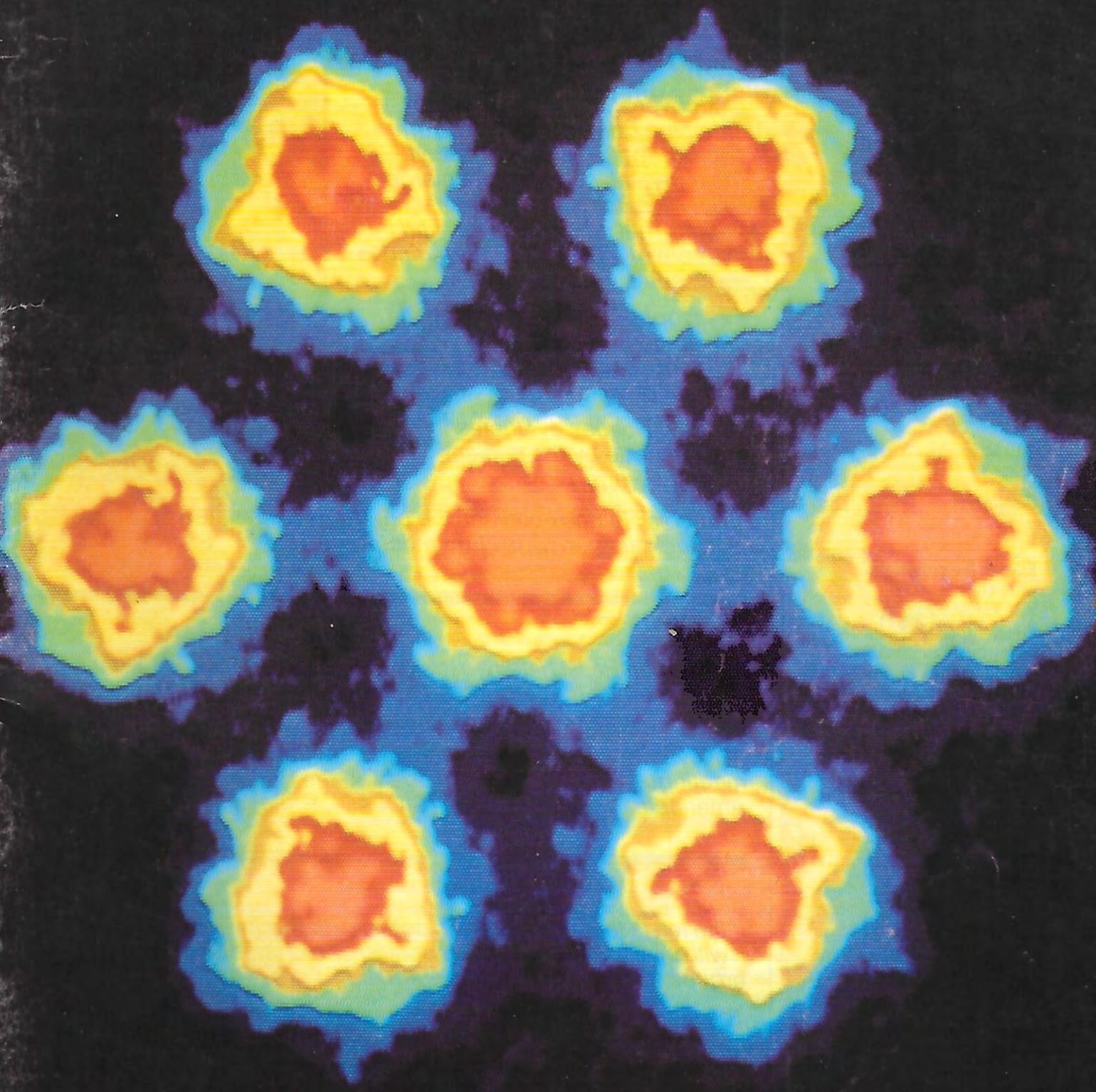


SOCIALIST AFFAIRS



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Splitting opinions



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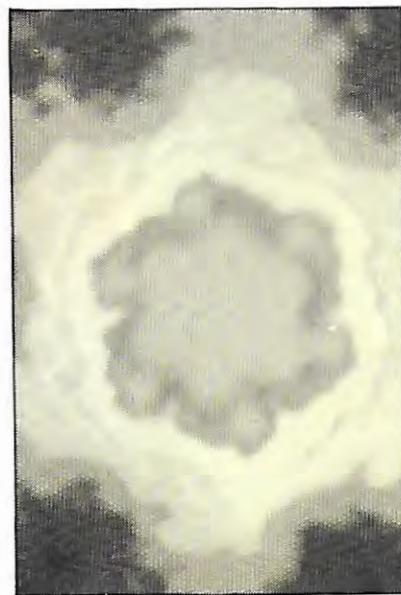
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Cover photograph by Mitsuo Otsuki / Science Photo Library

FOCUS

Our cover shows a false-colour scanning transmission electron micrograph (FTEM) of a uranyl microcrystal, containing, enlarged 2.5 million times, seven uranium atoms. That is what you will find in the core of a nuclear reactor, and in this issue's Focus.



Christopher Flavin reports on the implications of last year's Chernobyl accident for the future of nuclear power. Page 5

Andrew Holmes evaluates the claims made by the nuclear industry. Page 12

François Nectoux outlines the problems associated with phasing out nuclear energy programmes. Page 18

SI NEWS

In October the SI held two major meetings in Africa, a Council meeting and a conference on democracy and development. Pages 25 and 27

In November, the focus switched to another region, with meetings of the Chile Committee and the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC). Pages 29 and 30

HORIZONS

If the left is to regain the ideological initiative in western societies, it will have to reassess the meaning and character of work, argues Michael Harrington. Page 36

The world shouldn't forget Namibia, says Sam Nujoma. Page 42

SI WOMEN BULLETIN

This issue of the Bulletin contains an interview with experts on reproductive technology (page 51), a report of the Bureau meeting and study tour in Senegal (page 57), and a comment by Inga Thorsson on the UN Disarmament and Development Conference (page 59).

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Comment

Willy Brandt



There is no one model

In October, the Council of the SI met in Africa, a continent which is suffering more than its fair share of severe crises – a huge debt burden, acute and recurrent famine, aggravating ecological problems and a rapid growth of a population suffering from lack of jobs, housing and food, and often also from lack of water.

The fact that malnutrition has increased in the past few years in ten African countries must come as a shock.

As far as the debt issue is concerned, many African countries, particularly in the Sub-Saharan region, are, judging by economic indicators, in a virtually desperate financial position. The political consequences of this situation cannot as yet be foreseen.

Without a reduction of debts on the one hand, and a limitation of debt service on the other, there is no way out of this situation. What we demand is constructive development aid policy – a policy that pursues the struggle against hunger and misery by concrete measures, a policy that is oriented towards the satisfaction of basic human needs, and a policy that is adapted to local conditions.

We in the Socialist International will do whatever we can to make sure that the peoples of Africa will enjoy solidarity and assistance from other countries. Those of us who come from industrialised countries have recognised that what is at stake here is both a moral challenge and, in the long run, the defence of common interests.

During our discussions in Dakar we talked much about democracy in Africa, and its relation to development.

Part of the 'fresh start' that the 1976 Geneva Congress meant for the International was, among other things, our determination to leave earlier eurocentrist tendencies behind.

One point that I would like to stress is that we have learnt not to impose rules, let alone models, on each other. We have also realised that democracy is not only political in nature, but that it has a cultural and a socio-economic dimension of considerable amplitude.

A sort of 'European pseudomorphosis' – that is, the transfer of forms without maintaining the same contents – has sometimes led us astray. The principle of pluralism and steps in the direction of more real democracy will certainly continue to be of crucial importance to us.

But if we define our understanding of democracy in global terms, we will have to properly appreciate the traditions and living conditions prevailing in different parts of the world. Needless to say, this applies also to Africa.

We will have to consider this important point in our work on the International's new declaration of principles, one of the tasks which we have set ourselves for the next congress.

In this context, we will be able to use some of the ideas expressed in the Mandate of Lima, the text we adopted last year. We said there that 'there is no one model for socialism, but there are basic values and fundamental conceptions of political, economic and social rights 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'.

The nuclear-energy industry and some western governments were quick to dismiss the accident at the Chernobyl reactor in April 1986 as an isolated incident, attributable to inferior Soviet technology and inadequate safety standards.

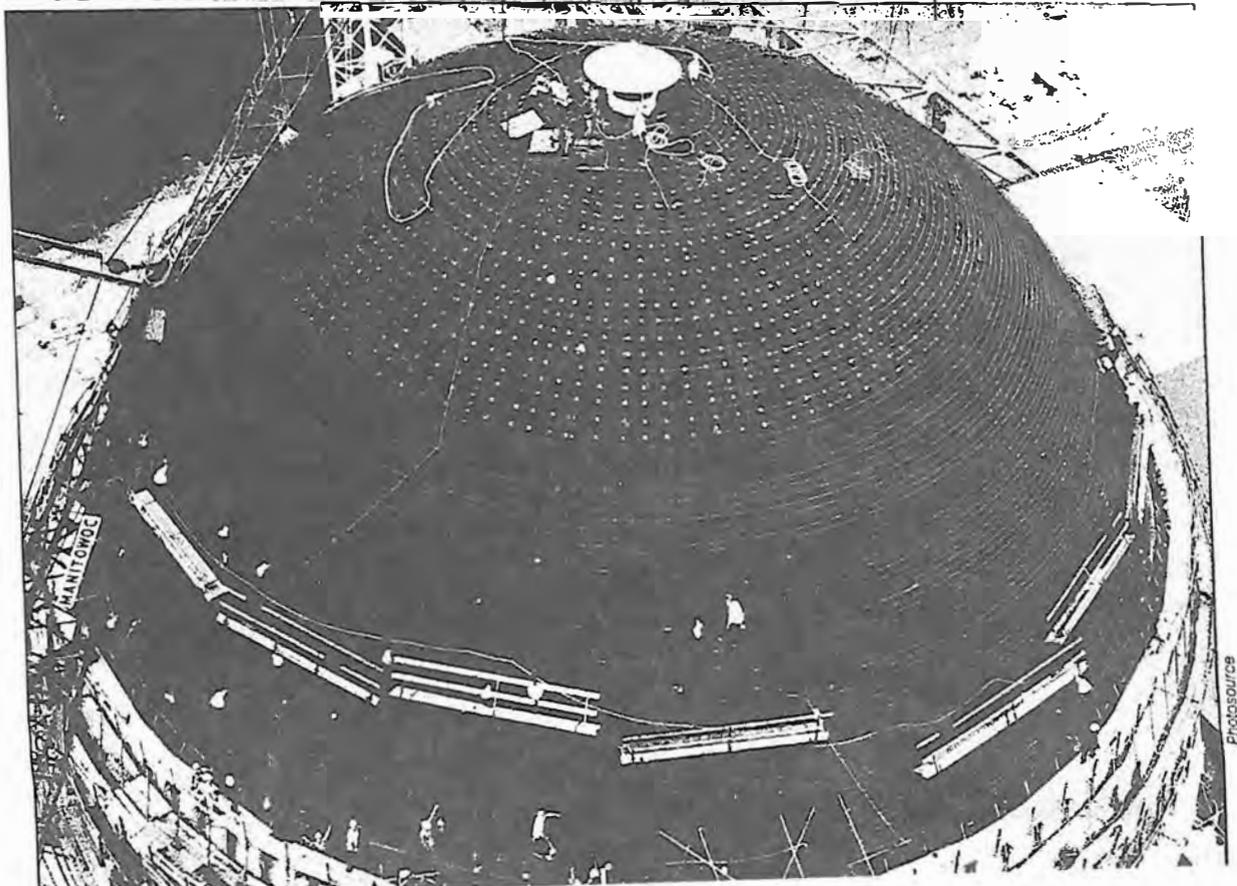
It is true that the Chernobyl plant was different from most of those used outside the Soviet Union, and that serious mistakes were made (as the Soviet government itself later admitted). Nevertheless, the self-righteousness and complacency seem misplaced.

For one thing, Chernobyl was by no means the first serious nuclear accident – witness the Windscale fire in Britain in 1957 and the Three Mile Island meltdown in the United States in 1979. For another, it is clear that in the wake of Chernobyl public confidence in nuclear power is severely shaken; opinion polls are registering growing opposition both to the expansion of the nuclear option and to its existence altogether.

As a result, the industry's claims on performance, cost-effectiveness and safety are increasingly being put to the test, and in many cases they have been found seriously wanting. Is it true then, in the words of Peter Jankowitsch, Austria's socialist foreign minister at the time of Chernobyl, that nuclear power is 'a Faustian bargain which has been lost'?

A genuine debate has begun – also within the left – as to the desirability of nuclear energy. This Focus aims to contribute to this debate by examining, in three contributions, the effects of the Chernobyl accident on public opinion and governments, the state of the nuclear energy industry worldwide, and the problems associated with plans to phase out nuclear energy.

Within the limited space available it has not been possible to deal with all the questions raised. In future issues, we hope to include further contributions to the debate, highlighting in particular the range of viewpoints within the left.



Chernobyl's political fallout

Nuclear power has been politically controversial for more than a decade, and Chernobyl may have decisively tipped the delicate balance of opinion, reports **CHRISTOPHER FLAVIN**. But the fallout has broader implications, testing the ability of East and West to cooperate in combating a common danger, as well as the public's confidence in government authorities and society's faith in technology.

Despite an avowed new policy of openness, Soviet authorities waited almost three days before announcing the disaster at Chernobyl, and that was only in reaction to outcries from Scandinavia. Even then, authorities played down the seriousness, refusing to release detailed fallout information and squeezing stories about the accident onto the back pages of *Pravda*. Although the Chernobyl reactor was blown to pieces in the initials seconds of the accident, days later the Soviet Union was assuring the world that the reactor was 'under control'.

The Soviet silence and deceptions were only slightly more extreme than the behaviour of utility officials at Three Mile Island in 1979 or British officials at the Windscale disaster in 1957. (The first press release issued during the Three Mile Island emergency denied there had been an accident.) Thus, the anti-Soviet reaction was relatively brief in most countries and was soon replaced by more immediate concerns such as whether it was dangerous to go for a walk or drink the water, and whether nearby nuclear facilities were safe.

This focus was a natural outgrowth of public opposition to nuclear power that began to appear in Europe in the mid-1970s. Opposition was generally locally based, stirred up by the presence of nearby nuclear facilities. National opposition was led by citizens' groups concerned with environmental and peace issues, but most major political parties, both left and right, remained committed to nuclear power during this time. By 1986, most of Europe's anti-nuclear groups had peaked and were in decline.

Shifting perceptions, East and West

All of this changed on 26 April. By the summer of 1986, there had been a rebirth of large anti-nuclear demonstrations throughout Western Europe, including massive rallies in Rome and at several controversial nuclear facilities in Federal Germany, where hundreds of demonstrators and police were injured. By late August, over one million Italians had signed petitions calling for a referendum on the nuclear programme. In Switzerland the Social Democratic Party sponsored the holding of a national anti-nuclear referendum, the third in six years. British public concern has focused on the low-level waste disposal programme; hundreds of families blocked village roads in order to stop test drilling.

'As the most sophisticated and potentially dangerous technology ever harnessed to meet basic needs, nuclear power requires an extraordinary faith by ordinary citizens in their technical elite - a faith that is now badly tattered.'

The opposition cuts across ideological lines. Thousands of Swedish hunters and fishers have taken up the anti-nuclear cause. Farmers from northern Sweden dumped 10 tons of cesium-laden hay in front of government buildings in

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Stockholm. In the Netherlands, power company workers voted even before Chernobyl not to work on new nuclear projects. In the United Kingdom, the Labour Party called for a ten-year phaseout of nuclear power in September, despite the opposition of workers employed in the nuclear industry. In Finland, over 4,000 women declared a child-bearing strike, pledging not to have children until the government changed its nuclear policy.

Over two thirds of the people in most countries are now against the construction of nuclear plants, a significant increase since before Chernobyl. About half the people in Europe favour the shutdown of existing facilities.

Three Mile Island had a similar initial impact, and the Americans' faith in nuclear power continued to drift downward in subsequent years. Three Mile Island did not occur in isolation, and the public saw it as part of a continuing pattern of technical problems and misinformation. As the most sophisticated and potentially dangerous technology ever harnessed to meet basic needs, nuclear power requires an extraordinary faith by ordinary citizens in their technical elite - a faith that is now badly tattered.

In France, Chernobyl's political fallout has been muted. Although the share of the French opposed to further nuclear power development has reached 59 percent, this is the lowest such figure in Europe. French pride in the nuclear programme is strongly tied to a desire to be a leading technological power, free of foreign domination. And the

French trust their elite. The philosophy, as one top executive put it, is 'it would be totally unhealthy, counterproductive, and damaging for technical issues to be dealt with in public and constantly exposed to criticism and statements by just anyone'.

A small crack appeared in this united front two weeks after Chernobyl, when the government admitted it had withheld information on the health threat posed by the nuclear cloud. Soon after, it was revealed that a French plant had suffered a critical malfunction two years earlier but reports of the accident had been quietly entered in official documents and never reached public attention. These revelations resulted in condemnation of what French editorial writers called 'nuclear disinformation'. However, officials soothed public fears by setting up an interministerial committee to look into the charges, and criticism soon faded.

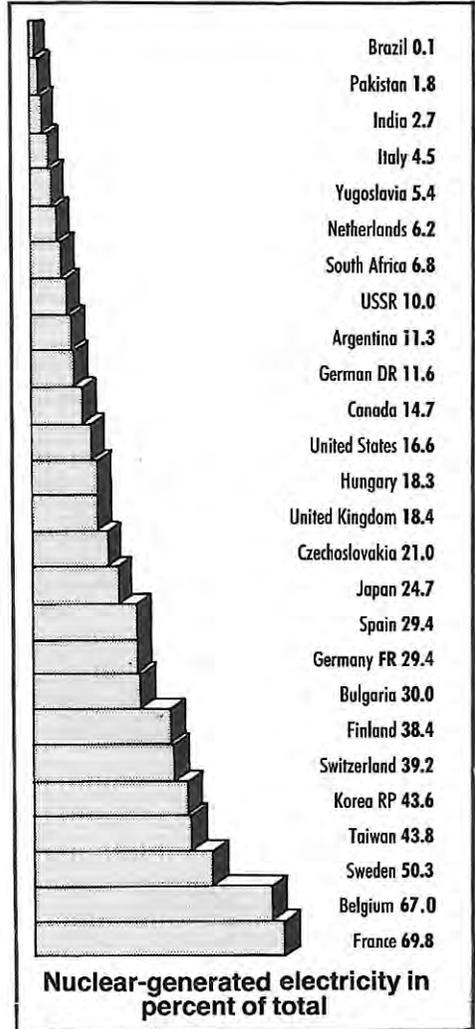
Battles at the borders

Nuclear power has now emerged as an important bilateral issue causing tensions between neighbouring countries. Chernobyl demonstrated that the effects of a nuclear accident can cross international borders with impunity, and in Europe, 119 nuclear power plants are located within 100 kilometres of a national frontier. Nuclear plants are often

Nuclear power reactors in operation, under construction and planned at the end of 1986

Country	In operation		Under construction		Planned		Nuclear electricity supplied in 1986	
	Units	MWe	Units	MWe	Units	MWe	TWh	% of total
Argentina	2	935	1	692	1 or 2	700	5.4	11.3
Belgium	8	5 486	-	-	-	-	37.1	67.0
Brazil	1	626	1	1 245	1	1 245	0.1	0.1
Bulgaria	4	1 632	4	3 826	2	1 906	11.2	30.0
Canada	18	11 249	5	4 361	-	-	67.2	14.7
China	-	-	1	288	2	1 800	-	-
Cuba	-	-	2	816	1	?	-	-
Czechoslovakia	7	2 799	9	5 508	6	5 484	16.2	21.0
Egypt	-	-	-	-	2	2 000	-	-
Finland	4	2 310	-	-	-	-	18.0	38.4
France	49	44 693	14	17 809	1	1 450	241.4	69.8
German DR	5	1 694	6	3 432	4	1 632	12.2	11.6
Germany FR	21	18 947	4	4 052	10	12 621	112.1	29.4
Hungary	3	1 235	1	410	5	4 750	7.0	18.3
India	6	1 154	4	880	4	880	4.5	2.7
Iran	-	-	2	2 400	-	-	-	-
Italy	3	1 273	3	1 999	2	1 900	8.2	4.5
Japan	35	25 821	10	8 431	7	6 785	166.5	24.7
Korea RP	7	5 380	2	1 800	2	1 800	26.6	43.6
Mexico	-	-	2	1 308	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	2	507	-	-	2	2 000	4.0	6.2
Pakistan	1	125	-	-	1	900	0.5	1.8
Poland	-	-	2	880	6	4 680	-	-
Romania	-	-	5	3 145	1	408	-	-
South Africa	2	1 842	-	-	-	-	8.8	6.8
Spain	8	5 599	2	1 920	4	3 780	35.9	29.4
Sweden	12	9 455	-	-	-	-	67.0	50.3
Switzerland	5	2 932	-	-	2	2 140	21.3	39.2
Taiwan	6	4 918	-	-	4	4 120	25.8	43.8
Turkey	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
UK	38	10 222	4	2 520	1	1 175	51.8	18.4
USA	99	84 592	21	23 301	-	-	414.0	16.6
USSR	50	27 657	33	30 660	36	36 163	148.0	10.6
Yugoslavia	1	632	-	-	1	1 000	3.8	5.4
Total	397	273 715	141	123 663	109 or 110	101 319	1 514.6	

Source: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)





Gamma

Radioactive: Remote-controlled robots clearing debris from the roof of the Chernobyl power plant

clustered near borders in part because the large rivers that commonly form national boundaries can provide cooling water. Also it is easier to persuade local communities to accept a nuclear facility if half the affected people live across a frontier and so have no say in the matter.

The Chernobyl accident has also stirred opposition in Eastern Europe, which has comparatively little nuclear power but some big plans. The radioactive cloud made a deep impression on many East Europeans, in part because the previous lack of a public debate over nuclear issues meant that many had no idea that a disaster hundreds of kilometres away could cause such problems.

In Poland, a 3,000 signature petition endorsed by the underground Solidarnosc trade union movement demanded that construction be halted at one plant until it was inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In Yugoslavia, local opposition groups have sprung up in several republics. In East Germany, citizen activists have petitioned the national parliament asking for a referendum on halting the nuclear programme. And in the Soviet Union, small street demonstrations were organised to protest about the government's failure to provide adequate health warnings and to urge that the country's graphite reactors be shut down until they can be operated safely.

Denmark, where the parliament voted in 1985 never to develop nuclear power, is close to reactors in both Germany as well as across the sound in Sweden. Of particular concern is the Swedish plant at Barsebäck, just 30 kilometres across the Øresund and visible on a clear day from Copenhagen. Danish officials fear that the forced evacuation of their capital (whose 1.5 million residents are almost a third of Denmark's population) could cause the virtual collapse of the national economy. After Chernobyl the Danish parliament voted to ask Sweden to close Barsebäck at the earliest opportunity, a request which the Social Democratic government has acceded to within the context of its phaseout programme.

Cross-border disputes over nuclear power are not being settled so diplomatically elsewhere.

At the French plant at Cattenom, just 10 kilometres from both Luxembourg and Federal Germany, four 1,300-megawatt reactors – one of the world's largest power complexes – are being built on the Moselle river. Some 334,000 people live within 30 kilometres of the plant and 1.5 million within 50 kilometres. Public opposition mounted quickly after Chernobyl, and demonstrators from Germany and Luxembourg have crossed the border to protest at Cattenom. German state governments have requested that



Photosource

Radiation risk, iodine solution: A child in Warsaw is given a dose of iodine to combat the effects of radiation

the project be reconsidered. They are opposed to the facility because it is in a heavily populated area, is on swampland that has already caused some buildings to sink, and does not meet German safety standards and so, they say, should not be allowed to jeopardise the health of Germans. But French authorities have refused to yield, claiming that the plant is as safe as any. They view the opposition as a manifestation of German 'neurotic anxiety' and flatly assert that other countries have no right to question a plant located on French soil.

Another battle is brewing over the Wackersdorf nuclear reprocessing plant that is being built in Bavaria near the Austrian border. This facility would eventually handle nuclear spent fuel carried in from German nuclear plants. The reprocessed high-level waste would travel by road or rail over 500 kilometers across one of the most populated areas of Europe for storage in salt caverns in northern Germany. In protest at these plans, numerous demonstrations have been held involving thousands of Germans and Austrians.

Since Chernobyl, concern over Wackersdorf has led to a virtual break in relations between Austria and the German state of Bavaria, including a threat to stop the Austrian vice-chancellor from crossing the border to attend a Wackersdorf protest. The Austrian government has formally asked the Federal German government to stop the plant, stating that the facility would pose serious dangers to Austrian citizens.

A dispute has also flared up between Ireland and the United Kingdom. Ireland is concerned about several British nuclear facilities that discharge radioactive materials into the Irish Sea, and they are particularly worried about the Sellafield reprocessing plant, which has illegally dumped large amounts of waste and has a history of mismanagement. A report by the environment committee of the British House of Commons states that the Irish Sea is 'the most radioactive sea in the world'. Many Irish citizens and politicians have asked that the plant be closed, but British officials refuse to consider it.

Outside of Europe, the most important cross-border dispute is between Hong Kong and China. Hong Kong utilities, the colony's British rulers and Chinese officials have for years been developing plans to build a two-unit 1,800-megawatt nuclear plant at Daya Bay, just 50 kilometers from Hong Kong. The plant, the largest joint venture China has ever undertaken, will be financed by Hong Kong banks, and Hong Kong utilities will purchase 70 percent of the power. Following Chernobyl, a million people – 20 percent of the adults in Hong Kong – signed petitions objecting to the Daya

Bay plant, mainly due to fears that in an accident the people in Hong Kong would be trapped. China, however, has dismissed the objections and the colony's legislative council has bowed to Chinese pressure and has let the project proceed despite public opposition.

These disputes highlight a wider point: the question of how nuclear projects are managed and even whether they should be built is fast being recognised as an international issue in which countries have a moral duty to consider the effects on neighbouring states.

The meeting of the International Atomic Energy (IAEA) in Vienna in September 1986 resulted in an agreement to provide immediate information in the event of future radioactive leaks that may affect other countries. Similar proposals have been made to the Nuclear Energy Agency (which includes most western nuclear countries) and to the European Community. IAEA delegates also agreed on a plan to provide coordinated assistance in the event of future accidents. Some representatives wanted to go further. There appears to be growing support for a study on providing financial compensation in the event of transnational damage caused by future accidents. And the Soviet Union has called for an expert committee to develop international safety standards.

Such proposals are controversial because reactor designs and safety philosophies have always been considered sensitive areas of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, major efforts will undoubtedly be made to implement international standards and controls. It is in many ways shocking that the world has come so far into the nuclear age without such agreements.

Official wisdom and declining faith

In addition to the Soviet delegation's defence of nuclear energy at the IAEA meeting on the grounds that it was in the interests of the 'progress of human civilisation', the leaders of many other countries also rallied behind their respective nuclear programmes in the wake of Chernobyl. Thus, the Federal German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, declared that the abandonment of nuclear power would spell the end of Germany as an industrialised nation. And the British energy minister, Peter Walker, spoke of 'a world in irreversible decline' and a fall in future living standards.

'Major efforts will undoubtedly be made to implement international standards and controls. It is in many ways shocking that the world has come so far into the nuclear age without such agreements.'

For his part, the secretary-general of the IAEA, Hans Blix, called nuclear power 'a grown-up industry, not an infant industry that might be dealt a death blow by one serious accident'. But propped up by government subsidies and quickly losing the political life-support systems that have kept it going for the past two decades, nuclear power is a sick industry, not a mature one. And following Chernobyl, the global nuclear endeavour is like a cancer patient who has also suffered a heart attack.

Declining faith in nuclear power is reflected by the emergence of non-nuclear energy policies in several countries. This 'non-nuclear club' is composed of countries with the capability and the past inclination to rely on nuclear power that have decided to forgo this source of energy. Several governments decided some time ago not to develop nuclear power, but Chernobyl has swelled the club's ranks.

The accident led Austria's government to confirm a referendum decision first made in 1978, to dismantle the country's only (and never operated) reactor, at Zwentendorf. Similarly, the Philippines government announced soon after Chernobyl that the newly complete Bataan nuclear plant would be dismantled. And Greece's Socialist government decided to abandon plans to build the country's first plant.

This non-nuclear club may gain some new members in the next few years.

In Federal Germany, although the ruling government is still against the rapid phaseout of nuclear power, the opposition Social Democratic Party is pledged to close down the plants, and there is rising popular support for such a move. At a minimum, nuclear power generation will decline slowly during the 1990s. But it is quite likely that nuclear power will have been largely abandoned by the end of the century.

'Standing strongly against reliance on nuclear power is now not only a respectable political position, it is becoming the official policy of some governments.'

In Italy, all the major parties are against nuclear power, and, following the referendum result on 8 November, the five-party coalition government is obliged to develop plans to shut down the country's reactors. Switzerland and the United Kingdom are moving slowly in the same direction.

Standing strongly against reliance on nuclear power is now not only a respectable political position, it is becoming the official policy of some governments.

Peter Jankowitsch, Austria's then foreign minister (and now international secretary of the Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ) shocked the international nuclear establishment when as host he addressed the 1986 meeting of the IAEA and explained his government's new stand on nuclear power. In a statement considered rude by IAEA standards, he said that 'For us the lessons from Chernobyl are clear. The faustian bargain of nuclear energy has been lost. It is high time to leave the path pursued in the use of nuclear energy in the past, to develop new alternative and clean sources of energy supply and, during the transition period, devote all efforts to ensure maximum safety. This is the price to pay to enable life to continue on this planet'.

Opinions on the future of nuclear power are more divided than at any time in the past. No consensus exists among scientists, politicians or the general public. But despite the diverse opinions, the direction of movement is clear, and it reflects a generational shift. Fewer engineering graduates enter the nuclear industry now, and fewer young politicians advocate its expansion. The world's nuclear programmes are now run by older men, many of whom developed enthusiasm for the atom in the 1940s, when nuclear prospects were bright. Most of their successors have not inherited their optimism. Getting the nuclear endeavour back on track

would require many years of trouble-free plant operation, the speedy resolution of the waste disposal problem, and the elimination of threats of nuclear terrorism. The combination is not likely and may not even be possible. Yet without such developments, a growing number of people are likely to call for an end to nuclear power.

Superstition or well founded fears?

The nuclear industry continues to blame most of its problems on an overly fearful and technologically ignorant public.

This argument raises some basic issues about modern societies and the way political institutions deal with complex and potentially dangerous technologies. Although public understanding of nuclear issues is certainly limited and some fears are misplaced, public concerns broadly reflect those of the scientific community. Local opposition to the disposal of radioactive wastes, for example, may be largely due to the 'not in my back yard' syndrome, but it reflects a judgment by many geologists that underground storage of wastes may one day lead to serious public health problems. The fact that the world now has almost 400 nuclear power plants but not a single long-term waste-disposal programme yet in place must be considered one of the major failings of the nuclear era.

