begun and our movement was primarily European in membership and outlook. However, it was, and is, one of the enduring achievements of the International’s Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 that it clearly insisted upon the critical importance of freedom, as means and end, in our principles.

(2) It is once again time that we reformulate those principles. The world has changed since 1951, and so have we. We have lived through the unprecedented internationalisation of the global economy; we have participated in democratic governments and revolutionary transformations, seeking to achieve national autonomy or progress toward socialism, and we must make every effort to draw the lessons from both our victories and our defeats.

(3) We have had to confront the political implications of weapons that can destroy the world; we have understood the physical preconditions of life could be destroyed by the uncontrolled industrialisation of the North or by an exploitation of the environment in the South arising out of attempts to live within the intolerable constraints of the world market. We have seen the attempts of African socialists to build upon their communal traditions in a transition to an authentically African socialism. And, particularly since 1976, our own international has expanded dramatically in the Third World, both in terms of membership and activity.

(4) It is our task to define the truly global relevance of democratic socialism in a world which is daily becoming more unified by brute economic facts and desperately needs an international vision which will reconcile one in freedom, justice, and solidarity as well. And that is why we now commit ourselves to draw up the Declaration of Lima on the basis of the principles that follow.

(5) Socialism is a movement for human liberation by means of the democratisation of the political, economic, social and cultural structures of national and world society.

(6) One can say: socialism is democracy in its most profound, comprehensive and international expression.

(7) As such, socialism cannot be thought of as a luxury for the citizens of the advanced economies but as a universal human right to individual and communal self-determination in a world in which power and domination are increasingly international.

(8) In the nineteenth century, we were told that the workers and peasants of the emerging capitalist societies were not yet capable of democracy. We exploded that lie in theory and in struggle. Now there are those - and not only the white racists of South Africa - who say that the people of the Third World cannot successfully rule themselves. We will help to explode that lie in theory and in struggle.

(9) We obviously take this stand out of solidarity with people fighting for their freedom everywhere in the world. But there is another reason for it: since the structures of power are increasing internationally, no national movement for socialism can truly succeed on its own. Capital is more global than ever before and the poverty of the Third World is even now being used as a weapon to nullify the social gains of the people in the advanced economies.

(10) So is our commitment to democracy, for there can be no socialism without freedom. We fight political oppression as well as economic exploitation for many reasons but one of the most important is this: democracy is the essential mechanism for the control by the people over the economic and social conditions of their own lives, nationally and throughout the world. It is not an element of the political 'superstructure' to be added after the achievement of socialism. It is the indispensable basis of popular power itself. So we reject all class dictatorships, and every class of dictatorship.

(11) That power can assert itself in many different ways, some of them yet to be created. For democratic socialism is not simply socialised property or government planning, through both may well be means to its ends. And it is certainly not a fixed blueprint of an economic system. It is, rather, the implementation of the basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity by means of a process of democratisation which seeks, precisely, to free the spontaneous creativity of the people at the base. It will, therefore, be enriched by the contributions of different cultures and traditions in a worldwide movement.

(12) But, however diverse the forms of socialism may be, all socialists are committed to a society in which every citizen can freely participate in the making of political, economic and social decisions; in which ever new modes of that participation can be explored and developed; in which social problems and political differences are settled by open and democratic discussion.

(13) Clearly, such a conception of democracy requires, at a minimum, the election of the people's representatives by universal, direct and secret ballot; the protection of individual rights, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of education, of voluntary association, of religion and of minority rights; and a system of justice dependent on the law alone, from which no one is exempt.

(14) These rights are both individual and collective, guarantees of personal freedom which are also the precondition of popular and democratic power over the economy and society. And they are the foundation of new departures, like direct democracy in economic enterprises or local communities, which will give them even greater social content.

(15) Political democracy, then, is a critically important, but not a sufficient, condition for the socialist transformation we seek. We must also dismantle the economic and social structures of domination which can frustrate, and even annul, democratic political rights.

That basic truth of our movement has been deepened by the struggle of women in recent decades. They have made it clear that we must be as dedicated to the fight against exploitation based on gender as we are to the struggle against exploitation on the basis of race, nation and class. Indeed, each of those commitments is an integral and related part of our goal of human liberation.

(16) The roots of oppression and inequality are not simply economic. To be sure, the domination of women by men, the most ancient form of social oppression, has economic manifestations, like wage discrimination and the segregation of women in inferior positions in the labour market. But this is a specific and historic phenomenon, the generalisation of the principle of the patriarchal family and of the organisation of society on the basis of a gender hierarchy. The equality of women and women will thus not be the result of a merely formal and juridical change but demands a veritable revolution in daily life itself.

(17) Socialists struggle for human emancipation in the economy and for effective national independence from political economic domination, for the same reason that we battle for the emancipation of women, their real equality with men in every area of social life, beginning with daily life. The richness, variety, and also the complexity of our movement, are the result of the fact that we seek to combine all these structural forces to give expression to all the emancipatory movements in the framework of dialogue and political democracy.

(18) For all these reasons, there is no one model for socialism, but there are basic values and fundamental conceptions of political, economic and social rights which are common to all the parties in the International. We are a profoundly pluralist movement which does not identify with any one philosophical interpretation of socialism. And we believe that socialist theories must be adapted to a changing world society so that each people and each generation can set their own stamp on the reality of their time and place.

(19) The Declaration of Lima must redefine democratic socialism on the basis of these principles set forth at this historic first congress of the Socialist International in Latin America.

Adapted by the SI Congress, Lima, Peru, 20-23 June 1986.
All states are sovereign, but are some more sovereign than others?

Taking the issue of US aggression against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, the leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada, ED BROADBENT, examines the principle of self-determination of nations.

The world of a politician is a world of light and shadow. Never merely pragmatic it is always moral. We in the Socialist International have always had to face the difficulty of reconciling certain universal principles with their application in a variety of countries with widely divergent histories.

It is a problem, it is difficult – but it must be done.

We strive constantly to apply our principles of equality, liberty and solidarity within our own nations, of course; this is a difficult task, but one we take for granted.

But just as we must make critical judgements at home, we must also do the same when we look at other countries.

Cultural and historical differences must certainly be taken into account, but they never absolve us of the obligation to judge, decide and act. Surely this is in good measure what international socialism is all about.

When we talk about democracy, pluralism, religious freedom, tolerance, human rights and self-determination, we are not giving voice to mere abstractions relevant only to a few nations; we are talking about human values and ideals.
that we believe desirable for all people, at all times, in all parts of our world. They are standards for judgement, imperfectly realised at home or abroad, now or in the future.

Having said this, let us consider Nicaragua.

Whatever the differences, the right to choose

Beginning at our 1978 congress in Vancouver, we in the Socialist International have watched, encouraged and supported the democratic overthrow of the Somoza regime and all it represented. We have consistently assisted and defended Nicaragua’s subsequent development towards democracy.

We have supported the Sandinista government’s stated commitment to political pluralism, a mixed economy and non-alignment. Many SI party leaders and delegations have visited Nicaragua; we have kept informed on developments there and discussed the situation in depth as events have unfolded.

We admire the determined progress Nicaraguans have made in providing universal education, health care and other services. Immediately after the fall of Somoza, for example, there was a major campaign to establish universal literacy throughout Nicaragua; it was widely successful.

Great progress has been made in health care: infant mortality has been reduced to one-third of its level under Somoza, life expectancy has been raised from 48 years in 1978 to 58 years in 1984 and the incidence of disease, malnutrition and accidental death have been significantly lowered—polio, for instance, has not been reported in Nicaragua since 1981.

In spite of the severe demands of the war, the Sandinistas have also made important economic gains: a land reform and redistribution programme has made steady progress. In 1979, 98 percent of the land was owned by 2 percent of landowners; since then 40 percent of the farmland has been distributed.

By 1984, 3,000 new, independent cooperatives were in business, providing income stability, credit on easy terms and better access to tools, materials and equipment for peasants who had been cruelly exploited under the Somoza dictatorship.

It is worth nothing that these worthy accomplishments are almost never mentioned in North American media. Sometimes inescapably the presence in the governing body of Marxist-Leninist elements who have no commitment to human rights as seen by social democrats. Willy Brandt’s dictum ‘socialism without human rights would be like Christianity without Christ’, would have no meaning to some governing elements.

We are aware of discrimination against trade unions affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Amnesty International reports some departures from due process of law and the intimidation of the government’s critics, along with other human rights breaches by both sides in the war.

In short, most social democrats see Nicaragua with open eyes and clear principles. We are under no illusions about circumstances in Nicaragua and their divergencies from the principles of social democracy.

That said, however, we are also committed to a worldwide movement to the equally important, but quite different, principle of national self-determination. We assert that Nicaragua is as entitled as any other country on earth to this right. We hope they choose the social democratic path; but whether they do or not, it is their right to choose.

From a different perspective, the Reagan administration might want Nicaragua, Jamaica, Peru or Brazil to choose a conservative democratic capitalist path for development, i.e., like that of Venezuela or Costa Rica following the second world war. But it is the right of these peoples not that of the US government, to choose this destiny or some other. Similarly, in another corner of the world the Soviet Union has no right to impose its preferred regime on the people of Afghanistan.

It is up to us as an international socialist movement to make this very clear. Superpowers, domestically democratic or not, must keep their hands off other nations and their noses out of these countries’ business. There cannot be two systems of international law, one for the weak and one for the strong. There is only one system and it must hold for all the nations of this world.

The US and Nicaragua: a record of military harassment and economic sabotage

As a Canadian who regularly holidays in a small New England community and knows at first-hand the Americans’ deep commitment to democracy in their own country, I am constantly dismayed by their government’s refusal to leave other countries in the hemisphere alone.

Reviewing this twentieth-century record of military harassment, economic sabotage and political upheaval, one can only shake one’s head in sadness.

A partial but dismaying list of American actions against the Managua government and Nicaraguan people since the overthrow of Somoza includes:

- economic warfare: termination of all bilateral assistance to Nicaragua, reduction of US imports of Nicaraguan goods, interference with and veto of loans from International bodies like the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank and lobbying against investments by private American banks and companies; and
- a full economic embargo against
Nicaragua, announced at the Bonn Summit in 1985;
- the 'Big Pine' military manoeuvres in Honduras, assembling 1,400 US and 4,000 Honduran troops on the Nicaraguan border in February 1983;
- CIA preparation of a terrorist handbook for the contras, *Psychological Operations & Guerilla Warfare*, outlining means to frighten the populace into submission;
- engineering of an agreement with the former Argentinian military government to train contras and channel arms to them;
- extensive naval exercises off the Nicaraguan coast over six months in 1983, involving 19 US ships and 4,000 American troops;
- small-scale air strikes against the Managua airport, civilian targets in the city and storage depots in Corinto in September 1983, carried out by aircraft belonging to CIA front company;
- American-supervised mining of Nicaragua's harbours in January 1984;
- American contempt of an UN Security Council resolution in April 1984 condemning outside military involvement in Nicaragua;
- refusal to accept the International Court of Justice's rulings on the harbour minings, culminating in June 1986, in refusal to abide by the court's ruling against the United States; and
- veto of a UN Security Council resolution in August calling for 'full compliance' with the International Court's decision.

How can this sustained American economic aggression and violation of international law against a struggling nation of 2.8 million people be explained?

Is it the security needs of the United States? Hardly! Nicaragua has a smaller population and is certainly poorer than the state of Massachusetts. No one could believe it could launch attacks or act effectively on behalf of the Soviet Union, even should it wish to.

No, surely such sustained harassment must be seen as a refusal by the United States administration to accept as legitimate any newly emerging Central American state that does not comply with a model of development chosen by the United States.

The message is clear: either fall into a pattern acceptable to the Reagan administration or the US will make life miserable or impossible.

**The crippling costs**

The costs of this intractability are huge, not only for Nicaragua, but for the entire region. There has been a massive increase in the militarisation of Central America, largely due to the shift in US priorities from development to 'defence against communism'. Thus while American public aid to Central America increased twenty-fold between 1978 and 1985, the share attributed to 'security' grew from 26 percent in 1980 to 70 percent in 1985.

The United States has also clearly indicated its lack of faith in the Contadora Group's efforts to find a peaceful solution for Central America – notwithstanding the fact that virtually all of Latin America and Canada have supported Contadora. The Reagan administration refused to sign either the September 1983 agreement accepted by Nicaragua or any subsequent Contadora draft. It is now quite clear the US is willing to facilitate or impose a military solution to the acute economic, social and political problems of Central America. Tragically, Members of the US Senate and House of Representatives have now joined with Reagan in voting for military funding for the Contras in Nicaragua.

The effect of this undeclared war on Nicaragua has been devastating. As resources are increasingly diverted to war, the government's ability to improve the lot of its people is reduced. Already between October 1983 and October 1984, Nicaraguan workers lost 40 percent of their purchasing power and over 50 hospitals, 360 schools and 840 adult education centres were closed due to attacks or sabotage. Nicaragua is now spending half its annual budget on the war.

By 19 July this year, the seventh anniversary of the fall of Somoza, the war had claimed over 31,000 casualties among Sandinista and contra troops. The Sandinistas also claim 1,125 civilians have been killed.

In recent months the contras have stepped up their attacks on civilians, apparently singling out foreign aid workers as specific targets.

This situation is unacceptable to Central Americans, South Americans and the Socialist International.

Our movement must stand united with Nicaragua today and other Latin American nations tomorrow in their insistence on shaping their own destinies.

It is clear that we must oppose the aggression of strong nations against their weaker neighbours even when those neighbours may be making decisions with which we disagree.
Ending apartheid

A view from Britain

The refusal of the Conservative government to contemplate effective sanctions has meant that Britain has been seen by many as a supporter of the Botha regime. In this interview, DENIS HEaley, the foreign affairs spokesman of the British Labour Party, describes his recent visit to South Africa and sets out his party's policies.

Who did you meet during your recent visit to South Africa, why did you go and what were the circumstances when you arrived?

Healey: The main purpose of my visit was to demonstrate the solidarity of the British Labour Party with those fighting apartheid and to generate some public interest in the issue through the media. I decided the best time to go would be between the publication of the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and the debate on South Africa at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London in August.

As it happened, I arrived just about a week after the declaration of the state of emergency. It was an extremely fraught situation and I spent more time trying to find out what was happening than I'd originally expected. The anti-apartheid organisations estimated that there were 3,000 people detained at the time. Now that the government is admitting detaining 8,000 people, the alternative estimate has risen to between 12,000 and 15,000.

My main contact was with people fighting apartheid. I saw activists from the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Durban and held a secret meeting with UDF leaders in Johannesburg. I also met the trade unions, particularly in Durban and also a few in Johannesburg, and had the privilege of meeting some of the women - including Winnie Mandela, of course - who have been very active in the anti-apartheid struggle and suffered for it. I also met a lot of the church people. It must be said that at a time when formal activities by political parties and trade unions are heavily restricted, the churches are carrying a big part of the burden. It was very heart-warming to see the church leaders, both catholic and protestant, recognising that the majority of their congregation was black. The ones I met identified themselves unreservedly with the struggle for black majority rule.

At the end of my visit, I also had talks with a fairly representative group of twenty-four members of the British South African Chamber of Commerce. A number of white opponents from the Progressive Federal Party were also present, as was an Afrikaner journalist who had just been sacked for being too liberal.

Over the years there has been an almost symbiotic relationship between apartheid and capitalist interests in South Africa. From your contact with the white political leaders and the business groups, did you see any loosening of this link?

Healey: Up to a point, yes. One thing I learned when I was there was that the majority of the business community is English speaking and does not support the Nationalist Party. Its representatives now recognise that apartheid and the Botha regime are a threat to the survival of their companies and told me that they agreed with the analysis made in the EPG report that South Africa is sliding towards a blood bath in which all western interests will be lost. Nevertheless, when I asked what they were doing about this politically, I got the very wet reply that the English speakers are in a minority in South Africa and that there was very little they could do. Now I just don't believe that's true.

What they are doing, of course, is voting with their feet. They are selling their businesses or divesting and there is a flow - which is not yet a flood - of professional people with marketable skills moving out of South Africa. On the whole their position was very disappointing.

White businessmen I met in Zambia, however, identify much more closely with the black struggle. Indeed, I found that prominent leaders of big multinational companies, some based in South Africa, were strongly supportive of sanctions.

But are they in favour of one-person-one-vote?

Healey: In the end, I think one-person-one-vote is going to come. I was struck by the comment of someone who had attended a seminar at the most nationalistic of all the Afrikaner universities that every single Afrikaner there thought that there would be black majority rule within fifteen years. But then, of course, they are equally determined to slow it up and prevent it happening. They have no policy whatever for developing a smooth transition between the present situation and the inevitable future. This, in my opinion, is where the role of the outside world is of critical importance. If we can increase pressure there is a chance that some of the people who already recognise what is inevitable will begin to take the political problems related to the transition much more seriously.

The tragedy at the moment is that the people arrested are all responsible leaders of black opinion in the townships and unions or political organisations like the UDF. The menace which the regime is storing up for itself is that if they remove all the responsible leadership, then the frustrations of the blacks in the townships may explode into uncontrolled and un-directed acts of violence.

Speaking of the outside world, Britain has been at the centre of the South African issue over the last few months, and it seems that the Thatcher government is getting...
away with its claim that sanctions would 'harm the blacks and lose British jobs'.

What is the Labour Party’s policy at the moment and what is its strategy for winning the arguments and building an effective campaign for sanctions?

Healey: Firstly, I think we can repeat the argument put forward by the conservative former prime minister of Australia, Malcolm Fraser, that if the outside world does not succeed in bringing about a peaceful transition, then all western influence and interests will be swept away in the blood bath that will follow.

Secondly, all responsible leaders of black opinion, particularly trade union leaders, whose members stand to suffer most from sanctions, believe that sanctions are necessary to shorten the agony. This is an area where my own views changed during the visit. Before I went I thought that a progressive tightening of the screw might be the best way. But I came back persuaded that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would be most effective. Whereas a slow escalation of pressure is something to which South Africa will probably be able to adapt economically, a really tough sudden imposition will force change or at least have most chance of forcing change.

The Labour Party’s policy is for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. But, as we know, it is difficult to achieve such measures because they have to be imposed by the United Nations Security Council. At present they would certainly face the veto of the United States, so you have to go for the most that you can get. It’s the governments of the countries that are South Africa’s major trading partners – the US, Britain and Japan – which have been most reluctant to move. Nevertheless, I think you could say with some confidence that if Britain and the US were to move, the Japanese would move; and if the US moved, the pressure on the British government to do so would be enormous.

How did you interpret the recent meeting between Oliver Tambo and the British foreign office minister, Linda Chalker? Does this decision to talk to the ANC indicate any shift in the British government’s policy towards South Africa?

Healey: In view of the fact that the Americans have been meeting representatives of the ANC at an official level for a long time, I asked why the British government wasn’t doing as much as that. As a result they did move. Nevertheless, Chalker is only a junior minister without very great influence, so the decision to meet Tambo was a moderately insulting half-way house.

In Britain, the problem, in my opinion, is entirely the prime minister, and that’s why I think we in the British Labour Party and the trade union movement have a big responsibility to maximise pressure in every way we can for a shift in policy by the British government.

(After this interview took place, Oliver Tambo met the British foreign secretary, Geoffrey Howe, at the latter’s official residence in Chevening on 20 September.)

And what about the United States? Do you think the policy review in June signalled any shift away from the policy of constructive engagement?

Healey: When I was in South Africa, I learned that Reagan had set up a small advisory team to try to establish contact with the ANC. But what is encouraging for us is that there has been a tremendous shift of opinion in the US Congress. The House of Representatives has voted for something very close to comprehensive mandatory sanctions, and the Senate voted for something that goes much further than what has been proposed so far by the Commonwealth or the European Community. The blacks in the US are now deeply engaged in the whole apartheid struggle and that’s the biggest single factor in shifting Congress.

With regard to the ANC, it has been said that the strategy of the British government and the Reagan administration is to both weaken and divide the organisation, in part by attempting to split the communist members away from the nationalists.

Healey: The Americans have published this ridiculous list of communist members of the ANC. I think Reagan has painted himself into a corner by describing the ANC as a communist, terrorist organisation. But there are communists on the executive of the ANC – though not as many as has been claimed – and this has been Reagan’s excuse for not having direct contact with the organisation. However, Tambo made it clear at the conference of the Non-Aligned Movement that there is no question of Reagan or anyone else dictating who should be a member of the ANC and who shouldn’t.

What would be the key sanctions in any package be, and where is the South African government most vulnerable?

Healey: You must go for the sources of foreign exchange for South Africa. While a ban on exports to South Africa would be difficult to organise because of evasion through third countries, sanctions against imports from South Africa would be relatively easy, especially if you go for the big earners like gold, diamonds and metals. A ban on purchases of South African gold could be avoided by smuggling, but one alternative, which has been endorsed by the Economist magazine, would be for countries with large gold stocks to sell them off and depress the price. There’s no way the South Africans could get round that.

One of the South African government’s favourite defence mechanisms against sanctions is the threat of retaliation against the front-line states. How can the international community organise an effective package of sanctions which simultaneously minimises the potential damage to the front-line states?

Healey: Firstly, South Africa could be deterred from retaliation by the international community keeping a few shots back, such as threatening the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Secondly, economic retaliation against the front-line states can only be countered by a massive improvement in communications with the Indian Ocean ports, such as Beira in Mozambique and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. I’m sorry to say that the front-line states have done almost nothing to prepare themselves for this situation, though my impression is that this has been discussed seriously for the first time at the Non-Aligned conference in Harare. This is the single biggest problem because the railway line to Dar es Salaam is poor, the port of Dar es Salaam is limited in capacity and the railway line to Beira is being constantly cut by guerrillas.

What do you think the aim of sanctions should be – there is after all a very grey area between sanctions that contribute to the black struggle and irreparably weaken the regime and those which merely push the regime to carry out reforms from within?

Healey: You can’t irreparably weaken the regime without irreparably weakening the South African economy, and no intelligent black wants that because they want to inherit a viable economy. I think the sensible aim for sanctions is to try to force a dialogue between the government and the leaders of black opinion. That’s what the EPG recommended and it seems to me that’s what the ANC wants from sanctions. I think you need to apply the heaviest possible sanctions as fast as possible because the longer the delay, the greater the possibility that the present moderate and experienced leadership of the black majority will be replaced by a less experienced and maybe less moderate one.