Those who favour nuclear power often say it is held up to unrealistically strict standards. Its environmental and health impacts, they argue, are less than those of coal plants, which are estimated to kill thousands of people each year, mainly through air pollution. Nuclear power, it is said, presents relatively small risks compared with others that modern societies live with.

It is true that the direct health impact of nuclear power has been minor so far. But Chernobyl alone may eventually cause tens of thousands of cancer deaths, and this is but the first such accident. It is the long-term and unpredictable consequences of a nuclear accident that people fear the most, and the disturbing truth is that experts do not know how safe nuclear plants are. Moreover, the Chernobyl accident included unexpected phenomena, demonstrating – as Three Mile Island did – that it is impossible to anticipate all problems at nuclear plants.

Although the accident occurred at a plant of uniquely Soviet design, its main cause was the same as at Three Mile Island: operator error. Human beings are by nature capable of making mistakes that cannot be foreseen, and the human element can never be excluded from safety systems. Despite the modifications made after Three Mile Island and the changes the Soviets now plan, reactors remain vulnerable to catastrophic accidents. Safety measures can only reduce their likelihood. No one knows how often nuclear disasters will happen. The elaborate risk assessments conducted in the past decade are now under challenge because they fail to reflect the enormous complexity of nuclear systems and because they have been misused by industry representatives attempting to demonstrate the safety of nuclear power.

Government studies show that core-damaging nuclear accidents should occur only once every 10,000 to 1 million years of reactor operation. With the number of plants likely to be operating worldwide in the year 2000, this would mean one accident every 20-2,000 years. However, the Three Mile Island accident occurred after just 1,500 years of reactor operation, and Chernobyl followed after another 1,900 reactor years. If this accident rate continues, three additional accidents would occur by the year 2000, at which point (with over 500 reactors in operation) core-damaging accidents would happen every four years. Scientists in Sweden and Germany estimate that there is a 70-percent probability that another such accident will occur in the next 5.4 years.

Not all nuclear accidents are catastrophic. At Three Mile Island, where the reactor vessel was not breached, the damage was confined to the power plant itself, resulting in no immediate deaths and direct economic damages of perhaps 2 billion US dollars. But even Chernobyl does not mark the outer boundary of damage from a nuclear accident. Many plants are closer to large cities than Chernobyl is and in future accidents the weather conditions may be less favourable.

Moreover, many countries with less regimented societies may have more difficulty dealing with the consequences of a nuclear accident than the Soviet Union did. In the United States, for example, evacuation planning extends only to 16 kilometers, yet the Soviets evacuated everyone within 30 kilometers and all children within 150 kilometers. Worldwide, more than 700 million people live within 160 kilometers of a nuclear plant. US government studies show that a major accident near a large urban area with unfavourable winds could cause losses as high as 150 billion dollars, and result in 140,000 deaths. In Europe, where reactors are generally closer to cities, the figures could be even higher. In some instances an accident might require the permanent evacuation of millions of people and could cause a virtual national collapse.

Thus, although the overall risk of a nuclear catastrophe may be small, its potential magnitude could well exceed anything that modern civilisation has experienced outside of war. Are people misguided in not wanting to use technology that poses even a small risk of such a catastrophe? As a matter of simple practicality, it is questionable whether countries can or should base their power systems on technologies that much of the public finds objectionable.

Although modern societies must deal with many controversial issues, the nuclear endeavour is almost unmatched in the steadily mounting opposition it has faced. Such battles take a toll morally as well as economically. In some countries they have begun to tear at the national political fabric. Does it make sense to pursue nuclear power if to do so leaders will have to struggle continually with those they represent? At what point does the political cost of such campaigns exceed any benefits?

The extent of public opposition to nuclear power also reflects a realisation of the ultimate implications of pursuing the nuclear path. By the year 2010 several thousand conventional reactors were to be operating, many of them at the edge of large cities. Hundreds of breeder plants were to be running on plutonium that would ride the world's highways and railroads from the reprocessing plants where it would be refined. Nuclear waste sites and fuel-manufacturing facilities were to be as common in 2010 as steel plants are today. Without a major improvement in industry performance, serious nuclear accidents would have become a regular occurrence in the twenty-first century. Chernobyl gave people a glimpse of the nuclear future, and people did not like what they saw.

Civil liberties and public accountability

The political implications of that future may be just as troubling. Most of the world's nuclear executives point with envy to the French nuclear programme. But that programme is made possible by a political system that people in many other countries would find objectionable. Public participation in decision making, for example, is more limited than in most western countries. Is nuclear power so essential that we should curtail democratic institutions and accept a French-style centrally planned energy system as a fair price to pay?

Public opposition in selected countries to building additional nuclear power plants

Country	Before Chernobyl	After Chernobyl
Canada	60%	70%
Finland	33%	64%
France		59%
Federal Germany	46%	69%
Italy		79%
United Kingdom	65%	83%
United States	67%	78%
Yugoslavia	40%	74%

Sources: Gallup Polls, Worldwatch Institute

Reliance on nuclear power for 80-90 percent of electricity (which the French are planning) could also force a government to shut down most of the power system – and economy – in the event of a serious accident. And the threat of terrorism means that nuclear power complexes must be virtual fortresses, with heavily armed security forces and surveillance equipment. Outside the military, modern society has no other facilities that require this scale of protection.

The world's nuclear leaders have lost their early vision but have not found a new one, leaving many nuclear programme in shambles. Justifying the huge costs of an industry that will supply less than 15 percent of the world's power and 5 percent of its energy in the year 2000 is increasingly difficult. Fast-breeder reactors that just five years ago were assumed to be the successors to conventional plants are in the process of being abandoned as a costly dead end. There is talk of building new, 'inherently safe' reactors, but these are at best decades in the future. No one yet knows which designs to pursue or when they might be ready.

One costly side effect of this confusing situation is that efforts to develop non-nuclear technologies and new approaches to energy policy have been paralysed. Attempts to reduce acid rain are forestalled because energy planners continue to argue that nuclear power is the only real solution. Energy conservation receives short shrift because its success would make it difficult to justify ordering enough nuclear plants to keep the industry profitable. And important reforms of electric utility systems are delayed because the end of utility monopolies could bring the market's verdict down on the remaining nuclear programmes.

Nuclear power is advocated and objected to for dozens of reasons, and the rationales on both sides make sense when viewed in isolation. But the ultimate decision should be based on society's wider vision of its future. Chernobyl's lasting legacy may be that it has helped put such issues squarely on the table.

This article is an extract from 'Reassessing nuclear power', Christopher Flavin's contribution to The State of the World 1987, published by the Worldwatch Institute (New York & London: Norton, 1987; ISBN 0-393-02399-0 (hdbk), 0-393-30389-6 (ppbk).

Nuclear power: a glossary of terms

Advanced gas-cooled reactor (AGR): A gas-cooled reactor using slightly enriched uranium fuel.

Alpha particle: A slow-moving heavy particle which if ingested into the body is the most dangerous form of radiation; plutonium-239 is an alpha emitter.

Beta particle: High-energy electron emitted by a radioactive nucleus.

Biological shield: Physical barriers to reduce exposure to living organisms, eg. the concrete shield around the reactor.

Boiling water reactor (BWR): Light water reactor in which water, used both as a coolant and moderator, is allowed to boil in the core.

Breeder reactor: A reactor that produces more fissionable fuel than it consumes; the new fissionable material is created by a process known as breeding, in which neutrons from fission are captured in fertile materials.

Canadian deuterium-uranium reactor (CANDU): A pressurised water reactor of Canadian design which uses natural uranium fuel clad in zircoloy, and heavy water as a moderator and coolant.

Containment: The retention of radioactive material in such a way that it is effectively prevented from becoming dispersed into the environment or only released at an acceptable rate.

Contamination: A radioactive substance in a material or place where it should not be.

Control rod: A rod which absorbs neutrons (and therefore stops the chain reaction) which is moved in and out of the core to control the fission process.

Coolant: Gas, water or liquid metal circulated through the core to carry off heat to boilers or heat exchangers.

Decommissioning: The actions taken at the end of a facility's useful life for its planned permanent retirement from active service.

Decontamination: Removal or reduction of radioactive contamination physically by removing the surface itself or chemically by removing surface films containing radioactive materials.

Dismantlement/disassembly: The actions required to disassemble and/or remove radioactive materials from the facility or the site.

Disposal: The emplacement of waste materials in a repository, or at a given location, without the intention of retrieval; this also covers direct discharge of both gaseous and liquid effluents into the environment.

Dose: The amount of energy absorbed in a unit of mass or an organ or individual from irradiation.

Exposure: Any exposure of persons to ionising radiation.

Facility: The physical complex of buildings and equipment within a site.

Fast breeder reactor (FBR): A reactor which builds more fissionable material than it consumes, by using a reaction dependent on fast neutrons.

Fertile material: Material which can be converted into nuclear fuel by absorbing neutrons.

Fissile or fissionable material: Material which is capable of undergoing fission when struck by neutrons, such as uranium.

Fuel cycle facilities: Facilities used in the preparation of fuel materials for use in nuclear power reactors.

Fuel rod: A single tube of cladding filled with uranium fuel pellets.

Gamma ray: High-energy, short-wavelength electromagnetic radiation emitted by a nucleus, with great penetrating power.

Gas-cooled heavy water reactor (GCHWR): A reactor using heavy water as a moderator and carbon-dioxide as a coolant; also known as the heavy water reactor (HWR).

Gas-cooled reactor (GCR): A reactor cooled by carbon-dioxide and using graphite as a moderator

Gigawatt (GW): 1 million kilowatts.

Half-life: The time it takes for half of any radioactive substance to disintegrate; half-lives range from a second to millions of years (eg. Argon-41 has a half-life of 100 minutes, Uranium-233 one of 162,000 years).

Heavy water reactor (HWR): A reactor using heavy water as a moderator; also known as gas-cooled heavy water reactor (GCHWR).

High temperature reactor (HTR or HTGR): A helium-cooled advanced reactor using graphite as a moderator.

High-level waste: The highly radioactive waste material that results from the reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel, including liquid waste produced directly in reprocessing and any solid waste derived from the liquid and which contains a combination of waste and fission products in such concentration as to require long-term isolation.

Intermediate-level waste: Radioactive waste of a lower activity level and heat output than high-level waste, but which still requires shielding during handling and transportation.

International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA): An international body set up in Vienna in 1957 both to control safety and proliferation and to promote nuclear energy worldwide.

Ionisation: The process of adding or removing electrons from an atom so as to form ions; this can be caused by high temperature, electrical discharges or nuclear radiation.

Ionising radiation: Alpha, beta or gamma radiation which when passing through matter can ionise it; it can cause cell damage as it passes through tissue.

Kilowatt (kW): 1,000 watts

Long-lived nuclide: For waste management purposes, a radioactive isotope which a half-life greater than about thirty years.

Low-level waste: Waste which, because of its low radionuclide content, does not require shielding during normal handling and transportation.

Magnox reactor: A gas-cooled reactor using a magnesium alloy to clad fuel.

Megawatt (MW): 1,000 kilowatts.

Meltdown: The event in which the reactor becomes so hot that it melts the fuel (core melt) and eventually melts through the bottom of the vessel.

Moderator: Material (such as water, graphite or heavy water) used in a reactor to control the speed of the chain reaction to stop it going out of control.

Nuclear fuel: Fissionable and/or fertile material for use as fuel in a nuclear reactor.

Nuclear power plant: A single or multi-unit facility in which heat produced in a reactor by the fissioning of nuclear fuel is used to drive a steam turbine which in turn drives an electric generator.

Nuclear reactor: An apparatus in which the nuclear fission chain can be initiated, maintained and controlled so that energy is released at a specific rate. The reactor apparatus includes fissionable material (fuel) such as uranium or plutonium; fertile material; moderating material (unless it is a fast reactor); a containment vessel; shielding to protect personnel; provision for heat removal; and control elements and instrumentation.

Plutonium (Pu): A heavy, human-made highly toxic radioactive metallic element; Pu-239 is used as breeder reactor fuel and for atomic weapons.

Pressurised water reactor (PWR): A light water reactor which uses ordinary water as a moderator and coolant and in which heat is transferred from the core to a heat exchanger via water kept under high pressure, so that high temperatures can be maintained in the primary system without boiling the water; steam is generated in a secondary unit.

Radioactive waste: Any material that contains or is contaminated with radionuclides at concentrations or radioactivity levels greater than the exempt quantities established by authorities.

Radioactivity: The property of certain nuclides of spontaneously emitting particles or gamma radiation, of emitting x-radiation following orbital electron capture or of undergoing spontaneous fission.

Safe storage: A period of time (from a few years to over a hundred years) after the initial decommissioning activities of preparation for safe storage cease and in which surveillance and maintenance of the facility takes place.

Uranium (U): A heavy metallic, slightly radioactive element; as found in nature it is a mixture of the isotopes uranium-238 (99.3 percent) and uranium-235 (0.7 percent); U-235 and the artificially produced U-233 are fissile.

Waste arisings: Radioactive wastes generated by any stage in the nuclear fuel cycle.

Waste management: All administrative and operational activities that are involved in the handling, treatment, conditioning, storage and disposal of waste.

Waste treatment: Operations intended to benefit safety or economy by changing the characteristics of the waste, eg. by volume reduction, the removal of nuclides from the waste or the change of its composition.

Promises unfulfilled

ANDREW HOLMES evaluates the claims made for nuclear energy.

There was a time when every country on earth but the very smallest entertained ambitions to develop nuclear power. In many cases these ambitions remain, though the plans of earlier times have become pale shadows of their former selves. In many cases, all that remains is the institutional remnant of nuclear ambitions, in bodies such as the Nuclear Power Institute of Luxembourg – a country which has never used nuclear power, nor is ever likely to.

Very few countries have come anywhere near meeting the nuclear expansion targets they once set themselves, and this does not just apply to the smaller ones. Italy, for example, was at one stage planning to build a dozen nuclear power stations in as many years; in fact, its three existing reactors, two of them built in the 1960s, have been shut down since the end of 1986. In Britain one of the first acts of the Thatcher government was to announce a ten-reactor programme, with one reactor to start construction every year from 1982. In the event, just one nuclear station, Sizewell B, has been ordered, with construction starting in 1987.

Only in France have the plans of the 1970s been put into force. The result has been a massive and growing overcapacity in electricity supply, and a vast burden of foreign debt on the state electricity utility, EdF. France's unenviable position is a reminder of what the world might have looked like if reality had not caught up with nuclear power in time.

An industry in decline

In the mid-1980s, Europe's nuclear power production has been expanding steadily year on year. At first glance this would suggest that the nuclear industry is in good health; yet the reverse is the case. The rate at which new reactors come into operation is a poor indication of the state of the industry, because of the variation in reactor construction times. For example, in 1986 Britain commissioned the Dungeness B reactor, on which construction had begun in 1966, while France commissioned several reactors whose construction began in 1979-80.

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France doubly confuses the European picture because it is commissioning so much capacity. France already accounts for 40 percent of Europe's nuclear capacity; by the end of the century the figure will be nearer 50 percent. If one takes France out of the picture and looks at the ordering rather than the commission dates (a much better indicator of the present state of the industry), then a different pattern emerges.

'Countries rushed to get into the nuclear league during the years 1967-75 ... But the bandwagon stopped rolling almost as soon as it had begun. This happened well before the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, let alone Chernobyl in 1986.'

In Europe, as in the United States, there was a period of what is known as 'bandwagon' ordering. Countries rushed to get into the nuclear league during the years 1967-75, and particularly in the years of the first oil shock, 1973-75. But the bandwagon stopped rolling almost as soon as it had begun.

As the panic brought on by the oil price rises subsided, as governments began to look at the cost of what they had planned, and as environmentalists began to protest against uncontrolled nuclear expansion, a period of delays and cancellations set in.

It should be noted that this happened well before the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, let alone Chernobyl in 1986. In Europe as in America, it was economics rather than worries about safety which first put the brakes on nuclear expansion.

Of course, economics and safety are part of the same thing. The more accidents take place at nuclear power stations, the more safety investment is demanded, and the more expensive nuclear power becomes. But well before the nuclear safety issue was brought to world attention by Three Mile Island, decline had begun to set in.



A bar to safety?: John Lodge, independent nuclear engineer, with part of a uranium fuel element as used in advanced gas-cooled reactors

Complicated economics

The very fact that in the 1970s some people were concerned about the economics of nuclear power was in itself a fall from grace. In its early days nuclear energy was promoted as being virtually without cost or, in the phrase of an infamous headline from Britain in 1956, 'Too Cheap to Meter'. After all, the production of nuclear electricity was dependent on a fuel source, uranium, which was reasonably accessible and needed in only small quantities. Once a nuclear station was built, the nuclear industry claimed, its running costs would be negligible.

The building proved more difficult than expected, however. In the 1960s, the thrust of nuclear engineering was towards bigger and more complex reactors, as the search for 'economy of scale' began in earnest. More complexity meant more construction problems. Britain, which led the world in civil nuclear development, was also the first to encounter these problems. The early versions of the first-generation reactors, the Magnoxes, were built in four or five years. The advanced gas-cooled reactors, basically a scaled-up and 'improved' version of the Magnox, proved to be very different animals, and construction times between fifteen and twenty years became the norm. Two of these reactors, Hartlepool and Heysham 1, started in 1968 and 1970 respectively, were still not up to full power in 1987, and the chances of their ever proving economic over their lifetimes had become remote.

Both Europe and America pinned their hopes on the 1,000-megawatt (mW) reactor in the 1970s. Some were constructed more or less to time and cost, with countries like Sweden and Switzerland proving notably adept at getting reactors working on schedule. But elsewhere, there were holdups and delays in construction. As materials and labour cost and interest rates rose, so these delays became crippling expensive.

Another factor entered the equation in the mid-1970s – the rise in what Americans call 'intervenor' action. Nuclear power projects became the subject of public objections and, as a result, the process of licensing and inquiries stretched out apparently endlessly, so that it could take years before an application made its way through the various stages of the procedure. This was especially the case in countries like the United States and Federal Germany, where objectors were able to work through the legal system and where local government was able to intervene in the licensing procedure. In France, by contrast, local government was weak and objectors were allowed no opportunity to intervene; hence the progress of French nuclear power.

Large state-owned utilities, like CEGB in Britain or ENEL in Italy, could absorb the costs of construction overruns and licensing delays from their apparently inexhaustible funds. Not so in the United States, where a private utility system prevails, and where, because utilities cannot automatically pass on the costs of their mistakes to the consumer, a long construction delay could mean bankruptcy. So in the US, by

1974, as the impact of construction overruns was beginning to be felt, and as state regulatory commissions began to use their muscle against nuclear projects, the electricity industry more or less gave up the ghost. For a number of years, there were more cancelations than orders. No new order for a nuclear power station has been placed and carried through in America since 1974.

It was not just cost overruns, however, which cast doubt on nuclear power. The fact was that many of the nuclear projects in Europe and the United States – let alone the developing countries – were undertaken on the assumption that electricity demand was on an upward curve. By the late 1970s, and especially after the second oil shock in 1979, it became apparent that this was not the case. Electricity demand fell in most European countries between 1979 and 1980, for the first time in history. In some countries, like Britain, demand has slowly climbed back towards its 1979 peak.

This is important because in most countries it ended the possibility of bulk ordering of nuclear stations. As France has shown, nuclear's costs can be reduced if reactors are produced on a 'production line' basis. But this can only be achieved if large numbers are ordered, even to the point (as in France) of ordering reactors beyond need, to keep the production line in operation. France had its share of construction overruns in the mid-1970s and earlier; but in the context of the country's massive nuclear programme their cost could be absorbed. At the other end of the scale, however, the single uncompleted reactor which comprised Mexico's nuclear programme had the status of a national disaster.

The other factor which has complicated the economics of nuclear stations is the variation in their performance. For a reactor to pay back the cost of its production, it must generate a given amount of electricity over its lifetime (up to thirty years). Calculations of the amount of electricity which a reactor will generate are dependent on its load factor, that is, the amount of electricity it actually generates compared with the amount which it can theoretically generate according to its design rating.

A 500-megawatt reactor operating at full capacity for one year will generate 500 mW times 8,760 hours per year, or 4.38 million mW hours (a megawatt hour is a measure of

output rather than capacity). This, of course, is unattainable because all reactors have to take 'outage' time for re-fueling and maintenance. So a reactor performing consistently during the time when it is available for use will have a load factor of, say, 95 percent. In practice, few attained this, and a load factor of over 80 percent was considered a good result. The Canadian CANDU reactors were the only ones to achieve this consistently, until a series of technical problems set in during the early 1980s. Finnish, Swedish and Swiss reactors have also been good performers. In more recent years, Japanese, German and Belgian reactors have caught up and overtaken these countries.

In some cases, however, load factors have remained very low indeed. US average load factors have remained stuck under 60 percent, those of Britain about 50 percent and those of India's five reactors under 40 percent. Within any one of these countries, the average figures include a wide variation, with some US reactors achieving load factors over 90 percent and some barely operating at all.

'The uncertainties of building and operating nuclear power stations are as nothing compared with those of the "back end" of the cycle, the disposal of waste from nuclear power stations and of the stations themselves.'

For the operators and prospective operators of nuclear plants, the degree of variation implied in these figures is unacceptable. Coal, oil and gas stations, while in theory more expensive, are generally built to time and can be relied upon to work tolerably well. The complexity of nuclear power stations means that when they go wrong, they often go wrong in the most spectacular fashion. And it is difficult, if not impossible, to predict which reactor types will go wrong. The CANDU was the last reactor type not to have suffered a significant failure; and this record was broken by the failure of the Pickering station in 1983.

The problem of waste

The uncertainties of building and operating nuclear power stations are as nothing compared with those of the 'back end' of the cycle, the disposal of waste from nuclear power stations and of the stations themselves. Indeed the word 'cycle', favoured by the nuclear industry, implies a circularity and completeness which does not exist. Most of the high-level waste from nuclear power stations is stored, not disposed of; and with the honourable exception of Sweden, the nuclear countries have made little progress towards an ultimate solution of the waste problem.

Sweden has made progress because its nuclear industry has been forced to find a solution, as the country aims to clear away nuclear power and all its works by 2010. Elsewhere, the prevailing philosophy has been that of Dickens' Mr Micawber, that 'something will turn up'. One by one, the ideas of the nuclear industry have been winnowed away, from dumping at sea to the deranged notion that the waste could be sent by rocket into outer space. Nothing has turned

Projections of worldwide nuclear power generating capacity for the year 2000

Year of projection	Projection for 2000 ('000 megawatts)
1972	3500
1974	4450
1976	2300
1978	1400
1980	910
1982	833
1984	605
1986	505

Source: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)



Limited access for unlimited energy: Barbed wire around the nuclear reprocessing plant being built in Wackersdorf, Federal Germany

up to replace them, and progress in this area is perilously slow.

A 1984 study by the Beijer Institute of waste disposal plans in eight major nuclear countries, concluded that the problem is 'trans-scientific', and depends on subjective factors, mainly the public's attitude to waste disposal. That is to say, the method of disposing of nuclear waste depends entirely on what the public is willing to accept. As recent British experience has demonstrated, the public is becoming less, rather than more, tolerant of the nuclear industry's proposed solutions.

A subject which has yet to impinge on public consciousness is the disposal of the nuclear stations themselves. Most people, when questioned, have been found to assume that the nuclear stations last forever, or at least for a very long period. In fact, most nuclear stations have a life of just thirty years. The first of them, mainly in Britain, are now nearing the end of their active lives. Over the course of those lives, the core of each reactor has built up a cocktail of deadly radioactive elements, making access to the core impossible. What will become of them is anyone's guess.

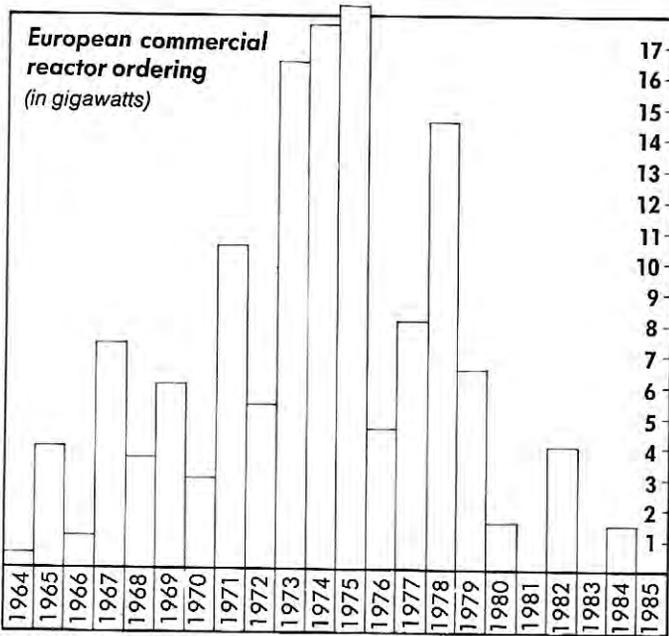
The issue of power station disposal, or decommissioning /dismantling, as it is known, reveals the nuclear industry at its most micawberish. Dismantling of the reactor core needs to be delayed by a hundred years or more in order to let the radioactive elements which have built up in the core 'cool off' or decay to a point where human beings can gain access and carry out the necessary work. The theory was that defunct reactors would all be on sites where new nuclear reactors were being built. Therefore, they could be stripped of their outer buildings, while the radioactive core was blocked in concrete and kept under supervision. As nuclear power was presumed to be continually expanding, sites would continually be in use, so that the defunct reactor core, on a reused site, would present no problems of maintenance and surveillance.

The timescales involved in dismantling beggar the imagination, and are a sign of the nuclear industry's belief in its own immortality. Even after a century, the reactor core will be too 'hot' to allow human beings access for more than a few minutes at a time, even if they are kitted out in all the paraphernalia of nuclear protection gear. The day when human beings can work safely within the defunct reactor core for extended periods will never come.

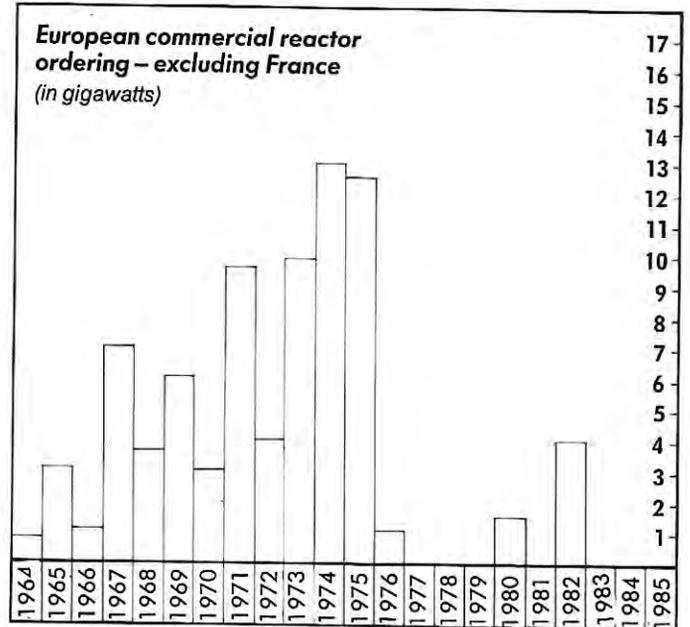
Present utility plans for decommissioning still assume that the 'cooling off' period of a century will be acceptable to public opinion – a very dubious assumption even in the past, and now, with public anxiety about nuclear waste rising all the time, completely nonsensical. Yet there is in reality no alternative, other than to block the reactor core in concrete and leave it to rot for all time. The possibility of having the dismantling job done by robots is under investigation, but looks fairly hopeless. Reactors are specifically designed to keep people and machines out, not to let them in, and a robot capable of finding its way through the maze of wiring and concrete inside the core would stretch technology beyond its limits.

Decommissioning, of course, produces yet more high-level waste for which there is no final disposal route, compounding a problem which by the end of the century will be reaching crisis proportions.

As to the cost of decommissioning, the utilities set aside funds from the electricity tariffs to pay for the work. But as no one knows how, let alone when, the reactors will be taken apart, the calculations on which these funds are based are more or less meaningless. As successive surveys have shown, the amount which different utilities have set aside varies enormously. Recent work on the subject in the United States, notably by the Worldwatch Institute, raises the not improbable idea that the cost of dismantling nuclear stations will repeat the pattern of building them, when actual costs were anything from double to ten times the initial estimate.



Source: FT European Electricity Quarterly 1986



Source: FT European Electricity Quarterly 1986

Dubious costings

The uncertainties of decommissioning costs alone are enough to make calculation of nuclear power's ultimate cost all but impossible. Added to further uncertainties about the final disposal of waste, the continuing changes in safety requirements and the endless possibilities for delay in licensing and construction, the cost of future nuclear generation becomes a matter of some mystery.

Calculating the cost of nuclear power is in some senses a doomed enterprise from the beginning, as the two sides of the nuclear debate are rarely able to agree on the fundamental principles of the calculation. The nuclear industry prefers to look at the price of generation from a theoretical reactor, taking into account only the costs directly associated with that reactor's construction and operation, and making what are usually highly optimistic assumptions about the costs of waste disposal and so on. Critics are likely to want the very large costs of nuclear research taken into account and to make much more pessimistic assumptions about back-end costs.

'Why do the world's planners remain so attached to nuclear power? The answer, contrary to what many nuclear critics still claim, is no longer primarily to do with nuclear weaponry. ... It depends partly on nuclear power's attraction as a status symbol.'

However, even figures from pro-nuclear bodies such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) show that nuclear's cost advantage over coal-fired generation is far from overwhelming. The IAEA's figures are based on a 'low cost' coal region where coal costs 38 US dollars per tonne, which is some 10 dollars per tonne more than the price of traded power-station coal in mid-1987. But even given this loading in favour of nuclear, it requires low discount rates and fast construction to keep nuclear in the lead. (Apart from anything else, the figures demonstrate how vulnerable nuclear power is to the rising cost of money.)

To obtain this marginal benefit, countries and utilities have to take all the risks of nuclear projects, face all the public opposition and jump all the legal and administrative hurdles which stand in the way of new nuclear power stations. It is no wonder that for more and more of them, the effort hardly seems worthwhile.

Mystical motivations

Over the years, nuclear power has betrayed every one of its promises. It was supposed to be clean, safe and cheap. It has proved to be none of these things. It would be possible to look back from this point and see nuclear power as a passing enthusiasm of the early 1970s, whose time came and went with some speed. Yet it is far too early to write off nuclear power. Certainly, the nuclear construction industry is facing a deep recession in the 1990s; only a handful of today's reactor construction companies will survive the decade intact. But nuclear will die hard.

Plans for nuclear expansion, in small countries as well as large, are dormant rather than dead. Despite everything that has gone wrong over the last ten years, the nuclear industry, and the planners and bureaucrats who support it, are unabashed. The day when nuclear provides most of the world's electricity, they believe, may be postponed, but must come sooner or later.

Why do the world's planners remain so attached to nuclear power in spite of everything? The answer, contrary to what many nuclear critics still claim, is not primarily to do with nuclear weaponry. In the early days, and indeed up until the 1970s, this might have been partially true. But the expansion of nuclear facilities worldwide has changed things. A country

which wants plutonium badly enough can, unfortunately, always get it; and in any case, a small 'experimental' reactor can make enough weapons-grade plutonium to keep all but the major powers happy. To launch a full-scale civil reactor programme in order to make bombs would be a very roundabout way of proceeding.

The answer is more complex. It depends partly on nuclear power's attraction as a status symbol. There is a peculiar form of madness which leads countries to believe that their position in the modern world is dependent on their ability to develop nuclear power. It gripped Britain in the 1950s, America in the 1960s, France and India in the 1970s; today it has many developing countries in its thrall. It is now, and always has been, a delusion. Being the first to develop nuclear power has not stopped Britain's economic decline, nor has nuclear fed the starving millions of India; in the latter case, it has contributed to doing the precise opposite. By the same token, Italy's failure to develop nuclear power on a serious basis has hardly left the economy deeply scarred, though in the early 1970s it was as dependent on imported oil as France.

'The impetus towards nuclear came from nothing so rational as a fear of oil supply cartels. If it had, nuclear would have died long since. Support for nuclear power is, at root, a matter of faith.'

In the early 1970s, powerful fears about the stranglehold of the oil-exporting countries contributed further to the charisma of nuclear. The concept of 'energy independence' suddenly assumed an unnatural, wholly exaggerated importance, and nuclear appeared to offer just such independence. Thus the European Community, which in the early 1960s had called for the closure of expensive European coal mines to make way for cheap oil from the Middle East, began with equally unreasoning hysteria to call for the displacement of oil by coal and nuclear power.

In some countries, most notably Britain, nuclear power appeared to be a protection against the 'enemy within' – the coal miners – as well the 'enemy without' – the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). As France has recently found out, however, nuclear power stations are not significantly less vulnerable to industrial action than coal mines.

The 1970s were the years of 'energy shortage' fears. The proposed solution was based on the mistaken idea that 'energy' is the thing in demand, and that any 'energy source' can fill the supposed gap. In fact, there are only specific uses for different types of fuel; cars do not run on coal, computers do not run on oil, and so on. The idea of a simple displacement effect between nuclear power and oil is, and always has been, ridiculous. The only real protection against 'overdependence' on a particular fuel is to use less of it in its specific uses. Analogically speaking, the industrialised world in the 1970s was, in effect, trying to give up smoking cigarettes by investing in Havana cigars.

However, the underlying long-term impetus towards nuclear came from nothing so rational as a fear of oil supply cartels. If it had, nuclear would have died long since. Support for nuclear power is, at root, a matter of faith.

In the early days of civil nuclear power, the days of Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' campaign, the ability to harness the terrible power of the atom for peaceful and progressive purposes took on the aspect of a crusade. The nuclear industry in the late 1950s, aided by a corps of credulous science journalists, propounded the idea that nuclear power could be used in almost any application which required an energy input, down to the nuclear-powered car. This energy would be cheaply available to all, would entail none of the pollution problems associated with oil and coal, and would in effect usher in a new, worldwide, industrial revolution. Because nuclear energy would be available to all the countries of the world, it would virtually end poverty and reduce the international competition for access to fuel sources which might one day cause another war. To countries still recovering from the second world war, and particularly in an economically battered Europe, this was a seductive vision.

The feeling that nuclear power was something of a key to the future has never died; indeed, it remains as strong as ever in some quarters. Its main strength is among those who grew up in the 1950s, the people who are today's ruling generation. To them, nuclear power means Atoms for Peace, and always will. But they will pass, to make way for a new generation of planners and politicians for whom nuclear power is synonymous with Three Mile Island and Chernobyl.

Taking the easy way out?

The near-mystical response of some politicians to nuclear power is, in some attenuated sense, idealistic. But there is another factor drawing them and their civil servants towards nuclear power, which is best described as intellectual laziness.

When the price of oil rose so spectacularly in 1974 and again in 1979, the provision of energy, previously barely thought of by governments except in wartime, rose to the top of the agenda. The new price structures created a much more complex and uncertain energy market for the industrialised world.

Though technically complex, nuclear power is administratively simple. Given the choice between ordering a battery of new 1,000-megawatt nuclear stations, and the alternative of small-scale power stations, new coal-burning technologies, renewable energies, load management and all the rest of the solutions needed in a complex and messy world, the politicians and planners will always attempt to take the quick technical fix.

Coal is dirty, takes a lot of effort to transport and a lot of money to clean up; and combined heat and power stations, load management programmes and so on require an attention to detail which few planners are willing to offer. Nuclear power by contrast – at least as it is presented by its advocates – is modern, clean, efficient and endlessly available. Build a few nuclear power parks and you can let electricity consumption run free. Nothing could be simpler.

More than anything, it is this which will continue to draw governments and planners throughout the world to the quick fix of nuclear power. It is no coincidence that those countries which are governed by a powerful central bureaucracy – France, Japan, the Soviet Union – have been most determined and successful in driving their nuclear programmes forward. By contrast, in countries like Federal Germany and Switzerland, where government is more decentralised, nuclear has stopped dead in its tracks or, as in Italy, never started at all. Nuclear power is bureaucratic power; and as long as bureaucrats dictate energy policy, nuclear power will never be entirely without allies.

Phasing out nuclear power: A long way to go

The Chernobyl disaster produced a flurry of new plans in western countries for phasing out nuclear power. Ideas which first emerged after the Three Mile Island accident in 1979 are now being dusted off for public and political consumption.

FRANÇOIS NECTOUX reports.

Nuclear Engineering International, a leading professional paper, said in its last world nuclear survey (published in June 1987), 'Chernobyl has had a less-than-expected impact on orders and future plans.' Now if an accident like Chernobyl cannot shatter the first timid recovery of nuclear power prospects since the Three Mile Island accident, what can?

The fact is that a phaseout plan would have to resolve many difficulties before it could be implemented. In some countries these could be resolved relatively easily during a short transition period. But in those countries that have been the standard bearers for nuclear power in the world, technical, political and economic obstacles could only be overcome in the very long term. This is, of course, unless these countries were subjected themselves to an accident of a similar magnitude to Chernobyl. But such an accident could force a disorderly and unplanned retreat away from nuclear power and result in blackouts for several years.

Varied recipes

Since Chernobyl, many plans for phasing out nuclear power have been drawn up, mostly in Western Europe, and all of them, not unexpectedly, have been received with scorn by electricity utilities and nuclear establishments. As well as being varied in scope and speed, the plans coincide with the different views of the pressure groups that drew them up and cater for the particular national contexts in which they are meant to be introduced.

Some of them advocate a short, sharp shock, a 'shut them down now' scenario, as is the case with the plans presented

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by the Greenpeace environmental organisation in the United Kingdom and sections of the Greens in Federal Germany.

Others present more mainstream long-term closure programmes, based on principles similar to the Swedish long-term non-nuclear energy policy which has emerged as a result of the 1980 referendum (non-replacement of existing nuclear plants at the end of their lifetime, no new orders, and implementation of energy policies based on long-term alternatives and energy efficiency).

These plans, such as those presented by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in Germany or the Friends of the Earth environmentalist organisation, sometimes differ in their treatment of very old nuclear stations or in the completion of nuclear plants still under construction. Either the aim is to prevent the completion of new plants (as in Austria, where a referendum forced the dismantlement of the nearly-completed Zwentendorf station), or to accept their completion (as in Sweden, where the proportion of electricity generated from nuclear power grew from 13 percent in 1980 to 50 percent in 1986).

Some plans are very specific in their aims. For instance, in Britain the Coalfields Communities Campaign (created after the 1984-85 miners' strike) published a phaseout plan showing that a long-term replacement of nuclear stations by coal-fired stations would not significantly increase the cost of electricity generation and would create a considerable number of mining jobs in the meantime.

Other plans are very general, merely presenting a range of possible scenarios for disengagement from nuclear power and assessing their relative advantages. Such a study was presented by the economic commission of the French Greens, for example (though in this case it has to be admitted that in order to stand a chance of getting on the agenda, it would have to overcome major political obstacles, to say the least).

Closing-down problems

Whatever their diversity, all phaseout plans face a number of basic problems that even the 'greenest of the green' would have to come to terms with and solve:



Building on disaster: The sarcophagus for the Chernobyl-4 nuclear reactor nearing completion

'Despite the efforts of anti-nuclear groups to express and translate into action the real worries of large sections of society, the consequences of Chernobyl have clearly not put the future of nuclear power in jeopardy.'

The security of electricity supply during the transition period. A gap in supply would deeply disrupt economic and social life. Throughout the western world people are now used to a continuous supply of electricity and cannot be expected to make rapid changes in their lifestyle (by consciously adopting stringent energy-saving policies).

So, could the closure of nuclear plants be phased to coincide with the commissioning of enough alternative generating sources and the introduction of effective policies on the efficient use of energy? Would it force a country to rely on fuel imports for electricity generation, or on a single domestic source of fuel? Would it force a country to import enormous quantities of power from a neighbouring system, or to cope for years with blackouts during winter evenings, when demand is particularly heavy? Phaseout plans must not

only answer these questions but also provide a margin of safety on top.

Energy alternatives and the economics of nuclear phaseout. Even if one assumes that nuclear power costs are higher than those of many alternative methods of generating energy (including renewables such as tidal and wave power), it is nevertheless likely that heavy economic costs would result from a rapid move towards a programme of investment in alternative energy sources that coincided with the early large-scale closure of nuclear facilities.

In some countries there would be a considerable increase in fossil fuel imports. Eventually, but only in the very long term, such costs would be compensated by the savings expected from nuclear power closure. But initially, there would be an increase in the price of electricity and this would bring loud protests from everyone, including trade unions, consumers' associations and industrialists. Other indirect but important costs for a country in the immediate term would therefore be an increased balance-of-payments deficit and the loss of competitiveness on the international market.

The employment question. In some countries, especially those capable of manufacturing nuclear plants and servicing a full nuclear fuel cycle, an accelerated closedown of nuclear plants would reduce jobs in significant numbers.

In Britain, for instance, the pro-nuclear trade union lobby (in particular, the highly influential National Campaign for the Nuclear Industry) has centred its attack on phaseout plans on the grounds that 166,800 jobs would be both directly and indirectly put at risk. However, it has to be said that this lobby, by using a narrow corporatist approach, did not take into account the positive effects on job creation of alternative policies (for example in the mining industry, in clean 'high

NEI

tech' coal-fired technology and manufacturing, in the operation of non-nuclear generating plants, through investment in renewable electricity sources and demand-management technologies, and so on).

Moreover, it did not examine the potential industrial reconversion of many nuclear-related industries and ignored the fact that the emergence of a large decommissioning and waste-management industry would require, probably for decades, a substantial increase in employment.

For all the tendentiousness of the pro-nuclear lobby's approach, however, the advocates of nuclear phaseout need to propose realistic industrial reconversion programmes that can be feasibly implemented. Optimum use should be made of the considerable expertise that has been gained by workers who have had experience in dealing with nuclear questions. Retraining schemes should be set up for those workers being transferred to use other generating technology, and clear alternative employment prospects should also be mapped out for them. In some cases regional or local reconversion plans would have to be framed.

'The lack of realism of nuclear-energy programmes has meant that the influence of phaseout proposals, imperfect and unlikely though they are, could grow unexpectedly.'

Technical problems. The implementation of certain phaseout programmes would encounter substantial technical difficulties. For instance, an accelerated phaseout programme might outstrip available facilities for waste handling, lead to the transport by road of considerable quantities of radioactive material over a short period of time, and thus create an even greater potential risk for both workers and currently exists with the continued operation of nuclear plants for the years to come.

Phaseout plans would also have to consider the question of long-term waste management, which would become crucial even earlier than in a 'business as usual' nuclear future.

The military link. In the few countries that own nuclear weapons, any nuclear phaseout plan will have to consider the strong links that still exist between civil and military fuel cycles and civil and military nuclear research and development.

Furthermore, in a country such as France, the nuclear deterrent is supported by a very large coalition of political parties and by a majority of the population, neither of which would easily accept a potential weakening of military capability through a civil phaseout programme.

Public opinion and public pressure. A phaseout programme would stand no chance of being accepted and implemented without clear demonstrations to the public that alternatives are workable. Public opinion has often followed a similar pattern after a nuclear accident or a major incident: after a relatively short period of strong feeling against nuclear power, polls show that opposition gradually falls and is soon overtaken by those who are in favour or indifferent to nuclear power.

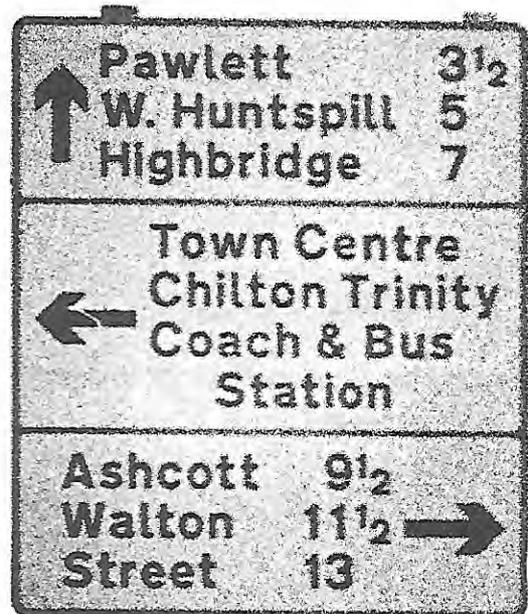
It is highly likely that this is not only due to effective public relations work by the nuclear industry but also to the lack of

credibility in the public mind of phaseout plans themselves. The vote in Sweden in 1980 for the long-term elimination of nuclear power, for example, was to a large extent due to the fact that nearly everyone, including the government, put a lot of effort into drawing up and financing an alternative energy policy which looked realistic to a majority of voters and did not look as if it would disturb their lifestyle too much.

Widely different circumstances

Phaseout plans would, for the reasons outlined above, face many problems in any context. But these problems do not affect every country with nuclear power stations in the same way. In some countries, it is potentially easy to get rid of nuclear power, easier than in Sweden, for example. In this respect, a comparison between the situations in France and Italy is quite revealing.

Could a reversal of the nuclear path chosen by French authorities be envisaged in the short term? Given that seemingly insurmountable difficulties appear with each of the



points outlined above, the mind boggles when confronted with the prospect of planning such a programme.

With 70 percent of French electricity generated by nuclear plants in 1986 (50 units are already in operation and another 14 are under construction), France had managed in just over twenty years to convert from an oil-fired and hydroelectricity system to a nuclear-based system, thus leading to a huge improvement in the balance of payments at the cost of a considerable increase in the dollar debt.

In terms of advantages, the French nuclear industry points to the export of considerable quantities of electricity all over Europe, the containment in France of the acid rain problem, the ability to ensure the supply of cheap electricity to every household, shop and factory. However, other analysts assert with some authority that these advantages are by and large not as significant as the industry would like to claim.

France has also built one of the most comprehensive systems of nuclear fuel fabrication, waste handling and fuel reprocessing cycles. This is a large industrial sector that is endowed with considerable technical expertise and employs a diversified workforce of probably around 150,000 (excluding the multiplier effect of indirectly related jobs). The strength of this sector therefore has a significant bearing on the overall economic performance of French industry.

France is also a second-rank nuclear weapon power. The military-industrial establishment has close links with the civil nuclear industry, in part also as a result of the continuous interaction between the two areas in terms of contracts, specialist workers and management. This state of affairs is accepted by the political establishment, including the left,

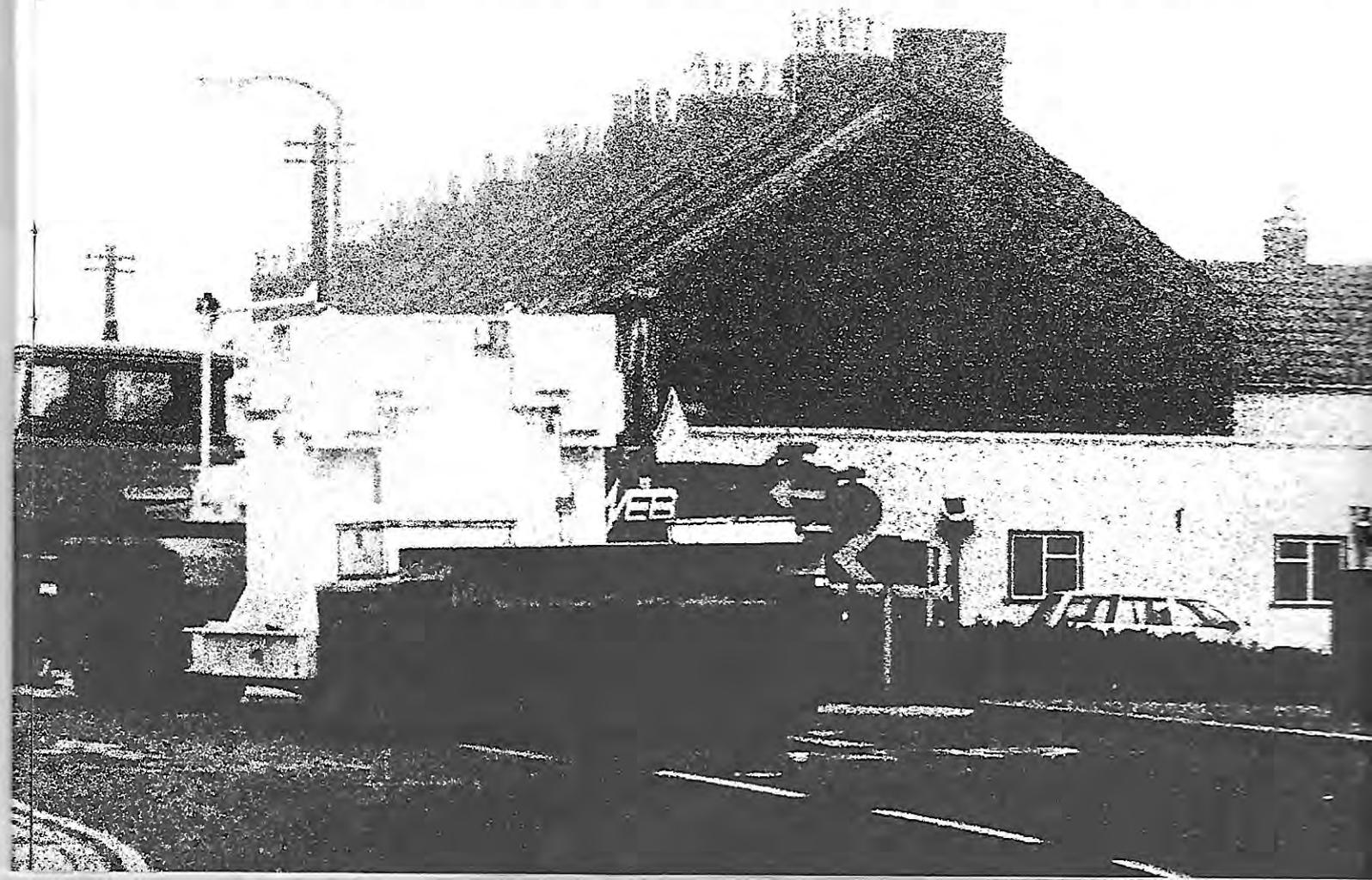
and a majority of the population. As noted above, and despite the worries that stemmed from the Chernobyl incident, the population accepts nuclear power and nuclear weapons, partly because alternative courses are perceived as lacking realism.

The case of Italy could not be more different. With only three operational plants, nuclear power provides as little as 4.5 percent of domestically generated electricity. Italy has no nuclear weapons. There is no full nuclear fuel cycle, and the main contractor for the construction of nuclear plants, Ansaldo, cannot be compared with the likes of Westinghouse, Kraftwerke-Union or Framatome. Furthermore, large sections of the population have always expressed a strong aversion to nuclear power, and there has been outright local and regional resistance to the siting of plants.

Phaseout plans in Italy could therefore receive a very positive response, including within the political establishment, providing that alternatives are well planned, costed and implemented. The results of the referendum on 8 November on the future of nuclear energy provided a clear indication of the extent of popular support for a phaseout.

Even so, in the longer term, the pro-nuclear lobbies would still nevertheless hold a number of trump cards. For instance, as Italy has little domestic energy resources, the abandonment of the nuclear path would force up the fuel import bill. It would also increase the dependence of Italy on the predominantly nuclear electricity system in France. Italy is already importing about 7 percent of its domestic electricity consumption from France, one and a half times more than domestic nuclear electricity production!

Dangerous journey: A nuclear waste flask being transported through Bridgewater, England





Discharging responsibilities: Offshore outlet for cooling water from the Sizewell reactor, England

An issue that will not go away

Despite the scorn of purportedly 'serious' and 'responsible' people, nuclear phaseout plans are here to stay and will reemerge at regular intervals.

At present, the prospects for such plans are limited in practical terms to certain European countries, such as the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, which are not overwhelmingly dependent on nuclear power and whose political systems provide greater opportunities for exploring alternative technology in energy policy making. In other countries, such as Japan, South Korea or France, there is indeed very little prospect for such plans to be considered seriously, partly because the reliance on nuclear power is already very high and partly because the political framework would not allow for a revision of technology choices endorsed by all-powerful technocratic elites.

In the third category of countries, such as Federal Germany and the United Kingdom, the context is very fluid. For instance, in the United Kingdom the Thatcher government's plans to privatise the electricity supply industry could provoke a reexamination of nuclear power investment choices. This could bring about what the French Greens have somewhat cheekily called the 'American' phaseout strategy, that is, private investors find deregulated nuclear power such an unprofitable investment that they prefer to abandon plans for new stations.

Advocates of nuclear phaseout plans can find some comfort in the Swedish experience. At present Sweden generates 50 percent of its electricity from nuclear stations; little coal and oil are available, and hydroelectric schemes now meet local resistance for environmental reasons. The nuclear industry also still tries to reverse the course of events – the main nuclear contractor, ASEA, for example, is still

promoting its new PIUS pressurised water reactor modular design, which it claims is an 'inherently safe' reactor.

Despite all this, the Social Democratic government has recently set down the 1995-2010 period as the timetable for the decommissioning of all nuclear reactors, and has drawn up a financial and operational plan for the development of alternative technologies. Considerable effort has also already been put into energy efficiency programmes, and improving the safety of existing reactors.

In other words, if a phaseout programme is viable in Sweden, it should also be possible in a whole range of other countries where implementation would not be as arduous.

Phaseout plans also play an important role in keeping the arrogance of nuclear establishments in check. Technology, policy, and investment programmes should not be and should never have been the exclusive reserve of a politico-technical elite, as is the case in France. Recent events in France – the potentially dangerous leaks in the Superphoenix fast-breeder reactor, a slowdown in orders for new nuclear stations by the electricity utility, the criticisms of high electricity prices, the growing realisation that the new fast-breeder technology is too expensive – have once again shown how dangerous such subservience can be in political terms.

All these points can be set against the nuclear establishments' past claims that the problems associated with nuclear power had been ironed out and that a rosy future of safe and cheap energy was on the horizon. Following their publication, each set of plans for the development of nuclear power has been successively hailed as the new bible.

In retrospect, the lack of realism of these programmes has meant that phaseout proposals, imperfect and unlikely though they are, have not only provided an effective means of pressing for greater democracy in the decision-making process but that their influence could also grow unexpectedly.

One of the alternatives: Renewable energy

The sun is a massive nuclear furnace radiating energy into space. Of the sun's output of around 4×10^{26} watts, a thousandth of a millionth is intercepted by the earth. About a third of this energy is reflected back into space. The rest (some 275,000,000,000,000,000 watts) is absorbed by atmosphere, land and oceans, or in evaporation, convection and precipitation of water.

The sun's energy maintains the temperature of the earth, enabling plants and animals to thrive. Without this continual input of energy, surface temperatures would plummet and the planet become a barren and inhospitable wasteland.

The incoming solar energy absorbed by the earth in one year is equivalent to 15 to 20 times the energy stored in all of the world's reserves of recoverable fossil fuels. If just 0.005 percent of this solar energy could be captured with fuel crops, specially designed buildings, wind and water turbines, solar collectors, wave energy converters and the like, it would supply more useful energy in a year than that obtained from burning coal, oil and gas. Unlike fossil fuels, renewable energy cannot be exhausted.

Among the renewable energy sources are:

Wind and waves: The energy in wind and waves is also solar energy. Heating the earth's surface causes high and low air pressures and makes air move. The wind whips up the seas into waves. The energy that rustles leaves on trees (and occasionally blows them over) is solar energy. So

too is the energy of ocean waves crashing on the shore and sending sea spray flying.

Tides The rise and fall of the tides follows a regular pattern. The tidal range is relatively small in the middle of the ocean, but a continental shelf or the funnelling effect of bays, estuaries and straits that impede the tidal flow amplifies its effects. Where the range is big enough, energy can be extracted using turbines mounted in a barrage.

Biomass: Material from living things, 'biomass', stores solar energy. The sun's energy is used by trees and other green plants to manufacture simple sugars (from carbon dioxide in the air and water in the soil) and convert these into more complex organic molecules like cellulose and lignin. When fuelwood is burnt for heat and light, the sun's energy is released. Likewise, food 'burnt' in our bodies is converted into heat and mechanical work. Human beings too are powered by solar energy.

Running water: The sun evaporates water from oceans, lakes and rivers and carries the vapour up and over the land. Cooling leads to condensation – rain and snow to feed mountain streams and replenish the earth. The sun in effect 'lifts' the water from the sea and deposits it on higher ground. The energy it acquires is exploited by hydroelectric installations. As the water falls back to sea it can turn a turbine and generate electricity.

Geothermal heat Coming from the earth's core, geothermal heat is enhanced in places by heat from the decay of naturally occurring radioac-

tive elements (like uranium and thorium) which are present in the rock. It can be extracted either by drilling into natural aquifers and pumping out the geothermally heated water, or by forcing water under pressure through rock that has been deliberately fractured at depth.

Exploring and exploiting renewable energy sources are now on the political agenda in many countries, for a number of reasons, such as: they are indigenous and offer a secure source of energy supply; they can eventually supply a major part of the energy used in most countries; their diversity and range of sizes offer greater flexibility in planning and reduce dependence on coal and oil; their use can reduce chemical, radioactive and thermal pollution; and they offer the prospect of major new export markets.

But as with all sources of energy, there are problems in harnessing renewables. The resources are often intermittent and variable, or involve less concentrated forms of energy. There may also be conflicts of interest arising from environmental factors.

Some of the current generation of renewable-energy technologies are relatively expensive because of the small scale of production. They are also hindered by a lack of established markets, a lack of institutional and political support and ignorance of their nature and potential.

We would like to thank **Stewart Boyle** and **Sara Crowe** of *Friends of the Earth* for compiling this survey.



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The Socialist International, founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 82 political parties and organisations with the support of more than 120 million voters.

The SI 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 socialist, social democratic and labour parties and organisations.

The president of the Socialist International since 1976 is Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, winner of the 1971 Nobel Peace Prize and the 1984 Third World Prize, chair of the Brandt Commission, and former chair of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

The Congress, which meets every three years, and the Council (including all member parties and organisations), which meets twice a year, are the supreme decision-making bodies of the Socialist International. Meetings of the presidium and party leaders are also held regularly, as well as special conferences on particular topics or issues.

Committees, councils and study groups have been established for work on Africa, Chile, disarmament, economic policy, the environment, human rights, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, a new declaration of principles, Southern Africa, and finance and administration.

The SI is a recognised non-governmental organisation of the United Nations, and works with a range of organisations and free trade unions internationally.

Members

Fraternal organisations

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IFM-SEI
International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY
Socialist International Women

Full member parties

Australian Labor Party, ALP
Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Barbados Labour Party, BLP
Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada
Radical Party of Chile, PR
National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica
Social Democratic Party, Denmark
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD,
Dominican Republic
Democratic Left, ID, Ecuador
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador
Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
Socialist Party, PS, France
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD,
Federal Republic of Germany
The Labour Party, Great Britain
Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
Social Democratic Party, Iceland
The Labour Party, Ireland
Israel Labour Party
United Workers' Party, MAPAM, Israel
Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
Italian Socialist Party, PSI
People's National Party, PNP, Jamaica
Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL
Democratic Action Party, DAP, Malaysia
Malta Labour Party
Mauritius Labour Party
Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
New Zealand Labour Party
Northern Ireland Labour Party, NILP
Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP,
Northern Ireland
Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay
Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU, San Marino

Socialist Party of Senegal
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, United States
Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela

Consultative parties

People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Aruba
Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia
Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
New Antilles Movement, MAN, Curaçao/NA
EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
Forward, Siunmut, Greenland
Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana
Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
Puerto Rico Independence Party, PIP
Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia, PLP
Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey
Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey
People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

Consultative parties in exile

(Members of SUCEE)
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
Estonian Socialist Party
Social Democratic Party of Hungary
Social Democratic Party of Latvia
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
Polish Socialist Party
Social Democratic Party, Romania
Yugoslav Socialist Party

Associated Organisations

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



Council debates Africa, Central America

'Africa in crisis – the socialist response' was the main theme on the agenda of the SI Council meeting held in Dakar, Senegal, on 15-16 October.

Hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal and chaired by SI President Willy Brandt, the Council meeting was attended by representatives of thirty-two SI member parties and organisations, and observers and guests from twenty-two other organisations and parties, including the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia.

The Council meeting was opened by Abdou Diouf, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal and president of the republic. The other speakers in the opening session were SI President Willy Brandt; Djibo Ka and Peter Jankowitsch, co-chairs of the Study Group on Africa (SISGA), who reported on the SI Conference on Democracy and Develop-



Les présidents Abdou Diouf et Willy Brandt accueillis par les militants du PS du Sénégal à leur arrivée sur les lieux du conseil.

LA SOLIDARITE SERA LE GENRE HUMAIN

ment in Africa held also in Dakar on 12-13 October (see page 27); Joop den Uyl, co-chair of the Southern Africa

Committee (SISAC), who reported on developments in the region; Gro Harlem Brundtland, leader of the Norwegian

Labour Party (DNA) and prime minister, who spoke on environment and development in Africa; and Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO of Namibia, who spoke on the plight of his country under the illegal occupation of the South African apartheid regime.

Commitment to Africa

In his opening address, Brandt observed that the two meetings in Dakar that week (the conference and the council) were the largest meetings ever held by the International in Africa, and provided an indication of its commitment to the African continent.

Africa, he said, suffered many severe and often related crises. Among them he mentioned the debt burden, acute and recurrent famine, worsening ecological problems, and the lack of provision of basic needs such as food, clean water, shelter and jobs for large sections of the population.