From the way the South African government is going about the situation at the moment, there is the risk that the black side will totally disintegrate and that
a situation similar to that in Lebanon will emerge.

Although there was some contact between Buthelezi and the ANC until as late as 1978, I think Buthelezi has come to the conclusion that it is going to be a Lebanon and that in that case he can carve out a stake in Natal with support from white business. That's not an impossible scenario. At the moment, Buthelezi is the Savimbi of South Africa.

Now whether sanctions will work is another question. History shows that economic pressure alone does not produce big changes in government policies. Economic sanctions allied with internal political pressure, on the other hand, can do it. There is no question that at the end of the Rhodesian affair sanctions began to bite when there was a large civil war.

But doesn't your reference to Rhodesia re-emphasise the urgency of the need for sanctions now? Don't suitable conditions already exist for the combination of internal and external pressure you're talking about?

Healey: South Africa is a very different country and the strength of the armed forces and the police is enormously greater than it was in Rhodesia. In physical terms, the South African regime is very, very powerful indeed and would be absolutely ruthless. Another important point to make about the situation is that the majority of government servants are now Afrikaners - they are running the system and it will be very difficult to shift them. I don't think you should underestimate the scale of these problems.

Nevertheless, my own feeling is that once the world embarks on the sanctions course, it will be compelled if it fails to go to a higher level and it wouldn't surprise me at all to see mandatory comprehensive sanctions supported by a naval blockade within five years.

Surely part of the problem with external pressure at the moment is that it's limited in nature and therefore difficult for the South African government to take seriously. The EPG obviously went to South Africa with good intentions but the initiative was a result of the inability to agree on sanctions at the Commonwealth conference in Nassau in 1985, so they were already beginning from a position of weakness.

Healey: We've always said that it's very difficult to appeal to the better nature of the Botha regime unless this is backed up with the threat of an effective response. Nevertheless, I think the situation is developing in such a way that the alternative is staring the white rulers in the face and I think they accept this. Inevitably, as time passes, pressure will increase and not decrease.

So, under what circumstances would negotiations between the South African government and the ANC have any meaning and how do you see the role of outside world in bringing them about?

Healey: The negotiations would have to be about power, because the issue is no longer about racial segregation, it's about political power, who runs the country. As in Rhodesia, it would be a long and difficult negotiation, but in the end it would succeed. It will be a negotiation in which the outsiders don't play a big role. We'd produce a situation in which negotiations took place, of course, but we shouldn't imagine that we can tell the ANC what sort of constitution to go for. That will have to be negotiated.

Finally, if there's going to be any radical change in South Africa, it's going to have to entail democratic rights for all citizens and also a redistribution of wealth. How do you see the path for socialist advance in South Africa?

Healey: I think you'll find the answer to that question by looking at the history of all colonial transitions. The probability is that a black government there would want white business to stay on very much as conditions are now. It would really want growth in the economy. And let's face it, the socialist/communist model has not been a very attractive one in the Third World, where the failures are much more notable than the successes. But this is not for us to tell them. They will have to decide for themselves what priority to give to socialist principles as against keeping the show on the road.
A regional example

On 6 August last year – Hiroshima Day – eight South Pacific countries signed the Rarotonga Treaty with the aim of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. JOHN LANGMORE examines the treaty's significance as an initiative of regional arms control.

Article VII of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty recognises the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties so as to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons from their respective territories. The 1957 Antarctic Treaty was the first such arms-limitation agreement in the post-1945 period, followed by the 1959 Treaty of Tlatelolco, which broke important ground by establishing the first nuclear weapons free zone in an inhabited region, namely Latin America.

However, it is the Pacific Ocean region which has borne the brunt of the nuclear age. From the mining of uranium and the testing of nuclear weapons and delivery systems to the visits of nuclear ships and the disposal of nuclear waste, the Pacific has been involved in all aspects of the nuclear cycle. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was launched from the Micronesian island of Tinian. Many residents of Bikini and Rongelap Islands, as well as a boatload of Japanese fishermen, suffered tragically as a result of US nuclear testing in Micronesia. The Polynesians of Tahiti are also affected by increased health problems and dislocation of their economy and society as a result of French nuclear testing.

Thus it is not surprising that the South Pacific region should become the second inhabited region to introduce a treaty limiting some of these nuclear activities. The South Pacific Nuclear-Free Pacific Zone Treaty, the Treaty of Rarotonga, was opened for signature on Hiroshima Day, 6 August 1985. On that day eight South Pacific nations signed it at the conclusion of the meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Rarotonga, the capital of the Cook Islands. The negotiation of this treaty has a long history, and its final form is a compromise. Nevertheless its coming into force will represent an advance in arms control measures of regional and global significance, particularly if the five nuclear powers can be convinced to sign its protocols.

The geographical boundaries of the treaty area stretch from Latin America, where it meets the zone defined by the Treaty of Tlatelolco, to the west coast of Australia. In the south it extends as far as the Antarctic zone and to the north it crosses the equator to include the island state of Kiribati, though not the US trust territories of the Marshall Islands, Palau or the Federated States of Micronesia.

The initiative for a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific was taken by the then New Zealand Labour prime minister, Norman Kirk, in the early 1970s. At the 1975 UN General Assembly, a resolution sponsored by New Zealand, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, urging the creation of a South Pacific nuclear-free zone, was carried. However with the demise of Labour governments in Australia and New Zealand in the mid-1970s the proposal did not re-surface.

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is an Australian Labor Party member of parliament and a founder member of Labor Parliamentarians for a Nuclear Free Australia.
again at the South Pacific Forum until 1983, after the election of the Hawke Labor government in Australia. In the interim other governments, in particular the Lini government of Vanuatu, together with a range of non-government organisations, kept up the demands for a nuclear-free Pacific treaty. The continued nuclear testing by the French government has provoked increasingly strong opposition from all Pacific governments, whatever their political orientation.

At the 1983 meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Canberra, Australia made a proposal for a nuclear-free zone banning the deployment and stationing of nuclear weapons, nuclear testing and nuclear waste dumping. But other Forum members wanted a more specific document and more time to consider it. Several, including Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu and Fiji, already banned the entry of nuclear capable ships to their ports. The 1984 meeting established a working party of officials from all Forum countries to discuss a text.

The treaty they came up with is in fact more comprehensive than the Treaty of Tlatelolco, covering Latin America. Dumping of nuclear waste at sea and so-called ‘peaceful nuclear explosions’, both allowed by Tlatelolco, are prohibited by the Treaty of Rarotonga.

A great deal has been said and written about whether the treaty will actually have any effect in reducing current nuclear activity in the Pacific. Perhaps the treaty’s most controversial aspects in the region have been that it does not prohibit the passage of nuclear-armed and -powered ships, fails to prevent missile testing (such as that conducted by the US in Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands) and says nothing about uranium mining, processing or export (which is going on in Australia).

During the negotiations four Forum members, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and Vanuatu, urged the inclusion of a ban on nuclear-missile testing. Vanuatu and Nauru also sought to include bans on uranium exports. Countries such as Vanuatu and the Solomons, which ban the transit of nuclear-powered or -armed vessels in their territorial waters, argued that such a ban should be mandatory within the zone. However, it was agreed that this should be a matter for individual countries.

The Rarotonga Treaty was signed by eight South Pacific countries – Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Niue, Tuvalu and Western Samoa – on Hiroshima Day, 6 August 1985. It was later signed by Papua New Guinea, but not by Vanuatu or the Solomons, which claim the provisions of the treaty are not comprehensive enough. Nauru has still to make a decision and Tonga has not signed on the grounds that the treaty is too restrictive to the nuclear powers.

Despite the fact that many hoped it would go further, the Rarotonga South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty represents an advance in arms control. An integral part of the treaty are the Protocols to be signed by the nuclear weapons powers. So far only China has indicated definitely that it will sign the protocols. The Soviet Union has welcomed the treaty but not yet indicated whether it will sign. The US initially ridiculed the treaty, later announcing that it was being studied. Its more recent position appears to be to tie signing of the treaty to a change in New Zealand’s position on port access to nuclear-powered and -armed ships, though no decision has yet been announced. The US government also defends France’s right to continue nuclear testing, necessary, it says, for the ‘modernisation’ of France’s independent nuclear deterrent. The present British government will obviously be guided by whether the US signs and it is highly unlikely that France will.

France claims to be supportive of the concept of nuclear-free zones, and to welcome proposals for such zones in the Middle East and Africa. However the French government questions the utility of a zone in the South Pacific claiming that the region includes mostly international airspaces or waters which fall outside any restrictions, that the risk of horizontal proliferation in the South Pacific region appears quite remote and that the five nuclear powers have already agreed internationally to give negative security guarantees, which could hardly be specified further at a regional level. A delegation of Forum representatives which visited Europe to discuss the treaty with the nuclear powers was told an end to nuclear testing cannot that, as far as France is concerned, be a condition of, or even a prerequisite for, global reduction in nuclear arsenals.

Regardless of whether these countries sign the protocols, the treaty will provide a legal basis for pressure from the international community on the nuclear powers to abide by its requirements, (particularly when it has been signed and ratified by eight members and registered with the United Nations.)

The treaty is also a demonstration to other countries that steps can and should be taken by regional groups of countries which will limit the nuclear activity of the nuclear powers. This has already sparked off interest elsewhere and in the Southeast Asian, Indian Ocean and African regions, proposals have been initiated for nuclear-free zones. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia has taken the lead in advocating a ‘zone of peace, freedom and neutrality’, and the Malaysian foreign minister has spoken of the desirability of a nuclear-weapons-free zone. At the most recent meeting of the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) commissioned a working group to look into the possibilities of inaugurating a nuclear-free zone in the region, modelled on the one in the South Pacific. The proposal for a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, which was first initiated over a decade ago, has received new impetus since the finalising of the Rarotonga Treaty, as have proposals for zones in Africa and various parts of Europe. Nuclear-free zones are clearly a way for smaller countries to send a message to the nuclear powers that they would like to see nuclear activity reduced or halted altogether.

The Labor government in Australia has now introduced two bills to parliament, the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone
Treaty Bill and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation (Safeguards) Bill, both designed to give domestic legislative effect to Australia's international non-proliferation obligation under various treaties including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Treaty of Rarotonga. The Australian Office of Safeguards, for which these bills provide the legislative basis, will monitor compliance with all Australia's international obligations under treaties concerning nuclear activity to which Australia is a signatory.

These two bills are the result of initiatives of Labor members of parliament, in particular members of Labor Parliamentarians for a Nuclear Free Australia, a group which lobbies within the ALP for a stronger stand on nuclear issues. Australia is the first country to introduce such legislation and the bills go far beyond the minimum technically required for the purposes of ratification of the treaty and cover all the major provisions of the treaty. The clause prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons anywhere in the zone will prevent so-called 'homeporting' by US nuclear-powered warships in Australia.

The South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty, despite its limitations, is an action with ramifications that are out of proportion with the small populations of the sponsoring countries. There are, however, indications that several South Pacific countries, in particular the Melanesian states Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, are dissatisfied with a treaty which allows the superpowers free access with nuclear-powered vessels to the region. In 1988 the US will begin deploying its Trident II missiles, which will be highly accurate and have first-strike capacity. Australia will inevitably be involved in communications for this first-strike weapon through its hosting of the US-Australia joint communications facilities.

There are also other reasons for grave concern about current US policies. The massive annual increases in US military spending are of greatest concern, but such policies as the strategic defence initiative, the attack on Libya, the decision to produce a new generation of chemical weapons, the abandonment of SALT II, the long refusal to negotiate a comprehensive test ban or respond constructively to the Soviet Union's test moratorium, and the failure to approach the Geneva arms control and disarmament negotiations seriously, suggest, even to friends of the US, that the current administration wishes only to prevaricate about arms control and disarmament while dramatically increasing military strength. The Reagan administration is acting in ways which can only be described as aggressive. Verbal protests by allies have made no impact on that behaviour. More definite action will therefore be required to emphasise to the administration the strength of opposition to its current policies. New Zealand has already taken such action by prohibiting visits by nuclear-powered and -armed vessels. Australia could well consider withdrawing agreement to locate one or more of the joint communication facilities in the country.

The North West Cape Communications Station is the joint facility with least justification, for its purpose is to maintain reliable communications with submarines of the US fleet serving in the Indian and Western Pacific Ocean. It is an integral part of the US military system but has no subsidiary role in early warning or verification of arms control and disarmament agreements as do the other two major joint facilities in Australia. There are no unique geographic or other features which require the North West Cape facility to be located in Australia. The threat not to renew the agreement when it expires in 1988 could therefore be a significant but not seriously damaging action, indicative of the strength of Australian opposition to many aspects of current US military policy.

The Rarotonga South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty is a clear expression of the extent of concern about the nuclear arms race in the region. As well as embodying significant constraints on action by present and future governments of signatory countries, and on the action of nuclear powers in the area, it also sets an example to other regions of the world. It is nevertheless only one step and many more must be taken before the arms race is effectively ended.

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**CONNECTIONS**

**International Alert**

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International Alert was founded in 1985 to focus attention on problems of group conflict which violate human rights, obstruct development, and result in mass killings and even genocide. It works with other organisations, institutions and universities to identify present and potential conflicts where international public opinion and approaches to governments can be effective in bringing about peaceful settlements. International Alert is establishing research, membership and support groups to concentrate on individual countries about which they have specialised knowledge and experience.

As part of its initial activities, International Alert has created an International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka and a Uganda Watch Committee; a project is in preparation regarding the conflict in Chad; and other projects in Western and Eastern Europe, Asia and the Americas are being studied.

Groups exist in London, Los Angeles and Cambridge, Mass, with others already in formation in France and Australia.

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**Council on Foreign Relations**

58 East 68 Street
New York
NY 10021
United States

The Council on Foreign Relations is a non-profit organisation devoted to promoting improved understanding of international affairs through the exchange of ideas.

From time to time, books and monographs written by members of the Council's research staff or visiting fellows, or commissioned by the Council, or written by an independent author with critical review contributed by a Council study or working group are published with the designation Council on Foreign Relations Book.

Recent publications have included: *Third World Instability: Central America as a European-American Issue*; *Rape for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa; Arms and the African; The Military Influences on Africa's International Relations; American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis; Latin Migration North: The Problems for US Foreign Policy; A Changing Israel; Unemployment and Growth in the Western Economies*.

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Throughout the western world the epidemic of mass unemployment continues barely abated. In one country after another the wholesale loss of jobs, particularly in manufacturing industry, is being accompanied by the symptoms of progressive deindustrialisation.

Right-wing monetarist governments have given up virtually any serious attempt to find a path back to anything approaching full employment. On the left, however, there is an upsurge of interest in new forms of economic initiative and intervention which can reverse the tide of unemployment and deindustrialisation.

In Britain such a reversal is more desperately needed than in many other countries. Since 1981 the Labour-controlled Greater London Council (GLC) has acted as a beacon for all of those in the labour movement trying to think through the difficult issues of the restructuring of our economies and the restoration of full employment. Among the innovative ideas piloted by the GLC were new forms of popular planning, directly involving local communities and workforces in taking key decisions about development, investment and technological change which affected them and their communities.

The GLC also set up a 'trade union early warning unit' to obtain for itself and its primary agency to implement its industrial policy – the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB) – intelligence on possible plant closures and redundancies. As a result, the Enterprise Board has found it possible to intervene in threatened closures, and, in partnership with the trade unions and on occasions with local management, to offer alternatives based upon direct investment by the GLEB.

Neither the GLC nor the GLEB have ever pretended that, with the limited financial resources which the GLC could provide for investment capital, it would be possible, single-handed, to transform the London economy. However, the objective has been to show, through exemplary investment and product innovation projects, the kind of alternative which could be built on if a sympathetic government was willing to provide the necessary backing.

In its three years the GLEB has invested in some two hundred projects, and has created around 4,000 jobs at an average cost per job significantly below the cost to the state of keeping an individual unemployed for a year. In addition, the GLEB has invested in jobs of quality and endeavour to advance both industrial democracy and worker participation within its enterprises, as well as the objective of equal opportunities for women, ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups.

A striking feature of the Greater London Enterprise Board has been its influence on the thinking of local and national governments, trade union bodies and those concerned with economic development throughout the West and in the Third World.

Indeed the number of visiting delegations from overseas far exceeds those from elsewhere within Britain. GLEB speakers attending conferences abroad are frequently surprised at the depth of knowledge that has filtered through the network of contacts built up over the last four years.

Progressive and labour movement organisations overseas clearly regard the development of enterprise boards as one of the brighter elements in an otherwise bleak political and economic environment.
The ideas and the lessons of GLEB's experience have been taken seriously and many are now being examined if not emulated by local, regional and indeed national governments elsewhere.

In the search for international backing for their plans, the Bhopal Trade Union Relief Fund, set up to create jobs and provide long-term assistance for workers and victims of the Union Carbide disaster in December 1984, came to GLEB for advice about industrial reconstruction and the development of socially useful products.

The board has assisted Twin Trading, the GLC-sponsored project concerned with non-exploitative trading agreements, in negotiations with the Nicaraguan, Mozambique and Vietnamese governments among others.

The Pan-Hellenic Local Development Agency set up by the Greek government acknowledges the influence of the GLEB model. And the government-backed Malta Development Corporation sought assistance in the development of a worker cooperative sector and on new technology projects, to resolve Malta's youth unemployment problems and reduce economic dependence on foreign investment.

One of the first local authorities to adopt the GLC's scheme for reviving the urban economy was Melbourne, and several city and state administrations under Labor Party control in Australia seem likely to follow this example, despite some reticence on the part of the federal Labor government.

In New Zealand, Wellington is committed, in principle, to setting up an enterprise board, and Maori representatives came to London specifically to examine the potential of the GLEB approach to industrial development. Such moves may stem, in part, from similarities to Britain's economic and political situation, but interest has come from throughout Western Europe.

GLEB-style initiatives are under consideration in Val de Marne and several other large city authorities in France. A delegation from the municipal government of Barcelona was among several that have visited from Spain, and there has been a series of fact-finding visits from Federal German political parties and trade unions representing numerous industrial areas and local authorities, in particular from Nordrhein-Westfalen, Saar-land, Frankfurt and Bremen.

Such visits have enabled GLEB to make invaluable contacts, and draw upon the experience of the trade-union and cooperative movement in France, Italy, Spain and Denmark.

Since Britain's worker cooperative sector is going through something of a renaissance, external observers have been keen to learn about the impact of GLEB's embryonic cooperative development strategy. It combines direct investment with training and the expansion of infrastructural support, including strengthened links with the trade union movement.

The strategy has been devised to fill something of a vacuum within the British economy, with an eye both to European

turing the new technology

Set up by the GLEB in 1984, the London New Technology Network (LNTN) aims to develop a 'human centred' approach to micro-electronics and computing technologies.

The London New Technology Network (LNTN), is an advice and contact-making centre and a place where meetings and conferences can be held on topics related to the 'microelectronic revolution'. It is also a production centre, offering services to businesses and cooperatives in assembly and testing of computer-based products. And it is a walk-in technology access centre.

LNTN deals with the opportunities and problems of microcomputers and microelectronics, seen from the point of view of the employment, the self-respect and the social needs of working people.

LNTN, like GLEB's own investments in the new technology area, reflects the 'human centred' approach. New technology should not be seen as a threat to people, their jobs, and their human potential, but as a liberating force, greatly extending our powers and freedoms.

LNTN is concerned to see that such new technologies are used to enhance jobs and make knowledge more widely available, rather than destroy jobs and centralise knowledge. That is one of the main reasons for the network's involvement in the Enhanced Diabetic Care Project.

The aim of this project is to provide doctors with specialist knowledge necessary for them to take over long-term management of diabetics from hospital clinics, thus involving patients more in their own care, and breaking down the mystique of specialist expertise.

LNTN is also working on the development of computer graphics systems, with applications in a wide range of industries, including clothing, furniture, industrial design, publications, packaging and software.

People can often handle a picture better than written words: colour can help direct attention, and moving 'things' round a screen is often closer to the way most people work than issuing commands from a keyboard. So computer graphics can help make computer systems more 'human centred'.

But existing systems, where they are not too crude, are too expensive for smaller enterprises, or for use in training. LNTN is working with a London technical college and a polytechnic on projects to put this right, including the development of electronic 'paintboxes'
has attracted interest from administrative regions in Canada, Sweden and New Zealand which currently lack a coop sector. For them the significance of GLEB's programme has been the fact that it represents an organic response both to unemployment and to the demands of the cooperative movement itself.

GLEB's efforts to devise comprehensive investment programmes that tackle working methods, industrial democracy, and product development has won European Community support for a number of the board's technology projects.

GLEB is now one of the partners, with Federal Germany and Denmark, in a £2 million (US$1.3 million) Esprit project, funded by the EC to devise a computer-operated automated manufacturing system that is 'human-centred' – allowing the skills, knowledge and initiative of workers to be integrated rather than bypassed in the production process.

In its efforts to reestablish London as a centre of industrial innovation, the GLEB provided the risk capital needed to launch Whitechapel Computers whose 32-bit workstation has excited widespread international interest. The company itself has won a 7 million pound (US$4.5 million) contract under the Esprit programme to develop a common European workstation with Siemens of Federal Germany and the Italian firm Olivetti.

GLEB has also won exclusive UK rights to a sophisticated educational electronics package developed with government support in Federal Germany, which will be available for use in GLEB-assisted companies. The prestige associated with such projects has further enhanced GLEB's international standing.

None of these responses should be interpreted as a suggestion that GLEB has singlehandedly discovered a panacea to the economic ills that have devastated manufacturing industry in the West, nor that it has devised a coherent system of socialist economic planning.

The GLEB has operated during a period of appalling economic and industrial difficulty of and this has inevitably had an effect on the capacity in Britain some of its projects to survive the recession. However, it has set an example which is now being followed by other progressive authorities in Britain and abroad. No one pretends that local and regional enterprise boards alone can solve the problems which our societies face; this must involve massive and radical changes in national economic and industrial policy as well as new forms of international economic cooperation and planning. However, the approach of the GLEB and similar bodies is leading to encouraging new developments in socialist thinking regarding economic planning, industrial democracy, socially useful production and the whole relationship between technology and society.