He appealed to those northern governments which had promised to help Africa in the

SI congratulates the superpower leaders on INF agreement

SI President Willy Brandt and the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), Kalevi Sorsa, on 11 December issued the following statement on the occasion of the summit meeting between the US and Soviet leaders in Washington on 7-10 December and the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

'It is with great pleasure that, on behalf of the Socialist International, we congratulate President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on reaching the agree-

ment to eliminate all land-based intermediate-range nuclear weapons.

'This agreement, which for the first time in history reduces existing nuclear arsenals, strengthens the security of all nations, those in Europe in particular.

'The INF agreement should also pave the way for new results in other fields. As the two leaders also indicated in the summit meeting, it is vital that the agreement will be followed by deep cuts in strategic nuclear forces on the basis of the joint

understanding in Reykjavik. It is also important to agree upon a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear weapons tests as well as to start a process of real conventional disarmament.

'The Socialist International will give its full support to realise these goals. We believe that the historic agreement which was signed in Washington on 8 December will significantly contribute to promoting disarmament and to building a more peaceful and secure world.'

SI NEWS

DAKAR COUNCIL MEETING

1986 UN Special Session on Africa to put their words into action. 'Without a reduction of debts on the one hand, and a limitation of debt service on the other, there is no way out of this situation', he said. 'What we demand is a constructive development aid policy - a policy that pursues the struggle against hunger and misery by concrete measures, a policy that is oriented towards the satisfaction of basic human needs, a policy that is adapted to the local conditions in the various countries.'

Brandt also reaffirmed the SI's solidarity 'with those who want to see to it that the legacy of colonialism and racism in Africa is completely overcome'.

He went on to highlight in particular two initiatives in recent years to strengthen cooperation between the SI and political forces in Africa: the formation of the Study Group on Africa (SISGA) in 1985, which had organised the Conference on Democracy and Development; and the work of the Southern Africa Committee (SISAC), which had held regular contacts with senior representatives of both governments from the region and the liberation movements on numerous

occasions since the landmark Arusha conference in September 1984 (see *SI NEWS* 3/84, page 5).

At the end of the debate, the Council adopted a resolution on Africa (for full text, see page 34) in which it stressed the variety and diversity of political and economic situations in the continent, called on socialists to support current democratic experiments and further the search for alternative ways for democracy in Africa, and invited socialists in the industrialised countries to work for changes in the criteria by which loans are granted to African countries.

The resolution also highlights the essential role played by African women in the development of their countries, and urged that 'women's objectives be taken into consideration in plans for economic development, as well as in the conception of aid programmes'.

Resolutions

Apart from the crisis in Africa, the perspectives for peace in Central America since the signing of the Esquipulas accord in August figured most prominently in the deliberations in Dakar.

In the resolution on **Central America** (for full text, see page 34), the Council expressed 'full support' for the peace plan and also congratulated President Óscar Arias of Costa Rica - whose National Liberation Party (PLN) is a member party of the SI - on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to secure a negotiated settlement to the conflicts in the region.

The resolution welcomed, among other developments, the Nicaraguan government's measures and decisions adopted in compliance with the Esquipulas agreement and the resumption of the dialogue between the left-wing opposition and the government in El Salvador. It also appealed 'once again ... strongly' to the Reagan administration to desist from giving military aid to the contra forces.

In a major statement on **disarmament and development** (for full text, see page 34), the Council endorsed the conclusions of the UN Conference on Disarmament and Development held in August-September in New York. The final document of this conference had rightly pointed out that, although disarmament and development should each be pur-

sued regardless of the pace in the other field, 'each of them can have an impact at the national, regional and global level in such a way as to create an environment conducive to the promotion of the other'.

'Disarmament and development are processes which require political consciousness and political will. Now is the time to seize the opportunity and make a breakthrough', the statement urged.

The statement also said that the general disarmament process should be extended to all geographical regions, including Africa, and aim at making that continent an area free of nuclear weapons.

Another focus of the statement was the progress of the superpowers' disarmament negotiations (see also page 25). The Council welcomed the forthcoming double-zero agreement on eliminating land-based intermediate nuclear weapons as being 'of historical, political and symbolic importance', which was in line with what the SI had been demanding for a long time. Such an agreement should be followed by a series of further steps towards reducing armaments and increasing security.

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VAR GOD TEXTA!

The resolution on Southern Africa adopted by the Council (for full text, see page 34) reaffirmed the SI's implacable opposition to apartheid and the Pretoria regime. It also called for increased humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements and increased economic assistance to the Front Line States.

The Council also adopted resolutions on Chile and Paraguay, Haiti, Panama and Fiji (for full texts, see pages 34-35).

Committee reports

Among the committee reports, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC), reported on his talks with Yasser Arafat, the chair of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), in Tunis on 9 October. He had discussed in detail the PLO chair's views on the proposed international peace conference to resolve the Middle East conflict. (For a detailed report of the meeting, see page 32.)

Other committees which reported on their work were the Committee on the Environment, the Human Rights Committee, the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP) and the Study Group on the Mediterranean.

Reports on developments in Latin America and the Caribbean – in particular, in addition to Central America, Chile, Panama, Haiti and Paraguay – were presented by the SI vice-presidents from the region, José Francisco Peña Gómez of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD); Carlos Andrés Pérez of Democratic Action (AD) of Venezuela; Guillermo Ungo of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador; and Enrique Silva Cimma of the Radical Party of Chile (PR).

Regarding organisational matters, the Council discussed future activities of the SI and adopted the budget for 1988.

● The Council accepted an invitation from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) to hold the next Council meeting in Madrid on 11-12 May 1988.



Discussions: Peter Jankowitsch, Abdou Diouf, Sam Nujoma

SI pursues dialogue with Africa

The Socialist International took a major step forward in its efforts to develop contacts with the peoples and parties of Africa at the Conference on Democracy and Development in Africa, held in Dakar, Senegal, on 12-13 October. The two-day meeting was organised by the SI Study Group on Africa (SISGA) and hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal.

The conference offered possibilities for the SI and its member parties to develop a dialogue with progressive political forces in Africa, many of which are seeking to develop contacts with the International.

The organising of such a conference had been one of the main tasks which SISGA set itself when it was set up by the Vienna Bureau in October 1985 (see *SI NEWS* 3/85, page 35; 2/86, page 20).

The discussions centred around the three related main themes of development and North-South cooperation, democracy and human rights, and the environment. Specific areas of debate included the link between economic development and the consolidation of democracy and human rights, agricultural problems, the external debt burden, desertification and regional economic and political integration.

The meeting was chaired jointly by the two co-chairs of SISGA, Peter Jankowitsch of the Socialist Party of Austria

(SPÖ) and Djibo Ka of the Socialist Party of Senegal.

Representatives from forty-two different organisations and parties participated in the conference (see boxes). These included, in addition to delegations from SI member parties, nineteen delegations from African parties, organisations and liberation movements.

A prominent place among the participants was taken by the president of SWAPO of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, and the representative of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, Ahmed Qono.

Link

The opening address was given by the president of Senegal and general secretary of the Socialist Party, Abdou Diouf.

President Diouf said it was high time for all democrats worthy of the name to begin a frank discussion and undertake a thorough analysis of democracy and development in Africa.

'To begin with', he stressed, 'we must be aware that democracy is not an automatic result of development. Indeed, some countries which are among the most developed in material terms are, nevertheless, subject to autocracy and dictatorship.'

'This then raises a crucially important question of approach concerning the notion of democracy. To many people, democracy seems to be a legitimate product of development. But

the relationship should rather be reversed: a country is not democratic because it is developed, it is developed because it is democratic.'

He also linked democracy and development with the environment. 'If we accept that democracy and real development go hand in hand, it is clear that the serious deterioration of the environment in Africa, which affects development, therefore also hinders the progress of democracy.'

Diouf commented at length on the question of multi-party and one-party systems.

'Is the multi-party system transferable as such to Africa? Some of those who are against such a political system assert that social classes, that is to say, the basis of political parties, are not sufficiently differentiated in Africa; others argue that the system is inappropriate to African social environments because of the low rate of literacy of the population, poverty, and the persistence of pre-colonial traditions; and others again argue that African experiments with the multi-party system have been inconclusive.'

The people of Senegal had made a particular choice, he said. 'The multi-party system is a solution with problems of its own. But in Senegal we consider that a solution that poses other problems is preferable to one that constitutes a problem in itself.'



Listening: José Francisco Peña Gómez (Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic) and Luis Ayala (SI assistant general secretary)

'However', he underlined – anticipating comments made by many other speakers – 'we recognise that this is a question of sovereign choice according to the particular equation of each country, given that the one-party system could serve as a more or less long-term transition towards a multi-party system.'

He went on to say that the only way of eluding the dangers of 'the kind of representation whereby the popular mandate is confiscated by a particular vested interest lies in the effective decentralisation of the authority to local communities'.

'We also acknowledge that the ideal of every democracy is the self-management of groups

and communities. And while preserving the prerogatives of the state, we have decided [in Senegal] to involve the masses and give a free hand to all initiatives within the rule of law'.

'The true touchstone of democracy', he said, 'is the speed with which people's needs are satisfied, and the way in which their human rights are respected'.

Diouf urged democratic socialists and all participants at the conference to support all democratic experiments; act as custodians of human rights throughout Africa; support development-oriented non-governmental organisations; and assist the African institutions and organisations which are committed to seeking alternative ways to democracy in Africa.

He concluded by saying that 'in terms of democracy, we Africans are not children who have to learn everything right from the start – we do not come empty-handed, we do have something to offer.'

Keynote speeches

The speech by President Diouf, widely acclaimed as an impressive statement on the problems facing Africa, served in fact as the basis for the more specific discussions throughout the conference.

The conference also heard the following keynote speeches: – on development and North-South cooperation, by Gwyneth Dunwoody of the British Labour Party;

– on democracy and human rights, by Abderrahman Yousoufi of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) of Morocco and Joop den Uyl, the former leader of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) and an SI vice-president;

– on the environment, by Cheikh Abdel Khadre Cissokho of the Socialist Party of Senegal, his country's environment minister, and Birgitta Dahl of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP), also her country's environment minister and the chair of the SI Committee on the Environment.

Sam Nujoma of SWAPO also gave a lengthy introduction on the present situation in Namibia, in which he detailed the systematic violation of basic human rights perpetrated by the South African apartheid regime in its illegal occupation of his country.

Conclusions

In their report on the conference to the SI Council, which met on 15-16 October, also in Dakar, Jankowitsch and Ka summarised the discussions under each of the main themes as follows.

The meeting of the SI Conference on Democracy and Development in Africa was attended by representatives of the following SI member parties and organisations:

- Australian Labor Party, ALP
- Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
- Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
- Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
- New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada
- Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic
- Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
- Socialist Party, PS, France
- Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Germany
- The Labour Party, Great Britain
- Israel Labour Party
- United Workers' Party, MAPAM, Israel
- Italian Socialist Party, PSI
- Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
- Mauritius Labour Party
- Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
- Socialist Party of Senegal
- Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
- Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
- Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
- Socialist International Women, SIW
- International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY

The following parties and organisations attended the conference as guests:

- National Liberation Front, FLN, Algeria
- African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV
- Congolese Party of Labour, PCT
- National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt
- People's Progressive Party, PPP, Gambia
- People's National Party, PNP, Ghana
- African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, PAIGC, Guinea Bissau
- Mauritian Militant Movement, MMM
- Mauritian Socialist Movement, MSM
- Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco
- Renewed Senegalese Democratic Party, PDSR
- People's Liberation Party, PLP, Senegal
- Movement of Popular Unity, MUP, Tunisia
- National Resistance Movement, NRM, Uganda
- United National Independence Party, UNIP, Zambia
- Zimbabwe African National Union / Patriotic Front, ZANU-PF
- African National Congress, ANC
- SWAPO of Namibia
- Association of African Jurists
- National Democratic Institute, United States

Participants at the conference stressed that we live in a world of interdependent countries, and in this context, the idea of **development and North-South cooperation** must be fully realised in order to achieve world balance and the survival of humanity.

Yet it is clear that North-South relations are characterised by an absence of equity, which is incompatible with the socialist vision of equality and solidarity. Relations between North and South must be restructured. In this respect, the conference agreed, the northern countries have a special role to play and special responsibilities, in view of their historic links with many African, Asian and Latin American countries.

Northern countries have established economic communities which help them to consolidate their individual economic bases and ensure growth and development. They must now assist the countries of the South to do the same. They must also monitor the commercial agreements they have already established with the countries of the South.

North and South must cooperate with each other, must draw closer together and become interdependent, in order to safeguard world peace, the conference concluded.

It was agreed that **democracy and human rights** are inseparable, and in this respect the participants observed that the present situation in Africa is troubling. The apartheid regime in South Africa constitutes the most flagrant violation of human rights. While in other African countries there is a clear will for democratisation and the promo-

tion of human rights, there is also dictatorship in some.

There are, however, hopeful signs. One of these is the adoption by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) of the African Human Rights Charter on 21 October 1986. The OAU thus established an appropriate regional system for the promotion and protection of human rights, the conference observed.

The conference endorsed various recommendations made recently by African jurists at a number of gatherings, and approved the proposals of the Association of African Jurists (AJA) for the urgent implementation of economic sanctions against South Africa and the establishment of an international tribunal at Gorée, Senegal, to put apartheid on trial.

The two principal causes of the destruction of the **environment** in the Sahel are the irrational exploitation of the environment and the rapid advance of the desert. The conference agreed that awareness of the environment must become an element in education at all levels.

Cooperation, development and democracy cannot be separated from environmental issues. Indeed, the principal goal of development is to satisfy human needs while protecting the environment in which people live.

It was with this perspective in mind, the report concluded, that 'the SI and Africa had come together in Dakar, to hold a dialogue which would allow each to know the other better and to work together towards a cooperation founded on democracy, mutual respect, equality and tolerance'.

Chile Committee meets in Washington



On 18-19 November the Chile Committee met in Washington to review present developments in Chile and discuss means of furthering the cause of democracy in that country, which has been under military rule for the last fourteen years.

The meeting, chaired by committee chair Reulf Steen, received reports from a broad Chilean delegation, specially invited for the occasion. The Chilean delegates included Enrique Silva Cimma, leader of the Radical Party of Chile (PR), the SI member party in Chile; Ricardo Nuñez of the Socialist Party; and Andrés Zaldivar of the Christian Democratic Party.

Participants in the meeting included representatives of SI member parties from Latin America and Europe, of the two SI member parties in the United States, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and Social Democrats USA (SDUSA), who collaborated in the preparation of the meeting, as well as guests and observers from the National Democratic Institute, the AFL-CIO trade union federation, the US state department and others.

The members of the committee also held a meeting with Senator Edward Kennedy, in which the present situation in Chile and the role of the United States in the restoration of democracy in Chile were examined.

In conjunction with the SI

meeting, the Chilean delegation held talks with the US assistant secretary of state responsible for inter-American affairs, Elliott Abrams, and other officials.

Opposition campaign

The work of the committee concentrated primarily on the present campaign by the democratic opposition for free elections and the international mobilisation in support of this campaign. (The regime intends to stage a national referendum some time in 1988 to confirm its hold on power.)

In a declaration issued at the end of the meeting, the committee took note particularly of the increasing level of unity of the democratic opposition behind the demand for free elections, and the massive mobilisation for a peaceful transition to democracy in Chile. It expressed its support and solidarity with the democratic forces and called on governments and political forces to intensify their actions in support of the objective of free elections.

The committee also denounced the continuing violations of human rights and the absence of fundamental freedoms in Chile under an increasing repression, with continuous states of emergency, the imprisonment of political and social leaders, the use of torture and the reemergence of disappearances of dissidents.

Conference setting: Jean-Bernard Curial (coordinator, Study Group on Africa, SISGA) and Djibo Ka





I.S.

REUNION DEL COMITE DE LA INTERNACIONAL SOCIALISTA PARA AMERICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE



VENEZUELA

CARACAS, DICIEMBRE 1987



SICLAC meets in Caracas

The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) held its largest-ever meeting in Caracas on 8-9 December.

The meeting, hosted by the ruling Democratic Action Party (AD), was attended by delegates from thirty-three parties and organisations, including most of the SI member parties in the region and a number of representatives of SI member parties in Europe, as well as specially invited guests.

The meeting was opened by Reinaldo Leandro Mora, acting president of AD; José Francisco Peña Gómez, chair of the committee; and Carlos Andrés Pérez, an SI vice-president and AD's presidential candidate in the 1988 elections.

The SI delegates were also received by President Jaime Lusinchi, who underlined the significance of the SICLAC meeting, which would 'convey to the governments of the region an important message on present and fundamental problems of the region'.

Discussions

The main items on the agenda were the issues at the centre of political concern in the region, such as the peace process in Central America, the effects of the global financial and economic crisis, the political basis for development in the Caribbean, and strategies for democratisation.

On the peace process in Central America, the meeting heard reports on current developments from all SI member

parties in that region, as well as from other parties and organisations invited to Caracas.

Daniel Oduber, national director of the National Liberation Party (PLN) of Costa Rica and an SI vice-president, introduced the discussion, which dealt mainly with the progress of the Esquipulas agreements signed by the Central American presidents in August. It included contributions from Carlos Andrés Pérez; Guillermo Ungo, leader of National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador and an SI vice-president; Mario Solórzano Martínez, leader of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala (PSD); and Bayardo Arce of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, who participated as a guest.

Concerning the Caribbean, the main topic dealt with by the meeting was the situation in Haiti following the cancellation of the elections scheduled to take place on 29 November (see also page 33). Of particular concern to the committee were the many innocent civilian victims who lost their lives at the hands of supporters of the former Duvalier regime while attempting to exercise their democratic rights, and also the responsibility of the present interim government in these events.

The discussion on the economic situation was introduced by Michael Manley, leader of the People's National Party (PNP) of Jamaica and an SI vice-president. His contribution and

the subsequent debate focused on the consequences of the present debt burden, which is threatening prospects for development and political stability for the democracies of the region, on the serious problems caused by the protectionist policies of the economies of the North, and on the potential effects of the developments on the world's stockmarkets in October.

The situations in Chile (see also page 29) and Paraguay received special attention in the analysis of democratisation in the continent.

Declaration

At the end of the two-day meeting in Caracas, SICLAC issued a statement reflecting the views of its members on the major points of the agenda. The first section of the Declaration of Caracas reads as follows: 'Latin America and the Caribbean find themselves at the most important crossroads of their history. The region faces the serious challenge of making democracy survive in the midst of a dramatic economic crisis. The deepening of this crisis has eliminated the possibilities of acting in a measured and gradual manner. All the countries of the region currently suffer varying levels of unemployment, hunger, disease and overburdened institutions.'

'The meeting of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) in Caracas is held at a time when our people glimpse for the first time, some signs of hope.

'The Esquipulas II agreements to bring peace to Central America have demonstrated the wish and will of the countries of the region to reach stability and democracy.

'The summit meeting of the eight Latin American heads of state in Acapulco on 28-29 November has also opened the way to a regional joint effort to recover autonomy of decisions and to rescue prosperity and the right of development for our people.

'Nevertheless, the historic advances in this uninterrupted struggle for peace, freedom and democracy have not been understood and much less encouraged by the countries of the North, particularly those constituting the Group of Seven, thus giving force to the denunciation made by President Sanguinetti of Uruguay that "the countries that ask us to be democracies do not allow us to achieve democracy".

'The political consensus that arose forty years ago in the United Nations on the need to achieve a welfare state, has been destroyed by the political leaderships of the countries of the North, who have refused to accept any proposal that would enhance the capacity of all peoples to share the benefits of an interdependent world.

'The attempts by the United States government to solve the Central American conflict by means of a military escalation in the region, the conditioning by the creditor countries of the payment of the external debt, and the aggressive and

asphyxiating protectionism on our economies have constituted the most representative responses of the countries of the North to the crisis in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the exception of the European Community with regard to Central America.

The recent fall of the stock market, the stagnation of global growth, and the countless young lives lost in the bloody wars scourging developing countries are conclusive demonstrations of the irrationality of such policies.

The consequences of the lack of cooperation with the Third World to solve the current crisis are more than evident. Added to the results mentioned above, economic stagnation in our region has led to a reduction of imports, which greatly affects the industrialised economies and could unavoidably lead to a postponement of debt repayments and a declaration of a moratorium.

The debt crisis is fundamentally a political problem and must be dealt with as such. The Socialist International has made repeated calls for a conference of creditor and debtor countries to deal with the severe debt crisis and has made proposals for its urgent restructuring, including an effective cut in interest rates, the extension of payment terms, the establishment of a percentage for debt servicing related to export revenues, and the cancelation of the debts of the poorest countries.

It will be difficult for Latin America and the Caribbean to achieve stability and prosperity if others responsible in the international field do not make an effort to set aside selfish attitudes and face the fact that there is no possibility of solving the global crisis in isolation. The response to the October financial crisis, for instance, could give rise to greater economic hardships. The reduction of the US budget deficit could lead to a new great depression if urgent measures are not taken to restore aggregate world demand.

Another important challenge for the Latin American people is the democratisation of all our

societies. This involves not only eradicating the opprobrious dictatorships of Chile and Paraguay, but also furthering and perfecting the existing systems of participation, so as to guarantee political pluralism and access to power through free elections effectively reflecting the sovereignty of the people.

It is equally important to defend democratic systems in countries such as Peru, where terrorist forces continually violate human rights and the peaceful existence and freedom of its people.

Democracy is the most dynamic system, the richest in diversity, and can be constantly improved. The structures of the democratic state must be adapted today to the new aspirations of the people. A continuous opening of channels for the participation of the different social sectors in Latin America and the Caribbean is an unwavering task for any democrat. Political democracy must be accompanied in our countries by social and economic democracy. The hour has come to bring an end to old patterns and to open the doors of our democratic societies to

Regional issues

In the remaining sections of the declaration, SICLAC specifically:

- stressed that dialogue is an essential condition for the fulfilment of the Esquipulas II agreement and hence for the Central American peace process, and that dialogue needs to be encouraged in accordance with the specific circumstances prevailing in each country of the region;
- considered it fundamental, since the peace process requires the fulfilment of a number of conditions for democratisation and peace, that the dynamics of negotiation and dialogue are maintained despite the difficulties and obstacles;
- welcomed, in view of the fact that dialogue must include all parties involved in the conflict, the decision by the Nicaraguan government to ask the archbishop of Managua to take charge of the dialogue with the irregular forces fighting against

the government, in order to achieve a ceasefire; considered it essential that, at the same time, the United States administration commits itself to ending the flow of economic and military aid to those forces;

- congratulated President Óscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his efforts to secure a negotiated settlement to the conflicts in Central America;
- reaffirmed its support for the people of Chile and Paraguay in their efforts to reestablish democracy;

Haitians endeavouring to establish democracy in their country; held the interim government responsible for the fact that the perpetrators of violence could act with impunity; and demanded that the election process be resumed within the framework and the time limit laid down by the 1987 constitution;

- decided to appoint a special commission to follow developments in Haiti, with a view to increasing international awareness of the situation in that country and to providing support for the efforts of the



Host: Carlos Andrés Pérez

- welcomed the campaign for free elections in Chile and the degree of unity with which the opposition to the Pinochet regime is pursuing this campaign;
- denounced the intention of the Stroessner regime in Paraguay to once more present, through rigged elections, a facade of legitimacy to the oldest dictatorship in Latin America;
- appealed to the authorities in Guyana to heed the voice of the democratic opposition parties for democratic reforms of electoral laws and institutions;
- strongly condemned the acts of violence committed by supporters of the former Duvalier regime against innocent

Haitian people in favour of democracy; and

- accepted the considerations by the eight Latin American heads of state meeting in Acapulco on 28-29 November regarding reintegration of Cuba into the inter-American system.

Appeal

The committee addressed a special appeal to the superpowers, meeting in Washington at the time of the Caracas meeting, urging them to agree on further steps in nuclear and other disarmament and reiterating the SI's appeal to allocate the resources currently invested in armaments to global efforts for development.

Stockmarket crash avoidable

'The recent crash in the world's stockmarkets, most notably in the United States, is the latest manifestation of long-term structural and institutional problems in the global economy, aggravated by failure to address the pressing problems of the US trade and budget deficit.'

'The Group of Seven industrialised countries has failed to adequately coordinate their respective economic policies to stabilise the value of the US dollar and reduce the threat of protectionism.'

'We now have a financial crisis without parallel in over half a century. These developments were neither unforeseen nor unavoidable.'

These were the SI's verdicts, contained in a statement issued on 6 November, on the crash on the world's stockmarkets in mid-October.

Signed by SI President Willy Brandt and Michael Manley, the chair of the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP), the statement points to the *Global Challenge* report published in 1985 and the Stresa Declaration adopted by SICEP in May (see *SI NEWS 2187, page 28*) as the socialist alternative to solving the grave problems confronting the world economy.

Failure

The statement singles out the ineffectiveness of the Group of Seven major western industrialised countries in dealing with the problems.

It urges the group to consider the argument of *Global Challenge* that 'recovery of the world economy on a sustainable basis requires a restructuring of the relations between North and South of the world economy, and a redistribution of global demand to match the unmet needs of those in the South who lack the minimal resources necessary for survival'. It calls on the group to convene a special conference to address the issue of how to facilitate and

organise a 'better-my-neighbour' recovery of mutual spending, trade and welfare.

'We also insist', the statement continues, 'that the Group of Seven address the link between development and disarmament. A global recovery programme could be funded by the equivalent of one tenth of what the world spends each year on arms. Such a programme would increase the export trade and income of the countries of the South. It would also facilitate a restructuring of global debt'.

Wischnewski: 'Arafat backs peace conference'

The chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC), Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, met the chair of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Yasser Arafat, on 9 October in Tunis, to discuss the prospects for an international peace conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Reporting to the Dakar Council meeting on 15-16 October (see page 26), Wischnewski said that Arafat had given his backing to calls for an international conference, and that his position was 'very flexible' on the format.

The International firmly supports the proposed peace conference, as do the SI's two member parties in Israel, the Israel Labour Party and United Workers' Party (MAPAM). The initiative, which has been spearheaded by the Labour leader and foreign minister, Shimon Peres, is stalled at present partly because of the refusal of the right-wing groups within Israel's national-unity government to endorse it.

Concrete questions, answers

Wischnewski told the Council that he had asked Arafat three concrete questions in relation to the proposed peace conference: (a) what is the view of the PLO regarding the organisation of an international peace conference on the Middle East?; (b) how does the PLO see its participation at such a conference?; and (c) what does the PLO think at the moment of UN Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for a negotiated settlement to the conflict?

In short, in reply to question (a) Arafat had underlined the PLO's commitment to the holding of an international conference, with the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council playing an active negotiating role; to question (b) he had declared the PLO's willingness, in a spirit of goodwill, to accept the format of an all-Arab delegation (including PLO members) rather than have a separate PLO delegation; and to question (c) he had stated that for the PLO all UN resolutions had their value, including Resolution 242.



Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski

In conclusion Wischnewski thought that his discussions with Arafat had provided evidence of a strong commitment by the PLO to the conference proposal. However, he noted, it was clear that there still existed considerable differences between the positions of the PLO and Israel on how to resolve the Middle East conflict.

SI observers in Haiti

A number of observers from SI member parties witnessed how the presidential and parliamentary elections planned for 29 November in Haiti, which were to be the first free elections after decades of tyranny and oppression, ended abruptly in violence and terror.

Gangs of supporters of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the former dictator who was deposed in February 1986, as well as the lack of action on the part of the provisional government to protect the civilian population and facilitate the election process, prevented voting from taking place and left many dead and injured. The violence thus frustrated the efforts of the provisional electoral council and of many who had worked for a decisive step forward for democracy in Haiti.

The observers from SI member parties who were in Haiti during the election, or in the days immediately before and after, to convey a message of support for the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people included: Henri Saby (Socialist Group of the European Parliament); Michel Margnes and Louis Joseph Doguet (Socialist Party, PS, France); Erik Jansson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP); Wolfgang Weege (Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Germany); Antonio Blavia (Democratic Action, AD, of Venezuela); and Luis Ayala (SI assistant general secretary).

Support for elections

The SI Council, meeting in Dakar on 15-16 October (see page 25) had unanimously

approved a resolution supporting the work of the provisional electoral council and expressing the hope for a successful democratic election.

In the aftermath of the abortive election, a statement issued by the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), meeting in Caracas on 8-9 December (see page 30), made a special reference to the crisis in Haiti, and demanded that the election process be resumed within the framework and the time limit laid down by the constitution.

Guillermo Ungo in El Salvador

On 23 November Guillermo Ungo, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and an SI vice-president, returned to his country for a six-day visit after an exile of more than seven years.

He traveled with Héctor Oquelí, MNR deputy general secretary responsible for international relations, and Hugo

Back home: Guillermo Ungo, Rubén Zamora



Navarrete, a member of the executive.

Defying threats from extreme-right death squads, the MNR delegation was accompanied by a large international delegation, which included a number of personalities from Latin American and European SI member parties, among them Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD); Reulf Steen of the Norwegian Labour Party (DNA); Luis Ayala, SI assistant general secretary; Jean Lacombe of the French Socialist Party (PS); Erik Jansson of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP); Enrique Tejera París of Democratic Action (AD) of Venezuela; Mario Solórzano of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala (PSD); and Bernardo Bayona of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).

Ungo and Oquelí, both members of the government installed after the overthrow of the Romero dictatorship in 1979, were forced to leave El Salvador the following year as attacks by the death squads on politicians of the left increased.

Among the objectives of the visit Ungo mentioned pressing for a political solution to the seven-year-old civil war, unblocking the dialogue between the opposition and the government, establishing a domestic political presence for the MNR, and exploring the political perspectives for the opposition following the signing of the Esquipulas regional peace accord by the five Central American presidents in August.

Together with a delegation from the Social Christian Popular Movement (MPSC) – headed by Rubén Zamora, the vice-president of the FDR, who had also returned from exile two days earlier – the MNR delegation met representatives of various political and social groups, trade unionists, human rights activists, church officials, diplomats and journalists to discuss the political situation and to explore means of contributing to a real democratic opening in El Salvador.

EL SALVADOR: MNR returns, page 67

SI reaffirms commitment to human rights

The SI took the opportunity of the celebration of Human Rights Day, 10 December, to reaffirm its deep commitment to the universal application and respect of human rights all over the world.

A statement issued that day notes that enjoyment of all too many of the basic rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human-rights instruments remains to this day an elusive goal for the larger part of humanity.

The statement – signed by Willy Brandt, SI president; Peter Jankowitsch, the chair of the Committee on Human Rights; and Anita Gradin, vice-chair of the committee and an SI vice-president – continues:

'The Socialist International, devoted from its early origins to the pursuit and enforcement of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, wishes to reaffirm its deep commitment to the universal application and respect of human rights all over the world.

'We democratic socialists consider that the social and political protection which human rights provide can no longer remain limited to a small number of nations, but must find universal application.

'In particular, we proclaim the right of every nation and every society, of men, women and children, irrespective of their state of economic and social development, to have access to these rights on an equal basis.

'We therefore express the strong determination of the Socialist International and its member parties to remain in the forefront of the universal fight for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Democratic socialists will continue to be the most implacable opponents of dictatorship, political repression, racism, systems of apartheid and any form of denial of human rights.'

Protest at DAP arrests

The Socialist International has protested strongly against the arrest of Lim Kit Siang, the leader of the Democratic Action Party (DAP) of Malaysia, and other leading politicians.

On behalf of the International, the SI assistant general secretary, Luis Ayala, appealed on 28 October to the Malaysian prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, for the 'immediate release of Lim, the DAP members of parliament ... and other distinguished politicians and academics'.

Lim, the DAP's deputy chair, Karpal Singh, one of the two deputy general secretaries, P. Pato, and ten DAP members of the federal parliament and the state legislative assemblies were among the 106 people arrested between 27 October and mid-November on the grounds that they had threatened national security by fomenting racial tension between the Malays and Chinese communities.

The DAP rejected the government's allegations outright. Rather, it said, the arrests had been ordered to 'to discredit ... silence and intimidate political opponents'.

As SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, 95 people, including Lim and Singh, still remained in custody.

DAP arrests in crackdown on opposition, page 71

SI is 'peace messenger'

The United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, has designated the Socialist International a 'peace messenger' in recognition of the organisation's efforts during the International Year of Peace, 1986.

The United Nations has selected as honorary peace messengers some 300 organisations and institutions which it considers to have made significant and concrete contributions to the programme of the Year of Peace.

Further dialogue with CPSU

Kalevi Sorsa, the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) and an SI vice-president, represented the International at the celebrations of the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow on 7 November.

On behalf of the International he offered congratulations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to the Soviet people on 'your great day'.

In his address he acknowledged that dialogue between the two main ideological currents of the international labour movement had not always been easy. But, he said, 'I feel that your process of democratisation, through glasnost and perestroika, go in the same direction' as the discussions on a new declaration of principles within the International. He therefore saw a promising future for dialogue within the international labour movement.

That dialogue had, in fact, already started on an issue of vital importance, he stressed, namely peace and disarmament. In this context he referred to the cooperation between the two sides begun at the SI Conference on Disarmament in 1978 and continued since then in a number of meetings between SIDAC and representatives of the CPSU. The International was more than willing to develop that cooperation further, he said.

Addressing the assembled guests at the celebrations, he said that the Socialist International would be honoured to receive the cooperation of all political forces and popular movements present in a joint effort to strengthen peace and to carry forward the disarmament process. 'We are convinced that a real, balanced, simultaneous and adequately controlled disarmament is finally within reach', he concluded.

Resolutions adopted by the Council of the Socialist International

Dakar, 15-16 October 1987

Resolution on Central America

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its full support for the peace plan for Central America adopted at the meeting in Guatemala (Esquipulas II) by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, which has the support of the Contadora Group and its Support Group.

The Esquipulas II agreements demonstrate the will of the people of Central America to seek, through their own common effort, political and diplomatic solutions to the crisis they have been suffering in recent years.

The Socialist International recognises and highly values the initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group, which have made a major contribution to this peace plan.

The Council expresses its great satisfaction at the leading role played by president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, of the National Liberation Party (PLN), a member of the Socialist International, in the initiation, negotiation and adoption of the above-mentioned agreements, and welcomes the decision by the Nobel Committee to award him the 1987 Peace Prize, which reflects the support of the international community for the efforts for peace of the countries of the region.

The Socialist International welcomes the important measures and decisions adopted by the government of Nicaragua in compliance with the Esquipulas II agreement, namely the withdrawal of the case against Costa Rica at the International Court of Justice, the initiation of a dialogue, the proclamation of an amnesty, the decision to allow the publication of *La Prensa*, the appointment of a national reconciliation commission led by a well known critic of the regime, and the proclamation of a unilateral ceasefire.

The Council declares its approval of the statements made by the speaker of the US House of Representatives against the authorisation of further aid to the irregular armed conflict in Nicar-

agua and once again strongly appeals to the US government to desist from military aid to the contras forces and to contribute to the success of the Esquipulas II agreement.

The Socialist International welcomes the talks between the Guatemalan government and the armed opposition initiated recently in Madrid.

The Council of the Socialist International also welcomes the resumption of a dialogue in El Salvador, within the context of the agreement of Esquipulas II, between the government and the Revolutionary Democratic Front / Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN), in which the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), an SI member party, played an important role. The Socialist International hopes that this dialogue will put an end to the serious conflict affecting that country, ensuring peace and democracy, respect for human rights and the incorporation of the MNR and other popular political organisations in the institutional life of the country, with no restrictions limiting the exercise of civil and political freedoms.

The Socialist International calls on the five Central American presidents to intensify their efforts in fulfilling the agreements signed in Guatemala City.

The Socialist International also calls on the international community as a whole to express its support for the peace process begun at the meeting in Guatemala and to redouble its efforts for cooperation with the countries of Central America.

Resolution on Africa

The Socialist International came to Dakar to meet and listen to the Africans.

The SI recognises the variety and diversity of political and economic situations on the African continent.

The SI is convinced of the essential role played by African women in the development of their

countries, and wishes women's objectives to be taken into consideration in plans for economic development, as well as in the conception of aid programmes.

The Socialist International calls on its members to support current democratic experiments and further the search for unity and for alternative ways for democracy in Africa.

In view of the hunger, malnutrition, desertification and debt which plague Africa, the SI urges European countries to develop their own policies towards Africa and hold direct discussions with the African authorities, independently of the options taken up by the big international financial institutions.

The SI invites socialists in the member countries of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to bring strong pressure to bear on their governments in order to modify the criteria by which loans are granted to developing countries, notably the developing countries of Africa, and to apply new mechanisms for long-term rescheduling, at low rates of interest, of their financial burden, even the annulment of all or part of the debt for the countries most in difficulty.

Lastly, recalling the important role played by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the SI calls on NGOs close to member parties to reinforce their efforts and their cooperation to support, together with the African NGOs, significant development projects.

Resolution on Chile and Paraguay

The Council of the Socialist International once again expresses its concern and wish that the people of Chile and Paraguay by peaceful means soon achieve democracy. This has always been SI policy and practised by its member parties, the Radical Party of Chile (PR) and the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (PRF) of Paraguay.

For the Socialist International the perpetuation of dictatorship in both countries constitutes an intolerable situation and one which threatens peace and freedom in the continent.

The establishment and consolidation of democracy in the Southern Cone of Latin America needs the end to dictatorship in both Chile and Paraguay.

The Socialist International thus encourages the joint efforts of the democratic parties in Chile in their campaign for free elections. We commend the unity of the different democratic parties also in Paraguay. The Socialist International sends a message of encouragement and solidarity to our fraternal parties in the peaceful action in which they are engaged.

The Socialist International, at its forthcoming meetings of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) and the Chile Committee, will examine with utmost priority the struggle for democracy in both countries of the Southern Cone.

Resolution on Southern Africa

The Socialist International has analysed critically the grave political and military situation in Southern Africa, especially in occupied Namibia and apartheid South Africa, where the apartheid regime is engaged in mass killings, torture, rape, arrest and detention without trial of innocent people, including children.

The SI also learned with great concern about military attacks and aggression by the Pretoria regime on the Front Line States – Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia – resulting in the death of innocent civilians, especially women and children, as well as the destruction of the economic structures of these countries.

The SI vehemently condemns the apartheid regime's repression of the innocent people of Namibia and South Africa.

It calls upon the Pretoria regime to cease immediately the forced removals of millions of people to the dumping grounds of the bantustans.

The SI further demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Namibia and South Africa, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others.

The SI demands the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and all other democratic forces which are fighting the inhuman apartheid system in South Africa.

The SI demands that the racist regime in South Africa accept without pre-conditions the ceasefire and the immediate implementation of the 1978 UN Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

The SI calls upon governments, national and international organisations, as well as individuals, to increase their humanitarian assistance to SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa.

The SI calls on the international community to render economic and financial assistance to the Front Line States, whose peoples are victims of military attacks, aggression and destabilisation, which would enable them to resist and strengthen their economy and defence capability in order to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Statement on disarmament and development

The Socialist International welcomes and supports the current determination of the Soviet Union and the United States to eliminate long-range and shorter-range land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) and to continue the disarmament process by new agreements in other fields.

The double-zero INF agreement, although covering only a small portion of the existing nuclear warheads, will be of considerable historical political and symbolic importance. It will be the first genuine disarmament agreement affecting major weapon systems and will create a good basis for further progress.

It is also vital that the INF agreement will soon be followed by deep cuts in strategic nuclear forces, by joint measures to preserve and strengthen the ABM Treaty (in order to avoid any form of armaments race in outer space, such as that represented by the strategic defence initiative, SDI, or other similar systems), by a ban on chemical weapons and by the starting of a process of real conventional disarmament, including tactical nuclear systems, further confidence-building measures and a turn to non-provocative defence doctrines and strategies, based on the notion of security in common. It is also important for the INF arms agreement to pave the way to a comprehensive test ban.

The SI will lend its full support for all efforts to realise these goals. We invite all popular movements and political forces to join in a common action to carry forward the disarmament process. We are convinced that a real balanced, simultaneous and adequately controlled disarmament is finally within reach.

The general disarmament process should be extended to all geographical regions, including Africa, and aim at making this continent an area free of nuclear weapons, according to the will expressed by the member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Disarmament is an important factor in lowering tensions and promoting peaceful cooperation, but disarmament alone is not sufficient to guarantee a world free from conflicts and tensions. We need a global organisation and network comprising all the main groupings and political forces of the world. That is why the United Nations should be strongly supported both politically and financially. The UN was originally conceived as an organisation to preserve international peace and security. It is high time that this principal aim of the UN be restored both at the level of the political will of its members and in its day-to-day activities.

The global arms race has reached incomprehensible levels both in terms of destructive capabilities and of waste of human and material resources. Military expenditures are around the figure of one thousand billion US dollars a year. About 6 percent of annual global production is spent on military purposes. These sums are in dramatic contrast to economic and social underdevelopment and to the misery and poverty afflicting two-thirds of humanity. The various aspects of the relationship between disarmament and development have been thoroughly analysed in numerous studies carried out during the past ten years in particular.

The United Nations Charter establishes the goal of maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. Therefore, disarmament can and should be supported both because of its positive impact on international security and because it releases human and material resources to constructive peaceful purposes. Of course, disarmament and development should each be pursued regardless of the pace in the other field, but as the final document of the recent International Conference on Disarmament and Development rightly points out, 'each of them can have an impact at the national, regional and global level in such a way as to create an environment conducive to the promotion of the other'.

The final document of the conference outlines the main characteristics of the present situation and establishes a feasible action programme. The emphasis placed at the Conference on the non-military aspects of security, an increasing openness regarding military affairs and the role played by non-governmental organisations are principles and trends which correspond to the conceptions and demands of the Socialist International.

Disarmament and development are processes which require political consciousness and political will. Now is the time to seize the opportunity and make a breakthrough in disarmament and development.

Resolution on Haiti

The Council of the Socialist International, considering that – the adoption of the constitution by the Haitian people last 29 March constituted a new demonstration of their spirit of citizenship and commitment to democracy; and that

– the work of the provisional electoral council and the leaders of the Catholic Church in the reestablishment of political stability and the preparation for national elections scheduled for November this year are an encouraging sign in the democratisation process decides:

(a) to fully support the efforts by the democratic parties and movements, the trade unions and the human rights organisations to help the Haitian people in the preparations for the November elections;

(b) to ask the national governing council to guarantee respect for political freedoms and to grant all the necessary resources to the provisional electoral council so that it can comply with the requirements for carrying out free and democratic elections, such as the finalisation of the national electoral register and the radio broadcasting of electoral information;

(c) to request all its member parties, parliamentary groups and friendly governments to lend their fullest cooperation to the Provisional Electoral Council of Haiti so that it can comply with its commitment to assist the people in electing their government;

(d) to be present as an international observer in the November elections.

Resolution on Fiji

The Socialist International is dismayed by Colonel Rabuka's second military coup in Fiji. This violent intrusion into tentative efforts to restore the democratic process has again destabilised the region.

The Socialist International recognises the rights of the Indian population of Fiji to equal political representation within Fijian political structures. Any move to unequal representation is racist and is condemned.

Resolution on Panama

The democratic process in Panama is a fundamental factor in the preservation of peace in Central America.

We therefore make an appeal to all the political forces of Panama, from the government to the opposition, to seek and find peace and democracy.

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its confidence in the faithful compliance with the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the Panama Canal, its concern for any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Panama, and supports the holding of elections in 1989.



Beyond the protestant work ethic

In the first of two articles, **MICHAEL HARRINGTON** argues that the transformation of the meaning and character of work must be a central goal of the left in western societies. 'This is a practical imperative if there is to be a just and efficient society under the unprecedented conditions of the final years of the twentieth century.' Linked to this, the left should also develop a strategy for creating a new surge of productivity through an increase in social justice, an issue which will be addressed in a second article, to be published in a forthcoming issue.

There is no question about whether the next several decades will be radical in character. That has already been decided. The question is which political forces – and values and ideas – will determine the shape of that radicalism.

The left should state its prejudices boldly. It is not just for resolving the present economic crisis, even though that is a precondition of everything else; it is for solving the crisis through an increase in freedom, in real popular control of the structures of society, very much including the new structures put forward by the left.

Michael Harrington

is co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). He is also the author of a number of books on economic, political and social issues, including *The Other America*, *The Accidental Century*, *The New Poverty* and, most recently, *The Next Left: The History of a Future*.

One of the secrets of the successes of fordism – the post-1945 period of an unprecedented increase in wealth in the West, based on the radical principle that mass production demands mass consumption – was that it united the drives for justice and efficiency, at least for a while. Now that must be done again, on an international level as well as within countries.

A central goal of the left in the next generation must be the transformation of the meaning and character of work. That is not a utopian dream. It is a practical imperative if there is to be a just and efficient society under the unprecedented conditions of the final years of the twentieth century.

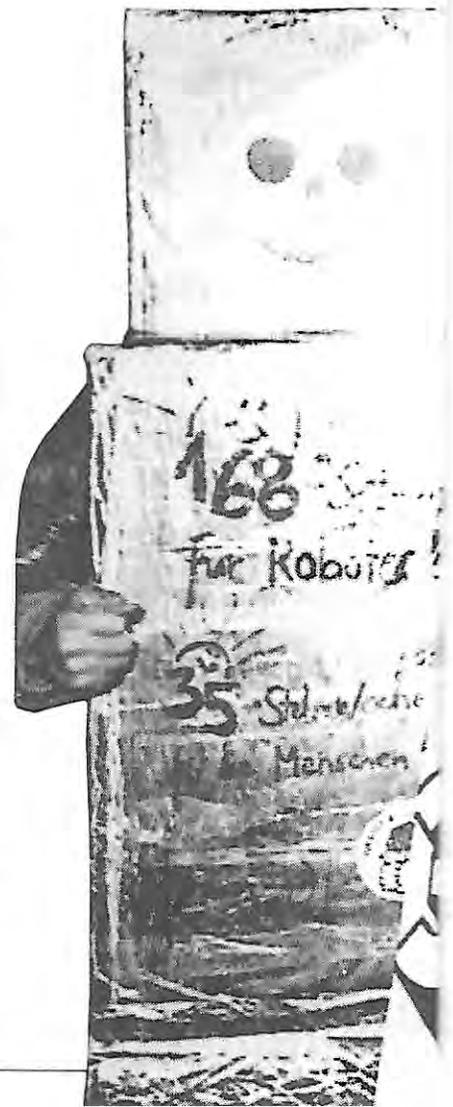
'Full employment' was once a liberal demand based upon the illusion that economic growth, in and by itself, would create jobs – what kind it did not matter – which would solve almost all social problems. For all of the flaws of that concept, it was a powerful idea that helped move the West from the catastrophe of the great depression of the

1930s to that 'great prosperity' in which the average citizen made greater economic and social gains than at any time in human history.

One of the reasons that western politics, including liberalism and social democracy, moved to the right during the past decade and a half is that the old notion of full employment was no longer achievable. That, however, does not mean that it is time to abandon the commitment to create work for all capable of doing it. That must remain a central value of the left.

What has to be understood, though, is that the full-employment goal of the late-twentieth and the twenty-first centuries is, of pragmatic necessity, infinitely more radical and complex than the traditional fordist demand of the 1950s and 60s. More of the same work through the old model of growth is neither possible nor adequate for our social needs.

And yet, even though I share most of the criticisms of the traditional notion of



full employment, I propose to use precisely that name in order to describe an agenda that goes far beyond anything it ever signified. My reasons are political, not rhetorical. There is an enormous resonance to the ideal of full employment among great masses of people in the West. It was not an accident, for instance, that the last campaign of Martin Luther King, was for an economic and social bill of rights in which the very first right would be a constitutional guarantee of a job.

Since the politics of my rhetoric might cause some confusion – and since it is of critical importance for the left to be clear on the meaning of full employment in the future as contrasted to the past – let me take some of the objections to the idea. The point is not to engage in a polemic, but to clarify the

Metal fatigue: Striking workers at a metal factory in Stuttgart, Federal Germany, demanding a 35-hour working week

'The old notion of full employment is no longer achievable. That, however, does not mean that it is time to abandon the commitment to create work for all capable of doing it. This must remain a central value of the left.'

positive proposals that are being made here.

In *Contradictions of the Welfare State* Claus Offe writes that full employment has been undermined by the very workings of capital itself: 'The goal of absorbing the entire life energy of society into labour markets and industrial production has been rendered utopian'. Therefore society needs 'socially useful alternatives to the idea of full employment through wage labour.'

On the first count, I quite agree – which is why the concept of redefining the working life is so central to all that follows. The left should look to a fundamental shift in the relation between free time and wage labour.



Fopham

But does this mean that, in the next historical period, the left should envision large numbers of able-bodied people who are completely outside of the world of wage labour? Is our proposal to detach the precarious poor, the unemployed, the rejected, from the system in which most of the people earn their daily bread? That is neither politically possible nor desirable.

The entire period since the second world war has demonstrated over and over that the 'social wage', ie. the income that people receive independent of their wage labour, can only rise in tandem with compensation for wage labour itself.

Simply put, those who have to get up in the morning and go to a job they do not particularly like will fight vigorously against any attempt to transfer an increasing portion of the production in which they engage to those who are outside of the system. And the reason for this attitude, it must be understood, is not that these people are selfish or egotistical, but that they rightly understand that many of their own needs are not being met.

It is of some moment that the 'war on poverty' launched in the United States in the 1960s was launched during a time in which the real income of the average citizen was going up regularly. Indeed, that was a precondition of the political viability of a proposal to be more generous with those who were not sharing in the advance.

We must, in short, make it economically possible for people to act upon their own best moral values. This point is not simply pragmatic. In his careful analysis of productivity and production

trends, Edward Denison has computed that if the rates achieved in the growth period of 1948 to 1973 had prevailed from 1974 to 1982, then there would have been 1,400 billion US dollars of additional output, measured in 1972 dollars (or roughly 3,600 billion in 1982 dollars!).

'The abolition of wage labour is a desirable goal. ... But no one is so foolish to think that this can be placed on the political agenda in the foreseeable future.'

Part of that enormous waste is the result of the chronic high rates of unemployment in recent years. Another part is a consequence of the fact that most of the new jobs generated in the last decade and a half have been in areas of low productivity. That is not simply an affront to the creative potential of the people in source. That lost wealth, including the waste of human talent in menial work, would have financed wage increases, both private and social, and

permitted the United States to take a much more just and decent attitude toward the Third World.

I say this even though I have long believed that the abolition of wage labour – that is, the creation of a society in which all work is voluntary because all basic needs are provided as a matter of right – is a desirable goal. One can agree or disagree with that socialist vision, but no one is so foolish to think that it can be placed on the political agenda in the foreseeable future. But to propose that some people begin to live such a utopia right now while the rest of the population is required to support them is not politically serious. What can and must be made a matter of practical debate is moving everyone a step closer to that ideal by a universal reduction in working hours.

Another objection to the concept of full employment comes from the very imaginative French thinker André Gorz. For him, an old socialist dream – a dream of socialists who were artisans and skilled workers, for the most part – that people would find their emancipation in work has been totally subverted by the systematic deskilling of labour carried out by capital over the past century or so. Therefore the only liberation is to be sought in free time. That is partly true. Much of the work in western society simply cannot be humanised under any conditions. But in part it is false: the new technology, if it is designed on the basis of emancipating social values, could create new kinds of fulfilling work. There are, after all, professionals and artists who already find personal enrichment in what they routinely do; and indeed, there are many more of them than have ever existed before. We do not know to what degree that possibly can be expanded, but there is certainly potential there.

Then there are more immediate criticisms of the full employment ideal. Fred Block has shown that the amount of work available for Americans has been going down (leaving cyclical fluctuation aside) since 1910. At the same time in the 1970s and 80s, there was a rise in labour-force participation, most dramatically for women. Block concludes that 'we have a situation in which we can anticipate less work and more people demanding a share of that work. Now in that context the slogan of "full employment" becomes increasingly problematic'.

Of course! Full employment is impossible if one accepts the present organisation of the labour market as a given. What Block proves is precisely that full employment has become a radical demand. There is a related critique, articulated by Barbara Ehrenreich, among others. The new jobs of recent

35 hours



years, particularly those going to women and minorities, have been low-paid, menial, and without dignity. Isn't it therefore true that growth 'determined according to capitalist priorities' will reinforce racial and gender discrimination? Again, of course! That is why I stress that the goal for the immediate future must be not simply to increase the quantity of work but to transform its character as well. That goal is not an attempt to use the occupational system to do social work; it is also a key to increased productivity in the next period.

Let me become much more immediate and less visionary.

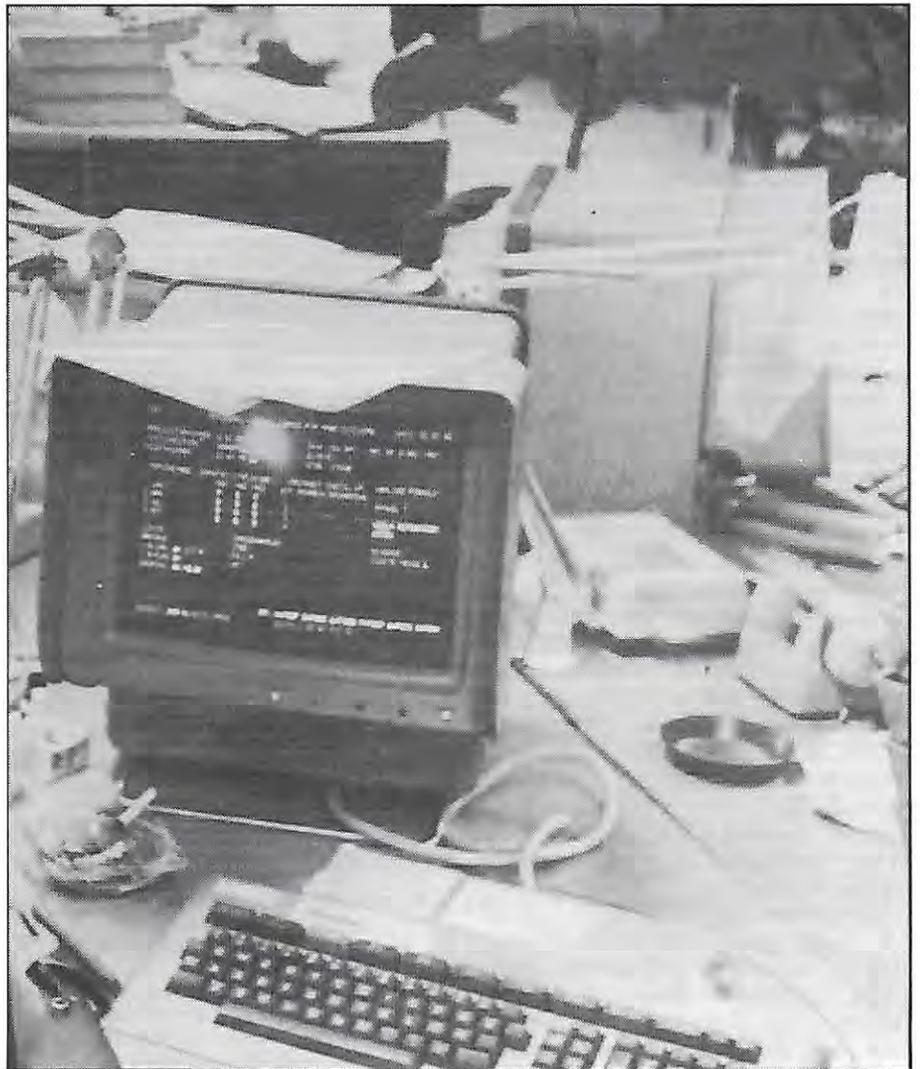
It is clear that a central problem of every western society in the 1980s is the existence of a 'subproletariat' of the unemployed, the precariously employed, the immigrants, and so on. Does one pension them off, see to it that their material needs are met, but leave them floating and functionless? Or does one understand that such an existence inevitably 'marginalises' human beings?

My answer is obvious. I believe that society in the future will be forced to go beyond the protestant ethic, that belief that one's income and personal and social value are determined by a position in the paid labour market. But here and now, in the waning years of the twentieth century, a social version of the protestant ethic is an absolute necessity for those at the bottom of western society. They will not move from the economic underworld to utopia in a single bound, and if, by some political miracle they were able to do so, they would not know what to do with utopia. Their present lives, after all, have hardly schooled them in the ways of visionary living.

Full employment, then, is a practical necessity for the growing stratum of the marginalised, the precondition of their being able to lead meaningful lives. It is also one of the keys to a new surge of productivity in the service of, rather than at the expense of, society.

The reduction of the working day and week is one of the ways to begin to implement the ideals I have just defined. But those measures, which must be placed on the immediate agenda of the western left, should also be seen as steps in the direction of a much more fundamental and distant goal: the redefinition of the working life.

The shorter working week has an



A left-wing solution to drudgery?: Computer technology at the workplace

obvious quantitative potential, in that it can act as part of the strategy to create jobs for everyone by spreading the available work around. And it has a qualitative potential, in that it can enrich people's lives with more free time (a process that, not so incidentally, has been one of historic sources of increased productivity).

But this concept is also more complex than it might at first seem. For it is true, as the right says, that a sudden move to legislate a thirty- or a thirty-five-hour week at forty hours' pay would most likely lead to economic crisis and radically reduced employment. And the briefest glimpse at just a few of the moments in the long history of this idea shows that there are other difficulties as well.

In the 1930s, for instance, the Popular Front in France at first did indeed create new job openings by cutting the working week. But then it ran into the hostility of

capital and the shortage of trained workers, and ultimately failed.

Later on, in the 1980s, François Mitterrand and the Socialist administration were unable to redeem the bold pledge for a thirty-five-hour week because most of the unionists would not take a pay cut and, even in the euphoric days of 1981, it was understood by the government that it could not increase the wage bill in the private and public sectors by 12 percent. Among many other consequences, that would have entailed making France even less competitive on the world market than it already was.

Both of these French cases are cited to prove that the idea of a radically reduced working time will simply not work. I read this history quite differently. It shows, rather, that, taken in isolation and leaving all the other limits of system undisturbed, this proposal is not a panacea but a recipe for failure. But if one integrates this change into a larger

plan that attends to those limits and moves them to the 'left', I think it is of critical importance.

The fact of chronic high unemployment rates and the knowledge that the technological revolution was probably going to eliminate even more jobs led trade unionists to campaign for the shorter working week. In Germany, that strategy led to a bitter strike in 1984 by the metalworkers, the largest single union in the country. Part of the idea was to reduce working time, not just in one country, but in all of Europe. That would remove the competitive advantage of those economies with longer working weeks.

The Swedish Social Democrats were an exception to this consensus. They were very much for decreasing working time, but not as a means to achieve full employment. Other factors, such as productivity and profitability, determined the level of hiring, they said. And a sharp decrease in working hours, without a decrease in pay, would raise costs and make a country less competitive (a major consideration for Sweden, which is deeply involved in the world market). This critique has to be kept carefully in mind when we turn to the actual formulation of a concept of a shorter working week.

On the other side, managements have been busily going about the transformation of work for some time now. Ever larger numbers of people in the the labour forces of western countries are now part-time workers. Simultaneously, we have seen the emergence of both the underground economy and a sweatshop sector that, in the United States, preys on defenceless and fearful undocumented workers. In France, one of the most bitter disputes between management and labour recently has been over flexible hours. That is, the companies want to calculate the working week on a yearly basis so that they are only charged overtime if the annual total of hours exceeds the annual maximum. In this way, workers can be forced to work long hours in some weeks without extra compensation so long as that is balanced out by weeks with short hours.

Here again, progressive ideas about much more flexibility in the allocation of labour time, which may, at first glance, seem farfetched, are being turned into their opposite (like hiring more parttimers rather than regular workers) and put into reactionary practice by hardheaded businesspeople. That is one of the reasons why total hours per worker have been declining ever since the forty-hour-week laws were passed. And it is a warning not to assume that a reduction in basic work time will automatically create

new openings for the unemployed. That will only happen if hiring new people is more profitable than evading the law.

It is within this context that I propose realistic ways to cut the working day and week. The democratic left should, once it has regained political power, set a target of the thirty-five-hour week.

'Much of the work in western society simply cannot be humanised. But the new technology, if it is designed on the basis of emancipating social values, could create new kinds of fulfilling work.'

As the French Socialist example so unfortunately proves, it is absurd to think that employers will (or, to be fair, in some cases can) absorb the rapid increase in the hourly wage that would result from requiring them to pay forty hours worth of money for thirty-five hours of work. More broadly, the French example suggests that the left should avoid trying to redistribute income by means of the wage system. That, as the French Socialists learned to their sorrow, acts as a disincentive to hiring people and, all other things being equal, leads to an increase in unemployment.

Assuming that the unions would voluntarily agree, western countries would proceed toward a thirty-five-hour week through a combination of collective bargaining (a part of the reduced time would be financed through normal increments in the wage but taken in this case in the form of increased leisure) and public subsidy. That subsidy could take the simple form of a reduction in the tax burden of wage earners. Their total take-home pay for thirty-five hours would be at least equal to what they received for forty hours, but part of that increment would be financed through collective bargaining and part through the tax system.

But why should society pay for that tax subsidy? For reasons of tax justice; as part of the national commitment to full employment; and in order to increase productivity. The supply-side economists had based their philosophy on an old-fashioned, fordist model when they argued that reduced taxes for working people would immediately raise productivity.

In fact, the tax cuts pushed through by the Reagan administration in 1981, for instance, were followed by a recession in which productivity declined for the usual reasons, and then followed by a recovery in which productivity did not increase in the usual way. But within a larger left strategy to increase productivity, the left might ironically accomplish what the right had set out to do.