Although the GLC has been abolished, the Enterprise Board continues, supported by a number of London local authorities – the great majority of them under Labour control. Although they have very few economic resources to back GLEB, the hope and belief is that the Enterprise Board and its projects will survive until we have a government which understands the importance of the work which is being done and is willing to support it in order to put Britain and its people back to work.

and 'pencils'.

This should help a wide range of industries, including those listed above, to modernise their work methods, as the most modern computer graphics systems will no longer be the exclusive preserve of larger companies. And cheaper training equipment will help equip many more people for new jobs in the information technology industries. The work should also help generate a healthy revenue for LNTN itself through the manufacture of graphics systems.

LNTN also provides substantial specialised production facilities for printed circuit boards. They are available for prototyping products produced within the network (examples include an energy-saving device for lorries, and a fast 'frame buffer' for computer graphics animation).

They are also available as a resource for enterprises within and outside the network, which need to carry out specialised batch production but lack their own full range of equipment. In particular, the facilities are available as a resource for London's instrument engineering industry, in support of the GLEB's strategy for this sector.

An all-women cooperative, Live Wires, is operating this production equipment, to manufacture complex modern microelectronic and microprocessor boards. They are also pioneering new ways of organising the work, so that operatives also take part in design, sales and repair and maintenance – and enrich these activities by their practical experience of production.

The network also sponsors a course which trains women in microelectronics engineering.

At present, only 2 percent of highly-skilled technologists' and technicians' jobs in engineering are held by women. Over 80 percent of women in engineering are in office or relatively low-skilled production jobs – exactly the areas worst hit by new technology. Top engineering jobs in microelectronics are almost entirely held by men, while women are once again concentrated in low-paid low-level assembly jobs.

Existing training bodies agree that having women as instructors and supervisors will help and encourage women to enter the top engineering jobs – and help increase the supply of scarce personnel in a key industry.

Trainees on the course receive a living allowance, and childcare facilities are available on the premises through the LNTN creche. The LNTN Women's Project Group manages the course, and also has a wider brief to look at other issues concerned with women's involvement with new technology, including the role of women within LNTN, and what can be done to widen women's access to new technology.

Trainees can also gain experience through working with the dozen or so start-up businesses housed in the LNTN building, which currently employ a total of about forty people. They include small enterprises producing printed circuit boards designs, assembled boards, music systems, 'interactive literature', and typeset artwork. These groups all contribute particular skills, knowhow and contacts to the wider network, and benefit from the production facilities on site.
Shootdown
The verdict on KAL 007
R.W. Johnson
London: Chatto and Windus, 1986; 335pp; £10.95 hdbk
ISBN 0-7011-2983-2
In the early hours of 1 September 1983 a Korean Airlines Boeing 747 was shot down by a Soviet fighter and plunged into the Sea of Japan with the loss of all its 269 passengers and crew. Reactions around the world were international and political context, tragedy.

Why Some People Are More Employed Than Others
The strange paradox of growth and unemployment
Goran Therborn
London: Verso, 1986; 181pp; £18.95 hdbk, £6.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-85627-817-3
Sometime in the 1970s the golden age of 'full employment' in the West came to an abrupt end. Today there are more than thirty million unemployed in the industrial world and the numbers of jobless are projected to increase.

Turning the Tide
US intervention in Central America and the struggle for peace
Noam Chomsky
London: Pluto, 1986; 288pp; £5.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-7453-0184-3
Arguing that US policy in Central America is crucial to its role as world nuclear policeman, the author calls for immediate disengagement from the area. Taking an historical perspective, he shows that the government, aided and abetted by the media and intellectuals, has escalated a military presence that cannot be reversed. The author sets the story in its international and political context, and endeavours to make sense of the often bizarre theories which have grown up around the tragedy.

Socialism for Beginners
Anna Paczuska, with drawings by Sophie Grillet
London and New York: Writers and Readers, in association with Unwin Paperbacks, 1986; 176pp; £3.95/$6.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-04-320194-6
Another in the For Beginners series of 'documentary comic books', this book outlines the age-old dream of freedom from Spartanus to Solidarnosc. It offers a guide to the socialist hopes, ideas and theories of Charles Fourier, Karl Marx, Flora Tristan, Frantz Fanon and others; and traces the great historical and international struggles of popular democracy by trade unionists, feminists, peasant rebels, utopians, anti-imperialists and guerrillas.

How the West Grew Rich
The economic transformation of the industrial world
Nathan Rosenberg and L.E. Birdzell
London: J.B. Tauris, 1986; 354pp; £16.50 hdbk
ISBN 1-85043-016-0
Why did industrialisation first take place in the West? How did the West – Europe and later the United States – escape from the timeless cycle of hunger and hardship into sustained economic growth and prosperity? These are still questions that arouse enormous controversy: the western economic miracle has been explained by everything from slavery to science. The authors reevaluate the course of western history from the Middle Ages to the present. They attribute the West’s un-paralleled wealth and prosperity to the break-up of centralised political and religious controls. This, they argue, resulted directly in rapid economic development by allowing small enterprises to make their own choices with regard to innovation – whether in the technical or organisational field, or in the extension of trade. The key themes in this reinterpretation of the complex reciprocal relationship between science, technology and the market place are autonomy, experiment and diversity. The author’s conclusions question many assumptions about the sources of western economic strength, including recent theories in which mass production and the modern corporation are given instrumental roles.
The power of the third system

In 1973 New Internationalist magazine exposed the 'baby killer scandal'. Regardless of the existence of adequate social and economic amenities in the Third World - the availability of clean water being one of them - the overzealous promotion by manufacturers of artificial infant feeding products was linked to illness, malnutrition and sometimes death. ANDREW CHETLEY reviews the successes, failures and lessons of the baby food campaign and describes how the raw energy of local and national pressure groups grew into an international movement and became a driving force for change.

After more than a decade of campaigning on the infant feeding issue, a question which has to be asked is: has anything really changed? The answer is both yes and no.

Yes, there have been changes. Many sectors of the world community are now aware of the need for action to protect the right of infants to adequate nutrition. As a result of public exposure of the problems and the public pressure this has led to, there is less obvious promotion of bottle feeding in many countries. An international code exists which provides the minimum standard for marketing behaviour. A handful of governments have adopted and begun to implement it. A larger number are moving in that direction, as well as launching public education campaigns and better training programmes for health workers.

One company, Swiss-based Nestlé, has been forced to negotiate an agreement with pressure groups, committing itself to abide by most of the provisions of the code in most countries. Other companies have changed some marketing practices, and more appear likely. Two UN agencies, the World Health Organisation and UNICEF have somewhat increased their stature and legitimacy through their efforts on this question. The whole issue is slowly becoming an integral part of popular culture - a Nigerian based a novel on it, a children's adventure comic book was published in France, a play was performed in Britain, and a calypso record on the subject was brought out in the Caribbean.

Health workers in scores of countries have changed practices in their own facilities. The International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), its affiliate groups and other nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) have carried out a wide range of activities to publicise the problem and promote solutions. The establishment of IBFAN was, itself, a positive step forward, marking a new initiative in the way NGOs organise internationally, and serving as a model for similar networks.

Measuring 'success'

Nevertheless, an activist would not be satisfied with the progress made. Given what remains to be done, they might even reject the appropriateness of using the word 'success'.

The degree of progress can be measured by six questions which are based on the recommendations of a 1979 WHO/UNICEF meeting on infant and young child feeding:

- Do health systems provide adequate encouragement and support for breast feeding in their prenatal, delivery and post-natal practices?

Andrew Chetley

is a London based freelance journalist and author of The Baby Killer Scandal, Cleared for Export, Problem Drugs and The Politics of Baby Foods.
- Do adequate social and economic supports for women exist, such as maternity leave, creches and other community and governmental support?
- Are weaning practices appropriate, with emphasis on the use of local food resources?

‘The third system is the driving force for change. Loosely structured, flexible to the extreme, it is a wild, exciting concoction of ideas, strategies and plans that range from sheer madness to absolute genius.’

- Do health workers, parents and the general public receive clear, consistent and correct information, education and training about infant and young child feeding?
- Has the health and social status of women improved so they can play a full and active role in their community and have access to adequate nutrition?
- Is the marketing and distribution of baby milks and weaning foods appropriate, and have all companies and countries implemented the international code?

The short answer to these questions is, of course, no.

Yet the very success of the campaign makes it paradoxically difficult to sustain efforts to complete the process of change. In the early 1970s, a ten-minute stroll through a maternity ward, or a few minutes listening to the radio was sufficient to collect ample evidence of heavy-handed promotion of bottle feeding, coupled with inexperienced advice from health workers. Today that promotion is more subtle. The message on everyone’s lips is: breast feeding is best, even if the practical support to ensure it happens is still lacking. At the same time, the explanations of the issue have become more complex and the need for radical change seemingly less urgent.

Part of the reason for this is the consistent line put out by the infant food industry that ‘the controversy is over’. One of the first rules of marketing is to repeat the essential message – usually the brand name or a snappy catchphrase – so that it sticks in the mind. So, from the time the International Council of Infant Food Industries (ICIFI) launched its own weak and voluntary code in 1975, up to the present, the industry has applied that marketing strategy to its public statements on the issue. At every point of change – the launch of the ICIFI and its code, the 1979 WHO/UNICEF meeting, the passage of the international code in 1981, the end of a seven-year boycott of market-leader Nestlé in 1984 – the industry has claimed: ‘we’ve changed; the controversy has ended’.

At first this chain was treated with scepticism, but slowly, like water dripping on stone, the scepticism has been eroded. It may be comforting for those involved in a campaign to believe that their efforts have led to success and, in this case, to use the assurances of the companies that they have mended their ways as evidence for their success. But it is a double-edged sword. The relaxation of pressure means that further changes are unlikely to occur.

After each of the major turning points in the campaign, a hiatus set in. Activity slumped, media interest waned, a belief built up in people’s collective consciousness that other topics could now be pursued. The only way to prevent that hiatus was to clearly articulate the next step in the process – having first ensured that the supporters of the campaign understood that it was, indeed, a process, not a single activity.

After the WHO/UNICEF meeting, the next step was obvious – to develop a code. Once the code was approved by the World Health Assembly, the next step was also fairly obvious, although much more difficult to achieve – to get the code implemented, including bringing about the other changes that would reinforce its effectiveness. However, With the end of the Nestlé boycott, the opportunity for a single international focus disappeared, and the options for further action have become much more complex.

Other companies can be targeted. Specific countries can be encouraged to act as models. Improving the status of women or strengthening work on appropriate weaning foods are other possible options, as the questions mentioned earlier indicate. None of these, however, provides the sharp focus that existed in the past. There is no single enemy, no simple solution – not that there ever was, but by targeting the infant food industry in general and Nestlé specifically, it was possible to create the illusion of one, and therefore concentrate effort and power.

From a sharp point to a broad campaign

It is possible to draw lessons from the campaign – both about the approach needed to present information on a particular issue and the organisational strategies required to ensure action occurs. With infant feeding, as with most other issues, a very complex set of interrelated factors was at play. Initially, those factors were reduced – the industry would say over-simplified – to a single common denominator and a single target: the profits of some transnational corporations (TNCs) were earned from the ill health or death of infants and the suffering of their parents. In its simplest terms, the problem, cause and solution reduced to: bottle feeding can kill; TNCs must stop promoting bottle feeding; TNCs must stop the promotion.

The industry was quick to retort that its promotion of bottle feeding was not the only cause, or even a significant cause; that the reason bottle feeding kills is due to incorrect preparation or utilisation, and that stopping promotion is not the answer. Some scientists, health workers and even governments supported that view. The objectors, of course, do have a point. The control of inappropriate marketing prac-
Lip service: Contrasting styles in child feeding in a health clinic in Togo

tics is not the complete answer to the problems of infant health. Yet without a starting point, in this case the activities of TNCs, it is unlikely that any complex issue would ever be resolved. Sam Shuster has noted that 'you never advance a complicated problem with a broad balanced approach as much as with a sharp point, however painfully placed'.

The focus on the industry was such a sharp point. Undoubtedly the argument will continue as to whether or not it was a misplaced attack. In many ways, it is an irrelevant question. If, for a decade or more, the pressure groups had simply stuck to the first simplistic premise and not expanded the debate, then the objections would warrant attention. However, the campaign has both deepened and broadened. Within IBFAN, there is now considerable expertise on the intricacies of codes, their benefits and shortcomings, the marketing strategies and influence peddling activities of TNCs, and the way in which international organisations such as WHO and UNICEF function.

More and more, that specialist knowledge is being called upon by health ministries as NGOs are invited to participate on code drafting committees at the national level. At the same time, the broadening process has led to the identification of other areas that need to be pursued – groups in Southeast Asia have examined sweetened condensed milk as a risk factor in infant malnutrition; groups in Asia and Europe are studying ways to improve the education and training of health workers; maternity legislation and other social supports for mothers are being examined by groups in all parts of the world; the question of appropriate weaning foods is receiving special attention in Europe and Africa.

Nutritionist Ted Greiner notes with some satisfaction that this has led to a situation where 'in recent years, the problem of poor health and high death rates among infants has finally attracted the attention it deserves. It sets a precedent in terms of coordinated worldwide action in trying to solve a serious problem in which nongovernmental organisations played a key role'.

The ability of NGOs to play that role depends on their organisational strategies as well as informational capabilities. The campaign began in a small way, with a few prominent health workers raising questions in scientific literature and using available structures in the scientific community to continue the discussion. It was a relatively 'private' concern. Alongside this were the unsung efforts of health workers, individuals and breast feeding mothers' groups who were attempting to motivate mothers to breast feed. This too, was 'private'. It was not exciting news and received little publicity or prominence. Another characteristic of these activities was the lack of interaction and coordination. Groups or individuals in one country were often not aware of similar groups in other countries. Thom Kerstein notes that for NGOs to be effective, they must learn 'to cooperate with each other. This cooperation must be highly flexible and pragmatic, as different situations require'.

An international perspective
dawns

The next stage of the campaign, the first public phase, was also largely uncoordinated. The organisations which took up the campaign in the early 1970s – New Internationalists, the International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU), the British charity War on Want, the Swiss-based Third World Working Group, the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) and the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC) – all knew about previous initiatives. Each activity reinforced what had gone before, but
there was no real unity of purpose. Each activity did have one thing in common: it began from a recognition of an international problem and the links between the causes of the problem and the home country in which the NGO was based. It was the dawning of an international perspective amongst largely national organisations. At this stage, the campaign was like a relay race, with the baton of action being passed from one group to another.

The beginnings of coalition building and some true internationalisation came with the start of the Nestlé boycott in 1977 by INFACT, itself a coalition. When the boycott spread to Canada and later to other countries, the idea of working together across national boundaries with the same objective, was introduced into the campaign.

The international approach was reinforced by the WHO/UNICEF meeting and the establishment of IBFAN in 1979. The meeting’s recommendations and the proposal for a code provided the necessary common focus, but the mechanics were helped in that three of IBFAN’s founding organisations had a strong international perspective. Both OXFAM and War on Want were used to working in partnership with groups in other countries on a project support basis, although neither had really tried to develop international campaign strategies. IOCU was an international NGO. It maintained close links with scores of consumer groups around the world and was increasingly developing campaign topics to be taken up jointly. Thus, the cycle was one of isolated, small-scale local activities, followed by more public national action, then larger scale international action – all mutually reinforcing. Local and national activities did not stop, but became stronger and helped reinforce international action.

With the passage of the code, the emphasis swung back to national action, but this time, with a difference. Emphasising national action did not mean eliminating international action, but implied a redefinition of priorities and a shift in the flow of information and resources. When the boycott ended in 1984, another shift was beginning – a movement towards more local action and a strengthening of grassroots organisations. It is conceivable that the pattern established in the infant feeding campaign is a recurring one and that the ebb and flow amongst the three levels of action will continue.

A model for action

The organisational pattern of IBFAN has served as a model for other groups to follow. A desire to achieve rational medicines use which emerged at local and national levels in several countries is now being transformed into an international campaign, coordinated by Health Action International (HAI), organised along similar lines to IBFAN. A corresponding concern over the health and environmental hazards of some pesticides led to the formation of the Pesticides Action Network (PAN). Both these networks encourage strong local, national and regional action and identify possible focuses for international pressure. Like IBFAN, they have looked to the UN system as a forum to provide additional legitimacy for their campaigns and possibly international guidelines or standards. HAI concentrates on WHO and the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), while PAN focuses on the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the UN Environmental Programme (UNEP). Both networks have also benefited from resolutions at the UN General Assembly which led to the establishment of a consolidated list of products which have been banned, restricted or not approved.

In an interesting development during 1984, representatives from several of the networks met together to look at ways of joining forces. The International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA), the European Office of Consumers Unions (BEUC), PAN, HAI and IBFAN set up a working group particularly to lobby the European Community (EC) on the question of hazardous exports. During 1985, IOCU, the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) and the newly-formed Seeds Action Network (SAN) became part of this Coalition Against Dangerous Exports.

What has the industry learned?

While NGOs have learned from the experiences of the infant feeding campaign, so too have the TNCs, and not only the infant food companies. The infant feeding issue has become an essential case study in management and marketing schools in Europe and the US.

Within the business community, a new concept – issues management – is developing. Bob Leaf of the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller advises that ‘companies can’t wait for a thing to become an issue and then react. Because then they are on the defensive. The key to the 1980s
will be defining the issues before they have an impact on you so that you can diffuse them, be prepared to have an action plan when something comes up rather than having to act hurriedly under attack'. As long as 1978, Business International warned of the dangers of failing to act before an issue became entrenched. A survey of a hundred major US and European firms found most did not become involved in public policy process until it was well advanced, usually at a stage where it was too late to have any impact on impending regulations. Four years later the magazine provided a check-list of six lessons that could be learned from the mismanagement of the infant feeding controversy. Top of the list was the instruction to ensure that all staff take seriously any voluntary codes. Simply paying lip-service to voluntary controls was a recipe for controversy.

It was also important to learn how products are used, preferably before the critics do. It was no longer an acceptable argument to say that if all the instructions are followed, the product is safe – particularly if, as in the case of infant feeding products, the likelihood of that happening was remote, given the economic and social conditions of the end user. Companies were urged to avoid misleading appeals to the modern way of life in promotion campaigns because an increasingly important criticism was that TNCs exported inappropriate consumption patterns to third-world countries.

Full disclosure of information about health and safety in the use of the product was advised on all labels and instruction materials. At the same time, companies were advised to involve identifiable constituencies in the exporting countries, such as shareholders and workers, in frank discussions on the relative risks and benefits of the products. This would help protect the image of the company. Finally, companies were advised to address the issue, not the critics. Although it might be tempting to expose critics in terms of their background or financial support, such attacks would generally backfire.

A new strategy emerges

The proposals set out by Business International were virtually the opposite of Nestlé's (and the rest of the infant food industry's) early approach to the infant feeding issue. One of the chief architects of the shift in Nestlé's policy, Rafael Pagan, president of the Nestlé Coordination Centre for Malnutrition, shares the belief that Nestlé got it wrong at first. He claims that the fact a boycott occurred 'represents a major failure by a large multinational company to identify legitimate concerns early enough, compounded by inadequate communication to influential opinion leaders of the policy responses actually made by the company'.

Pagan suggests that it is important for companies to go beyond issues management. He would like to see TNCs become actively involved in efforts to change attitudes both within the business community and in the wider world. Some of his suggestions for change within industry offer hope: he wants business to become less secretive and give clear reasons for its actions, in an acknowledgement that where business is granted the 'privilege to create wealth and profits' it must also accept a broad array of responsibilities to the community and the world. Pagan's recipe for changing perceptions would involve corporations in thinking and acting 'politically'. That begs the question about discussions with WHO about gaining official NGO status.

It is, perhaps, a glowing compliment to the effectiveness of IBFAN that a major TNC like Nestlé decided to copy some of IBFAN's informational and organisational strategies. As far back as 1980, Nestlé and ICIFCI recognised the need to involve 'grassroots' organisations. After IBFAN began producing regular reports on company violations of the international code which included photographic evidence of the actual advertisements or posters plus powerful graphic to convey the simple message that the companies were breaking the rules, Nestlé responded with a well designed rebuttal which copied the style by showing illustrations of non-offending posters, repaired delivery vans and new labels, as well as some effective typography to hold the reader's interest.

In late 1983, the company began to publish a monthly newsletter, Nestlé News, modelled on IBFAN News, but with better design and graphics. The stories were short and punchy and, for the most part, played up news about organisations who withdrew from the boycott. Osten
dently, it was a publication to provide information about 'human nutrition'. In reality, it was a public relations document displaying the positive side of the corporation. It was effective.

Nestlé News also provided the company with a vehicle to disseminate a new view of the history of the campaign. In an editorial in the February 1984 issue, Nestlé gave its 'historical perspective' on the issue – one which omitted the role played by the various pressure groups over the decade, and made it appear as if Nestlé was the driving force behind the changes that had occurred internationally.

The energy and courage of the third system

A war of words and interpretations will undoubtedly continue for some time between industry officials and the pressure groups as the practical work of translating international guidelines into day-to-day marketing instructions lumber on. But more importantly, in hospitals, clinics, and communities, the efforts of the unsung heroes and heroines – the frontline health workers, the mothers' support groups, the community workers – will continue. This is where the real battle is being fought. In another ten years, it may be possible to declare a 'winner', or rather a community of winners – adequately nourished mothers and infants.

What will also continue is the effort to provide a voice for the third system – the people's movements, pressure groups or
NGOs who represent specific constituencies or provide the momentum for action on specific issues. Governments of all political colours are often characterised as moribund bureaucracies, slow to respond to changes in society. Similarly, the other major actors on the world stage, the TNCs, are characterised as only responding to change if there is a profit in it. They too, are with frustration. There are bureaucracies, usually somewhat more flexible than those of government. Between these two giants, i.e., the intergovernmental agencies, characterised as part-mediator, part sounding board, part think tank, part advisory service.

The intergovernmental agencies too, have their ponderous bureaucracies. Left to these three groupings, the wheels of change would grind excruciatingly slowly.

The third system is the driving force for change. Loosely structured, flexible to the extreme, it is a wild, exciting concoction of ideas, strategies and plans that range from sheer madness to absolute genius. The pressure groups don’t always have the solutions. (Neither do governments, TNCs or the international agencies.) But they have the energy and determination to confront situations and often force a search for solutions.

The pressure groups are able to inject a large dose of reality into what are otherwise sterile discussions about the way to organise an ideal world. That reality is often shocking, often unpalatable to the ruling elites at the tops of the world’s various decision-making structures, whether they be national governments, TNCs or international agencies. The claims and demands of the pressure groups come forward with powerful emotional force, often with anger, frequency. There are reasons for the anger and frustration. The day-to-day sight of the victims of poverty, repression and violence has a politising effect. The pressure groups are talking about real lives, real people. They can put faces and names to the faceless statistics.

Throughout the infant feeding campaign, the emotional response has led to moments of great courage amongst individuals and groups. It took courage for Natividad Clavano to tear down the bottle feeding posters in her hospital in the Philippines and replace them with breast feeding posters in the face of opposition and a lassiez-faire government. It took courage for a group of breast feeding mothers to take their babies into a leading London department store in protest over a woman having been removed from its restaurant for quietly breast feeding her baby while she herself ate lunch. It took courage for the Indian Academy of Paediatrics to turn down offers of funding from the pharmaceutical and infant food companies to avoid any possible conflict of interest. These were acts that went against the dominant flow of society. They were acts of defiance, moments of catalytic change.

During the campaign, it has also been possible to identify organisations and individuals who have acted with ‘discourage’. These include governments who are reluctant to change the status quo; scientists who claim that all the possible avenues of research have not been explored, therefore it is too early to make a decision about what to do; people who hide behind the thought that the issue is so complex, and only part of a much larger world malaise, that it is pointless to even try to resolve it.

Thoughts for the future

The infant feeding issue is a political issue, not party political, but realpolitik. In order for long-term change to be sustained, existing structures must be questioned – in some cases, bluntly. Inevitably, that creates friction. A dichotomy appears between those who are in favour of change and those who are not, except the dichotomy is usually blurred by the use of carefully worded phrases. Few people willingly admit to being against change. Instead they will agree that change is needed and argue about how it should be achieved, a delaying tactic which ensures that change is slow and less painful. Throughout the campaign, these distinctions have been exposed. Confrontation has been used frequently, and has enraged not only the industry but more moderate supporters of the basic cause. At the same time, tacit diplomacy has been undertaken, the give-and-take of compromise and consensus. Without the confrontation, the compromises would be less palatable to those with the most to lose, the consensus impossible to achieve.

F.G. Joseph, formerly with the public health department in Kenya, argues that ‘antagonism and racism on either side (the company’s or the health promoter’s) will not contribute to the reduction of infant mortality’. On one level he is right. Antagonism alone will not improve infant health. However, it is a necessary ingredient in the final prescription. Without the input of the pressure groups, often antagonistic, this issue would still not be on the international agenda. Governments or individual health workers would not have considered the industry’s voluntary code of ethics, so there is little likelihood that an international code would have been developed. A decade of activity would have been lost and, during that time, so would many lives. Bottle feeding would be more entrenched and harder to fight against. The pressure groups’ activities have not solved the problem, but they have established a climate of urgency, which has contributed significantly to the process for its resolution.

IBFAN and the individual groups in the network have been flexible in their approach. They have worked within the existing national and international structures. But where those structures have proved to be clumsy, ingratiating, or in opposition to change, they have moved outside of them to organise informally to achieve results. To some, such an approach smacks of anarchism, terrorism and the downfall of democracy. It suggests that articulate and manipulative minorities will be able to unduly influence decisions affecting the majority of the populace. In fact, it could equally be argued that the current systems operate in precisely this way – an elite and privileged minority, with access to education, finance and power, controls the major decision-making processes and moulds them so that they reinforce the existing system.

IBFAN is an experiment in a new way of coping with huge, complex world problems. Like many experiments, it has design flaws and imperfections. But, according to Anwar Fazal, former president of IOCU, the campaign and the founding of IBFAN was a watershed for the international consumers’ movement. Fazal said it provided a learning experience about the UN and the interaction between TNCs, the UN and individual governments; offered an opportunity for diverse groups to work together, pooling expertise and resources; and showed how the third system, the citizens of the world, could unite to combat irresponsible and inappropriate technology.
There are many reasons for describing the 13th Conference of SIW in Lima as a success.

Certainly, the choice of the theme, 'Equality – a Socialist Decade for Women' raised a few eyebrows and gave food for thought and question from the media. It also sounded challenging for many male comrades in the member parties of the Socialist International. This, of course, was intentional. SIW planned to declare a Socialist Decade for Women, being well aware that as long as the Socialist International did not publicly subscribe to its aims the effort would be in vain.

An SIW resolution concerning a quota system for women's representation in parties and support for the decade (see below) was presented to the SI for consideration and was fully integrated into the general SI Congress Resolution. We believe that this will be of help to SIW member organisations. Women in SI member parties will take up these issues with their parties, referring to the unanimous decision of the SI Congress.

We hope that an impetus has been given by this procedure. SIW will be closely following developments in member parties and progress will be noted and publicised. At the end of this Socialist Decade for Women, SIW will examine the achievements and will ask the Socialist International if it has complied with the undertaking it gave in June 1986.

Another very successful aspect of this Conference was the interest aroused, not only in Latin America generally, but also among the general public in Peru and, of course, among the women members of APRA. The large Conference hall was almost filled with some 200 Peruvian officials and APRA activists, who listened with enthusiasm and stamina to the speakers and parties in the debate. This interested audience gave an atmosphere of excitement and great importance to our Conference.

SIW also did well as far as publicity was concerned. From the General Secretary's arrival in Lima a week before the event, newspapers, radio and television were constantly requesting information and interviews. We have collected a thick folder of local press cuttings and also had a wide coverage in the audio/visual media. Thanks also to the devoted efforts of our local press officer, the women's issue was for some days in the centre of the news.
Our theme and sub-themes were entrusted to speakers from all over the world (see box). The fact that speakers from outside the socialist family were invited (Lucy Thandeni of the African National Congress and indigenous leader Blanca Chancoso from Ecuador) was duly noted. Having a Soweto woman to address our Conference on the 10th anniversary of the massacre (16 June) was certainly significant for the policy of SIW. IUSY had also contributed to the commemoration of Soweto, with their excellent exhibition displayed in the hall.

SIW will print a brochure containing the speeches of the Lima Conference. This will be available in October and can be ordered from the Secretariat.

At the Bureau meeting preceding our Conference, it was decided that invited guests from outside SIW should be given the right to participate in discussions. This was welcomed and Hortensia Bussi de Allende and women representatives from Nicaragua, Tanzania, Panama, Argentina and from the Polisario contributed to our debate on various sub-themes.

Delegates were welcomed by Julia Barrera, Secretary for Women’s Political Action of the host party and APRA Vice-President Ilda Urizar. Some 16 women participated in the debate – a comparatively small number, as we had an unusually large number of speakers: 11.

As to the decisions of the Conference, the texts adopted are printed below, as well as a list of the officers elected.

With regard to organisational matters, Conference slightly modified the Statutes of SIW, making some necessary changes in language (from Chairman to President) and providing for a mid-term change of President or General Secretary.

Socialist International Woman wish to thank our Peruvian hosts for the assistance and hospitality they offered for the first Conference of our organisation in Latin America.

### Action Programme

The Action Programme of SIW will be based on the resolutions of the Lima Conference concerning the Socialist Decade for Women.

1. **Women and power – strategies**
   a) A Bureau meeting with the participation of feminist researchers and representatives of the Socialist International should discuss this subject. Documentation should be produced containing all proposals of member parties to promote equality in elected party decision-making bodies.
   b) SIW will work for the feminist exercise of socialist women’s power, in such a way that, as has happened in Norway, the exercise of this power leads to the greater direct participation of other women in the development of discourses and actions contributing to equality. To this end, a special conference should be arranged with women socialist parliamentarians and members of government from all over the world.

2. **Women and the world economic situation**
   A special conference should be arranged, together with the International trade union movement and with the participation of international economists. This would be with the aim of making proposals for ways in which women could be enabled to confront the crisis with greater resources for avoiding its negative consequences.

3. **After Nairobi – participation of women in the development process**
   A special conference, combined with a Bureau meeting, should be organised in a third world country, to discuss the special role and participation of women in the development process. The conference should also discuss the objectives of special women’s projects, with the participation of women experts and observers from third world women’s organisations. The conference will deal with practical experiences and models for development, geared to the third world.

    Efforts will be made to combine the conference with fact-finding missions in the area.

    SIW will also concentrate on solidarity work with women in the third world, ensuring an effective exchange of information and coordination of member organisations’ activities there.

    The member organisations of SIW, and especially those which have government responsibilities, will facilitate the means for sending out teams of experts in different fields – for example in health, education or economies – who could offer solutions to the concrete problems of women in under-developed countries.

4. **Women and peace**
   A conference should be organised, with the participation of Women Parliamentarians for Peace and of other concerned organisations, including consumer organisations with experience of boycott actions. This conference will discuss effective measures for the reduction of military expenditure (i.e. suggestions for alternative industries, campaigns, educational measures).

5. **Young women – our future**
   Together with women from IUSY and IUSDT, SIW should prepare a meeting to deal with young women’s perspectives for the future. Emphasis should be put on the ideas and proposals of young women themselves.

### Further activities

The provision of training for socialist women and getting our organisation better known are basic objectives to be attained progressively over the coming years. To this end, political seminars should be organised in all the main regions, in accordance with proposals made by member organisations and approved by the Bureau. These seminars will be considered as particularly aimed at women of third world countries.

After each event, detailed material and information will be distributed to member and fraternal organisations.

In order to publicise SIW’s Action Programme, special attention must be given to ensuring that each activity includes provision for public relations, press, television, information leaflets etc., in order to increase knowledge and awareness of SIW and of our activities.

#### Conference speakers

**Women in power?**
- Mercedes Cabanillas, Peru
- Margaret Wilson, New Zealand
- Yvette Roudy, France

**Women under oppression**
- Nora Maluenda, Chile – political oppression
- Lucy Thandeni, ANC and Blanca Chancoso, Ecuador – racial oppression
- Tessa Hebb, Canada – sexual oppression

**Women’s challenge to the economic crisis**
- Lucille Mair, Jamaica – a ‘global view’
- Caroline Dip, Senegal – the Third World viewpoint
- Roberta Breda, Italy – the impact of new technology
- Anita Græn, Sweden – from a ‘donor’ perspective
Elected officers

President
Anita Gradin

Vice-Presidents
Nava Arad
Caroline Diop
Gwyneth Dunwoody
Matilde Fernandez
Tessa Hebb
Mae Kibota
Marianne Laxen
Nora Maluenda
Christa Randizio-Plath
Beatrice Rangel-Martilla
Yvette Routy
Susan Ryan
Floridalma Tellez

General Secretary
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

SWEDEN
ISRAEL, Labour Party
SENEGAL
GREAT BRITAIN
SPAIN
CANADA
JAPAN, SPJ
FINLAND
CHILE
GERMANY
VENEZUELA
FRANCE
AUSTRALIA
GUATEMALA

SIW's new president, Anita Gradin

Appeal to the United Nations

The United Nations Decade for Women has drawn attention to the particular problems faced by women around the world and the urgent need for national and international policies to respond more positively to the needs, demands and aspirations of women.

More than ever, it is necessary for women to take part in financial, economic and political decision-making, in order to allow their integration in society and development on an equal footing.

This requires action and coordination. In view of the positive role of the United Nations, SIW urges that another UN Women’s Conference and NGO Forum be held before the year 2000. It is with the support of the United Nations and its member states that the women of industrialised countries and Third World countries can be sure to meet on an equal footing. It is through the structures of the UN and non-governmental organisations close to it that women all over the world can be sure that a women’s network on national and international level will remain.

The coordinated work of national women’s organisations and the political will of the governments of UN member states can ensure the interpretation and the implementation of the UN convention against all forms of discrimination and that the Action Programme can be respected, especially if the work of governments can be evaluated at another Conference. Only in this way can the NGO Forum continue its existence.

Through the pressure of the implementation of the UN’s resolutions at the end of the Decade for Women in 1985, regional conferences will make sense and contribute to equality among women rather than deepening the gap between privileged and underprivileged women. As regard the actions taken, after having participated in the NGO Forum and the Women’s Conference in Nairobi, we women of Socialist International Women reiterate our demands for:

1) Real moves toward the implementation of a new international economic, social and cultural order and a world employment plan.

2) As a vital confidence-building measure, underlining commitment to a new world economic order and world employment plan, there should be a significant and democratically controlled reduction by all nations of their military expenditure and reallocation of these resources to development.

3) The reform and democratisation of world financial institutions is an urgent step. The problem of the burden of the external debt of the third world countries needs an urgent solution. This will be possible only by arriving at a global approach to the debt crisis.

4) All direct and indirect foreign military intervention or economic pressure must be clearly rejected. Without this condition, no country can achieve democratic development within which women have their rightful place.

5) We demand the abolition of all forms of discrimination and oppression, sexism, racism and especially the Apartheid system.

6) The economic crisis and increasing poverty are pushing women into situations of worsening exploitation, by multinational companies and within the free trade zones. Open and concealed forms of female slavery and prostitution should be forbidden and subject to the strongest penalty.

7) The realisation of human rights is dependent on the existence of a public welfare system. Such provision must be defended and expanded in countries where it already exists and extended to those countries where it is not yet achieved.

8) The object of the Nairobi Conference was to open prospects for women to the year 2000. Socialist International Women demand that special programmes and funds of the United Nations and of the member states of the United Nations be devoted to the poorer women all over the world, and especially to women in rural areas.
Resolution

1. Women and the economic crisis

The economic crisis which prevails in the world today has affected first and foremost women. The exploitation suffered by women differs in kind and in degree throughout the world but all such exploitation is unacceptable to socialists.

It leads to unemployment among women which gives credence to the belief of Conservatives that women should work in the informal labour market and be only mothers and carers in the family. Unemployment leads to the exploitation of women in work, either through the lack of employment protection, with women working in sweatshops for lower wages than men or through women working on the informal labour market. Especially the transnationals profit from the cheap and gratuitous labour force constituted by women.

Women are forced into prostitution, including child prostitution, a fact which is used as a powerful sales argument in marketing package tours to such places as South-East Asia from the so-called civilised world.

The development of new technology and the increase in service industries has polarised many women into low paid, low status, caring jobs and has forced others into home-work so that they may care for their families at the same time.

Women are also affected by the economic exploitation of the earth, the pillage of our natural resources by the transnational corporations and destruction of our environment through the despoliation of our forests and pollution of the atmosphere and water resources.

Socialist women demand that the economic resources of the world should be used for the benefit of all humankind and that our natural resources should be extracted in a way that does not harm the environment.

The reform and democratisation of world financial institutions is needed. The problem of the burden of the external debt of the Third World countries needs an urgent solution. Especially Third World countries striving towards democracy need international help. This will be possible only by arriving at a global approach to the debt crisis. It is essential that debt service does not imperil the development efforts of nations.

We are in solidarity with women of the Third World and therefore we ask for the implementation of a code of conduct for transnationals employing women in the Third World.

We believe that for women to have equality of opportunity in economic terms there must be a welfare state which helps women with the burdens of caring and education them the joys. We therefore support the Charter of the Rights of Working Women of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

2. Women under oppression

We want a world of equality and quality. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights.

Advancement in the developed world has only been achieved at the expense of the disadvantaged, both in the third world and between the sexes. The exploitation of others has provided the economic advancement of the developed world. The worst of all oppression is institutionalised itself in the political systems of some countries that practice apartheid.

The time has come for the oppressed to achieve fair and equal treatment. Only we ourselves can achieve this aim since freedom from oppression is not given lightly. We believe that radical change can be brought about by democratic means and by political negotiations. Violence, seen as a last resort, is not a means to solve problems, is not accepted by democratic socialists. Oppression is all pervasive, it manifests itself in political, racial and sexual discrimination, including the use of language.

Political oppression affects women at all levels, in education, economic, representation and legal. It is particularly apparent in traditional sexist attitudes in all societies.

3. Women and Power

SIW states that political discrimination against women happens when women are not represented in equal proportion in party functions, parliamentary seats and governmental posts. We need women in decision-making positions at all levels to ensure that women’s needs, concerns and perspectives are fully taken into account.

The exclusion of women from decision-making positions has resulted in economic, political and social inequality of women.

Socialist International Women believe that equality of women can be achieved only through the following programme of action:

a) A strong women’s movement within our socialist parties.

b) The promotion of women into positions of economic, political and social authority.

c) The removal of the double burden endured by many women, by making women economically independent and changing the sexist attitude which prohibits sharing of the work of child-care and housework between men and women.

d) Provide the necessary political, technical and intellectual support and education to socialist women, to enable them to achieve equality of opportunity in decision-making in our countries and parties.

e) The commitment by socialist men to promote equality through supporting affirmative action programmes within our parties, for example through a sex quota in the regular selection and special scholarships for women.

4. Women and peace

Socialist International Women believe that the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction threatens the survival of humanity. We therefore appeal to all governments, parties, movements and individual women and men to lead the way to disarmament and a programme of survival in peace, freedom, dignity.

SIW condemns the existence of systems where all types of racism prevail, but above all the abhorrent and inhuman apartheid system.

We further pledge to increase pressure for sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime.

We join hands with the international community in calling for complete isolation of the regime - diplomatically, economically, politically and culturally. We demand a complete ban on the export of arms to South Africa.

We call upon all women to boycott all South African products, especially agricultural products.

We call on all socialist and social democratic parties to join the struggle of the African people to create the conditions for the collapse of apartheid regimes as a matter of urgent political priority.

We condemn dictatorships and the absence of participatory mechanisms which maintain whole peoples excluded from political decisions and in economic, social and cultural backwardness.

We maintain the principle of free self-determination and non-intervention. We are in favour of the peaceful solution of internal conflicts and conflicts between nations. We condemn torture, repression, indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population and all violations of human rights. We maintain our commitment to the emergent democracies which are in
Resolution for the Congress of Socialist International

A quota regulation governing women's representation on all party levels, as well as in public life, has been adopted by a growing number of parties affiliated to the Socialist International, thus encouraging and ensuring a certain number of women in decision-making bodies. These quota regulations range from a very modest 15% to 50%, the ideal figure of course being that of the percentage of female population.

The World Action Programme for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women stresses the desirability of promoting women's participation in political organs.

The Socialist International invites its member organisations to work for the establishment of machinery, preferably a Ministry or Secretariat of State, for implementing programmes to ensure equality between women and men.

The Socialist International calls upon its member parties to facilitate women's participation in political life on an equal footing with men, ensuring women's representation:
- on all party levels;
- as candidates for local, regional and national elections;
- on all delegations to meetings of the Socialist International.

The development of the Socialist International from a male-centred organisation to an integrated one, giving justice to a very large part of its membership and electorate, women, will be noted and welcomed by women all over the world.

The Socialist International to this end declares its full support for the goals of the "Socialist Decade for Women", announced by Socialist International Women at their Lima Conference.

The whole of this resolution was subsequently integrated into the Socialist International Manifesto of Lima (SI Congress main resolution) – see paragraphs 92-94.
The Women Poor of Peru
Liisa North

As announced in our last Bulletin, the second of our articles on Peru analyses the specific situation of women.

Soledad, age thirty-five, with three children and a husband who works occasionally as an electrician, rises at 4am. In the damp grey cold of a Lima winter morning, she shrivels as she dresses. In the crowded room which is her home, the children share a single bed. Her husband sleeps near the kerosene stove in the corner. The dishes and children's school books clutter the table. The many mended clothes hang from the nails. She eases the bus with her and packs her merchandise for the hour and a half long ride from Villa El Salvador to the centre of Lima. Most likely, there will be standing room only in the packed noisy bus.

She is one of the thousands of ambulantes or street vendors who crowd the capital's major commercial districts, hawking cigarettes, candy, magazines, lottery tickets, cheap clothing, trinkets for tourists.

Before leaving around 5.30, she wakes up her teenage daughter, Manuela. She will serve breakfast for the family and make sure that her two younger brothers will arrive on time at the morning shift at the local primary school. Fourteen year old Manuela will do some school work, but most of her morning will be spent cleaning and washing clothes at the water spigot in the shack which adjoins the house. Sometimes, she will share these tasks with her mother during the evening hours. Her father, depressed and angry, will soon start off on his daily round of hazardous construction sites in search of work.

Soledad will return home sometime after noon with her morning's earnings. In her 'free moments', she also knits sweaters on consignment. Since Ramiro lost his job three months ago, her work brings in the household's only regular income. Around 1.30, Soledad and Manuela will pick up the family's most important daily meal at a comedor popular. It is one of some 800 communal or 'popular' kitchens which function in Lima today. The weekly fee is modest because Soledad, like the other women who organised the comedor, combine resources and take turns preparing the meals for the dozen families served by it. Some of the women work at the comedor in the mornings. Soledad spends one afternoon a week cooking the snacks which will be distributed in the evening. But she is distracted and worried about what her younger children may be up to - no one is at home. Manuela attends the meeting at the 'Aparcamento Club', one of the approximately 7,500, organised and run by women in Lima. The milk programme was launched in 1964.

Despite all her efforts, Soledad's family barely gets by. The parish nurse has told her that the children are showing signs of malnutrition, a diagnosis confirmed by their frequent minor illnesses. In spite of all their problems, neither Soledad or Ramiro want to return to their native highland village in Apurimac. Living conditions are even less appealing in the rural district she left almost twenty years ago.

Upon her arrival in Lima, Soledad worked as a maid, just about the only job available to a recent migrant with two years of primary education. She remembers those years with anger and bitterness, especially the humiliating treatment she had to suffer, an expression of the class prejudices and racist behaviour of the Lima upper and middle classes toward the poor in general and highland Indians in particular.

Soledad has lived in Villa El Salvador since her marriage to Ramiro whom she met at the hundred of 'provincial clubs' organised by migrants. Villa El Salvador is one of the euphemistically called 'young towns' or pueblos jóvenes populated by the waves of migrants who now make up more than half of the capital's labour force.