Everything that has been said up until now about the reduction of the working week is realistic and sober. But the idea – and all the other very practical proposals that the left must make – should also have a visionary dimension.

One of the most moving accomplishments of the French Popular Front in the 1930s was, through legislating holiday time, to make it possible for men and women who had lived in a country bounded by an ocean and a sea to actually visit the shore. And today, in talking about the working week, society should also debate the question of the working life. Why are sabbaticals reserved for academics? Wouldn't it make sense (and a social 'profit') to pay people to interrupt working in order to educate themselves?

We know that, under fordism, declining hours of work raised productivity for the simple reason that the workers were no longer physically exhausted when they were on the job. But post-fordism is a time when the gains in this area will derive more from raising the quality of work than from lowering its quantities. This visionary consideration points to a concept that has been referred to in passing but never really developed: the left's strategy for creating a new surge of productivity by means of an increase in social justice.

This article is based on excerpts from Michael Harrington's latest book, The Next Left (London: I.B. Tauris, 1987; ISBN 1-85043-052-7 (hdbk), 1-85043-063-2 (ppbk)).

Essential Works of socialism

Edited by Irving Howe

New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986; 599pp; £12.95 ppbk / £40.00 hdbk
ISBN 0-300-03571-3 (ppbk), 0-300-03558-6 (hdbk)

Bringing together crucial texts of major socialist figures, this anthology traces the internal evolution of socialist thought from Marx onwards, including writings from the social democratic, bolshevik and non-marxian traditions. Updating the first 1970 edition, the current anthology provides key material from modern socialist thinkers.



Green Gold

Bananas and dependency in the Eastern Caribbean

Robert Thomson

London: Latin America Bureau, 1987; £12.95 hdbk / £3.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-906156-36-X (hdbk) / 0-906156-26-2 (ppbk)

Bananas, like sugar before them, have been described as the Eastern Caribbean's 'green gold'. This book looks at the history, recent developments and future prospects for the banana industry in four Eastern Caribbean islands – Dominica, Grenada, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent. It focuses on conditions for the small farmers and includes a detailed study of the Geest company, for which the banana business in a good year can be a 'licence to print money'.

In Search of Work

Charles Leadbeater and John Lloyd

Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987; 232pp; £3.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-14-022773-3

The authors ask how we should respond to the persistence of mass unemployment, the advent of microelectronic technology, the emergence of a new class of flexible workers on the fringe of the full-time labour market? Can we re-fashion the tools of education, training and economic policy to regain 'full employment'? Can societies which hold up that goal, but deny employment to millions, maintain their social cohesion? In short, do we need a new philosophy of work?

The authors talked to companies and trade unionists, ministers and their advisers, people in and out of work in Japan, Europe and the United States, and draw on case studies of IBM, Hitachi, Barclays Bank and the Ford Motor Company, as well as a survey of employers in the five leading economies.

The Soviet Union under Gorbachev

Prospects for Reform

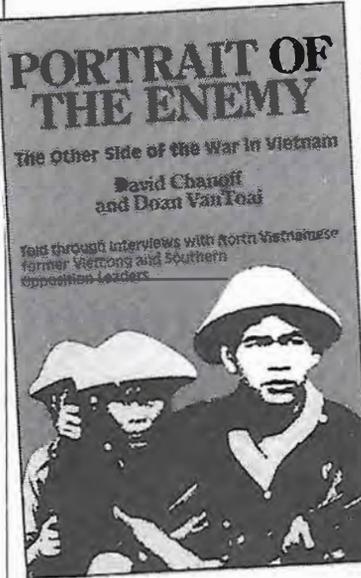
Edited by David A. Dyker

London: Croom Helm, 1987; 227pp; £25.00 hdbk
ISBN 0-7099-4519-1

The accession of Mikhail Gorbachev to power has raised hopes for change both within the Soviet Union and in Soviet relations with the rest of the world.

This book discusses the problems facing the new leadership's reform programme. It looks at the political changes made so far and at proposed changes to agriculture, industry and foreign relations.

The contributors also assess how radical Gorbachev may be in the future, how his proposed reforms can or will be implemented and what opposition they will encounter. They also address the question of whether Gorbachev can manage to generate the momentum for economic reform while at the same time resisting pressure for political reform.



Portrait of the enemy

The other side of the war in Vietnam

David Chanoff and Doan Van Toai

London: I.B. Tauris, 1987; 240pp; £14.95 hdbk
ISBN 1-85043-059-4

A great deal is known about what happened to Americans during the Vietnam war. Yet never before has the story been told from the perspective of the individual Vietcong and North Vietnamese.

This book aims to provide a counterbalance to the image of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong as cold, iron-willed, single-minded revolutionaries willing to sacrifice themselves to further their cause.

The book contains personal narratives from a wide cross-section of Vietnamese society. They describe the experiences of guerrillas and propaganda chiefs, on the Ho Chi Minh trail, in reeducation centres in the North and in the prisons of the South.; they reveal heroism and dedication, brutality and social control, and the traumatization of a people in the grip of revolution and war; they also tell of the agonising dilemma for parents whose children faced conscription, of anti-war sentiment, of North Vietnamese draft dodging, and of the shock for Vietnamese war veterans treated, like their US counterparts, with indifference on their return home.

The German Greens

A social and political profile

Werner Hulsberg

London: Verso, 1987; 257pp; £29.95 hdbk / £9.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-86091-185-3 (hdbk), 0-86091-1 (ppbk)

This book provides an analysis of the German Greens, perhaps the most successful radical movement of the 1980s, situating them within the context of post-1945 German history.

The author traces the political practice of the Greens, the social makeup of their supporters, and the fundamental tenets of their political programme. He argues that the Greens offer the left in Germany a unique opportunity to leave a political ghetto, and calls for a synthesis of ecological ideas with socialism. The important questions raised by the new social movements should, he says, lead to a redefinition of socialist emancipation.

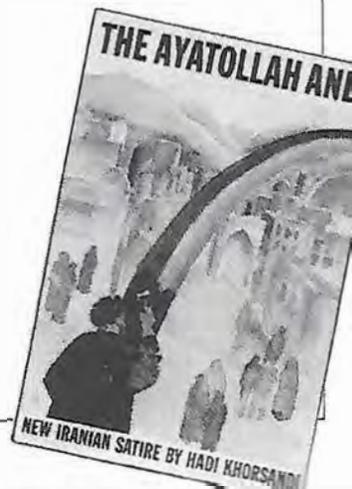
The Ayatollah and I

Hadi Khorsandi

Translated by Ehsan Javan

London & New York: Readers International, 1987; 160pp; £3.95/\$7.95 ppbk
ISBN 0-930523-37-7

The author's early satire, sharp but apolitical under the Shah, was radicalised by the Iranian Revolution of 1979, sparing neither the mullahs nor their opponents. This collection of his recent post-revolutionary writing includes humorous essays and parodies of the mullahs' pronouncements, sermons, war strategies and interviews with a servile press, and offers insights on the chador, the war and Irangate.



'Concealed from world media exposure, South Africa is conducting its state terrorism in Namibia with impunity'

In this exclusive interview, **SAM NUJOMA**, president of SWAPO of Namibia, describes the harsh realities of the South African regime's illegal occupation of his country and SWAPO's struggle for national liberation, now in its twenty-first year.

How did SWAPO see the decision by the United States and the United Kingdom (supported by Federal Germany) on 9 April this year to veto the possibility of the United Nations Security Council imposing mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime for its refusal to end its illegal occupation of Namibia?

Nujoma: The oppressed Namibian people were indeed shocked to learn that countries that make a habit of claiming to believe in freedom, justice and human rights are blocking UN actions aimed at forcing the South African regime to accept a ceasefire and the holding of free and fair democratic elections, as provided for in UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the decolonisation of Namibia. We can only conclude that the decision of these countries to prolong the agony of the Namibian people is based purely on their selfish economic and strategic interests in the Southern African region, and more especially in Namibia itself.

It appears that profits gained from Namibia's natural resources are more important than the lot suffered by the people of Namibia. Western transnational corporations, it must be remem-



bered, own key areas of production in Namibia, such as gold, chrome, diamonds, copper, zinc, lithium, hide and skin and fish products. And the Anglo-American Corporation and Goldfields of South Africa and Rio Tinto Zinc of Britain exploit our sizeable uranium resources. Known in the western world as the 'yellow cake', Namibian uranium

provides the West's nuclear power stations with their source of energy.

The major western powers are supporting South Africa's occupation of Namibia militarily, economically and financially. For instance, because there are about 20,000 Namibians of German origin – the first generation of the Germans who were born in Namibia when it was a German colony from 1884 to 1915 – the Kohl government claims to make special contributions to the development of our country. But its 'development aid' to Namibia is nothing more than an attempt to strengthen the racist regime in South Africa.

Likewise, the US government's policy of 'constructive engagement', as it is called, should be exposed for what is: an attempt to break down South Africa's international isolation. At the beginning of 1983 the Reagan administration used its influence in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to push through a 1.7-billion-dollar loan, thus bolstering the regime's economy at a crucial time.

The Reagan administration also continues to insist on linking Namibia's decolonisation process with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But these two issues are completely separate. The right of the Namibian people to freedom and self-determination is a legitimate one in its own right, and Angola and Cuba are sovereign states.

Between them, the United States, Britain and Federal Germany wield considerable economic and political power. Given their current intransigence, how can they be isolated and forced to impose at least some sanctions against the regime in South Africa?

Nujoma: Although their governments are opposed to us, I think we have quite sizeable support among the people of these countries. In the course of last year both the US Senate and the US House of Representatives adopted bills recommending economic sanctions against the regime. This is a reflection of the overwhelming public support in the United States for action against the Botha regime. Such pressure could increase, for, whether they like it or not, the imperialist powers are not in a position to stop the struggle for and the historical trend towards the liberation of the people of Africa.

How would you characterise the current situation in Namibia?

Nujoma: There has been an escalation of violence and repression. Just recently, on 20 September, South African troops

carried out a bombing attack on a catholic church at Omuulukila in the Ombalantu region. This brutal act was just the latest in a long series of attacks on the churches and the wider community. Priests, teachers, nurses, doctors and many other innocent civilians are being killed. There is a curfew in the so-called operational area of Namibia from six in the morning to six in the evening, and the women who fetch water from the wells in daylight are being shot dead, accused of violating the curfew.

A state of law does not exist in Namibia at present. Namibia is now ruled under a state of emergency and martial law. These are supplemented by

other repressive laws, such as the numerous 'administrative general proclamations' which are decreed in South Africa and then extended to Namibia through South Africa's colonial governor. No action is taken against murder and repression by the security forces. The Botha regime claims that South African soldiers are there to protect the Namibian people, but the people are fully aware that they are there to deny them their freedom.

The South African government has also extended to Namibia its Defence Act (as it is misleadingly called), under which Namibians are forcibly recruited and used as cannon fodder in the war

machine of the regime. Given that South African soldiers are afraid to die, they have adopted a system of Namibians killing Namibians. The regime has trained thousands of Namibians on an ethnic basis and not as part of the national army, thus potentially sowing the seeds of civil war in a future independent Namibia.

Platform pledges: Speakers at a local SWAPO meeting in Windhoek



How strong is civilian support for the regime in Namibia? In South Africa, as the anti-apartheid struggle continues, sections of the business community have opened to and held talks with the African National Congress (ANC). Do you foresee the possibility of similar developments taking place in Namibia in the near future?

Nujoma: SWAPO enjoys the full support of the Namibian people from all walks of life – traditional chiefs, religious leaders, youth, women, virtually everyone. We are a mass movement in struggle for national liberation. As such we have been able to mobilise a broad cross-section of the Namibian people, including groups of whites in our community. SWAPO has held talks with Namibian whites for a long time now, since 1981 in fact, and talks also took place earlier this year.

There is now a group of Namibian whites – including intellectuals, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, fishermen and farmers – which is making an effort to explain to the white community the importance of supporting SWAPO's call for an immediate ceasefire and the implementation of Resolution 435. This group is of course small, but it is nevertheless significant in that it represents the cream of the white population. Let us hope that their numbers will increase.

One of the major points of debate in South Africa is when to engage in talks with the regime. From the ANC's point of view it is obviously better to negotiate from a position of strength. How do you see the struggle in South Africa and what is its relevance for SWAPO's strategic planning?

Nujoma: The struggle for national liberation in Namibia has been going on for the last twenty-one years, and in my opinion is now very much advanced. We are currently inflicting heavy losses on the South African regime, which is why it has been forced to introduce its Defence Act to which I referred earlier. The actions of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, the military wing of SWAPO, have created confidence in the Namibian people that we can liberate ourselves; the people are now politically mature and they know what they want and how to get it. The first task in SWAPO's current strategy is therefore to intensify the war of national resistance against South African colonialism and to mobilise the Namibian people politically.

To answer your question, then, SWAPO has always been talking from a

Out of place: South African soldier patrolling the bushland in Kavango, near the Angolan border



position of strength. As a result, we have been able to hold talks with the South African regime on several occasions, starting in 1981 in Geneva, during a called by the then UN secretary-general, Kurt Waldheim. On that occasion the meeting collapsed after the regime's refusal to sign a ceasefire with SWAPO. Subsequent talks were held in May and July 1984 in Lusaka, when we met a delegation led by the colonial governor in Namibia. In this meeting the regime once again attempted to deceive both the Namibian people and the international community, insisting as it did that SWAPO should declare a ceasefire by itself and lay down its arms. It also urged SWAPO members in exile to return and join what it referred to as 'the democratic process' in Namibia.

At present Pretoria is doing everything in its power to prop up its failing puppet show in Windhoek. The regime is currently working on the drafting of a bogus independence constitution, contrary to Resolution 435, which stipulates that Namibia's independence constitution should be drawn up by a constituent assembly democratically elected by universal suffrage. It is also planning to conduct bantustan-type elections, whose prime purpose is to entrench white domination and to give a semblance of credibility to the puppet regime.

Let's suppose for one minute that South Africa did decide to withdraw from Namibia. How would an incoming government cope with the situation? In spite of the existence of the peace accord with Mozambique, for example, South Africa has continued to launch hostile raids against that country. How could you prevent a similar kind of blackmail?

Nujoma: Mozambique, Angola and the other Front Line States are victims of military attacks and aggression by the apartheid regime. But the peoples of these countries are free, whereas the Namibian people are still living in slavery.

If South Africa were to launch attacks against a free and independent Namibia, our struggle over many years means that we will certainly be in a position to defend our territorial integrity and our hard-won freedom, just as the people of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola and the other Front Line States are doing now. They are being attacked, but they are able to resist.

For us, then, it is freedom first, before anything else.

What about the economy? Under the

occupation, Namibia's natural resources are being plundered for short-term profit in the most irresponsible way. How would an independent government cope with the disastrous economic legacy that might be left by the South African regime?

Nujoma: Namibia has a small population in comparison with other African countries in the region, and it has vast resources. A free and independent Namibia would therefore be able to stand on its own two feet.

In this context, what you have to remember is that above all we want to live in freedom. We want to live in a free and independent Namibia, even if it means we have to live in poverty.

Nearly all news coverage about the region tends to focus on the internal struggle in South Africa. Do you ever feel the struggle in Namibia, although directly linked, is overshadowed by events in South Africa itself?

Nujoma: Tragically, the story of countless atrocities being committed by the South African occupation army against the Namibian people is not being told by the world media. Concealed from world media exposure, South Africa is conducting its state terrorism with impunity.

This is partly due to the fact that the regime has imposed censorship and a blanket news and information blackout on events in Namibia. A district security act has also been imposed under which newspaper, television and radio journalists are not allowed to live in Windhoek, the capital, without written permission from the police or army. In this way the police and army are able to control the movement of journalists, and consequently there is little press coverage of developments. While there are some two hundred foreign correspondents based in South Africa, there is not a single foreign journalist based or working in Namibia.

As you know, these sorts of restrictions on the media have also been introduced in South Africa itself in the last three years. But in Namibia they have been in force for over twenty years, since the imposition of the state of emergency in 1972 and martial law in 1982. Namibia is a police state, where there is no freedom of assembly, no freedom of speech, particularly for members of SWAPO.

The situation I have described must be exposed internationally. To this end, we have been intensifying our international information campaign. The tendency in Europe and particularly in North America is to see Namibia and South Africa as one and the same problem. But we must make a clear distinction between occu-

pied Namibia and apartheid South Africa itself, and point out that Namibia is illegally occupied by the racist Pretoria regime. This is very important. We must counteract the picture of Namibia's struggle for independence painted by the right-wing mass media in the West.

The Socialist International and its member parties have endeavoured to give significant support to SWAPO and the Front Line States over the years. What further concrete measures would be most effective and beneficial to SWAPO's struggle and to the Front Line States facing South African aggression?

Nujoma: The SI parties in government, those in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Spain and Italy for example, are, we believe, in a good position to exert pressure for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Botha regime. The socialist governments and parties in member countries of the European Community can play a particularly important role here.

We are also grateful for the efforts of SI parties to mobilise public opinion in their respective countries. Remember that one of Olof Palme's last statements on our struggle was his address to the People's Assembly, when people from all over Sweden came to Stockholm demanding an end to the Swedish companies' trade with the apartheid regime of South Africa. The Danish parliament in May 1986 passed a bill prohibiting all trade with the racist regime, and the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish parliaments have passed similar bills this year.

These are clear indications that the member parties of the Socialist International have not only been giving verbal support. They have also given important practical and humanitarian aid, such as scholarships, food, medicine and school books to the dispossessed Namibians in exile under the care of SWAPO. We say: keep up the struggle! The humanitarian assistance as well as the political and diplomatic support is, I can assure you, well used in the furtherance of the cause of the liberation of Namibia.

Sam Nujoma was interviewed by Jon Barnes.

The beginning of real nuclear disarmament

The US-Soviet treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces marks the first agreement between the superpowers reducing the number of nuclear weapons in their arsenals. **BERNT CARLSSON** calls for the total abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The start on the road to nuclear disarmament was made at the summit meeting in Reykjavik in October last year. The US and Soviet leaders, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, agreed then that strategic nuclear arms must be abolished. They came close to accepting 1996 as the target date for the abolition of all nuclear arms.

There has been speculation about their motives. One possible explanation is not given enough attention: that they might be genuinely frightened by the prospect of a nuclear war, no matter how remote the chance.

The superpowers and the rest of the world face the risk of a nuclear arms race that is escalating vertically and horizontally. The coming proliferation of ballistic missiles makes the situation even worse. By 1989 some US Trident nuclear

submarines will begin to be equipped with a new weapons system, D-5 missiles. And the Soviet Union is introducing a system of mobile, land-based missiles. As a result the superpowers will be forced to change their nuclear targeting policy from counterforce to countervalue.

Technological developments are also forcing the superpowers to change from a launch-on-impact strategy to a de facto launch-on-warning strategy. On the horizon looms the bizarre concept of launch-on-suspicion.

Sections of the US and Soviet military communities have not adapted themselves to the idea of a denuclearised world. They are heirs to a tradition of old-fashioned thinking on military power. Nuclear disarmament as the political goal of their leaders was an unsettling novelty on both sides of the ideological divide.

The Reykjavik summit moved those who had argued for the abolition of nuclear weapons into the political mainstream. Promoters of the nuclear arms race were put on the defensive, politically and intellectually. Yet the forces driving the nuclear arms race have enormous strength. They are motivated by a coherent view of strategy which sees nuclear weapons as the key stabilising element in international security, especially between the great powers.

A major mistake made by some opponents of nuclear weapons is the assumption that the proponents of the nuclear arms race are morally inferior or even evil. It would be more helpful to the goal of nuclear disarmament to accept that nobody wants a nuclear war, but that there are fundamentally different views on how best to avoid one. This generation of great power leaders did not create the structure of military forces, including the nuclear weapons arsenals. They inherited them in the same way that all of world history is at some stage inherited. All of humanity must start from where we are now, with tens of thousands of nuclear warheads.

The difference in effect between the two atomic bombs dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the one hand and a global nuclear war with the H-bomb-equipped ballistic missiles of the doomsday machines on the other is as great as that between a medieval war fought with swords, javelins, bows and arrows and that fought over the two unfortunate cities in Japan. Nothing would be rebuilt after a global thermonuclear war. The human world would come to an end.

It is necessary to analyse and discuss the theoretical and strategic foundations of the policy of deterrence. Do these hold together? Does the policy of deterrence work? If it does, for how long?

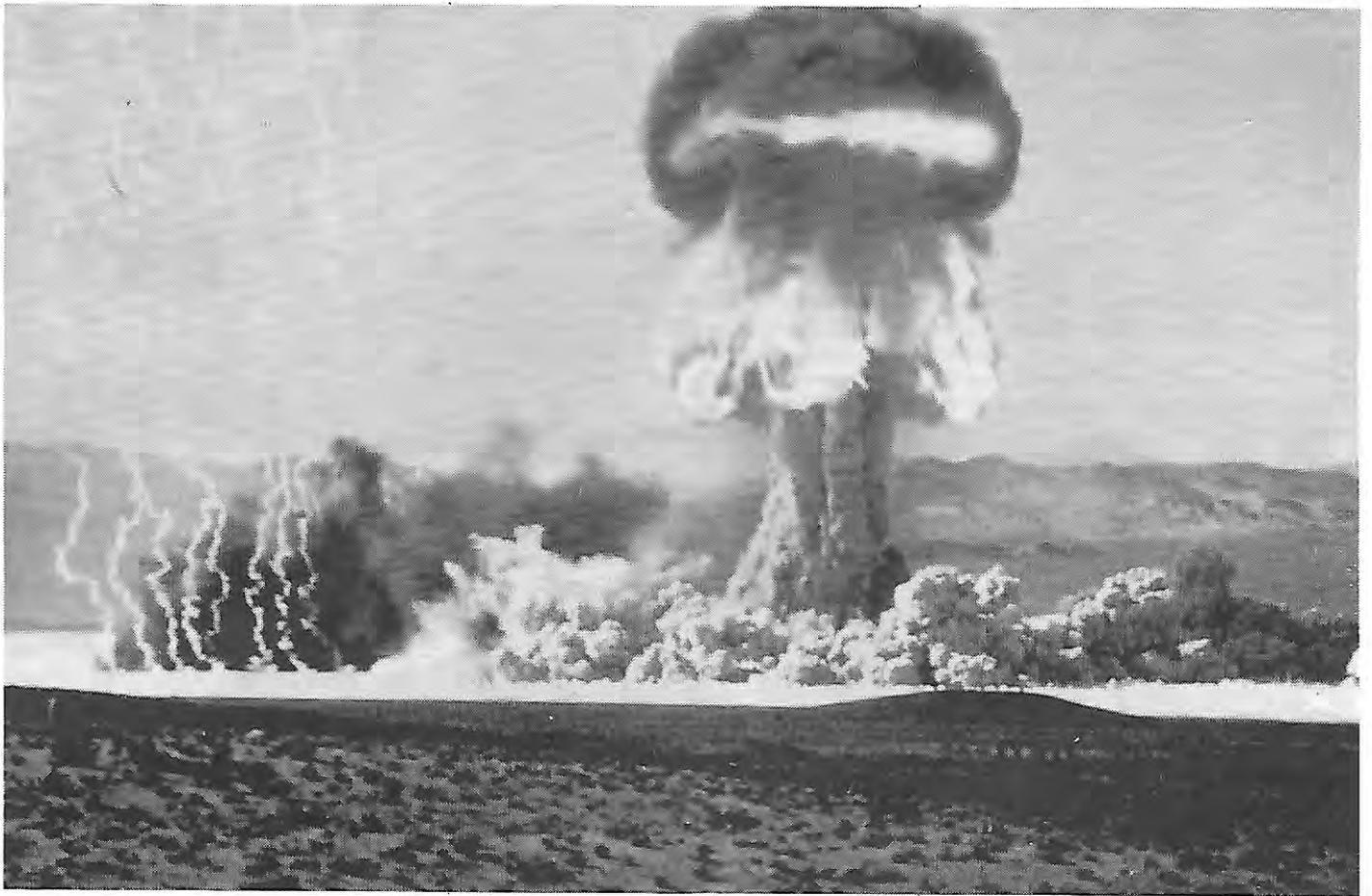
Nuclear weapons have played a dominating role in the inherited setup of world forces ever since 1945. There has not been a war between the great powers since that year. The adherents of deterrence draw the conclusion that it is the existence of nuclear weapons which has preserved the peace between the great powers. Although this view cannot be proved, there are many arguments in its favour. It might also be argued that peace would have been preserved in any event, but that would be even harder to prove. Therefore one might begin an analysis of the policy of deterrence by conceding that the central argument of the supporters of nuclear weapons is correct – that peace between the great powers since 1945 has been due to the deployment of nuclear weapons.

But even granting that assertion, a fallacy remains: the assumption that what has happened before will persist indefinitely, that a status quo is infinitely extendable. It ignores the many risks involved in the nuclear arms race. In a way it is like playing the deadly game of Russian roulette. Someone who has successfully pulled the trigger five times does not assume that the sixth chamber

Bernt Carlsson

is the United Nations commissioner for Namibia. He was earlier international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) and from 1976 to 1983 general secretary of the Socialist International and editor of *Socialist Affairs*.

This article represents his personal views only.



Camera Press

will also be vacant. So instead of the world being safer the longer it has been at peace, it might, like Russian roulette, be the other way round. The past success of deterrence cannot determine its future. It can as well be assumed that Pax Atomica is in for a rude end, with no new human cycle to follow.

If the strategic thinking behind the policy of deterring conventional war by nuclear weapons were to be applied to crime fighting or domestic order, one could imagine a police chief planting explosives, all linked to a central push-button control, throughout a city as a crime-fighting technique. If a crime occurred anywhere the whole city would be blown up. It is likely that crime would indeed cease for some time with such a system, and then for ever. Each day that passed without crime would be used as an indication that the system was working. When forty days without crime had passed, it might be taken as proof that crime had disappeared. If later on the police chief had only the unenviable choice between blowing up the city or letting everyone see that the deterrence mechanism was a fake, the policy might be forced, at great expense, to revert to conventional patrolling of the city. Perhaps the police chief, to avoid these dilemmas, would modify the system to

one of flexible response, blowing up only those sections of the city in which crime occurred.

Another, more sophisticated line of support for the nuclear arms race views nuclear arms as an end in themselves. There is no way to escape from them. The arguments can be summarised as follows:

What is the only thing that can bring about nuclear war? Nuclear weapons!

What is the proper target of nuclear weapons? Nuclear weapons!

What is the only way to deter a nuclear attack? Nuclear weapons!

Why can we not get rid of nuclear weapons? Nuclear weapons!

This line of argument is not easy to refute. But a final question should also be posed. What is the greatest risk of nuclear arsenals? Global thermonuclear war!

The risk of accidental nuclear war might be very small in a statistical sense, but it is greater than zero and will continue to mount.

During the early 1980s the idea of abolition began to be seriously discussed at senior governmental levels in the United States and the Soviet Union. This was a result of the

realisation of the possible consequences of the launch-on-warning scenario which was then emerging.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have presented proposals on how to start towards the goal of nuclear disarmament.

If all the ballistic missiles systems were abolished, space would remain a nuclear-weapons-free zone. Thus freed from the risk of offensive nuclear weapons passing through it, space could once more be a genuine zone of peace. With the ballistic missiles gone, much of the apocalyptic cloud hanging over our vulnerable blue planet would disappear.

However, the problem of proliferation would remain. Given, for example, the probability that South Africa is on its way to developing both nuclear weapons and medium-range ballistic missiles, there are good reasons for the left to approach the discussion of strategic defence, specifically the US' strategic defence initiative (SDI), in a less dogmatic and simplistic way than is customary. It would appear that some form of minimal, ground-based system for defence against ballistic missiles must be maintained as protection against states which might consider pursuing a maverick policy on nuclear arms. Such a system could be limited to the two or three ground-based, terminal

defence layers of a projected multi-layer SDI.

(There might still be a need for a different form of SDI oriented outward from planet earth, capable of destroying very large meteorites. Many of these have hit our planet in the past, some with an impact equivalent to that of a 50-megaton H-bomb. Even worse, if an asteroid was found to be on a collision course with our planet, we have at present no recourse. As Eugene Shoemaker pointed out in an interview with *New Times*, several asteroids have orbits which occasionally cross our own. Such science-fictional sounding events have occurred in the past and will do so again. It might happen only far away in the future or it could be statistically long overdue. There is no point in gambling on our luck.)

Some West European NATO circles believe that medium-range missiles are a more credible deterrent than long-range strategic missiles. It has

been argued that the abolition of medium-range missiles would pull several rungs from the ladder of possible responses to aggression. Fewer missiles means fewer options, it is said. This argument seems to be based on the theme of an earlier popular song, 'Once the missiles go up, who cares where they come down?' Or in other words, who cares which are the intended targets?

It is somehow thought that the politburo in Moscow would be more willing to accept the destruction of the Soviet capital by a medium-range ballistic missile launched from Western Europe than by an intercontinental strategic ballistic missile sent from North America. This ignores a basic maxim advanced by Karl von Clausewitz, that in war the will is directed at an animate object that reacts. It can safely be assumed that if a missile is heading for Moscow, whether strategic or medium-range, the remaining minutes of metropolitan Washington are numbered, provided that the Soviet early-warning and command structures function.

Another argument presented against nuclear disarmament by some West European political leaders is that it would upset the military balance in Europe, where the Warsaw Pact has such a superiority in conventional weapons. The NATO forces have sometimes been described as a shoal of sardines trying to fight off the Warsaw Pact pack of tiger sharks.

The Soviet conventional superiority was originally built up during the 1945-1950 era of the American nuclear monopoly and maintained through the period of American nuclear superiority from 1950 until the early 1970s, when parity was finally achieved and recognised as such in the SALT-1 agreement in 1972. Western Europe was thus to be held hostage by the threat of invasion as a deterrent against the US nuclear superiority. Subsequently the Soviet conventional superiority was given as the reason for the dependence of the West on nuclear weapons as a deterrence against the perceived Soviet conventional threat. A vicious circle was established.

Due to inertia, the Soviet Union has maintained until now this conventional superiority.

At the global level, given the vast land boundaries of the Soviet Union, its alleged conventional superiority is somewhat mythical. But conceding that there is currently a considerable edge in numbers in Europe, it is still astonishing that a populous and advanced entity such as Western Europe should not be able to match the Warsaw Pact in conventional forces.

Some Western Europeans also argue that NATO should rely on nuclear weapons for defence because these are cheaper than the alternative of conventional arms. The cost factor really is the most irrelevant of arguments in discussions of nuclear strategy, whether the topic is SDI or conventional forces. No cost for preventing a nuclear war could be too high, when one considers the cost of such a war. What price is reasonable to avoid it? To set cost against the end of humanity is really the most absurd and even repugnant argument. It is the ultimate irresponsibility.