More often than not, the pueblos jóvenes were established by squatters. Groups of migrant families, joined by the poor from Lima's crowded inner city slums, simply staked out claims to both public and private lands outside the city, threw together hundreds of straw and cardboard shacks overnight, battled with the police who were often sent to dislodge them, and petitioned government recognition for the new townships. These settlements now surround the capital and house about a third of the city's population of six million. Villa El Salvador, population 300,000, was founded some fifteen years ago. It also established its own community government from the bottom up. The Urban Self-Management Committee of Villa El Salvador (CUAVES) functions as a virtual parallel government and has gained official recognition.

The daily struggle to ensure her family's survival adds up to an eighteen-hour work day - knitting, maintaining her business as an ambulante, participating in the comedor comunal and in the neighbourhood 'Glass of Milk Committe' in addition to performing her household duties. She says, 'I feel tired all the time'. This life cannot be understood without reference to the distorted dependent character of Peru's capitalist system and the economic crisis which has been wracking the country for more than a decade.

Thirty years of capital intensive industrialisation geared to producing internationally advertised goods, which only the upper middle classes can afford has left the country burdened with a modern productive apparatus dependent on imported machinery and technology, imported intermediate goods, and even imported raw materials. This industrialisation process has not promoted ancillary economic activities to develop the use of national resources, nor has it generated sufficient employment for the hundreds of thousands of migrants who have poured into the coastal cities, fleeing the misery of the rural highlands. More than 60 percent of Peru's 20 million people now live in urban centres and about a third of them in Lima.

The historically low living standards of the majority have been deteriorating since the mid 1970s as the prices of Peru's principal exports have plummeted, inflation has soared, public expenditures have been cut back, and investment has declined as both national and multinational firms have transferred their profits abroad. Abject poverty reached unprecedented proportions during the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1980-
A comedor popular

1985) which dismantled reforms carried out in the early 1970s, adopted recessive economic policies under IMF pressure, and spent half of the public budget on military expenditures and the payment of the country's enormous foreign debt.

The statistics on wages, unemployment and underemployment are hair-raising. By mid 1985, real wages in Lima had taken a nose dive to almost half their 1974 level. The capital is the country's most prosperous city where wealth - banks, modern industrial enterprises, the public bureaucracy, large scale commerce - are concentrated. The proportion of salaried workers in the national labour force fell from 41 to 35.5 percent between 1974 and 1984. Simultaneously, the share of salaries and wages in national income dropped from a high of 51 percent in 1972 to 37 percent in 1983. Meanwhile, the proportion of enterprise profits in national income increased steadily. While the income distribution profile became more skewed, the average living standards of Peruvians descended to the level of the mid 1960s.

In the mid 1980s, open unemployment hovered around 10 percent, but underemployment (workers earning incomes below the minimum subsistence wage) climbed to 54 percent of the national labour force. In 1984, it was estimated that only slightly more than a third of the labour force was 'adequately employed', that is to say, earning satisfactory incomes and enjoying stable employment. Most of them were working in the public sector and in the large private and some co-operative enterprises which make up the overwhelmingly coastal modern sector of the economy.

As both employment and wages contracted in the modern sector, men, but especially women and even children began to invent jobs. Thus one of the many paradoxes that confounds the observer of modern Peru - the proportion of working women has been increasing steadily despite the general decrease in employment opportunities. In Lima, their participation in the labour force rose from 34 to 40 percent between 1973 to 1984. In effect, more and more lower class women invented occupations to make up for their husbands' decreasing real wages and increasing lengthy periods of unemployment.

In the national labour force statistics, the occupations these women created are hidden under the respectable sounding categories of commerce and services. They shot up from an already high 35 percent of the national labour force in 1975 to 42 percent in 1981. Survey data on Lima indicates that these two sectors absorbed 61 percent of the work force in 1984 while an additional 8 percent (almost exclusively women) worked as domestic servants.

To be sure, the commercial and service sectors include bank employees, public servants, sales clerks in large commercial houses and a few prosperous entrepreneurs and executives. However, the great majority of commercial and service sector workers form part of the so called 'informal economy'. They are the ambulantes, the operators of street corner stands, the owners of 'micro enterprises' - the poor of the city, the underemployed, the so called 'marginals' who make up the majority of the urban population.

This is where most of Lima's female labour force can be found. It is estimated that 29 percent are working in commerce, another 36 percent in services, and some 20 percent as domestic servants. Only 16 percent are employed by industrial enterprises where wages and employment security tend to be better. It should no surprise that the average income of women is only half of the male average, and that the majority of those seeking work are women.

Soledad, as an ambulante, and similar to thousands of women migrants who inhabit the pueblos jovenes, work in the least remunerative of occupations. The earnings from her 'independent business' and knitting do not compensate from her husband's lost income. With steadily rising prices, not even the basic food needs of the family could be met when Ramiro lost his job. That is why Soledad joined a group of women, assisted by the local parish social worker, to organise the neighbourhood comedor comunal. For the same reason, she participates in the women's committee which organises the distribution of powdered milk.

Clearly, it is the women from the poorest classes who are bearing the brunt of the country's distorted economic system and its decade-long crisis. It is they who run the organisations which try to resolve the daily problems of survival.

Comedores began to mushroom in Lima's poor districts in the late 1970s. Later, through an agreement with the United States government, some 150,000 low-income people began to receive grains donated through Public Law 480. Their distribution has been administered by two philanthropic institutions - the Catholic CARITAS which receives almost 50 percent of donations, and the Adventist OPASA - as well as one public agency. A part of the donations are provided to families who organise themselves to participate in
community improvement projects such as the planting and care of trees, or the construction and maintenance of basic infrastructure in the pueblos jovenes. The donor agencies have also been responsive to women's groups which have organised to prepare and distribute meals in communal kitchens which serve anywhere from a dozen to fifty families each.

The origins of the comedores vary. Some were established through the initiative of the numerous mothers clubs which date from the early years of the Alliance for Progress as well as the organisational efforts of the reformist military government headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975). Others are run by women's groups organised more recently by Basic Christian Communities and parish officials. Still others are the result of communal kitchens which serve anywhere from a dozen to fifty families each.

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A myriad of women's groups have participated in marches, demonstrations and campaigns for the improvement of public services and the provision of basic infrastructure for the pueblos jovenes. But have they obtained positions of responsibility in district governments and other traditionally male dominated local organisations?

Since the rise of women's groups struggling to resolve basic survival problems has coincided with the florescence of feminist action groups and research centres, these issues have been systematically studied.

Summarising the results of their research, the members of those comedores and milk distribution committees as well as other neighbourhood organisations which encourage democratic participation and rotation in leadership positions report improved self esteem and self confidence. The management of comedor budgets and the planning of meals for large numbers of people promote the development of accounting, administrative and verbal skills. The discussion and sharing of experiences with other women facing similar problems relieves anxieties, alleviates social isolation and encourages solidarity.

Women working in community health clinics, parish social service units and feminist centres have also provided courses on nutrition, child care, hygiene, sexuality and even training for the organisation of income-generating productive activities. These learning experiences have been vital for women who, in many cases, have not had the opportunity to even complete their primary education. Some participants have even noted greater respect and understanding on the part of their husbands who, quite often, were initially resistant to their wives' involvement in activities outside the house. But there is little to suggest that the sexual division of labour in the family has been challenged or altered.

Comedores in some districts have organised Federations to coordinate and improve their services. In Villa El Salvador, where Soledad lives, the women's groups have also joined together to form a Federation. Feminist groups, addressing the specific problems of gender oppression, have gained access to the media with a frequency unimaginable only five years ago. Radio programmes, documentation centres, inexpensive publications series, celebrations honouring women's activities have proliferated during the last few years.

Women have certainly acquired a new visibility and they have demonstrated their capacity to organise on a large scale. Nevertheless, the women's organisations tend to remain isolated in their own activities. Their primary concern with day to day survival programmes leaves little time and energy for the discussion of broader political issues, much less the formulation of alternative public policies. Relations and communication with local governing bodies dominated by men are consequently sporadic. The latter may seek the assistance of the women's groups for implementing or supporting certain programmes, but few women have obtained directive positions in the institutions of local power. Worse yet, many among those who have done so tend to be silenced when confronted with male authority.

The rapid multiplication of women's groups, especially in Lima but also in other coastal cities, responds to the conditions of a crisis. Most of the activities organised by them represent collective efforts to resolve the day to day problems previously managed by women individually inside their own homes. This also raises the question of their long-term viability should general economic conditions improve.

Even the productive activities organised by women - confectionary enterprises, artisan workshops, restaurants - tend to be extensions of traditional household activities. In other words, most organised women are still engaged in 'women's work' and they are perceived as members of auxiliary institutions by most of the men who run the local governments and political parties. In many cases, moreover, the combination of work in and outside the home, in addition to work in community projects, further lengthens the women's work day.

The achievement of the women's organisations should not be belittled. Much has been accomplished and many seeds for future change have been planted. However, their current limitations need to be clearly recognised with reference to the advancement of women into spheres of...
public power. Although some women have acquired important positions and even influence at all levels of government, the danger exists that a focus on survival and the legitimate pride engendered among women by the successful resolution of their most pressing daily problems, may divert them from questioning the fundamental responsibility of the national government in resolving the economic crisis. The demand for profound structural transformations in a society whose distorted productive apparatus channels 32 percent of national income to 10 percent of the population cannot be avoided.

The living conditions and social opportunities of the great majority of the rural population are even more crippling than those found in most pueblos jóvenes and other poor districts in the coastal cities. Soledad and her husband know this very well and would not even consider the possibility of returning to their native Apurimac in the Andean highlands.

As in the urban areas, so in the countryside, the women's work day has been lengthening over the past decades. Agriculture in general, and the highland food crop economy in particular, have been neglected by successive governments, despite the agrarian reform carried out in the late sixties and early seventies. While food imports continue to increase and are sold to the urban population at subsidised prices, highland agriculture stagnates.

Public investment, what there is of it in the current crisis, is concentrated on the coast and, especially, in the cities where the population is politically organised. Urban pressure groups exercise effective leverage on governments. The highland peasantry remains poorly organised and the rural areas have been left without basic infrastructure and services. It is precisely in the poverty stricken highland areas where Sendero Luminoso originated. This is in the main revolutionary movement which 'interrupted' the normal functioning of the Congress of the Socialist International in Lima.

Incappable of scraping together a living from their small plots, the male adults of highland peasant families migrate seasonally in search of wage labour. Rural women, who have always been involved in production in addition to performing the household and raising children, are now also taking on the productive and commercial activities previously carried out by men. Although much less is known about their specific problems, the women's promotional groups and non-governmental organisations which support self-help projects in the countryside report successes and difficulties similar to those experienced in the urban settings.

There are differences however. The levels of violence in some rural regions have reached intolerable proportions. In other regions, however, and in part because of the absence of men during lengthy periods of migration, women have not only organised themselves but are also playing a greater role in local governing institutions. The challenges of transformation faced by the government of Alan García Pérez, inaugurated in July 1985, appear overwhelming. Some progress can certainly be noted, but a general evaluation would be premature. But it must be stated that the problems confronting Peru's women, most of whom are poor, will not be resolved without a fundamental transformation of the country's social class structures and productive organisation. Of equal urgency is a process of democratisation to permit the incorporation of those who have no voice in the current structure of policy making as genuinely participatory citizens at all levels of public power. The responsibility lies in the hands of the government and the country's organised political forces, including its police and military institutions.

Women face the challenge of becoming active promoters and participants in this national process of transformation. How will they enter the public sphere to address the multiple forms of class exploitation and increasing consciousness concerning the equally multifarious manifestations of gender oppression? The disadvantages they face, the inheritance of their historical marginalisation, are enormous.

At least 22 percent of Peruvian women have received no formal education in contrast to 12 percent of men; the differences in access to educational opportunities are striking at all levels of the system. Almost a third of Peruvian women say they have more children than they want, and another 44 percent say they do not want any more. However, birth control information is not readily available outside middle class circles, and men are frequently opposed to its dissemination. Maternity care is scandalously deficient for the majority: it is estimated that a third of all deaths among women between the ages of 20 and 24 are caused by complications associated with pregnancy.

Most women who work are found in the lowest-paid and least prestigious occupations. In unionised enterprises where the majority of workers and employees are women, men continue to dominate union leadership positions. Women's representation in congress and political party leadership circles is more symbolic than real and, despite some variations, this remains the case right across the political spectrum.

In Villa El Salvador, Soledad and Ramiro do worry about the general state of the nation. Both ask 'what will happen to our children?'.

In recent weeks, the women and men of Villa El Salvador, poor but organised into the Urban Self Management Committee (CUAVES) and the many other institutions created during the last few years, have taken on a leading role in promoting marches and demonstrations for the 'Affirmation of Life'. This remarkable community's struggle to create a participatory, egalitarian and peaceful society has resulted in its nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Lisa North, a member of the Canadian New Democratic Party, is a political scientist studying in Peru.

Germany. The SPD congress in August introduced a quota of 40 percent women's representation on all party committees and electoral lists. Twenty-seven percent of congress delegates were women. The newly elected party executive has ten out of forty women members. At the general election in January 1987, the number of women MPs should more than double.

Japan. SIW notes with great pleasure the election of Tokako Doi as President of the Socialist Party of Japan (see Socialist Notebook).

Switzerland. Heidi Deneys has been appointed vice-president of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. She succeeds Yvette Jaggi and the nomination of a woman for the second time shows that women have gained ground in the party. In June of this year, the Swiss party decided that every party committee and polling list should include one third women.

Finland. New president of the shop-workers' union – 80 percent of whose 100,000 members are women – is Maylen Remahl, elected in June. She is one of three women recently elected. Tuulikki Kannisto became President of the Textile Workers' Union (45,000 members) and Hilkka Hakkilä president of the Rubber and Leather Workers' Union (16,000 members). All these unions belong to the largest trade union centre – Central Organisation of Finish Trade Unions. In the smaller Confederation of Salaried Employees there are already several women presidents and a woman is co-president of the Confederation.
Women: Victims and fighters

Shahid Nadeem

The last week of October every year is ‘Amnesty International Week’ when the organisation, founded twenty-five years ago, tries to focus public attention on the fate of prisoners of conscience. SIW asked a former prisoner of conscience, now Campaigns Coordinator of Amnesty International, to write about the plight of women prisoners.

All Ethiopia Socialist Movement, Me’isone, which was one of the five political groupings forming the officially permitted Union of Marxist-Leninist Organisations. It supported the Provisional Military Government set up after the 1974 revolution but came into conflict with the government when it criticised government policies. The Ethiopian Government has never explained what happened to Negist and four other Me’isone officials held in Addis Ababa who suddenly “disappeared”.

Seven women relatives of the late Emperor Haile Selassie have also been in prison in Ethiopia for many years, since the 1974 revolution. The new government first said they were being held in ‘protective custody . . . to save them from the wrath of the people’. Held in a damp room in a former clinic in the Addis Ababa Central Prison, some of them have been denied family visits for as long as nine years. They include: Tenagnework Haile-Selassie, aged 73, daughter of the late Emperor, and her four daughters: Aida Desta, former President of the Ethiopian Women’s Welfare Association; Seble Desta, formerly Vice-President of the Ethiopian Women’s Welfare Association; Hirut Desta, who underwent surgery for skin cancer in 1983 and Sophie Desta, who has had a number of illnesses during her imprisonment.

The President of the Democratic Women’s Association of Nepal, political activist Kalyani Shah was arrested with her husband in June 1985. They were among hundreds arrested after bomb blasts in Kathmandu and elsewhere. Most of those arrested were released in subsequent months but about 100, including Kalyani and her husband, were kept in detention without any publicly-announced charges. Kalyani’s husband was released in November 1985 and she herself was finally freed in June 1986, after a year’s imprisonment without trial.

A former member of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, Danuta Skorenco was arrested on 9 October 1985, together with other Solidarity members. They were accused of ‘illegal possession’ of a radio transmitter, which was used to broadcast Solidarity slogans on state television. Held in Katowice, in the southeast of Poland, she went on hungerstrike from 23 December 1985 for nearly three months to protest against the prison conditions. She was believed to have been released as a result of an amnesty announced in July 1986.

The Soviet physicist and poet, Irina Ratushinskaya, was arrested in September 1982 apparently because of her connections with the unofficial trade union group SMOT (Free Inter-Professional Association of Workers). She was convicted in March 1983 of ‘anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda’ and received the maximum sentences of seven years’ imprisonment and five years’ internal exile. The charge was based on her poems, human rights documents and articles written for the SMOT bulletin. She was sent to the corrective labour colony in Mordovia for women considered to be ‘especially dangerous state criminals’, where for many years inmates have been systematically protesting against their conditions by going on strikes and hunger-strikes. She helped lead these protests and has been ill-treated and punished as a result. She has spent several periods in punitive isolation in special cells and in August 1985 was reportedly beaten unconscious by prison officials in Savansk.

In one of her poems Irina Ratushinskaya says:

O Lord, what shall I say that hasn’t been said before?
Here I am under Your wind in my canvas clothes,
Between Your breathing and pitch-black death – dead –
O my Lord!
What shall I say at Your interrogations, if I am ordered
Not to be silent, but to turn and face my country –
with its deadly amusements, its rags of parting, deaf and dumb –
O my Lord!
How will You dare to judge,
According to what tribunal?
What will you answer, when I force my way through and arrive –
when I stand up and lean my shoulder against the glass partition –
and look in
And ask You for nothing.
An Egyptian Christian who converted from Islam in 1978, Eman Mustafa Tawfiq, was arrested by police in Cairo, on 8 January 1986. Together with her two sisters, Nagwa Mustafa and Ibtisam Mustafa and another woman, Hala Anwar Talib, they were held until July without charge. They were reportedly accused of ‘despising Islam’. The four women are members of the Coptic Evangelical Church, the largest church in the small Egyptian Protestant community of about 200,000. It is believed that they may have been detained because of their choice of practice Christianity.

Many members of women’s organisations have been detained under the state of emergency regulations imposed throughout South Africa on 12 June 1986. They include Ivy Gcina, Chairwoman of the Port Elizabeth Women’s Organisation, Sister Bernard Ncube, President of the Federation of Transvaal Women, and several leading members of the Black Sash, a white women’s organisation which has campaigned peacefully against apartheid for a number of years. Those Black Sash members still reported detained in mid-September 1986 included Louise Vale, Priscilla Hall and Ann Burroughs of the organisation’s Grahamstown branch. Another, Annica Van Glyswyk, was deported to Sweden as a condition of her release though she had been resident in South Africa for more than thirty years.

**Torture and sexual abuse**

In the course of its work Amnesty International receives many reports and testimonies from women political prisoners about torture and inhuman prison conditions. Some of these reports and testimonies describe physical, psychological and sexual humiliation. Some women are physically tortured by methods ranging from electric shocks to mutilation. Many women are beaten regularly. Many are deliberately denied sanitary facilities. Others are not allowed essential medical treatments. Women prisoners have to put up with sexual abuse and insults. Some are forced to watch the ill-treatment of their children.

Jeanette Joffre Waghorn, a secondary school graduate remanded in custody in October 1983 in Chile, said in her testimony: “naked, I was struck and fondled and obscene remarks were made to me; this immediately produces a feeling of total defencelessness and violated dignity which succeeds in destroying for a while one’s sense of worth, especially in a woman . . .”

Paraguayan Saturina Almada was arrested in 1968 and imprisoned for 10 years without trial. She was then tried and sentenced for another four and a half years for her ‘subversive activities’. She described the treatment of women prisoners as follows: “Our cell was searched every two days. They humiliated us by raking around in our things and even by waving our underwear around like flags. They made us take out of the walls the nails on which we hung the small bags holding our belongings or work as there was no furniture at all in the cell.”

According to Sema Ogur who spent 14 and a half months in Turkey’s Mamak Military Prison between 1981 and 1982: “Morning and evening inspections were the scene of daily beatings. They hit you for the slightest infringement of rules: looking sideways, not shouting your name at the top of your voice, not standing straight, not stamping your feet like a soldier . . . These beatings took place in the presence of the military doctor, who was on the inspection team. Our bodies were constantly black and blue.”

An Iranian woman student, aged 26, was arrested in September 1981 and taken to Evin Prison in Tehran. She gave the following account of conditions there. “… there must have been around 180 of us in the cell. There were hardly any sanitary facilities to speak of and we had no change of underwear and only one bar of soap for each group of six people to use for washing ourselves and our clothes. We found that, after a while in detention, we stopped menstruating.”

In Namibia, a 40-year-old mother of eight, Milka Nauyoma was arrested in September 1981 and held in a corrugated iron cell measuring three metres by two metres for two months. She was interrogated and tortured. Later she described her experience: “I never received any medical treatment. I was never allowed to go for exercise. My isolation became extremely depressing . . . My heart would palpitate violently for no reason. Sometimes I would awake from sleep in a mood of terror. I started to fear that I would be mistreated again or attacked or killed.”

In recent years Amnesty International has received reports of the arbitrary arrests and detention, torture and execution of women in Iraq. Among those arrested were said to be actual or suspected members of prohibited political organisations. Others include women arrested as hostages while authorities searched for their male relatives. In some cases the wives and sisters of political prisoners were also arrested and tortured in their presence in order to force the detainees to divulge information or sign ‘confessions’ renouncing their political affiliations.

Archana Guha’s case came to the attention of an Amnesty International delegation visiting India after the State of
Emergency in 1975-77, during which thousands of political prisoners were held. She was one of a number of prisoners in a Calcutta police station. She can now walk again, as a result of treatment in a hospital in Denmark specialising in the treatment of torture victims, arranged by Amnesty International.

In Iran, Tahereh Nasib was flogged and then stoned to death in Qom in April 1986. She had been convicted of adultery and murder. Several sentences of death by stoning have been confirmed by the Iranian Supreme Judicial Council and are likely to be carried out soon.

Carmen Quintana Arancibia, an 18-year-old Chilean student was among a group of young people walking in the street on 2 July 1986 during a two-day national stoppage called by the opposition. According to witnesses the group dispersed when a military patrol appeared, but Carmen and her companion Rodrigo Rojas de Negri, 19, were seized. Rodrigo was beaten and kicked by the soldiers and both he and Carmen were dragged towards a side street. Then they were doused with petrol by the soldiers and set on fire. Then they were wrapped in blankets and put in the van, their bodies still smouldering. Rodrigo whose mother is a political exile living in the USA, died in hospital. Carmen is still seriously ill in a burns unit at a Santiago hospital.

A 22-year-old woman in El Salvador, who was detained around April 1985 by soldiers and now a refugee, said: "I was taken out of my house at 7 pm by the army to a nearby hill and was raped by 20 soldiers. I was menstruating and was bleeding heavily and in pain. They took no notice of my cries. They stopped around midnight. They hit me to keep me quiet. They accused me of being a terrorist ... the army made us pose with old guns for the press." Another girl aged 15, detained in 1985 by soldiers, later said she was raped by 10 soldiers. She also said: "I saw five men brutally beaten up by the army ... A soldier kept on saying that he had this urge to cut a few heads with his machete."

Victimisation of activists

Women actively involved in the struggle for human rights in general or for women's rights, can themselves be deprived of their human rights. In very many countries it takes tremendous courage to become involved. These determined women know they might meet the fate of Marienella Garcia Villas, president of the unofficial Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, who was assassinated in 1983 while investigating human rights violations.

Another member of a Salvadorian human rights group Maria Teresa Tula de Canales, was abducted by unidentified men believed to be members of the security forces on 5 May 1986. She was abandoned two days later in a San Salvador park. She was questioned about the work of her group, Co-Madres, the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, the 'Disappeared', and Assassinated of El Salvador. She alleges that she was raped and tortured during the questioning. She complained to the Director of the National Police, "They told me they (Co-Madres) were a bunch of rebellious and scandalous old ladies ... After this they took off my clothes, made vulgar remarks and jokes, and touched my body. Then three men raped me. I was left alone ... then they returned and began asking questions."

On 28 May Maria was seized by armed men once again. Her detention was later acknowledged by the police.

A feminist writer in Taiwan, Lu Hsiu-Lien is serving a 12-year sentence imposed in 1979 because she founded a company specialising in feminist literature.

Guatemalan feminist and poet Alaida Foppa was abducted by armed men believed to be members of security services in December 1980 when she was visiting her country to see her sick mother. A leading Guatemalan intellectual, Alaida Foppa was living in exile in Mexico where she lectured, wrote art criticism and poetry. She was one of the founder members of the Mexican feminist magazine Fem and presenter of the radio program Foro de la Mujer, Women's Forum. Her detention was never acknowledged and she remains missing.

In Syria, Hind Qahwaji, a 30-year-old agricultural engineer, was first arrested for her membership of the Party for Communist Action in October 1982. She was released on 3 March 1983 and rearrested on 21 March 1984. She was tortured soon after her arrest and reportedly had to undergo an operation on her uterus as a result. She is currently being held in Qatana Women's Prison, where hygienic conditions and medical facilities are reported to be very poor.

Imprisonment, torture, sexual humiliation and persecution have not silenced such women: they are playing an ever greater role in the human rights struggle. The stereotyped picture of a woman suffering in silence has been shattered by the courage and determination of these campaigns against injustice.

In Argentina the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo demonstrated for years to press the government to provide information about the whereabouts of their relatives who 'disappeared' during the 1970s. The determination and perseverance of the Mothers in the face of persecution, imprisonment and death threats has inspired those who care for human rights all over the world. Similar organisations are playing a crucial role in the struggle for human rights in many countries around the world where human rights are being systematically violated.

Amnesty International works for women victims of human rights violations and women from all over the world are working for Amnesty International, as its members and supporters, to increase its relationship with women's organisations too. It believes that much can be gained by cooperating to attain common goals. The idea of a world where human rights are respected everywhere can only be fully realised when persecution and discrimination against all groups, communities and sexes is eradicated.
Special UN session on economic crisis

On 27 May-1 June, the UN General Assembly in New York held a special session on the economic crisis facing Africa, which thus became the first region to have its economic problems specifically considered by the Assembly.

The session was convened in response to an appeal by the 1985 summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and had been strongly advocated by the 1985-86 OAU chairman, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal (who is also general secretary of the ruling Socialist Party).

To assist its deliberations, the special session received a draft five-year development programme for Africa entitled ‘Africa’s Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-90’, prepared by the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa. The draft stressed the priority of rehabilitating the continent’s agricultural sector and also called for internationally agreed steps to moderate the debt burden of African governments.

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In his opening address to the session, President Diouf said that the priority of agricultural development was ‘the core of all our work and the cornerstone of the entire conceptual edifice’ being proposed in the draft programme.

The programme’s cost over the five-year period was estimated at US$128 billion of which the African countries would provide $82.5 billion from their own resources, with the international community being asked to supply the other $45.5 billion. In addition, the programme called for between $35 and $55 billion to be made available in new debt relief over the period.

President Diouf stressed that the programme would commit the African countries to ‘take measures to strengthen incentive schemes, review public investment policies and improve economic management, including greater discipline and efficiency of resources’. He also recalled that the African countries were seeking changes in their trading relations with the developed world, in particular regarding the stability of commodity prices and reductions in barriers to trade.

At the session no potential donor countries announced pledges to the programme, principally because it had not been intended that this should happen immediately but also partly because many developed countries were concerned that it was too ambitious and too costly.

Moreover, on the African appeal for a multilateral conference on rescheduling the debts of African states, the general response of the representatives of the creditor countries was that each country’s problems should be examined separately (as in the case of Latin American debtor countries). On the other hand, some partial debt-relief measures benefiting Africa were announced to the session by the delegates of Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands.

Action programme

The special session concluded with the adoption by consensus of a document entitled the ‘UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-90’ and the passage of a resolution calling on all governments to take effective action to implement its proposals. Based largely on the OAU draft, the document noted that the African economic crisis had jeopardised the progress of development in the continent and was posing a threat to millions of lives.

The UN document maintained that some of Africa’s structural economic problems were attributable to exploitation and errors during the colonial era but conceded that others had resulted from the pursuit of misguided policies by post-independence governments.

On the debt problem, it stated that the international community was aware of the need to take measures to alleviate the ‘severe and restrictive burden’ resulting therefrom and urged that ‘existing mechanisms should respond flexibly and be improved as appropriate’.

Diouf concludes OAU term

President Diouf of Senegal completed his one-year term as OAU chairman at the organisation’s twenty-second assembly of heads of state and government held in Addis Ababa on 28-30 July, when he handed over to President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the Congo.

During his chairmanship the Senegalese leader secured improvements to the internal administration and finances of the OAU, the return of Zaire to active participation, the initiation of negotiations in several inter-African disputes. Diouf was widely respected for projecting a more credible and realistic African image on the international stage. The UN special session on Africa’s economic plight (see above) was seen as having placed the debt problem squarely on the international agenda, and the world community had been influenced by the president’s tireless efforts in the cause of South African liberation, in particular his repeated call for economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Moreover, at his prompting member states ratified the 1981 African Charter of Human Rights, under which governments or individuals can request an OAU committee to visit a particular country to investigate alleged abuses.
Australia's balance of payments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports-imports, in A$ billion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>-3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>-2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ABS • Jan-Sep

Australia's southernmost state, Tasmania, from 7-11 July, as the value of the dollar fell to its lowest level ever against major currencies. It was against this background that the crucial economic debate was held on the fourth day of the conference.

As an indication of the extent of confidence in the government's plans for economic adjustment and recovery, the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) moved the general motion on economic policy, which included the clause 'Conference notes and endorses positive initiatives outlined by the prime minister to meet and overcome the current challenges'.

The trade unions affiliated to the ALP also renewed their commitment to endeavour to keep wage demands under control; specifically, they agreed in principle to a renegotiation of the accord on prices and incomes, which had been one of the benchmarks of the Labor government's economic strategy (see 3/85, page 74).

A more interventionist industrial policy, including import quotas, was also approved by the conference, having won the backing of both the right and left wings of the party and the trade unions.

But calls from the party's left wing for a more regulatory and expansionist approach - which would have included a pegged exchange rate, restrictions on corporate takeovers and no wage cuts - were rejected.

Joint efforts

Addressing the harsh realities of the national economy, Bob Hawke appealed for 'restraint with equity' in his keynote speech to the conference. Referring to the need for strong growth in the economy and in employment accompanied by low inflation, he urged trade unions to ensure the continuation of the accord on prices and incomes.

On regional affairs, Hawke stressed his government's commitment to maintaining the defence alliance with the United States and as well as its strong relations with New Zealand despite the current tensions between the two countries over the latter's non-nuclear defence policy.

The conference afforded formal recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, although delegates expressed concern at the way in which the incorporation proceeded, and regretted there was no internationally supervised act of self-determination by the Timorese people.

New ALP president

In the only change in senior party posts, Mick Young was elected unopposed as ALP president by the national executive at a pre-conference meeting on 3 July. A former sheep-shearer, he is at present a special minister of state in the federal government and chair of the ALP's national campaign committee, and has held a number of major party positions, including that of national secretary. He succeeded Neville Wran, the former premier of New South Wales, who had announced his retirement from politics in June.
The new SPO-FPO coalition government under Vranitzky was sworn in on 16 June and contained several changes among the Socialist representation. Peter Jankowitsch, formerly the SPO international secretary, became minister of foreign affairs in succession to Leopold Gratz, who also resigned following the election of Waldheim; Ferdinand Lacina took the finance portfolio; Erich Schmidt replaced Günther Heiden as agriculture minister; and Rudolf Streicher succeeded Lacina as minister of transport and public works.

Vranitzky, a 48-year-old banking and foreign trade expert, had been adviser to the then finance minister Hannes Androsch in 1970-76 and had subsequently served on the boards of two major banks before being appointed finance minister in September 1984.

The new government's policy statement, presented to parliament on 18 June, contained no major changes in direction.

**FPÖ shift**

In the new government the FPÖ leader, Norbert Steger, remained vice-chancellor as well as trade and energy minister. But his position became difficult when on 13 September the FPÖ party congress voted by a substantial majority to replace him in the chairmanship by Jörg Haider, leader of the right wing of the party. This development caused the FPÖ presidium to vote on 19 September in favour of the dissolution of the coalition, on the grounds that the FPÖ was no longer a suitable partner in government.

Although Steger offered his resignation from the government, Vranitzky decided that all existing cabinet members should continue in a caretaker capacity until general elections could be held, this date being fixed for 23 November.

**SPÖ loses in Steiermark**

In regional elections to the legislative parliament of the southeastern state of Steiermark, on 21 September, the SPÖ saw its share of the vote fall by 5 points to 38 percent and its seat total from 24 to 22 as compared with the last such poll in 1981.

Former Socialist voters went principally to three Green parties, one of which secured representation for the first time with 2 seats. The right-wing People's Party (OVP) and the FPÖ again won 30 and 2 seats respectively, although the former's vote increased by 1 percent and the latter's dropped marginally.

The SPÖ setback was attributed in part to the federal government's intention to restructure the state-owned industrial concern Voest-Alpine with consequential job losses in Steiermark in particular.

The SPÖ has appointed a third general secretary, Heinrich Keller. A lawyer and a former advisor to the then finance minister Hannes Androsch had been adviser to the then finance minister in September 1984.

**BARBADOS**

**Heavy defeat for BLP**

The Barbados Labour Party (BLP), lost decisively in general elections held on 28 May, having been in power for just under a decade. Achieving the most decisive margin of victory in the island's constitutional history, the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) led by Errol Barrow, won 24 of the 27 seats in the House of Assembly, against 3 for the BLP. In percentage terms, however, the margin was less wide, with the BLP securing 40.4 percent of the popular vote against 59.5 percent of the DLP.

Having introduced an expansionary budget on 2 April, the BLP leader and prime minister, Bernard St John, called the elections a few months earlier than was constitutionally necessary.

The government campaigned on the economic progress achieved in the retail and services sectors and on the reduction of unemployment from 18 to 15 percent in the first half of this year. But the DLP was able to capitalise on the continuing decline of the key sugar and tourism industries and a net fall in manufacturing output over the period of BLP rule. It also offered major tax reductions (which the BLP argued could not be afforded without considerable hardship, particularly in the public sector).

Having assumed the party and government leadership following the death of Tom Adams in March 1985 (see 1/85, page 66), St John lost his parliamentary seat in the elections, as did all his cabinet colleagues except David Simmons, the outgoing attorney-general.

The BLP parliamentary leadership was taken over by Henry Forde, who had been attorney-general and external affairs minister in the 1976-81 BLP government.

**CHILE**

**Pinochet reimposes state of siege after assassination attempt**

A further repressive clampdown has followed an unsuccessful assassination attempt on 7 September on the country's military ruler, General Pinochet.

Coming only days before the thirteenth anniversary of the military coup which overthrew the Allende government in 1973, the attack — in which six members of the presidential guard were killed and twelve others seriously wounded — was followed by the immediate imposition of a 90-day state of siege, which gives the regime additional powers to those already afforded by the dual state of emergency.

The authorities proceeded to arrest scores of people in house-to-house raids in working-class districts, and prominent left-wing politicians, journalists and trade unionists were also rounded up. As part of a general crackdown on the news media, nearly all opposition magazines were banned and the operations of the Reuters and Ansa agencies were suspended.

A state of siege was last in force between November 1984 and June 1985 (see 4/84, page 76).

**General strike**

Earlier, on 2-3 July, the regime faced a major challenge when the mass organisations represented in the National Civic Assembly (ANC), formed in April (see 2/86, page 59), began their threatened campaign of mass civil disobedience with a general strike that paralysed the capital, Santiago, and major cities around the country. During the days of action eight people were killed by the authorities and over a thousand were arrested.

Immediately afterwards, the regime began to press charges (under the internal-security law) against seventeen members of the ANC national council of 'inciting subversion' and 'paralysing the country'.

**Call for elections**

The parties of the National Accord for the Transition to a Full Democracy (except for the rari-right National Union Party) launched a campaign for free general elections on 25 August, the initiative's anniversary date.

The Accord was signed in August 1985 by the Radical Party of OAS and the other parties from the non-maoist left to former right-wing supporters of the regime. Its proposals for a gradual, negotiated return to democratic rule were rejected by Pinochet in December 1985 (see 3/86, page 74, and 1/86, page 52).
Double victory for left

The centre-left opposition bloc led by the Democratic Left Party (ID) regained its parliamentary majority in partial elections held on 1 June, a year after defections from the ID and the realignment of a small centre party had given control of Congress to the right-wing of the Social Christian Party (PSC) — the party of the president, León Febres Cordero — and its allies. A simultaneous constitutional referendum provided the left with an overwhelming display of support.

The elections were for the 59 provincially elected seats in the 71-member unicameral Congress. They were due in January 1986, but were postponed by Congress on 30 October 1985, on the grounds that the issue of new identity cards was incomplete. The left-wing opposition had contested this and condemned the move as a 'flagrant abuse of power' by the president.

Referendum

Despite persistent rumours that the government intended to prevent the elections, which were expected to show popular rejection of Febres' authoritarian, pro-US and monetarist policies, it was eventually announced that they were to be held in June, but in conjunction with a referendum on the seemingly uncontroversial proposal that independent candidates be allowed to stand for election.

The opposition resolved to turn the referendum into a poll on the popularity of the government, and a national committee of eighteen centre and left parties and popular organisations campaigned for a no vote. When voting took place on 1 June, the government's proposal was defeated in all 20 provinces, with 57.8 percent voting no and only 25.2 percent yes (with 10.3 percent of ballots blank and 6.7 percent invalid, on a turnout of 63.6 percent of the electorate).

Rodrigo Borja, the leader of the ID, described the result as 'the people's punishment for an inept and corrupt government which has failed both in its domestic social and economic policy and in its craven and spineless foreign policy'. The people had 'condemned government by deception and lies ... they have rejected a system which concentrates on wealth and makes the life of the poor unbearable'.

Partial elections

When nominations for the congressional elections closed on 1 April, there were candidates from sixteen parties. The voting, left the opposition parties with a sizeable majority. When added to the nationally elected seats, the results gave 17 seats to the ID and 43 in total to centre-left and marxist parties against 27 for the PSC and its allies and 1 seat for the uncommitted People, Change and Democracy (PCD).

Although the ID had won more seats in the 1984 elections, the 1986 result confirmed its position as the largest single party in Congress and in terms of vote share. The reduction in the number of its deputies was compensated by the rise in support for other centre-left and left parties, including the Socialist Party (PS), which took 6 seats in only its second electoral outing.

Although the PSC actually increased its share of the vote, each of the six parties formally or informally aligned with it experienced severe setbacks. The turnout was about 76 percent, low by Ecuador's standards.

The right was also rebuffed in simultaneous elections — also postponed from January — for 51 provincial and 461 municipal councillors.

Heading the left: Rodrigo Borja

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Opposition to Febres

When Congress reopened on 10 August, depriving Febres Cordero of his majority, it seemed certain that there would be more executive-legislature clashes of the kind which had marked the first half of mid-December 1984 (see 1/85, page 74), was followed by another dispute in March 1985 after the president imposed a minimum wage lower than that sought by the then opposition-controlled Congress. As in the earlier dispute, the wage issue led to street violence and a one-day general strike.

The president's hand was temporarily strengthened in June 1985 when five deputies of the hitherto non-aligned Radical Alfarista Front (FRA) and two from the ID defected to the government side, depriving the ID-led Progressive Democratic opposition bloc of its narrow parliamentary majority and of the presidency and vice-presidency of Congress. The government, which then had the support of 36 of the 71 deputies, faced a number of minor crises before the 1986 elections, including several instances of political violence.

The principal area of conflict between the government and the new Congress is likely to be that of economic policy, as it was before the election. The Febres government has blocked wage rises, limited subsidies, devalued the sucre, deregulated and encouraged foreign investment, partly to cope with the drastic decline in oil earnings and partly to meet the requirements of the IMF and foreign banks for the extension of a foreign debt in the region of US$7.5 billion.

The opposition parties in the new Congress announced the restoration of the Progressive Democratic bloc (see 3/84, page 67), led by the ID and including Popular Democracy (DP), the PS, the orthodox communist Broad Left Front (FADI) and the maoist Popular Democratic Movement (MPD). The opposition bloc is supported on most issues by the Ecuadorian Roldosista Party (PRE).

Results of the Ecuadorian elections 1986 (1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opposition bloc</th>
<th>seats provincial</th>
<th>seats national</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Left Party (ID)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Democracy (DP)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roldosista Party (PRE)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Democratic Movement (MPD)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad Left Front (FADI)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Party (PS)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Government bloc

| Social Christian Party (PSC) | 13 | 2 (9) |
| Democratic Party (PD) | 1 | 0 (5) |
| Concentration of Popular Forces (CFP) | 3 | 1 (7) |
| Alfarista Radical Front (FRA) | 2 | 1 (6) |
| Liberal Radical Party (PLR) | 3 | 1 (4) |
| Conservative Party (PCE) | 1 | 0 (2) |
| Revolutionary Nationalist Party (PNN) | 0 | 1 (1) |
| others | | |
| People, Change & Democracy (PCD) | 1 | 0 (0) |

SPD sets positions on defence, economy

Defence, nuclear and economic policy issues dominated the congress of the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) held in Nuremberg on 25-29 August, only five months before the federal general elections due in January 1987.

In these and other areas the 400-plus delegates endorsed new policies with which the party will seek a governmental mandate after being in opposition since October 1982. They also confirmed that the president's candidate for the chancellorship in the elections will be Johannes Rau, currently SPD premier of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Defence plans

In an important resolution of defence strategy, the congress called unanimously for the removal from Federal German soil of US intermediate-range nuclear missiles (cruise and Pershing) and pledged the party to reverse the November 1983 parliamentary vote giving final approval to new missile deployment. The resolution reaffirmed the party's commitment to continued NATO membership, but also declared that 'the self-assertion of Europe' should be one of the main goals of the Federal Republic in the spheres of defence and disarmament negotiations.

The Nuremberg congress thus consolidated the SPD's evolution to an anti-missiles stance since it went into opposition (the original 1979 NATO decision on new missile deployment in Western Europe having been endorsed by the then SPD-led government of Helmut Schmidt).

An SPD administration should do 'everything in its power' to secure the removal of US missiles, but the resolution fixes no time-limit. This aim is linked to achieving a reduction of equivalent Soviet missiles deployed in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. In the latter context, the resolution envisions that an SPD chancellor would have 'full freedom' to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union, on the basis that 'where the vital interests of Europe are at stake Social Democrats will take their own initiatives'.

In advancing the concept a 'security partnership' with the Soviet Union to inaugurate 'a second phase of detente' in Europe, the SPD's new policy envisions the taking of limited unilateral steps and then seeking reciprocation by the Soviet side, i.e. not making progress towards disarmament conditional upon a prior guarantee of reciprocation.

'Limited independent steps to arms limitation and reduction which do not harm one's defence potential', the resolution says, 'can bring about and facilitate essential negotiations', a process which 'does not depend on the Eastern side joining in immediately or
The Nuremberg congress pledged an SPD government to renounce the agreement with the Reagan administration of December 1985 under which the Kohl government affirmed its political support for the US strategic defence initiative (SDI) or ‘star wars’ and agreed that negotiations should be initiated on the mutual transfer of technology, including SDI research, by private concerns.

It also called for a 10-percent reduction in Federal German defence expenditure (with Federal German forces being made ‘not capable of attacking’ the Soviet Union) and repudiated the present government’s intention to increase the period of military conscription from fifteen to eighteen months.

Nuclear energy

On the civil nuclear power issue, the congress voted by an overwhelming majority for the phased closure over a ten-year period of the Federal Republic’s nuclear power stations (currently numbering twenty).

In the continuing long shadow of the Soviet Chernobyl disaster, the party also pledged itself to cancel plans for the first fast-breeder reactor at Kalkar and for the building of a nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf.

Rau’s pledges

In his address to the congress, Johannes Rau said that the Federal Republic should become a world leader in the application of new technologies to adapt the energy and chemicals industries to forms of production which would no longer pose a threat to the environment.

Also on the environmentalist theme, the chancellor-candidate said that an SPD government would establish a fund to finance ‘ecological investments’, to be financed by a temporary 5-percent tax levy on higher income earners. He also gave a general pledge that the exigencies of the industrial society would be more closely linked to the new demands of environmental protection.

Other broad goals of the SPD in government, said Rau, would be to bring about ‘social peace with social justice’, to make the SPD the party of freedom, to achieve sexual equality in employment and education and to safeguard international peace.