The real problem is not the lack of ability to achieve a balance of conventional forces, but that avarice has been given priority over responsibility. The continued pursuit of the nuclear arms race shows wanton disrespect for the future. As seen from the socialist viewpoint, such a policy must be in conflict with the classic conservative



RETROSPECTIVE

MNR in Revolutionary Junta

The President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, has expressed support for the participation of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) in the revolutionary junta which has replaced the regime of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador. Prominent in the new five-man junta is Guillermo Ungo, leader of the MNR (which became a full member party of the Socialist International in the 1978 Vancouver congress).

The Romero regime was overthrown on October 15 and the new junta immediately pledged itself to sweeping social and economic reforms, free elections within a "reasonable" period, the re-

lease of all political prisoners, freedom for political parties and trade unions and respect for human rights.

The coup followed a period of mounting opposition to the Romero regime, which gathered impetus after the fall of the Somoza Government in neighbouring Nicaragua. The revolutionary junta has called upon all armed groups which were active against Romero to "join in the revolution and participate in the reconstruction of the country."

● MNR members appointed to the new Government by the revolutionary junta include Hector Oqueli, who has worked at the London secretariat of the Socialist International since the 1976 Geneva congress. He becomes Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

From Socialist Affairs 5/79

ideology as taught by Edmund Burke, which regards society as a result of an organic growth which binds together past, present and future generations. It appears that some of conservatism's contemporary European champions have abdicated their traditional role as defenders of the continuance of established society.

Given the default of the right, it is therefore up to the left in Western Europe to call for responsibility. It should be remembered that conscription was an invention of the left in the time of the French revolution. It is now time for the socialist movement to finally acknowledge that it also has a Jacobin heritage. The left must call for all necessary expenditures to defend their countries conventionally without risking a nuclear holocaust. Those who fight politically for social change and progress must give the highest priority to defence of the present society to avoid the suicidal nuclear endgame.

Recently a few zealous enthusiasts of a continued nuclear arms race have stated that the fear of a nuclear winter is exaggerated. It is also said that the original calculations behind this theory were based on a two-dimensional mathematical model of the globe rather than on the three-dimensional one in which we actually live. There would be no nuclear winter, only a nuclear

autumn.

One point should be made about this line of argument, based upon the experiences of a profession far removed from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California for the development of nuclear weapons: that of farmers. As they know only too well, during the autumn there are sometimes frosty nights. These are feared because they may destroy the harvests. An additional autumn in the middle of a summer might well destroy the crops of that year in either of the hemispheres. Given that the world's food reserves would not last a whole year, the magnitude of the potential disaster is obvious.

It is necessary to enlarge upon the criticism of the nuclear winter theory. First, it should be noted that even the critics have themselves acknowledged that a major nuclear war would have negative climatic effects, and second, that the climatic effects were only discovered in 1983 by a group of distinguished scientists. It was not discovered during all those years since 1945 by any of the members of the United States and Soviet military establishments engaged in nuclear weapons programmes.

The failure to discover this danger earlier during the long period of atmospheric testing is a major scientific scandal, especially when one considers the enormous research facilities at

military disposal and the costs these incur.

Another dramatic effect of nuclear explosions, the electromagnetic pulse (EMP) was only discovered in 1962 by American military scientists near the end of a long series of atmospheric tests, and only by a coincidence, when the lights of Honolulu started to flicker. The incompetence or perhaps deliberate deceit of the US and Soviet nuclear weapons research and development establishments in outlining the secondary effects of a nuclear war is thus now well documented.

It could even be suggested however, without prior evidence, that at least ten more serious secondary effects of nuclear weapons remain to be discovered. And that these secondary effects, acting in a synergistic manner, will be more than enough to kill off all of humanity several times over in the event of a global nuclear war. It is not necessary for those who strive for abolition of nuclear weapons to prove that thesis. Rather, because of the documented failures of the nuclear weapons wizards of the Livermore laboratory and their Soviet colleagues, it is up to them to prove the opposite.

A world with fewer nuclear weapons would be politically better, but not safer. Real progress

CONNECTIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION DEVELOPMENT ACTION

icda

International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA)

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1040 Brussels
BELGIUM

(tel. 32-2-734-2332)

The International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA) is a network of over 500 develop-

ment-oriented groups and agencies in 22 industrialised countries committed to the building of a more just and equitable international order.

ICDA's focal point in each country is the national coalition. Some of these are development action groups, others are based in the churches or the youth, student and trade union movements.

Founded in 1975, ICDA is a vehicle through which national

development groups can strengthen the international aspect of their work. It provides the framework for them to:

- examine and discuss trade and financial relations between the developed market economies and developing countries;
- encourage greater exchange of information and perspectives among non-governmental organisations about these issues, through publications, workshops and conferences;
- undertake advocacy on salient issues of concern to developing countries;
- undertake joint campaigns to raise public awareness of development issues;
- exchange ideas and experiences on action models and campaign strategies;
- create channels of com-

munication between development groups in North and South; and

- initiate and maintain active links between development groups and other movements such as trade unions, women's organisations, peace groups and environment action groups.

The ICDA keeps in contact with its member coalitions through a bimonthly newsletter, *ICDA News*, which provides information about development campaigns and action by groups throughout the industrialised world and reports on political events that affect the North-South debate.

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would only begin when a programme of abolition had reached a small number of remaining warheads. Real problems would begin then as well.

A new strategic concept is needed which acknowledges that nuclear weapons are not really weapons. Since ancient times humans have used weapons against each other, starting with stones and clubs. The weapons have become more advanced technologically, but until this century these changes had only a horizontal chronological effect. With the introduction of chemical and nuclear weapons there is a vertical time effect, impinging on future generations. This is especially true of nuclear weapons, even if they did not represent the threat of instant global death. Nuclear arms, however, are not only weapons directed against large numbers of individuals now alive or yet to be born, but means of omnicide, of killing humanity itself.

The development of human language has not kept pace with the nuclear arms race. One important task in the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons systems is therefore first to abolish the term 'nuclear weapons'. The innocuous nuclear

weapons could better be replaced by terms such as doomsday machines, or nuclear holocausters, or humanity suicide equipment. The idea of defence based not on the peace maker but on the holocaust maker is not only politically impossible but a linguistic absurdity.

There is an array of euphemisms used in discussions about the nuclear arms race. But instead of talking about United States MX missiles, and Soviet SS-24 missiles, one could introduce a new set of names, more to the point, based on the nazi deathcamps, such as the US Super Auschwitz MX or the USSR Super Majdanek SS-24; or use the standardised name of Super-Treblinkas.

A world free of the nuclear threat would most likely be more unstable in the short term. However it would be infinitely safer than a world dominated by the doomsday machines, where all of us stand only thirty minutes from our destruction. It would reinforce faith in the future, thus promoting the creative capacity of young people all over the world.

The Super-Treblinkas have concentrated an immense power in the hands of

the leaders of the countries that own them. No political leader in the past had comparable power; a single individual can now issue a command which would destroy humanity. This is a power which transcends that foreseen by any political theorist. It is beyond the bounds of purely human society and verges on quasi-religious terrain, the power of total destruction.

This power was not foreseen by Washington, Jefferson and the other founders of the United States. Nor did Marx, Engels, Luxemburg or Lenin include it in any blueprint for a communist society of the future. Most likely all of them would have been appalled, not only by the horrors of the Super-Treblinkas but also by their impact on political systems no matter how different their origin.

The ultimate solution must be to abolish the basis of this omni-power. The doomsday machines have the power to make a mockery of the aspirations of both left and right of every vision of how to build and improve society.

They must be abolished, before the next millennium.

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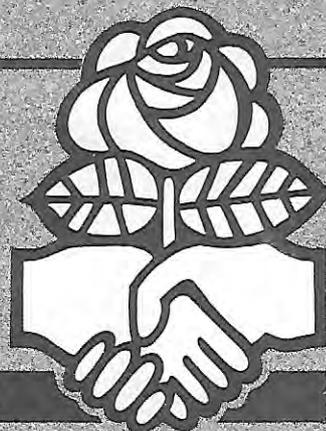
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HELP THE EARTH FIGHT BACK.

Socialist International Women



BULLETIN

Publisher and Editor: Maria Rodríguez-Jonas

Reproductive Technology

Women – providing spare parts?

In vitro fertilisation, glass womb, embryo transfer, surrogate mothers, sex-preselection, egg donors, sperm banks: some of the phrases we are constantly hearing and which women must come to terms with. **Maria Rodríguez-Jonas** interviewed **Renate Klein**, **Helga Satzinger** and **Deborah Steinberg** of FINRRAGE (Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive And Genetic Engineering).

MRJ: *Women have insisted that it is our right not to bear children (right to abortion and contraception). Now we are being told of a right to bear children (ovum and embryo transfer etc.). Are these techniques really in the interest of women?*

RK: Well, no. I think the three of us would agree that they are **not** in the interests of women. In fact, the international network in which we are all involved, FINRRAGE (see box), aims to bring to people's attention that the assumption that these technologies are beneficial to women is an erroneous one, that we are being conned by the media presentation of happy mothers who finally have their dream child.

DS: To answer your question more specifically, if we look at who is actually receiving the so called 'infertility treat-

ment', we very quickly realise that it is not in fact necessarily infertile women. Many of the women receiving treatment already have children, either through previous IVF – *in vitro* fertilisation – treatment or from a previous relationship. The treatment recognises childlessness, but only a particular sort of childlessness, in particular people who fit within a very narrow definition of the patriarchal family. It is much more about paternity than about maternity. It is about a woman having the genetically related child of a particular man. That is part of the criteria of treatment. Furthermore, there is nothing about the whole technology of *in vitro* fertilisation etc that is good for women, nothing about it that does not erode women's health. Women are the experimental objects of a very depersonalising procedure. As far as I am concerned, there is

absolutely no way these technologies can be justified as in the interests of women.

RK: Let me specify what we mean when we say that it is not good for women. The impression that is always given to the public is of a very simple procedure: *in vitro* fertilisation means 'in glass', in a petri-dish. All you need are eggs from a woman and sperm from a man; you put them together and you get an embryo and you then insert that in the woman's womb and this woman will then become a happy mother. That is the way it is presented. Well, it is not at all like that.

The woman does not just produce eggs, she has to undergo very difficult hormonal treatment, which I should mention is also very risky because she is given what a French doctor has called 'hormonal cocktails', made up of all kinds of hormones mixed together. It is known that these hormones produce side effects. This cocktail is administered in order to make the woman produce eggs – that is more than one, because there would be no interest in harvesting' (as the doctors call it) just one egg. So they 'super-ovulate' the women, inducing production of up to 19 eggs (as has happened in one case in Israel). The eggs are then extracted by an operation, which is often done under general anaesthetic. Then, indeed, the eggs are put in the petri-dish, where the fertilisation takes place. Next, the embryo is transferred to the woman's womb. At this stage about 80% of all the transfers fail. In fact, the statistics for all this wonderful technology for giving women babies show a success rate of 5 to 10%. And signs are that this success rate is getting even lower. So it is not possible to say that whatever we think of this procedure, it **does** give women babies. It **does not**: 90 to 95% of the women do not get a baby and they may end up with damaged bodies, from the administration of hormones, which, as I said before, is terribly dangerous. There has only just recently been some suggestion that the hormonal mix might actually cause cancer. We know that it certainly can cause ovarian cysts. This is not a treatment; it is experimentation on women. Women are being used as what an Australian colleague of mine, Robyn Rowland, has called 'living laboratories'.



Manipulation of women's bodies

Renate D. Klein is 42. She holds the degrees of MSci. in Biology, Zurich University, BA in Women's Studies, University of California at Berkeley, and PhD in Education, London University.

The editor of several publications in the field of International Women's Studies, her current work is on reproductive technology. She is co-editor with Rita Arditti and Shelley Minden of *Test-Tube Women* and co-author with Gena Corea et al of *Man-Made Women* (see below).

In 1986 she was awarded the Georgina Sweet Fellowship to do research on the experiences of women who drop out of test-tube baby programmes in Australia. She is currently a post-doctoral research fellow at Deakin University, Australia and continuing her research on the new reproductive technologies and genetic engineering.

She is a founder member of FINRRAGE and was its International Co-

ordinator from 1985 to 1987.

Helga Satzinger is 34. She is a biologist, active on behalf of FINRRAGE in Berlin, where she is currently producing a cabaret about genetic engineering, with the aim of spreading information and building up a resistance to the new technologies.

Deborah Lynn Steinberg is 25. She has a BA degree in Women's Studies, University of California at Berkeley, and an MA in Women's Studies from the University of London. She is currently working on a PHD thesis about reproductive technology and genetic engineering at the University of Birmingham, UK.

She is co-editor of a book to be published this autumn, *Made to Order - the Myth of Reproductive and Genetic Progress* (see below). She is the present International Coordinator of FINRRAGE.

DS: So, we can say that to call this procedure an infertility treatment is really a misnomer. If a woman is unable to have children, say because her fallopian tubes are damaged, she can undergo *in vitro* fertilisation and will emerge from the procedure with tubes which are still damaged, in fact probably more damaged, for the reasons which Renate has described. No condition is being treated here, they are just trying to produce children – and not very successfully at that, and at great risk to women.

MRJ: *Women in the first world are offered an expensive service to enable them to become mothers. What has this got to do with women in the third world?*

HS: At first sight, we have a complete contradiction: the idea that women in the first world should be having babies at any cost, while women in third world countries are given unsafe contraceptive drugs whose use is restricted in Western Europe, or even offered sterilisation in return for aid in disaster-stricken countries. Of course there are also privileged women in India or Brazil, for example, who are offered *in vitro* fertilisation. But for the majority, everything is done to keep their birth rates down.

RK: Yes. I think that is a very important connection to make, because it does show how reproductive technology really has nothing to do with relieving the pain and sadness of people who cannot have children. We can see very clearly that it is much more to do with controlling the reproduction of human beings; controlling who should be born, where they should be born, what colour they should be, what sex they should be.

Of course one of the very dangerous results of the new reproductive technology is that we now have many tests for the determination of sex. This affects many women who may think that this technology has nothing to do with them, because they are not infertile. More and more tests are and will be imposed on the woman who is 'normally' pregnant. She is being told that her body isn't good enough to produce healthy children and she has to undergo all these pre-natal tests, which are, I think, by their very nature eugenic. They imply a standard of what constitutes a 'good' person. Technologies are reducing people to bits and pieces, to matter – an egg from one person, a uterus from another, sperm from a third. You mix them together and you can insert them in any womb – for instance in the womb of a poor woman in the third world. All this is leading to greater control in the hands of a few.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY



DS: I think that, actually, one of the fundamental ideologies behind the apparent contradiction between what is happening in developing countries and what is happening in over-developed countries is the ideology of 'quality control' – breeding out what the male creators of technology and administrators of population-control policy consider to be not of good quality, and encouraging certain populations to breed. This can be done by law, by restricting the access of certain women to contraception and abortion and by imposing sterilisation or dangerous contraceptive drugs on others. This is, more than anything, about selective breeding. I think this is the major connection. One other connection that can be made is the following: the justifications which have been cited in Britain for the experimentation which they call embryo research are that they are doing this: 1) because they want to improve infertility services, 2) because they want to develop more hormonal contraceptives (and we all know where these have been going in the past) and 3) genetic engineering. These are the three basic reasons cited by medical science to justify experimenting on women. So, in the western countries, they have a pool of women who are called infertile, whether or not they actually are infertile.

The patient treated is seen as being the couple. They refer to the 'infertile couple'. In Great Britain, the Voluntary Licensing Authority (VLA) which has been started by medical scientists to license *in vitro* fertilisation clinics has suggested an informed consent form, where the couple signing the form are called the 'gamete donors', donor in the plural, even though they are signing the form for the woman to undergo the procedure. The 'donors' are seen as 'donating' a piece of the woman's body for research.

The major reason for wanting to do *in vitro* fertilisation, as far as I am concerned, is to do the research. This is what one gathers from everything that has been written, and the research seems to be geared in every way towards selective breeding.

RK: Or towards making money! Having this huge range of embryos available, it will be possible to develop all kinds of kits for genetic screening, which, as I said before, can in the future be used on all women. That's why it is economically so important. In the USA just recently 50 bio-technology firms have joined forces to develop new ante-natal tests. It is really the new growth area. I totally agree with what Debbie has just said. What it is really about is having lots of embryos available to experiment on.

Some people are doing it in order to breed selectively, and of course some justify that in order to eradicate genetic diseases. Of course it is true that genetically caused conditions like Down's Syndrome for example can be a cause of great pain and stress to people, but then I think we should rather be trying to reform society and improve the conditions for the life of people with disabilities, not trying to eradicate these people. In any case, there is a known genetic factor in only 3% of disabilities. It is somewhat strange to put forward this idea of 'helping people' by eradicating disabilities. If this was really a motivation, there are so many other things that can be done to help people, for instance to ease the life of mothers, who, whether or not they have disabled children, still today have a very hard life. In fact, with regard to IVF, no-one is interested really in what happens to those 5% or so of women who do have children as a result of technological intervention, once they have had the children.

DS: Including those who have 5 or 6 children as a result of *in vitro* fertilisation!

RK: One last comment on the issue of disabled people. If one tries to breed out disabled people, what is going to happen to those people who are disabled through accidents, or those born with some kind of disability, for no-one knows what reason? They will always exist.

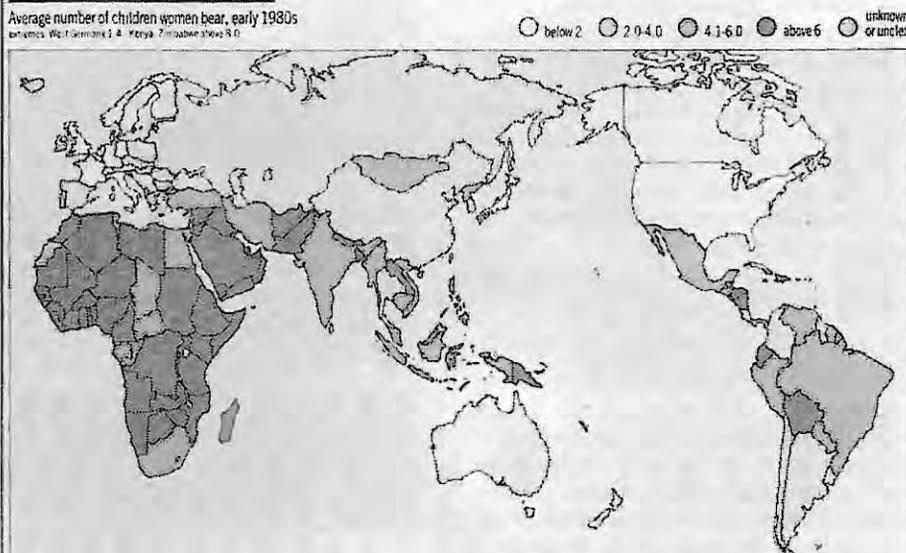
MRJ: Another question I had in mind to ask you seems appropriate here. Monitoring of foetuses, manipulation of embryos, aborting of those found to be 'deficient' – Hitler, and others, decided who should reproduce and who should not. Human beings with 'defects' were destroyed. Are we witnessing the same selection by scientists today?

RK: I think we would all agree that, yes, we are.

HS: At an international workshop on human genetics held in Berlin last

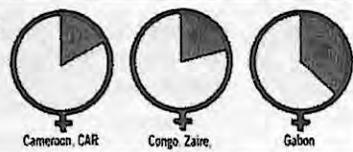
TOTAL FERTILITY RATE

Average number of children women bear, early 1980s
estimates West Germany 2.4 Kenya Zimbabwe above 8.0



CHILDLESSNESS

Proportion of women who end their childbearing years with no children, where known, percentages



TEST-TUBE BABIES

Use of <i>in vitro</i> fertilization, mid-1985	first practised	babies born number	centres number	first practised	babies born number	centres number
UK	1978	over 250	8	Japan	1982	over 10
France	1978	100-200	over 60	Denmark	1982	1
Australia	1979	over 200	10	Sweden	1982-83	8
USA	1980	about 180	about 108	Switzerland	1982-83	2
West Germany	1982	15	10	Israel	1982	6-8
Brazil	1982	2-3	6	Netherlands	1933	20



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY

September, it was repeatedly said that the goal of genetic screening is the healthy child. And the things they were defining as not healthy, as 'diseases', included alcoholism, asthma and other allergies, schizophrenia, deficiency in intelligence, social maladaptation, criminality. Researchers are looking for more and more genetically caused diseases. The Vice-President of the Congress stated that, due to industrialisation, genetic defects are increasing. The solution to that, he said, is to be found through the study of genetics! So, you can see what is coming if they say, on the one hand, due to industrialisation, that is radiation, chemical pollution etc., we have more genetic mutations; on the other hand, the solution to this is to be found through genetic selection, selective

breeding, genetic engineering. Genetic research is being carried out in order to establish such techniques, rather than trying to eradicate the conditions that cause damage in the first place.

RK: That is why you need a willing population of women who are prepared to donate their eggs for such research, playing on their altruistic desire to help another infertile woman.

DS: Even if they don't want to do that, they have to if they sign the forms as 'gamete donors'. Whether or not they have joined an *in vitro* fertilisation programme in order to be part of a research project, and I am sure that most women have not, their embryos are being used anyway, because once consent is given, the IVF teams 'own' their

gametes. Custody of parts of a woman's body is transferred to the scientists and it is up to them how the donated part is used, whether it is replaced into a woman or not, whether it is experimented on, or frozen, or saved, or discarded.

RK: Already now, a lot of pressure is put on women over 35 to have amniocentesis, that is the test at 16 weeks pregnant to find out if the child has Down's Syndrome – you also see the sex of the child by looking at the chromosomes. I know that, in Switzerland at least, if a woman of 35 does not want the test she is likely to be put under moral pressure, told: 'What if there is something wrong with your child? Who is going to pay for it? Do you think the state should pay for your disabled child?' I think those kind of arguments will increasingly be put to the woman. This leads us back to your very first question – this is not about choice! In fact, I would say it is coercion. Women are coerced into believing that they need these technologies in order to produce a 'good' child. If you look at this, together with other motives that some scientists might have – to control who is actually able to reproduce – those two things together are a very, very dangerous combination.

DS: Also, there is more than metaphysical, moral coercion. In the United States, there is beginning to be an area of law about what is called 'wrongful birth'. This means that if someone is born with a so-called birth defect which is traced back to the fact that the mother decided not to have an amniocentesis, she becomes criminally or civilly liable for that! There are already precedent cases where women have been forced to have caesarian sections 'in the interests of the child'. So this whole idea of 'foetal rights' is also coming up. This is totally eroding women's rights over our own bodies, because the foetus or the embryo is being located as a separate entity, instead of an embryo, as we see it, being part of a pregnant woman as a whole person and what she does with her body as being her own reproductive and civil autonomy. And who represents the foetus and decides what its rights are? The doctors and scientists, in cooperation with the state.

RK: What we are trying to do in our Network is to promote a women-centred perspective, as opposed to a foetus-centred perspective. What we care about is in what ways these technologies are good or bad for women. What happens to a woman's body – and her soul! What happens to her life when she has to undergo either IVF or an increasing number of pre-natal tests. This is a point

FEMINISTS concerned with the effects of reproductive technology and genetic engineering on women's social position and biological integrity.

INTERNATIONAL linkages between more than 700 women in 20 countries around the world.

NETWORK committed to monitor global scientific developments and to exchange information.

RESISTANCE through political strategies to oppose the use of reproductive and genetic engineering as new forms of social control.

REPRODUCTIVE technologies such as *in vitro* fertilisation, embryo transfer and ectogenesis (artificial wombs) which are presented as 'solutions to infertility'.

AND are linked to other techniques such as surrogate motherhood, artificial insemination and 'new methods' of contraception.

GENETIC experimentation involving commercial and eugenic exploitation of the world's gene pool.

ENGINEERING which promotes the development of new forms of biotechnological control over humans, animals and the environment.

1984, Groningen, Netherlands: At an international feminist conference, a session on the new reproductive technologies lead to the creation of FINRET (Feminist International Network on the New Reproductive Technology) and the demand for an Emergency Conference.

1985, Vallinge, Sweden: 74 women from 20 countries met to discuss the interrelationship between reproductive technologies and genetic engineering. The Network was renamed FINRRAGE, to emphasise both the importance of this link and the necessity of political resistance.

1985, Nairobi, Kenya: FINRRAGE presented reproductive technology and genetic engineering as matters of urgent political concern for women globally.

1986, Brussels: FINRRAGE, in association with the Green Alternative Faction, organised the Feminist Alternative Hearings on Reproductive Technology and Genetic Engineering in response to the exclusion of women from the official hearings.

A conference is planned for March 1988 in Bangladesh

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Contraceptives for the third world

of view rarely taken into consideration by other groups.

DS: Particularly the groups that are making the technologies. You can read their scientific documents and almost never see the word woman, when all they are talking about is treatments carried out on women.

RK: Even the term *in vitro* fertilisation, meaning fertilisation in the glass, is used as if it were not the woman who goes through the hormonal treatment, through the agonies of 'is it going to work, will I produce eggs, will they be able to extract them in the surgery?' (and in fact three women have died already during IVF surgery). Then the embryo is replaced in the woman's body and she has to bear the child for 9 months, undergo lots of tests etc., But it is as if that was not the important part. What gives the technique its name? the glass! - where for a period of a few days the egg and sperm are placed, ie. it is what the scientists do that is important, not what the woman does.

DS: The same is true of the term 'embryo research'. Where do embryos come from? They come from women. It is women who have to go through the whole *in vitro* fertilisation procedure, in order for the scientists to get hold of embryos. But it is called embryo research, not research on women.

MRJ: *Women can donate eggs just as, for example, they can donate bone marrow. But is it really comparable?*

RK: I don't think it is the same. Donating eggs means that your body could potentially be damaged, because we do not know the extent of the effects of the hormonal treatment. Also, bone-marrow donation could save a life. Egg donation does not save lives. I think this is a huge difference.

DS: Going back to everything we have been saying before, and talking about this whole technology being a eugenic technology, what are you donating eggs for? When you donate bone marrow, you

know what it is for. When you donate an egg, you go into this vacuum of endless eugenic possibilities. I think because it is emerging out of a eugenic ideology, this can never be regarded as comparable to a bone-marrow transplant, which came out of a different ideology. The two things have developed for completely different reasons. The word 'donation' in the context of IVF gives a totally wrong impression of what is happening. We have talked already about the element of coercion. When a woman is under a general anaesthetic for laparoscopy, I am not sure you can talk about voluntary 'donation' at all. When you look at how IVF was developed by Dr Edwards, in Britain, we know that he just waited by the bedside of women undergoing abdominal surgery and took pieces of their ovaries. We do not know if they agreed or not. There is no written record.

MRJ: *I understand that there is proof that eggs have been taken from women's bodies without their knowledge, for use in research.*

RK: I think the analogy between egg donation and donation of other parts of the body makes no sense in a feminist context, because it is not looking at the woman who is involved. It is looking only at some external issue. Another such analogy, which for us really makes no sense, is when some people ask how we can be against embryo experimentation and in favour of a woman's right to have an abortion if she needs one. We, again, don't have a problem with that. Let us look at it from the point of view of the woman involved. She needs to have an abortion and it is her choice to decide to have what is growing in her body aborted, to say: no, I cannot carry on with this. The end result is nothing. Whereas with IVF, a third party gets something from the woman's body, as a commodity. She loses control of it. It is put back in her body, or in someone else's body, or used for experimentation. If one looks at the woman as an entity in herself, with a bodily integrity, then they are two totally different things, having nothing to do with one another.

DS: To underline that point, we can say that a pregnant woman is a whole person. You cannot take an egg from a woman's body and call it a discrete entity. You cannot say that the egg or the embryo is something other than the woman herself. It is part of her. A woman's decision to have an abortion is her decision not to be pregnant, because what she is is a pregnant woman, a whole woman. The decision to control one's own body is not



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY

comparable, as you said, to a third party coming in and controlling her body.

RK: It depends where you put your focus. If you put it on this growing being, on the question as to whether it can be called an 'unborn child', this question will never be answered by anyone. We can only put forward our own values. The foetus will never speak out and tell what it thinks it is or is not. No-one has the right answer. So instead of coming up with laws based on this non-entity which cannot speak for itself, what we think should be done is to put the focus on the woman and give her the space to speak and make decisions about her body, as an entity with its own integrity.

MRJ: Do you think that if women were in control of the new technologies that would make a difference?

DS: No, I think women practising eugenics is the same as anyone practising eugenics.

RK: If a woman, say, selects the sperm to be used because she wants her baby to be a girl, I find that no less questionable than for a man to select sperm in order to have a boy. I think just for it to be women is not good enough. What is important is for it to be in the best interests of women as a group and as individuals. It seems to me that these technologies are not in the best interests of people in general, because they dismember us. They turn us into this factory of body parts which can be interchangeable. I think they really destabilise a person's sense of self. It violates what one might call a person's dignity. I think that these technologies are not neutral. They are not something that, if they were in women's hands, we could use for our good, as some women are saying. I think we need to look for a totally different science. There is a need for research into the very nature of infertility. And also, of course, we should be stopping the manufacture of contraceptives which are based on the disruption of bodily cycles and really trying to produce some good contraceptives, which are not dangerous for women's health.

MRJ: For instance contraceptives for men!

RK: Yes, for instance. But even looking at male contraceptives, all contraception to date has been based on the concept of a machine which must be disrupted, either a part taken out or something added in. I think it is this same machine logic of much patriarchal science today which has led us to the point, where, for

instance, in genetic engineering used in agriculture, they don't leave certain plants alone. They try to manufacture their own bacteria which add something or take something away, in order to really effect change in the plant at the deepest level. I think this is such hubris on the part of some scientists. They really do seem to believe that they can play God and that they know what they are doing!

MRJ: So here we have three feminists talking about genetic engineering and the new reproductive technologies. Is there anything that can be done? What is FINRRAGE actually doing in this context to try and prevent the misuse and abuse of women's bodies?

RK: Well, I think that the most important aim of our Network is to inform. Informing people firstly means talking about what the new technologies really are, what they do to women's bodies, all the things we have been saying here. So that, for instance, the woman who is considering undergoing the IVF process, and has perhaps been told by well-meaning friends how successful the technologies are, has the possibility of really knowing what it all means. So that she can know how low the rate of success really is, and how risky the procedure is. We should also, I think, be asking very fundamental questions about why people still in this day and age believe in the authority and infallibility of patriarchal science and its makers.

Thirdly, I think we need to have a fundamental discussion about the desire to have children. About why people supposedly have a fundamental need for a biological child of their own. Of course, we are not saying that there will not always be women who want a biological child. But some women, in different circumstances, might decide otherwise and would not have to go through these atrocities. I think as feminists we must see this as an important debate. Still in this day and age, so many women have this feeling that one is not a proper woman when one does not have one's own biological children. The Women's Movement has really avoided this discussion. But we are now faced with the fact that many feminists too are wanting children of their own.