On the problem of unemployment (currently standing at 2.2 million), Rau pledged that the SPD would introduce a shorter working week, implement progressive taxation policies to finance the creation of jobs for the young unemployed and institute a ten-year programme of public investment. He also said that measures were required to curb the ‘rapidly growing economic power’ of the country’s large banks.

The Nuremberg congress re-elected Willy Brandt for another term as SPD chair. The former chancellor and SI president announced that he would relinquish the post in 1988.

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour moves against Militant

The annual conference of the opposition Labour Party on 29 September expelled eight prominent Trotskyists by a vote of 6.1 million to 0.3 million (on the block voting system), thereby upholding earlier decisions taken by the party executive in April and May.

The move, although applying only to a small number of party members, is expected to clear the way for further expulsions of alleged members in particular of the Militant Tendency (so called because its adherents deny themselves with the Trotskyist monthly newspaper Militant).

Militant has been at the centre of the debate on far-left influence within the Labour Party – a debate which centres around the concept of ‘entryism’, the joining by Trotskyists and others of selected local parties in order to take them over – ever since an official party report, endorsed by the executive in June 1982, concluded that Militant was ‘an organisation with its own programme and policy for distinctive and separate propaganda which is determined outside the structure of the Labour Party and its annual conference’. Since this contravenes Labour’s constitution, membership of Militant was deemed incompatible with party membership. (Alleged members deny that Militant exists in any other form than as a group of ‘supporters’ for the newspaper of that name.)

Those expelled at the conference were all from Liverpool, in northwest England, where Militant has gained considerable influence at local and district level.

Following a strong attack on the group by party leader Neil Kinnock at last year’s party conference, the executive set up an official inquiry into the affairs of the Liverpool Labour Party. The inquiry’s report, submitted and approved in February, concluded that in Liverpool the Militant tendency was at the root of abuses of the party’s rules and constitution. Expulsion proceedings were then initiated, and although controversial both within the executive and in the party at large, gained the final unequivocal backing of the party conference. (A full report of the Labour conference will appear in the next issue.)
SDP policies, leader gain voters’ approval

The opposition Social Democratic Party (SDP) recorded its biggest post-war election victory in countrywide municipal polls held on 31 May, increasing its share of the vote to 17.5 percent as against 11.7 percent in the 1983 general elections. In a general swing to the left, the communist-dominated People’s Alliance (PA) also gained ground, taking about 19 percent of the vote compared with 17.3 percent in 1983.

Of the current government coalition partners, the conservative Independence Party finished about 2.5 percent down on the 42.7 percent it achieved in the previous municipal contests in 1982 but marginally up on its 38.7 percent score in the 1983 general elections. The centrist Progressive Party, with 13.3 percent, was some 3 points down on 1982 and 5.7 percent down on its 19.0 percent share in 1983. Of the smaller formations, the recently formed Feminist Party fared badly, polling 4.0 percent as compared with 5.5 percent in 1983.

The results showed the SDP to be running virtually neck and neck with the PA as the country’s second strongest political formation (after the Independence Party), especially outside the capital, where it trebled its vote in the farming and fishing communities. The SDP gains in the countryside were made particularly at the expense of the Independence Party, while the Progressives lost ground all round and were thus relegated to fourth place among the four traditional parties.

New appeal

The local elections were the first major test for the radical new reform programme adopted by the SDP congress in 1984, which set out proposals for new departures in the spheres of taxation, housing and pensions, and also for a decentralisation of municipal administration and electoral reform. The results were also seen as a personal triumph for SDP leader Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson. The elections were the first since his election to the party chairmanship in late 1984 in succession to Kjartan Johansson. In 1985 and early 1986 he had conducted a campaign of a hundred meetings throughout the country under the slogan ‘Who owns Iceland?’.

IRELAND
Ban on divorce upheld

In a referendum held on 26 June the Irish electorate voted by a 3-to-2 majority against ending the constitutional ban on divorce. The verdict represented a rebuff for the centre-left coalition government of Fine Gael and the Labour Party, which had initiated the referendum to prepare the way for legislation enabling the courts to grant a divorce in circumstances where couples had been living apart for at least five years.

In Ireland an estimated 70,000 people are currently tied to failed marriages, many of them living in ‘outlaw’ unions which they are unable to regularise because their original marriage is legally insoluble. Ireland’s 1932 constitution specifies that ‘no law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage’. (The only other European country with a prohibition on divorce is Malta.)

Opinion polls at the start of the referendum campaign had indicated over 60 percent support for legalisation of divorce; but opinion swung sharply during the campaign, influenced by the determined opposition of the Roman Catholic Church (to which 99 percent of the population belong). In a 59 percent turnout, 935,843 votes (63.5 percent) were cast against the proposed amendment and 538,279 (36.5 percent) in favour.

The Labour Party campaigned vigorously for a yes vote, calling for an end to the church’s veto on divorce.

The outcome of the referendum was a serious setback for the strategy – also strongly supported by the prime minister and at least a section of the Fine Gael Party – of modernising and liberalising the social fabric of the republic, with the long-term aim of easing the path to eventual reunification with protestant-majority Northern Ireland.

In the North, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which is mainly catholic, expressed regret at the result. Party leader John Hume stated that ‘respect for diversity is the only basis on which we shall ever unite this country’.

Labour proposal

On 26 February, a Labour-sponsored bill that could have paved the way for the introduction of divorce was defeated in parliament by 54 votes to 33. The main conservative opposition party, Fianna Fail, abstained, while (in a free vote) only a minority of Fine Gael followed the prime minister in support of the reform.

But during the heat of debate, the Dail unanimously approved a proposal to hold a referendum on 16 May.

Speculation that the government would be forced to call an early election (a year before the expiry of the five-year parliamentary term) increased when on 10 June a former minister, Joe Bermingham, resigned from the Labour Party after an internal dispute, thus depriving the government of a committed overall parliamentary majority.

This resignation and the defection in April of a Fine Gael deputy to the newly formed Progressive Democratic Party reduced the combined strength of the coalition parties to 82 in the 166-member lower house facing 72 Fianna Fail deputies, 9 Progressive Democrats and 6 other voting members.
Economic measures curb inflation, provide platform for growth

A sharp fall in the rate of inflation and a significant improvement in the balance of payments have been the most dramatic results of the emergency programme adopted a year ago to overcome the country's acute economic crisis.

The austerity measures included a three-month wage and price freeze, a one-time devaluation of the shekel and a freezing of the exchange rate, the imposition of credit controls, and government expenditure cuts.

Announced by the prime minister and Labour leader, Shimon Peres, on 1 July 1985, they had been agreed by the national-unity government, the Histadrut trade union federation and the employers' organisation (see 4185, page 78; 1185, page 77).

No to Racism: Cut and Save Until the Coming of the Messiah

the opposition United Workers' Party (MAP AM) had originally sponsored a bill outlawing racial incitement, but agreed to withdraw it in favour of a government-sponsored bill. However, the latter was heavily amended during its passage through parliament, and MAPAM and other left-wing parties voted against it in its final form on the grounds that it was toothless.

MAPAM deplored the 'sacrifice of human values on the altar of political expediency' signified by the compromise between the Labour leadership and right-wing and religious parties.

In return for the passage of the anti-racism law, the Labour Party agreed not to oppose a bill making unauthorised contacts with officials of 'an organisation deemed by the government to be a terrorist organisation' liable to prosecution.

The bill, long demanded by the right-wing Likud group strengthens previous legislation under which it had to be proven that contacts were actually intended to harm national security.

Although the new law does not mention the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) by name, Israeli governments have always described the PLO as a terrorist organisation.

MAPAM and other left-wing parties also opposed this bill, saying it could hamper efforts to obtain a negotiated solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On 18 August Israeli and Soviet diplomats met in Helsinki to discuss the resumption of consular ties. Although the first official contact between the two
Democrat.

Craxi had become Italy's first Socialist prime minister in August 1983 at the head of a centre-left coalition of the PSI, the DC, the Democratic Socialists (PSDI the SI's other member party in Italy), the Republicans (PRI) and the Liberals (PLI) (see 1/84, page 80). His resignation on 27 June, after an unprecedented 1,050 days in power, was offered after two government-sponsored finance bills had been defeated in secret ballots in the Chamber of Deputies the day before.

Having asked Craxi to continue in a caretaker capacity, President Cossiga on 10 July requested Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, current foreign minister and a former premier, to investigate the possibilities of forming a new cabinet. By 21 July, however, attempt had failed, whereupon the president turned to Craxi again.

By the end of the month, the PSI leader had secured the agreement of the other four parties for a new coalition, on the basis of an understanding with the DC that he would vacate the premiership at the time of the next PSI congress in March 1987. At that point a Christian Democrat would become prime minister for the remainder of the legislative term (due to expire in mid-1988) and Craxi would revert to the post of secretary of the PSI.

New ministers

As sworn in on 1 August, Italy's forty-fifth post-war government contained five new ministers as compared to its predecessor. Two Socialists obtained new appointments, namely Fabio Fabbri (without portfolio, responsible for relations with the European Community) and Salvatore Formica (foreign trade). Of the other three PSI members in the cabinet, Claudio Signorile (transport) and Gianni De Michielis (labour and social security) retained their posts, and Nicola Capria (tourism) moved from foreign trade.

The three PSI ministers are, as before, Pier Luigi Romita (budget and economic planning), Franco Nicolazzi (public works) and Carlo Vizzini (regional affairs).

The new government received votes of confidence in the Senate on 6 August by 181 votes to 114 and in the Chamber of Deputies two days later by 352 votes to 227.

Regional elections in Sicily

Elections to Sicily's 90-member regional parliament held on 22 June, involving some 10 percent of the entire Italian electorate, produced a disappointing result for the PSI, which increased its vote marginally from 14.3 percent in 1981 to 15.0 percent and maintained its representation at 14 seats. The PSI did increase its vote from 3.0 to 4.3 percent and doubled its seat total from 2 to 4.

Of the two major formations, the Christian Democrats slipped from 38 seats to 36 (41.4 to 38.8 percent) and the Communists from 20 seats to 19 (21.7 to 19.3 percent). The neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) jumped from 6 seats to 8. The Republicans retained 4 seats, the Liberals 3 and a local formation 1.

The required 500,000 signatures to call three referendums proposing reforms of the judicial system were submitted on 9 July. They were collected in a three-month campaign sponsored by the PSI and the Liberal and Radical parties.

The three parties launched the initiative 'for a more just justice because of the incapacity of parliament to pass reforms rectifying anomalies and removing abuses in Italy's administration of justice. Eleven men charged with involvement in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise liner were convicted on 10 July in Genoa. Among them were the leader of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), Muhammad Abbas, and two of his associates, who were found guilty of organising the hijacking in October 1985 (see 4/85, page 73) and sentenced to life imprisonment. All three were tried in absentia) the eight others, all Palestinians, were given sentences ranging from thirty years imprisonment to six months. Four of the fifteen accused were acquitted.

JAMAICA

PNP's electoral comeback

In Jamaica's first genuine electoral contest since 1980, the opposition People's National Party (PNP) led by Michael Manley inflicted a heavy defeat on the ruling Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) in local council elections held on 29 July.

In a 60 percent poll, the PNP took control of eleven of the island's thirteen councils, leaving only two to the conservative JLP, which in 1981 had won all on the tide of its 1980 general election triumph over the PNP. The voting split showed 57 percent of the popular vote going to the PNP, with the JLP gaining 43 percent in what was effectively a two-party contest.

The elections were widely seen as a popularity test for the six-year-old JLP government of Edward Seaga, who on 6 May had presented an expansionist budget on the strength of projected higher economic growth rates deriving from lower world oil prices. Although he attempted to paint a bright picture of the island's economic performance, the reality was one of decline in the key bauxite, bananas, sugar and tourism industries. The PNP attacked government for its decisions to boycott the 1983 World Festival, for continuing redundancies, devaluations. For Manley and the PNP the results signified a major electoral resurgence, following the party's decision to boycott the 1983 general elections (see 1/84, page 79) because the electoral register was out-of-date and therefore unfair. Since then the JLP has held all 60 seats in the House of Representatives, amid mounting pressure to call new elections to reestablish a democratic two-party system (see 4/85, page 85). Although Seaga and the JLP have repeatedly stressed their intention to carry on for the full five-year parliamentary term, the outcome of the July 1986 local elections has increased the pressure for general elections.

JAPAN

LDP juggernaut rolls on

Both the SI's member parties in Japan suffered badly in general elections held on 6 July, resulting in the return of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to another term of office with a substantially increased majority. As compared with the previous contest in December 1983 (see 1/84, page 79), the Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ) lost a quarter of its representation in the lower house, falling to 86 seats, while the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) fell from 38 to 36 seats. Principally on the strength of SPJ and DSP losses, the LDP climbed to a massive 304 seats out of 512 in the House of Representatives, enabling Yasuhiro Nakasone to form another government.

Of the other opposition parties, the Clean Government (Komeito) party lost ground marginally in both houses, while the Japan Communist Party (JCP) retained its strength in the lower house and gained 2 seats in the upper house. Further down the scale, the small New Liberal Club lost 2 of its 8 seats in the House of Representatives (and subsequently disbanded to seek reunion with the LDP), while the (Shaminren) Social Democratic Federation took its seat tally from 3 to 4.

In simultaneous partial elections to the (upper) House of Councilors, the SPJ and the DSP fared better. The former actually gained a seat as compared with its pre-election strength and now has 42 of the 252 councillors, while the DSP slipped 2 seats, from 14 to 12.

It should be noted, moreover, that in the lower house elections the SPJ and DSP results were less poor when seen against the numbers of candidates presented by the two parties – 138 and 56 respectively – whereas the LDP put up 322 candidates.

Nakasone, who had called early elections to the lower house as a means of beating off the challenge to his leadership from the younger generation of LDP leaders, described the outcome as 'the voice of God, the voice of heaven'. Shortly before the announcement of his new administration, he secured agreement from the three main potential successors to the LDP leadership that his own term of office, which under party rules had been due to expire in October...
1986, should be extended by at least one year.

New SPJ leader
Within the SPJ the elections result was seen as particularly disappointing in view of the efforts made since the fiftieth party convention of December 1985-January 1986 to broaden the party’s basis of support (see 1/86, page 63).

Accepting responsibility for the defeat, SPJ chairman Masashi Ishibashi resigned on 28 July together with the entire 32-member executive committee. As a result a leadership election was held in the first week of September among the party’s 86,000 members.

There were two candidates for the succession, namely Takako Doi, an SPJ vice-chair, and Tetsu Ueda, former chief of the party’s education and propaganda bureau. The results gave a convincing victory for Doi, who gained 83.3 percent of the 70,400 party members who voted.

Doi, aged 57, thus became the first woman to lead a major Japanese party. Without factional affiliation within the SPJ, she had campaigned on a platform of further sweeping reform of the party, maintaining that it should return to the spirit of its foundation as ‘guardian of Japan’s pacifist constitution’. A former university law lecturer, Doi has entered politics in 1969 and has stood successfully for the House of Representatives in seven successive elections.

MALAYSIA

DAP gains ground in marred election
The opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) performed well in federal and state elections held on 2-3 August, making a dent in the entrenched position of the ruling National Front (BN) alliance, which was nevertheless returned to power with a large majority. The DAP was able to attract increased support outside its traditional base in the urban Chinese community, thereby increasing its representation from 9 to 24 seats in a House of Representatives enlarged from 154 to 177 members.

The DAP achieved this result – the best in its twenty-year history – against considerable odds. The National Front, relying on its massive majority in parliament, pushed through amendments to the election laws reducing the campaigning period from two weeks to nine days and raising the level of candidates’ deposits five-fold (a ploy to discourage opposition politicians from contesting seats). Opposition statements were blacked out by the state-owned radio and television and, on government instructions, neglected by most of the press.

And despite a ban on public rallies (in effect since 1978) the prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, was allowed to hold mass meetings throughout the country.

Consequently, for the DAP the elections were ‘by far the most unfair and undemocratic in Malaysia’s history’. The National Front, a broad coalition of thirteen parties headed by the dominant United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), took 148 of the federal seats, a gain of 16 on its performance in the previous poll in April 1982. It thus retained the two-thirds majority required to enact constitutional changes, despite a vigorous campaign by the DAP and other opposition parties to prevent this happening. But the two BN components based in the Chinese community, the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian People’s Movement (Gerakan), both lost seats to the DAP at federal and state level.

Of the remaining 5 federal seats, 4 went to independents and only 1 to the fundamentalist Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS), which thus failed to increase its representation, the party’s parliamentary strength having been reduced to one since 1982 because of splits.

Mahathir had called the elections a year earlier than necessary in the light of disension within the ruling coalition over the government’s pro-Malay policies and against a background of increasing economic problems. The government was also beset by evidence of financial corruption in high places and by the scandal surrounding the loss of nearly one billion US dollars by the Malay owned Bank Bumiputra.

Fielding 64 candidates for the federal parliamentary seats, the DAP campaigned strongly on democratic socialist platform advocating the creation of a genuine multi-racial society in Malaysia. It condemned the corruption apparent in the country’s ruling circles, focusing in particular on the involvement of pro-government Chinese leaders in the Bank Bumiputra scandal, and also attacked the repressive tendencies of the administration dominated by the majority Malay community.

State gains
In the eleven state assembly elections in West Malaysia the DAP also made significant gains, increasing its aggregate total of seats from 12 to 37. The party did particularly well in Perak, winning 13 seats against 33 for the BN, and in Penang, where it took 10 seats against the BN’s 23. But neither in these two states nor in the other nine was the DAP able to prevent the BN from being returned to power with majorities of over two-thirds.

### Results of the Malaysian elections 1986 (1982)

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<th>Party/Alliance</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>(14.5)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</table>
MALTA

New minister, speaker

Daniel Misfeil, the speaker of the House of Representatives since February 1982, was appointed minister of education and the environment on 14 July. Paul Xuereb, a former minister, was elected the new speaker two days later.

Micallef took over the education portfolio from the prime minister, Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici, who had retained it when he became prime minister in December 1984 (see 1184, page 65). The environment portfolio had previously been part of the ministry of health.

In two other new appointments, Joseph Sciberras and Leo Brincat, both Labour members of parliament, were sworn in as parliamentary secretaries at the office of the prime minister on 17 July. Sciberras is also Malta's permanent representative to the Council of Europe, and Brincat is the Malta Labour Party's international secretary.

MIDDLE EAST

Peres meets Hassan, Mubarak in peace effort

The Israeli prime minister and Labour leader, Shimon Peres, continued efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict in two summit meetings with Arab leaders in recent months.

Although no concrete progress was achieved in the talks with King Hassan II of Morocco and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Peres hailed them as important steps in the peace process.

'Historic' encounter in Morocco

Peres and King Hassan met, at the latter's invitation, on 22-23 July at a royal palace in Ifrane, 180 kilometres south of Rabat. The two-day talks constituted the first public contact between an Arab and Israeli leader since a series of meetings between Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin, then President of Egypt and prime minister of Israel respectively.

A joint communique indicated that the talks concentrated exclusively on a study of the peace plan drawn up at the last Arab League summit meeting in Fez in 1982.

The Fez plan calls on Israel to withdraw from all occupied territory, including East Jerusalem, and to enter into negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) on self-determination for the Palestinian people. It thus tacitly recognises, for the first time, the existence of the state of Israel. But the proposals are rejected by Israel on the basis of its long-standing position that organisations which call for the destruction of Israel, as the PLO still formally does, are unacceptable as negotiation partners.

According to the joint communique, King Hassan presented details of the Fez plan, explaining his views concerning the merits of each element of the plan. This clarified his observations on the plan, putting forward propositions pertaining to conditions he deems necessary for the installation of peace.

Both sides acknowledged that at the present time there was no possibility of agreement on the Palestinian question. The meeting was of a purely exploratory nature, aimed at no moment at engaging in negotiations.

On his return from Morocco, Peres described the meeting as a 'historic step in the peace process' and praised Hassan's courage in openly receiving an Israeli leader.

Speaking to the Knesset on 28 July, he expressed the hope that the Ifrane summit would give new impetus to the peace process. 'The major innovation in the meeting lies in the fact that King Hassan II rightly told the Arab world that the boycott on Israel had to be ended, that there is nothing in Arab League resolutions barring dialogue with us, and that without such dialogue the conflict will remain stuck in the living flesh of the inhabitants of the region for ever,' he said.

Rapprochement with Egypt

Peres met the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, in Alexandria, Egypt, on 11-12 September. The first summit meeting between leaders of the two countries in five years had been under preparation for many months, but was delayed because of Egyptian insistence on first resolving the terms under which the four-year-old Taba border dispute would be submitted to international arbitration.

Agreement on this obstacle to improved relations was reached a day before the Alexandria meeting.

A joint communique declared 1987 as a year of negotiations for peace'. The two leaders called on all parties concerned 'to dedicate the year to an intensive effort to achieve the common and bold objective of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace'. They agreed to set up a committee to prepare for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

The main issue on which the two sides failed to reach agreement, as on previous occasions, was the question of Palestinian representation in the negotiation process.

In an indication of improved relations between the two countries, Egypt agreed to return its ambassador to Israel. It had downgraded its diplomatic representation in September 1982 in protest at the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacre in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in Beirut.

NETHERLANDS

Kok takes over from den Uyl

Following the resignation of Joop den Uyl, Wim Kok was elected leader of the opposition Labour Party (PvdA) by the parliamentary party on 21 July.

Kok, aged 47, was born near the port of Rotterdam, the son of a construction worker. An economist by training, he chairs the Federation of Dutch Trade Unions (FNV), the country's largest, from its foundation in 1975 until September 1985, when he resigned to stand for parliament. Second on the PvdA party list, he was elected to the Tweede Kamer in the May general elections, when the PvdA gained five seats but failed to topple the ruling centre-right coalition (see 2/86, page 87).

Den Uyl had led the party for twenty years and in seven election campaigns. He was prime minister in the PvdA-led centre-left coalition from 1973 to 1977.

Max van den Berg resigned as chair of the PvdA on 22 May, the day after the general election. The post will remain vacant until Labour's next ordinary party congress in April 1987.
PERU

Prison riots, army excesses

The Aprista government of President Alan Garcia experienced its most serious crisis since coming to power in July 1985 when prison uprisings by members of the extreme-left Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) guerrilla movement were put down by the security forces amid great bloodshed in mid-June.

The events overshadowed the SI Congress, gathering in Lima on 20-23 June.

On 18 June Sendero prisoners carried out coordinated mutinies in the Lurigancho, El Fronton and Santa Barbara prisons near Lima, and took nine hostages. Given the fact that the Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP) was hosting the SI Congress, the uprisings were clearly timed to cause maximum embarrassment to the government by taking advantage of the fact that Peru was a focus of world attention.

The government, as President Garcia declared at the opening session of the Congress on 20 June, 'urged the rebels to surrender. A peace commission went to the prisoners to avoid bloodshed'.

As growing evidence of atrocities, a government communique declared on 21 June that the high number of deaths at Lurigancho indicated that 'excesses were committed in the use of force'.

When evidence came to light that scores of prisoners from Lurigancho had been shot in the head after they had surrendered, President Garcia described the executions as 'a horrific crime ... unprecedented in the country's history', and announced an inquiry would take place. Such assurances were also extended to the Socialist International after expressions of concern by the Congress (see S1 NEWS, pages 25-28).

In the week following the prison massacres, the minister of justice, Luis Gonzales Posada Izaguirre, and the commander of the Republican Guard, General Maximo Martinez, tendered their resignations. And ninety-five members of the Republican Guard were also being investigated for their alleged participation in the Lurigancho massacre.

Responding to calls by left-wing opposition groups for the resignation of the three armed-forces ministers and the minister of the interior, as well as to demands that the inquiries should cover atrocities in all three prisons, the Aprista party issued a statement calling for 'respect' for the armed forces and declaring that it could not allow 'hatred to come between civilians and soldiers'.

Following negotiations between President Garcia and the chiefs-of-staff, the joint command of the armed forces admitted that 95 prisoners had been executed in Lurigancho in a report presented to a closed session of the standing committee of Congress on 7 July. On 23 July, the army general who had been in charge of the operation at Lurigancho was arrested. Two days later, in an already planned cabinet reshuffle (see below), the navy minister, Julio Pacheco Concha Hubner, was also replaced.

As SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, the congressional inquiry into the prison massacres had still to be set up.

The events of June served to overshadow the Aprista government in its effort to transform Peruvian society. In their aftermath, rumours of a possible military coup had spread and the guerrillas began to fulfil their threat to take ten victims for every one of them killed in the prisons. Violence and terrorist attacks have not diminished in recent months, and constantly the state of emergency in force since February (see 1/86, page 67) was again extended on 1 August.

Since the Sendero Luminoso began its insurgency in the Andean mountains in May 1980, more than 5,000 guerrillas, soldiers and civilians have been killed as a result of guerrilla warfare. Another 2,000 people disappeared during the counter-insurgency programme of the previous conservative Belaunde government.

Following the formal resignation of the entire cabinet prior to the first anniversary of his government, President Garcia appointed four new ministers on 26 July. They are: Willy Harm Esparza (navy); Orestes Rodriguez Campos (labour); Javier Labarte Correa (fisheries); and Carlos Blancas Bustamante (justice).

IMF declares Peru 'ineligible'

On 15 August the International Monetary Fund (IMF) declared Peru ineligible for new loans until some US$138 millions in arrears to the fund were paid off. Peru thus became the first Latin American country to have its credit cut by the IMF.

The decision came two weeks after President Garcia announced the continuation for at least another year of his government's policy of limiting foreign debt repayments of 10 percent of export earnings (see 3/85, page 61). Furthermore, he warned that because of falling oil and minerals prices, export earnings were expected to be reduced by as much as one sixth this year; the room for manoeuvre to pay off the foreign debt would therefore be even smaller than it had been in 1985.

President Garcia accused the IMF of acting 'with insensitivity, incomprehension and the rule of an unjust, inhuman system whose logic is deaf to the ears of the world'.

In spite of the drastic nature of the measure, it is not expected to have much impact on Peru's prospects for obtaining new foreign credit, since no new loans from abroad have been received for over a year.

PORTUGAL

Congress of renewal

At its sixth congress, held in Lisbon on 27-29 June, the opposition Socialist Party (PS) elected a new leader, revised its programme and declaration of principles, and altered its structure and organisation in favour of greater decentralisation.

New leader

Vitor Constâncio, a 42-year-old economist, was elected general secretary with a 79-20 percent majority over the only other contender, Jaime Gama, the former foreign minister. He succeeded Mário Soares, who resigned all party posts on his election as president of the republic in February (see 1/86, page 68).

Soares had led the party since its foundation in exile in 1973.

Having held several ministerial posts, Constâncio was appointed minister of finance in the government, formed by Soares in 1978. But following policy differences, he refused party and ministerial office after 1981 and left political life to become governor of the Bank of Portugal.

In his leadership campaign, Constâncio argued that in order to regain and increase its former strength, the PS would have to develop a clear strategy of distinguishing itself not only from the communist left but also from the right. Only in this way would the party be able to capture the support of the social groups that voted for Soares in the presidential elections and thus recover lost ground. He attributed the serious defeat in the parliamentary elections in October 1985 (see 4/85, page 52), which ousted Soares as prime minister, to 'excessive pragmatism', a neglect of principles and a loss of identity.

In his acceptance speech he reiterated these arguments, and also stated that he wanted to bring the PS back to power without forging party alliances.

The new leader strongly criticised the economic policies of the Social Democratic (PSD) minority government. He accused it of failing to exploit those trends favourable to national economic development for the maximum
**Personnel changes**

As part of the organisational overhaul, the congress also adopted a number of changes in the competence and election of the party's leading bodies. Under the new rules, the general secretary will now be chosen as part of a list of candidates for the national secretariat, the party executive directly chosen by the congress. Manuel Tito de Morais was elected president of the party. Having been the PS' first national secretary until 1974 and subsequently president of the Portuguese parliament, he takes over from António Macedo, who was elected honorary president.

**Spain**

González leads PSOE to second term

General elections called four months early on 22 June resulted in a convincing victory for the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE) led by Felipe González, who was thus returned for a second consecutive term as prime minister. Although the PSOE did not quite repeat its landslide victory of 1982, the party still retained a comfortable majority over all other parties combined in the 350-seat Congress of Deputies.

González called the elections on 21 April, four months before they were due. In a turnout of around 71 percent (10 points down on 1982), the PSOE took 184 seats in all, as against 202 in 1982. Maintaining its countrywide support and its dominance in the south and in working-class areas, the party polled 44.1 percent of the vote, 2.8 percent down on its showing in the previous elections.

Among the opposition formations, the conservative Popular Coalition (CP), a three-party alliance led by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, increased its share of the vote marginally to 26.2 percent, but its uneven spread of support resulted in a net loss of 1 seat, leaving it with 105. The Coalition groups Fraga’s Popular Alliance (AP), the Popular Democratic Party (PDP) and the Liberal Party (UL).

In third place came the Democratic and Social Centre (CDS), led by Adolfo Suarez, a former prime minister, which took 9.3 percent of the vote and 19 seats, a gain of 17. The communist-dominated United Left (IU) alliance improved marginally in percentage terms on the 1982 performance of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), and gained 7 seats.

A feature of the elections was the strong showing of regionalist parties. In Catalonia, the centre-right Convergence and Union (CU) came second to the PSOE, taking 31.1 percent of the vote in the region and increasing its total from 12 to 18 of the 47 seats. In the Basque country, the separatist United People (Herri Batasuna, HB), the political wing of the ETA guerrilla movement, gained 17.8

**Results of the Spanish elections 1986 (1982)**

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<th>Party</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Seats Congress</th>
<th>Seats Senate</th>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE)</td>
<td>44.1 (46.1)</td>
<td>184 (202)</td>
<td>124 (134)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Popular Coalition (CP)</td>
<td>26.2 (25.4)</td>
<td>105 (106)</td>
<td>63 (54)</td>
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<td>Democratic and Social Centre (CDS)</td>
<td>9.3 (9.2)</td>
<td>19 (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convergence and Union (CU)</td>
<td>4.7 (3.7)</td>
<td>18 (12)</td>
<td>28 (7)</td>
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<td>United Left alliance (IU)</td>
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<td>others</td>
<td>7.9 (14.6)</td>
<td>4 (13)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1982 figures for Communist Party (PCE)
percent of the vote, thus increasing its representation from 2 to 5, but will continue to boycott the central parliament; and the left-wing Basque Left (EE) also gained votes and a seat, the ruling conservative Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), on the other hand, lost 2 of its 8 seats. In Aragon, the Canary Islands, Galicia and Valencia regional parties also won 1 seat each.

In simultaneous elections for the 208 directly elected seats in the Senate, the PSOE maintained a comfortable majority. It returned 124 senators against 63 for the CP. A further 42 seats in the Senate are to be filled by representatives of the regional parliaments.

Continuity

The victory, said González, 'allows us to take forward our project of progress with stability and continuity'. He added that 'we shall govern with a spirit of harmony and cooperation with all political and social forces'.

PSOE had campaigned on the need for continuity in government and on the administration's record in laying the groundwork for progress through its austerity programme.

Presenting his new government's programme at the opening of parliament on 22 July, González said that its priorities would be, as before, the reduction of inflation and the budget deficit. At the same time, policies aimed at slowly stimulating the economy and creating jobs — unemployment is running at 22 percent, the highest in Western Europe — would be further encouraged. He announced in particular special measures to alleviate youth unemployment.

In a reference to the latest bombing campaign by ETA, the Basque separatist organisation, González said that his government would 'never' negotiate with 'a band of murderers'. He called on European countries to negotiate a legal agreement that would allow police to pursue alleged terrorists in any country to prevent attacks. ETA, which pursues its aim of independence for the Basque country by violent means, claimed responsibility for setting off a car bomb in Madrid on 14 July which killed ten civil guards and injured fifty-five people as well as for a rocket attack on the defence ministry and a further car bomb on the day before the opening of parliament.

New cabinet

The new González cabinet was sworn in on 26 July and was largely unchanged as compared with its predecessor. Four new ministers were appointed — Luis Carlos Croisset, Manuel Chaves, Julián García Vargas and Virgilio Zapatero — and Joaquin Almunia, previously the minister of labour, was appointed to the newly created ministry of public administration (which will be concerned primarily with reforming the country's administrative structure at national and regional level).

The full lineup of the 17-member cabinet is as follows: Felippe González (prime minister); Alfonso Guerra (deputy prime minister); Francisco Fernández Ordóñez (foreign affairs); Fernando Ledesma (justice); Narcis Serra (defence); Carlos Solchaga (economy and finance); José Barrionuevo (interior); Javier Sáenz Cosculluela (public works and urbanisation); José María Maravall (education and science); Manuel Chaves (labour and social security); Luis Carlos Croissier (industry and energy); Carlos Romero (agriculture, fisheries and food); Joaquin Almunia (public administration); Abel Caballero (transport, communications and tourism); Javier Solana (culture, and government spokesman); Minister of Health, Julián García Vargas (health); and Virgilio Zapatero (parliamentary relations, and cabinet secretary).

Socialists will also head both chambers of the Cortes in the new legislature period. The Congress of Deputies elected Félix Pons as president, and José Federico de Carvajal was reelected president of the Senate.

Victory in Andalusia

Although it lost votes, the PSOE easily maintained its overall majority in its traditional southern stronghold of Andalusia in elections to the regional parliament also held on 22 June.

PSOE gained 47.1 percent, compared to 52.7 percent in the first regional election in 1982, and 60 seats, a loss of 6. The right-wing Popular Coalition (CP) gained 22.2 percent of the vote (up 5 points) and 28 seats, a gain of 11; the communist-led United Left alliance (IU) gained 17.9 percent — more than double its share in the general elections — and 19 seats, a gain of 11; the Andalusian Party (PA) won the remaining 2 seats in the 109-member assembly.

Civil war anniversary

On 18 July Spain commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the three-year civil war which resulted in the Franco dictatorship.

In a statement, the government described the conflict, in which some 500,000 people lost their lives and almost as many were driven into exile, as a 'tragic' event and urged that the 'spectre of war and hatred' never again be allowed to return to haunt the Spanish people. It expressed the hope that 'this anniversary will settle once and for all the reconciliation of all Spaniards'.

On 14 August the government granted official diplomatic status to the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in Madrid. Although it will not have the status of an embassy, the mission will enjoy all diplomatic privileges except immunity for its members and inviolability.

In January this year, Spain established full diplomatic relations with Israel (see 1/86, page 71).

SUCCEE

Kalins resigns after twenty-two years

Bruno Kalins announced his resignation as chair of the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe (SUCCE), an associated organisation of the SI, at its conference in Stockholm on 17 May. An exile from Latvia, he had held the post since 1964.

Speakers at the conference representing ten exiled social democratic and socialist parties from Central and Eastern Europe reiterated their determination to struggle for the end of Soviet communist domination in their countries.

They also noted that the presence at each major SI meeting of the representatives of the countries subjected to communist dictatorship was a reminder of the existence of problems and matters which could not be ignored.

The newly elected executive elected includes Andor Bölsöföldi (Hungary) as chair; Vilém Bernard (Czechoslovakia) and W.T. Bezins (Latvia) as vice-chairs; and Tadeusz Prokopowicz (Poland) as secretary. Kalins, who is also an SI honorary president, was elected honorary chair.
Democr.t.,c Populist Party (SHP), eleven vacant National Assembly seats held on 28 September, in the contest since before the military were among the twelve registered restricted general elections of November 1983

Left Partv takeover of 1980.

first time that all political forma­tions were able to do so since the

8.7 percent. Largely in conse­quence of the left-wing vote being

split, the only left-wing candidate, the leader of the

opposition parties achieved a major comeback in byelections for

the country's foreign exchange.

The collapse of the world oil price had reduced Venezuela's 1986 oil export revenue by more than $5.1 billion by mid-September. Earnings for the full year are now expected to be $7.9 billion, against an original estimate of $12.6 billion (see 1/86, page 72). This year's earnings will be barely 40 percent of those of the peak year of 1981.

Responding to the consequences of the fall in income, President Jaime Lusinchi on 17 July announced a 21-point economic adjustment plan, which included a partial devaluation of the bolivar, the relaxation of foreign investment regulations, the prohibition of some agricultural and manufacturing imports, tax reforms (such as a rise in corporate taxes and new taxes on property and on earnings from abroad), export incentives for non-oil goods and other measures.

The package is aimed at saving foreign reserves and pulling the national economy out of a pro­longed recession, while protecting a range of benefits for low-income groups. The government's housing projects and youth training schemes as well as the food subsidies were not affected by the measures.

While the main trade-union federation broadly backed the plan, the private sector objected to certain elements of the package, in particular to a requirement for businesses to convert $6.9 billion of their estimated $14 billion foreign debt into 15-year low-interest government bonds. Although passed by Congress, this was abandoned in August, when the government announced it would study alternative 8- to 12-year bond plans for private debt.

In late August and early September the government an­ounced the details of the liberal­ised foreign investment rules, designed to attract new industries and to encourage reinvestment by those already established.

President Lusinchi on 29 July welcomed the economic accords signed that day between Argentina and Brazil, and said that his administration favoured the formation of a Latin American common market.

The accords are aimed at promoting economic cooperation between the two countries as well as laying the basis for wider regional integration.

**ELECTIONS WORLDWIDE**

**THAILAND**

Notwithstanding the pervasive political influence of Thailand's powerful military establishment, civilian parties performed well in the general elections held on 27 July, when 3,813 candidates from sixteen formations contested 347 seats in the House of Representatives.

The elections were called early after the defeat of the previous government on 1 May over a tax­ation proposal.

There was a 61 percent turnout, significantly higher than the 53 percent recorded in the last general election in April 1983.

Of the outgoing coalition forma­tions, the centrist Democratic Party (DP), the country's oldest party, emerged from the elections with substantially increased strength, winning 100 seats as against 56 in 1983. In contrast, the Social Action Party (SAP) slipped from 73 to 51 seats, the Thai Citizens' Party from 30 to 24 seats and the National Democracy Party from 15 to 3.

Among the opposition forma­tions, the right-wing Thai Nation Party lost 10 of the 73 seats it had won in 1983, whereas the pro-military United Democratic and People's parties, in their first elections, secured 38 and 18 seats respectively. Other formations which made significant showings were the United Thai Party (19 seats) and the recently formed Community Action Party (CAP), which took 15 seats.

Immediately after the elections the DP agreed to join a new coalition under the continued premiership of General Prem Tinsulanond, who has been prime minister since 1980 and does not belong to any party. The coalition also includes the SAP, the Thai Nation Party and the People's Party with Citizens' Party, the United Thai Party and the CAP pledging external support.

**VENEZUELA**

Measures to cope with loss in oil revenues

The Democratic Action (AD) government has introduced a set of emergency measures to cope with the shortfall in oil earnings, which generate some 90 percent of

Motherland Party (ANAP) 233
Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) 85
Correct Way Party (DYP) 24
Free Democratic Party (HDP) 21
Democratic Left Party (DSP) 4
Citizens' Party (VAP) 2 independents 31

Ecevit acquitted

Bülent Ecevit, the former prime minister and leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP) disbanded by the military in 1981, was acquitted on 23 September by Ankara's central criminal court of breaching a ban on his involve­ment on party politics. He had been indicted on 4 June on charges of violating this restriction by addressing the DSP's founding convention on 18 May.

The ban, imposed on some hundred political leaders, is enshrined in the present military­inspired constitution.

In recent months Ecevit has campaigned extensively for the DSP, which was founded in November 1985 and is led by Rahsan Ecevit, his wife (see 4/85, page 81).

The court accepted Ecevit's argument that since he was under a legal obligation to vote he was also under an obligation to support a party. The ruling formally cleared the way for Ecevit and other political leaders (including Demirel) to campaign openly in the byelections (see above), although they still face a con­stitutional ban on holding party office.

In April parliament had adopted a bill lifting the prohibition on the expression of opinion on domestic or foreign policy by the group of political leaders. But restrictions preventing banned politicians from establishing relations with political parties remained in force, resulting in the former prime minister's indictment.

**TURKEY**

Opposition comeback

Opposition parties achieved a major comeback in byelections for eleven vacant National Assembly seats held on 28 September, in the first relatively free electoral contest since before the military takeover of 1980.

The SI's two new consultative member parties, the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), were among the twelve registered partie (see above), put up candidates – the first time that all political forma­tions were able to do so since the restricted general elections of November 1983 (see 1/84, page 42).

Although the byelections were held in predominantly conserva­tive areas, the SHP gained 22.7 percent of the vote and the DSP 8.7 percent. Largely in conse­quence of the left-wing vote being split, the only left-wing candidate to win a seat was the Erdal İnönü, the leader of the SHP.

The ruling centre-right Mother­land Party (ANAP) won six of the contests, but the party's share of the vote fell to 32 percent compared with 45 percent in the 1983 elections. The principal victor was the conservative Correct Way Party (DYP), which won four of the by-elections and recorded some 24 percent of the vote. This party is associated with Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister at the time of the military takeover.

As a result of the byelections, the composition of the 400­member National Assembly is as follows:

Citizens' Party from 36 to 24 seats
Community Action Party (CAP), which took 15 seats.

Social Action Party (SAP) slipped from 73 to 51 seats, the Thai Citizens' Party from 30 to 24 seats and the National Democracy Party from 15 to 3.

Among the opposition forma­tions, the right-wing Thai Nation Party lost 10 of the 73 seats it had won in 1983, whereas the pro-military United Democratic and People's parties, in their first elections, secured 38 and 18 seats respectively. Other formations which made significant showings were the United Thai Party (19 seats) and the recently formed Community Action Party (CAP), which took 15 seats.

Immediately after the elections the DP agreed to join a new coalition under the continued premiership of General Prem Tinsulanond, who has been prime minister since 1980 and does not belong to any party. The coalition also includes the SAP, the Thai Nation Party and the People's Party with Citizens' Party, the United Thai Party and the CAP pledging external support.

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Pressed for time

Highspeed decision-making and production lay behind the appearance of Mission to South Africa as a Penguin Special on Thursday 12 June, in time for its launching at a Marlborough House, London, press conference. The Eminent Persons Group finalised its report at the Commonwealth Secretariat from 4-7 June. Final changes were incorporated over the weekend; the ink on the report was barely dry when the Penguin editor received the typed manuscript on Monday 9 June.

At 6pm the typescript reached Penguin's designer, who was still marking the text for publication next day in the back of a van travelling the hundred miles from London to Penguin's printer Richard Clay in Suffolk. The whole book was typeset by the small hours of Wednesday morning and Clay's proofreaders were at work before breakfast, with a Secretariat officer present to advise where necessary. Cover and illustrations were processed during the day, the printing presses were running by Wednesday evening and binding began during the night.

The result: finished copies left for London by 9am on 12 June, reaching Marlborough House by noon, with copies in the bookshops the same day.

From Commonwealth Currents, August 1986

It never rains, but ...

The rains have returned to Africa, but so have the locusts. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the eggs of the Senegalese grasshopper are hatching 'at very high densities' and begin to threaten the seedlings of sorghum and millet. Depending on conditions, the infestation could reach plague proportions. Threatened areas include western Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal. This year's threatened plague is expected to have the scope of a 1974 outbreak which was the worst ever recorded. At that time, 'an estimated 20-30 percent of crops were lost across the region, destroying millions of tons of food grains'.

"At first I was frightened, but now that I have heard all the explanations, I am still frightened".

Polish woman on Chernobyl accident

Ma Supial!

The odds of survival for a premature baby born in a developing country are low. Therefore, the news from the minister of health of Colombia, South America, heralds something of a breakthrough. At an international health conference at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia, Efrain Otero Ruiz described a technique recently developed in his country to rescue those premature infants born in places where there are no high-tech neonatal nurseries to get them through the first tough months. These infants, weighing as little as two and a half pounds, he said, are strapped between their mothers' breasts in a brassiere-like sling and kept there until they grow to the size of a normal infant. They are warm and protected, and have constant access to their mothers' milk and the omnipresent emotional reassurance of the mothers' heartbeats. They also do not suffer the psychological trauma that premature infants in the developed world undergo when they are taken from their mothers and laced in incubators. This approach, using so-called 'kangaroo mothers', says Otero, has produced an infant survival rate that is as high as the high-tech approach of the developed world.

From World Development Forum, 15 August 1986
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