DS: We are also trying to have a discussion about how knowledge is produced. Science is the production of knowledge. We have to ask: whose knowledge? for whose benefit? on what basis? and really question the whole foundation of what is considered to be knowledge in this society. I think that we

have a very different idea of firstly the methodology of producing knowledge and secondly that the end cannot be separated from the means. I think that one of the guiding forces of science in this area at present is that the end justifies the means. A child at any cost. And the cost is to women. That is what they never mention. We are talking not just about resisting what they are doing, but also about what kind of knowledge we think we want to be producing. For instance, we should be thinking about how different kinds of research could be done, with the well-being of people in mind. We should be thinking about how to get away from the logic of gene technology. Gene technology is about losing and gaining control. The work towards splitting the cell, the DNA of the cell, is really the epitome of taking more and more control. It is based on the idea that in this way we can control the complexity of life. That is never going to work. In fact, I am surprised that they really do produce some children!

HS: It is not only medicine, but natural science, and the understanding of living organisms which we are now questioning. The extent of our debate should include asking if there are other ways of seeing the inter-relationships between organisms, if there are other ways of approaching agriculture, food-processing, things like that. Not in this mechanical and exploitative and finally destructive way.

Further reading

The Mother Machine Gena Corea (New York: Harper and Rowe; 0-06-091325-8)

Man-Made Women Gena Corea, Renate D Klein et al (London: Hutchinson; ISBN 0-091627-311)

Test-Tube Women - What Future for Motherhood? ed. Rita Arditti, Renate Duelli Klein and Shelley Minden (London, Boston, Melbourne: Pandora; ISBN 0-86358-030-0)

Made to Order - The Myth of Reproductive and Genetic Progress ed. Patricia Spallone and Deborah Steinberg (Oxford and New York: Pergamon; ISBN-0-86358-030-0)

Reproductive and Genetic Engineering - A Journal of International Feminist Viewpoints To be published thrice-yearly from spring 1988; for subscriptions, write to: Phyllis Hall, Vice-President, Pergamon Press, Inc., Maxwell House, Fairview Park, Elmsford, New York 10523, USA



SIW visit to reforestation project

SIW in Dakar

SIW had followed an invitation from its Senegalese Vice-President, Caroline Diop, to visit women's projects in her country prior to SIW's Bureau meeting there. Thus, participants were able to see the reality behind the meeting's theme **Women - a key factor in the economic development of Africa.**

Fourteen women from Austria, Australia, Canada, Costa Rica, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, The Netherlands and Sweden, took part in a tour of three projects, in the regions of Diourbel and Thiès.

The welcoming delegations, having awaited the delayed arrival of our bus in blazing sunshine accompanied us to each of the projects, where they explained the purpose, work and management of the women's co-operative undertakings. All these projects have been initiated and helped into existence by the Ministry for Social Development.

It is difficult to describe the kindness, the enthusiasm, the atmosphere of our short encounters with women in the rural areas, because the sounds, the colours, the smiles, the dancing and drumming, in short, the cultural background are missing. Suffice it to say that despite the heat and humidity, the Toubab (white) sisters listened with great interest and admiration to the spirited accounts of

women's imaginative and energetic enterprises.

Below we print an account of activities we were given in one of the projects, in Bambey, as an example of the precise information we were provided with throughout our visits.

In Khandiar, visitors were presented with similarly encouraging and admirably detailed reports of activities including efforts of reforestation which, again, was shown to us, as were the fields where millet, sorghum, maize, bissap, and gombos are grown. We were also given a ram in lieu of a dinner the woman project leaders had wanted to prepare for us.

The third visit was an overwhelming experience, mainly because there were some two thousand people gathered to welcome us and the accompanying television crew. This project included cattle-breeding and selling.

After our return to Dakar, SIW representatives attended a conference of the regional Dakar women's organisation

on 'The Socialist Party - party for development', with a brilliant exposé by Professor Ndiro Ndiaye, who heads the 'Cellule de Réflexion' of her party.

The Bureau Meeting on the day after our study visits endorsed a proposal by the Executive to donate three hundred pounds to each of the projects seen from the Gabriele Proft Fund. The Finnish women spontaneously doubled this sum.

Book Peete Women's Association

The Book Peete women's group is in Bambey, a commune situated at the junction of two major roads, from the regional capital of Thiès to that of Diourbel, and from Fatick, another regional capital, to the departmental capital of Ngaye Mekhe.

The commune has 15,000 inhabitants, drawn from three different tribes: Wolofs, Sereres and Alpoulers.

Due to the lack of industrial employment opportunities and the predominance among the population of rural occupations, the commune of Bambey is classed as a rural area.

However, the population has a marked tendency to encourage children to stay at school, whereas in urban areas most children leave school without attaining a level acceptable to the demands of the labour market and find themselves unemployed.

In these circumstances, on 16 June 1985, 324 women from Bambey took the initiative of establishing the Book Peete association.

As set out in our founding statutes, the purpose of Book Peete is to create the conditions for the insertion of our members in productive activities generating salaried employment, in accordance with the policy of the government of President Abdou Diouf.

Activities

Since its establishment, Book Peete has carried out the following activities:

- **The collective field** : on a plot of 1 ½ hectares allocated by the municipality, we are cultivating gombos, bissap, haricot beans and sweet potatoes.

Fresh produce is sold at the local market and a large proportion of the gombo crop has been sold as seed for 300,000 francs.

With the financial profit from this activity, Book Peete has been able to pay out 337,000 francs to those members who have worked in the field. This meant an income of 22,500 francs for each of the 15



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN SIW BUREAU

Building on the experience already acquired, we now wish to expand our activities into out-of-season cultivation, the plot being very suitable for market gardening extending over 6 months of the year. Our present difficulties with providing water, by sinking a well and setting up an irrigation system. It will also be necessary to provide appropriate fencing to protect our crops from animals wandering on to the land.

- **The Millet Mill:** This was donated by the Ministry for Social Development and has been installed in the neighbouring village of Bambeby Serere, where the women suffered from the lack of such a facility. Use of the equipment generates an annual income of 1,215,000 francs, that is 75 kilos produced every day, at 15 francs per kilo. This means we can afford additional equipment resulting in a 10% increase in output (about 10,000 francs per month).

women, for 45 days work. The remaining financial revenue, a sum of 150,000 francs, has been paid into the association's bank account.

Cost of maintenance, spare parts, fuel and "hire" of the premises amount to 665,000 francs, which leaves about 450,000, also going into our bank account.

- **The sewing centre:** The centre has 6 sewing machines, 4 foot-operated and 2 hand-operated.

This project is not productive in the strictly economic sense, as it is intended for the training of women, and of young women in particular. Teaching is carried out by members of the association who are skilled in the subject, but on an entirely voluntary basis. Materials (fabric and thread) are provided by the group, which is compensated from the sale of items produced by the workshop.

We hope to diversify into dyeing and pottery, since some of our members are skilled in these areas.

- **The Women's Centre, social centre and household centre**

We take this opportunity to draw the attention of the political and administrative authorities to the current situation, where important facilities provided by the municipal authorities are under-used, due to the lack of complementary equipment: audio-visual materials, modern sewing machines, teaching materials, a library, cooking facilities.

The attractive building housing the women's centre, destined for our conferences and seminars, can only function when it is provided with the additional equipment we need.

Resolution of SIW Bureau Meeting, Dakar, 11 October 1987

The conclusion of the United Nations World Women's Conference, held in Nairobi in 1985, established definitively that African women form the social category doing most work.

The IMF, designed to assist developed countries in adjustment problems, has imposed an all or nothing offer on developing countries which they cannot easily afford to refuse - deregulate the private sector, dismantle the public sector, deflate public spending, and devalue the currency. This has denied them the benefits of welfare spending on housing, health, education, social services and - too often - even food. Such policies are totally inappropriate for the lesser and least developed economies.

Colonisation reduced the role previously played by African women in the economic life of their country, making men the sole heads of families and land owners. Thenceforth, their economic role in the development of the country was passed over, despite the fact that the life of these societies and communities essentially depends on women.

In fact, rural women are the main providers of food for our peoples. Socialist International Women emphasises the importance of women fully participating on an equal basis with men, in the economic development efforts of our countries, so that they are able to profit from the benefits ensuing. Socialist International Women demand:

1) For rural women:

- The taking into account of women's aims in the economic development plans of our countries, and also in the conception of aid programmes.

- Access for rural women to modern production techniques, to agricultural credit and to appropriate professional training.

- The establishment, by governments, of programmes of concrete action which can solve the major problems which women are encountering: lack of training, of technological performance, difficulties of conversion, transformation and distribution of their products, food in particular, which are indispensable during the periods between harvests.

Governments must offer women appropriate literacy courses which allow them to combine domestic and agricultural work with adequate training.

2) For urban women:

- Recognition of the right to paid work as an inalienable right of all people.

- Access to all professions.

- Equal pay and promotion under the same working conditions.

- Respect of the minimum wage,

together with maternity leave for the protection of mother and child.

- In order to reduce social inequalities, literacy campaigns and also professional training programmes specifically for women are to be encouraged. There is an urgent need to remedy the lack of professional qualification in the secondary sector.

- In all circumstances, the policies of our countries in favour of women's integration in the popular effort for a better quality of life must respect absolutely the public duty of education of children.

- The promotion of organising women in trade unions (ICFTU) because they are vital to the struggle for equality and better working conditions for all.

Socialist International Women, aware of the fact that women are the main sufferers from the misery and poverty caused by the dramatic gap existing between rich and poor countries in the world, appeals to governments for African women's full participation in the economic and political decision making process at all levels.

Women have the right of access to the information on contraception which enables them to plan and manage their fertility.

The full participation of women in economic progress, on an equal basis with men, is the only guarantee of harmonious economic development for all women and men.

SIW emphasises the link between development and disarmament. Instead of the expenditure of a trillion US dollars on arms, the developed world should increase the non-military investment to further develop mutual trade and economic growth. By these means the income of the developing world could be increased by a quarter, and by up to two thirds over a ten year period.

SIW, aware of the situation of international tension in our world, faced with the problems of misery, sickness and ignorance, aware that it is useless to draw up plans and programmes which cannot be put into effect due to lack of resources, calls upon political parties, upon all those concerned, to maintain and increase active solidarity with the cause of African women, in order to maximise the possibilities, to contribute to the reduction of social inequality and to support the determination of women to work together for social justice and the welfare of people.

Finally, Socialist International Women totally support the heroic struggle being waged by the women of South Africa and Namibia to recover their alienable right to liberty and justice.



A New Thinking on Disarmament and Development?

Inga Thorsson comments on the United Nations Conference



Postponed for one year on the initiative of the original invitor, the government of France, the UN International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development finally took place at UN Headquarters in New York from 24 August to 11 September 1987. It had not aroused great advance expectations, although peace movements and a number of other organizations of concerned citizens had prepared themselves thoroughly for their participation and their contributions

The main reason for doubts about the final outcome of three weeks of deliberations was the declared absence of the United States, the reason for which, it was explained, was a refusal to recognize any link whatsoever between a process of genuine disarmament and possibilities for a more effective process of economic and social development. I want to later return to the effects on the final outcome of the US absence.

A comprehensive and thorough preparatory process had preceeded the conference, based on the report of the UN Group of Governmental Experts which delivered its report in 1981 and was approved by the General Assembly in 1982.

The necessity and usefulness of the preparatory process was obvious. Through the years since 1982 governments of UN Member States had shown themselves singularly and regrettably indifferent to the urging of the General Assembly to undertake studies, preparations and planning at the national level, on the possibilities for conversion of resources used for military purposes to constructive

civilian use in an international disarmament situation.

The fact that the relationship issue was the only item on the conference agenda had forced the governments of the 150 Member States participating to think about, not disarmament or development, but the relationship between them. The result was that in the general debate as well as in the Final Document there is a beginning of a new thinking, a new language and a new vocabulary.

In other words, it was for obvious reasons that so many delegates, including foreign ministers, spoke about a historic conference, a landmark conference.

A few words on the content of the Final Document:

First, It cannot be said to contain very much of concrete substance, in terms of action-oriented proposals. Neither could that have been expected.

The task that the conference had been given was to examine and negotiate, the principles based on the texts of the drafts submitted to it by the preparatory committee – and I must add, the Declaration of a Panel of Eminent Personalities, which emerged from a three day's meeting in April 1986 under my leadership and which was aimed at serving as a reference point for the conference. On the other hand, the Final Document was intended to serve as a guideline for the next steps to follow on the conclusion of the conference, being the first step forward. As such, it contains much more substance than I had believed possible. It provides quite a lot of guidance for the follow-up process.

Second, many delegations expressed regret that the Final Document did not

explicitly endorse the proposal of establishing an International Disarmament Fund for Development. I do not share this feeling. Very briefly these are my reasons:

In my view, the fund is not a magic formula for implementing, in concrete terms, the relationship concept. One has to compare the possible importance of additional financial transfers from the industrialized and weapon-producing countries in the North in a disarmament situation – possibly rather small – with the necessary and fundamental change in the structural relationship between countries in world economy, including world trade. This is, after all, the aim, the purpose and content of the New International Economic Order. And this can only be brought about, in a disarmament situation, through the conversion and the transfer of human talents and skills, as well as material resources, from military to constructive developmental purposes, thus forming a step towards the New International Economic Order. In this context, the establishment of a fund can only be marginal. After all, this was the basic thinking behind the UN General Assembly mandate to the Governmental Expert group for its three



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN DISARMAMENT

year study 1978-81 on the relationship to have its conclusions and recommendations placed into the framework of the New International Economic Order. Therefore we have to deepen our thinking and our analysis of the relationship issue. How do the interdependencies among people and issues really function in today's world?

Third, This is why the follow-up mechanisms to be established are, in real terms, the most important result of the conference. What form will they take? This has to be decided by the General Assembly to which the report of the conference is directed. I for one cannot think of anything less than a mechanism that will function at both the inter-governmental and the secretarial levels, keeping watch on progress made at national levels. And, of course, with some kind of a NGO-presence.

Next, what about the absence of the United States? Many were worried. I was not. When asked if this was, after all, a blessing in disguise, I answered: it was a blessing. Contrary to some optimists who believed that a US presence would have adopted the consensus Final Document, I think that the US presence would have reinforced the doubts and the resistance of some West European NATO countries, to such an extent that the developing countries would have felt it impossible to accept a Final Document.

With the adoption of the consensus Final Document we shall have a situation of the world community versus the United States. That missing superpower will learn that the world community can do without it. The US will sooner or later – hopefully sooner – have to start doing its homework and adjust to the realities of our age. But great care should be taken not to allow governments of UN Member States to forget what they have said and agreed to at the conference. Their homework is indeed not completed: the important part of it still remains to be done.

In the follow-up process, the NGO's have an indispensable part to play, to keep watch on the accountability of governments. At a concluding NGO-Forum on 10 September I permitted myself to formulate some pieces of advice:

– In the international debate on the relationship issue, never accept dogmas and so-called holy truths of which statesmanlike utterances are so abundant, all aimed at reducing the impact of disarmament on development.

– There is a need to be utterly realistic, founded on facts and sound judgement, but at the same time to be occupied by a determined will to fight, and win, the battle for disarmament – excuse the military terminology used which is a common sin of all of us. This attitude will

lead to optimism: no one of us is willing to fight a losing battle. We are on the winning side.

– But never put all of your eggs in one and the same basket, as the peace movements have done on occasions in the past.

– It is of utmost importance to have the development community much more involved in the relationship issue than has been the case so far.

With knowledge, realism and optimism we shall contribute to the ultimate success of the efforts of the peoples – a statement often quoted and pronounced originally by Daniel Webster in 1830, now more applicable than ever – for survival in human decency and dignity. We have here witnessed the first steps.

Inga Thorsson is a former under-secretary of state with responsibility for disarmament issues in the Swedish ministry of Foreign Affairs. She chaired the group of governmental experts which prepared the UN report The Relationship between Disarmament and Development, 1981. and led the Panel of Eminent Personalities (see above). Many readers will have read her article in Socialist Affairs 1/87.



Ida Nudel (right) with Nava Arad

Ida Nudel Free!

For more than 15 years, Ida Nudel waited for the permission of the USSR authorities to emigrate.

For many years, Socialist International Women invited her to attend our meetings, issued statements and appeals on her behalf, and encouraged our member organisations to join in the struggle for her right to emigrate. SIW's Vice President Nava Arad met Ida Nudel in Moscow in June of this year, reassuring her of SIW's continuing solidarity.

On 15 October 1987, Ida Nudel arrived in Israel at last. The news was received by all her friends with great joy.



Shanty town – "home" for millions

Women and Shelter

The Swedish Social Democratic Women's Federation organises an international seminar after their triennial conference. In August 1987, the subject was "Shelter". The seminar was held at the traditional labour education centre of Bommersvik.

The value of the seminar was certainly the possibility to get first-hand experience from women in areas of the world where homelessness is a dire reality. The reports given on the housing situation in Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Guatemala, Bolivia and the Philippines provided the necessary basis for discussions in working groups. These reports were complemented by introductory remarks on the theme by high-level officials from Sweden, namely Elisabeth Wiklund from the Ministry of Housing and the minister, Hans Gustavsson, and Ingrid Munro, a Swedish

woman in charge at the UN organisation, Habitat, responsible for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. Olle Lindström, from the organisation of housing co-ops in Sweden, outlined the history of self-help organisations like co-operatives, tenants' associations and insurance companies for the poor, in her country, and reflected on the possibilities of co-operation with countries of the third world.

Working groups put a lot of work, but also fun, into presenting a play, a radio-programme, an exhibition and a leaflet on the theme

At the close of the seminar all participants had been inspired to take some practical steps and initiatives to help in drawing attention to the problem but also to get actions underway.

Roda from Tanzania, a cheerful and

strong-minded woman, promised that she would start making bricks together with other women. But she also, as an education officer in her country, proposed that students of the final school year, where practical skills are taught, would be invited to villages to help women build their houses. Thus not only contributing their skills but being involved in the creation of shelter.

Lidia from the Philippines undertook to take the problem of assignation of housing up with the officials in the ministry, and to work in her organisation to get women into decision-making bodies.

Anastasia from Mozambique took home the leaflet which a working group had produced, to use it in meetings with the officials in the ministries of housing, education and finance, but also with the workers.

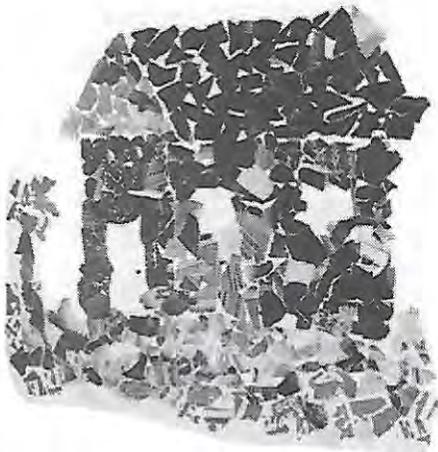


SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN SHELTER

Leila from Norway was going to initiate talks between the Social Democratic Women's organisation and the government in her country to decide in what way aid for self-help could be given. Helvi from Finland assured participants that her women's organisation would make appropriate suggestions to the Finnish Development Aid Fund to the same end.

Luisa, head of the Angolan Radio, would produce a programme on the seminar and also initiate a "wallpaper" at the next party congress on the subject of Shelter.

Participants agreed to a statement issued at the end of the seminar (see below). It reflects the ideas and discussions. What it does not show is the spirit of sisterhood among those taking part, the laughter, the happiness and the lovely warm atmosphere that was created and offered by the Swedish sisters hosting this important event.



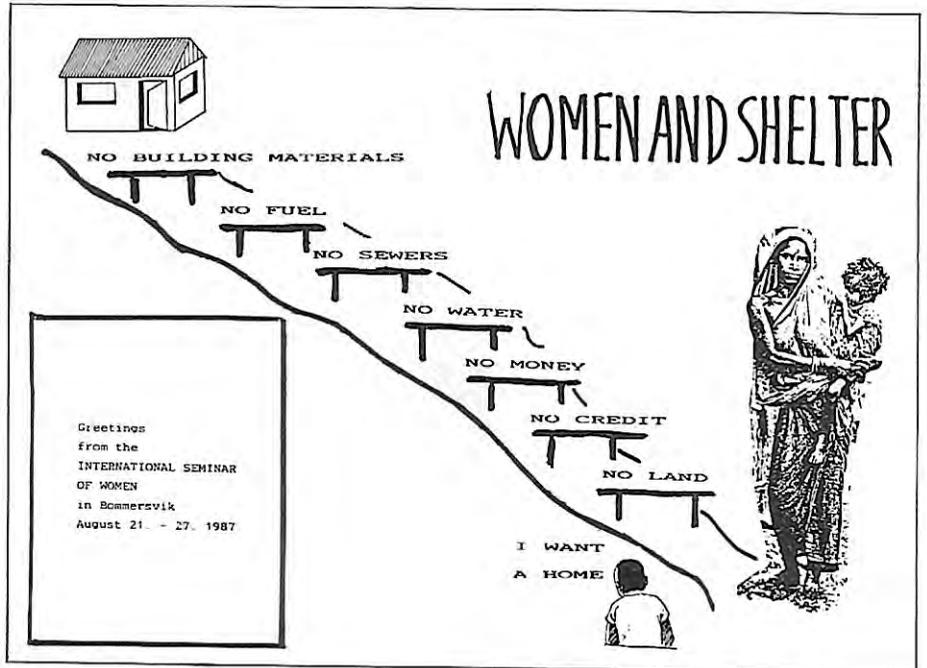
Statement

The rural landless and the poor in the big city slums and streets, and the homeless amount to more than a billion people today. Most of them are women and children. Five million of them die annually as a direct consequence of miserable housing.

In August 1987, women from 13 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe gathered on the invitation of the Swedish Social Democratic Womens' Federation to discuss the problem of the homeless from a female perspective. We agreed on the following statement:

Good housing does not solve all problems, but acceptable shelter is the precondition to be able to improve health, income and knowledge and practical prerequisites.

Therefore we call on the government and development aid agencies to initiate and support these policies.



Leaflet (above) and poster (left) produced by seminar working groups

The basic needs for the homeless women are:

- access to land
 - right to own or lease land
 - legal assistance
 - water and sanitation
 - cheap local building materials
 - access to loans or reasonable rents
- In order to profit from these possibilities women need:
- to organise for cooperation
 - to get educated in simple technology for house building and sanitation
 - to get the support to organise cooperative financing and insurance

- to get childcare, schools and health services complementing housing

Women must take part in the decision making process on international, national and local level.

For all these goals our womens' organisation will work, both in the donor and the recipient countries.

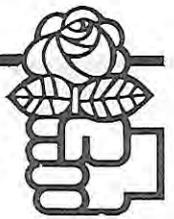
We challenge all womens' organisations to start at least one project for permanent and good housing during the year of 1988. We challenge womens' organisations in the industrialized countries to support at least one such project.

On behalf of Socialist International Women, we should like to wish all our readers a peaceful and happy New Year. At the same time, may we thank all those who sent cards for their kind wishes.

Sisterly

Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

Anita Gradin



ARUBA

New Leader for MEP

Following the death in November 1986 of its leader Betico Croes (see 4/86, page 69), the opposition People's Electoral Movement (MEP) elected the general secretary, Nelson Oduber, to succeed him.

Oduber stated his intention of following Croes' lead in developing the political and economic autonomy of the island, formerly part of the Netherlands Antilles, with a view to securing full independence from the Netherlands in 1996.

AUSTRIA

SPÖ looks to the future

The ruling Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) held its 30th congress in Vienna on 27-29

In this issue of the Socialist Notebook:

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- **Costa Rica:** Nobel Peace Prize for Arias, page 65
- **Denmark:** Auken takes over from Jørgensen, page 67
- **Disarmament:** Superpowers sign first real disarmament treaty, page 67
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- **Spain:** Anti-terrorism pact, page 74
- **Obituary:** Sven Andersson, page 77

October. Gathering under the theme 'The party of the future', delegates debated a number of critical domestic and foreign-policy issues facing the party and the country.

Much attention was given to the process of economic and social stabilisation and reform which has been initiated, under the leadership of Franz Vranitzky, the SPÖ federal chancellor, by the coalition of the SPÖ and the right-wing Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) formed in December 1986 (see 1/87, page 63).

While supporting government's programme, delegates also put particular emphasis on the fight against unemployment, the efforts to revitalise the nationalised industries, and the need to consolidate the welfare state.

In his opening address, the party chair, Fred Sinowatz, called for a continuation of the party's traditions of freedom, tolerance and caring. 'It is democratic socialism which secures the emancipation of the underprivileged and which advocates the right of participation by all in matters concerning society.'

Regarding the continuing controversy over the wartime role of President Waldheim (see 2/87, page 50), the congress expressed concern over the damage the election of Waldheim in May 1986 was causing to Austria's image in the world.

In a resolution, the congress declared that it was 'to the detriment of our country that our candidate, Kurt Steyrer, was defeated. We, as a democratic party, respect the majority decision of the Austrian electorate. Yet we also respect the right of organisations and individuals within our movement to demand - borne out of deep concern for Austria's image worldwide - the resignation of the president'.

Concern about the international position of Austria was also expressed in resolutions on foreign affairs. The congress called for a continuation of foreign policies designed when Socialists were responsible for Austria's foreign relations (ie. until the formation of the SPÖ-ÖVP coalition) and in particular called for strengthening of Austria's unconditional commitment to the ideas of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It also called for increased cooperation with all European institutions, in particular the European Community.

The congress also discussed preparations for next year's commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Austria in 1938 and for the celebrations of the SPÖ's centenary in 1989.

Party elections

In the elections for the party leadership, Fred Sinowatz was reelected as chair; Karl Blecha, Heinz Fischer, Leopold Gratz, Hans Gross, Karl Grünner and Ernst Höger were reelected vice-chairs; and Johanna Dohnal was also elected a vice-chair, replacing Jolanda Offenbeck.

Among other office holders the federal executive reappointed Heinrich Keller and Peter Schieder as general secretaries. With Fritz Marsch, hitherto the third general secretary, with responsibility for international relations, retiring, Peter Jankowitsch was appointed the international secretary, a post he had already held from 1984 until 1986.

Burgenland moves right, Vienna stays red

The Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) lost ground in regional elections held in Burgenland on 4 October, but a month later, on 8 November, increased its overall majority in the Vienna regional parliament.

In both elections significant advances were registered by the right-wing Freedom Party (FPÖ), mainly at the expense of the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), the SPÖ's junior coalition partner at federal government level.

Having previously enjoyed an absolute majority in Burgenland, the SPÖ lost 3 of its 20 seats in the 36-member regional parliament and fell back 5.8 percent to 47.4 percent in terms of vote share. The ÖVP vote fell from 43.0 percent to 41.5 percent, but it retained its 16 seats, while the FPÖ improved from 4.3 to 7.3 percent of the vote and from 1 to 3.

Despite his party's setback, Hans Sipötz of the SPÖ was elected as the new head of the Burgenland executive on 30 October with 18 votes of the 36 available.

In the traditional SPÖ stronghold of Vienna, the incumbent mayor, Helmut Zilk, led the party to increased representation in the 100-member regional parliament, from 61 to 62 seats, although its share of the vote fell marginally from 55.5 percent in 1983 to 54.9 percent this time.

The ÖVP suffered a major setback, losing 7 of its 37 seats and slipping from 34.8 to 28.4 percent, while the FPÖ climbed from 5.4 to 9.7 percent and from 2 seats to 8. Neither of the two Green lists managed to achieve the minimum 5 percent required for representation.

Læs



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BELGIUM

Language divides the parties

Belgium's perennial linguistic divisions resulted in the collapse of the government on 19 October, when the four-party centre-right coalition of Wilfried Martens was forced to resign and to call early general elections for 13 December.

The government's resignation resulted from a further serious rift over the long-standing problem of Voeren / Les Fourons, a group of predominantly French-speaking villages in eastern Belgium which under the linguistic federalisation of the 1970s were attached to the Dutch-speaking province of Limburg in Flanders. Ever since then the local inhabitants have agitated to be returned to French-speaking Wallonia.

The latest crisis over Voeren centred on the mayor, José Happart, a member of the Walloon Socialist Party (PS), who was several times elected to the post and then dismissed by the regional authorities for refusing

to conduct council business in Dutch as required by the language laws.

How to deal with this impasse inevitably generated sharp divisions between the Flemish and Walloon parties of the government coalition, leaving the prime minister with no alternative but to resign and go to the country.

The PS and its counterpart in Flanders, the Socialist Party (SP), have criticised the centre-right parties' mismanagement of the language issue.

CANADA

NDP endorses Meech Lake accord

The New Democratic Party (NDP/NPD) has endorsed the new constitutional agreement recognising Quebec as a 'distinct society' within the confederation and thus potentially ending decades of dispute over the status of the French-speaking province in relation to the rest of Canada.

Agreement on a constitutional amendment to give more powers

to the Canadian provinces (and thus to meet the aspirations of Quebec) had been reached in principle at Meech Lake on 30 April by the Progressive Conservative prime minister, Brian Mulroney, and all ten provincial premiers. With some subsequent modifications, the agreement was endorsed by the premiers on 3 June, for transmission to the federal House of Commons and the provincial legislatures.

The House of Commons endorsed the agreement on 26 October by 242 votes to 16, with the NDP members all voting in favour.

Attention has now switched to the provincial legislatures, all of which are required to approve the amendment by June 1990 for it to come into effect.

Provincial powers

In recognising Quebec as a distinct society, the accord describes the existence of French-speaking Canadians, both in Quebec and in other parts of Canada, as a fundamental characteristic of the confederation. At the same time, it gives to all provinces important additional powers, including (a) the right to nominate candidates for the Sen-

ate and the Supreme Court; (b) the power of veto over major constitutional changes; and (c) the right to opt out of new national shared-cost economic programmes, and to receive federal compensation if their own programmes meet national objectives.

Liberal triumph in New Brunswick

The New Democratic Party (NDP/NPD) lost its one member in the regional assembly of the eastern province of New Brunswick in elections on 13 October, in which the opposition Liberal Party made a clean sweep of the 58 seats.

In terms of the popular vote, the Liberals gained 62 percent, the Conservatives 28 percent and the NDP 11 percent.

The Liberal victory ended seventeen years of rule by the Progressive Conservatives (PC). Before dissolution, the PC held 37 seats, the Liberals 20 and the NDP 1.

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COMMONWEALTH

UK blocks tougher South Africa sanctions

The British Conservative government stood alone in resisting further sanctions against South Africa at the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government in Vancouver, Canada, on 13-17 October. In consequence, the meeting failed to agree on a tightening of the measures adopted at the previous summit in 1985 (see 4/85, page 74).

Out of forty-five Commonwealth member countries represented, only Britain refused to support what the conference communique termed the 'wider, tighter and more intensified application' of sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Britain did, however, go along with a new programme of Commonwealth aid to the Front Line States neighbouring South Africa, notably Mozambique and Zimbabwe.



Fiji

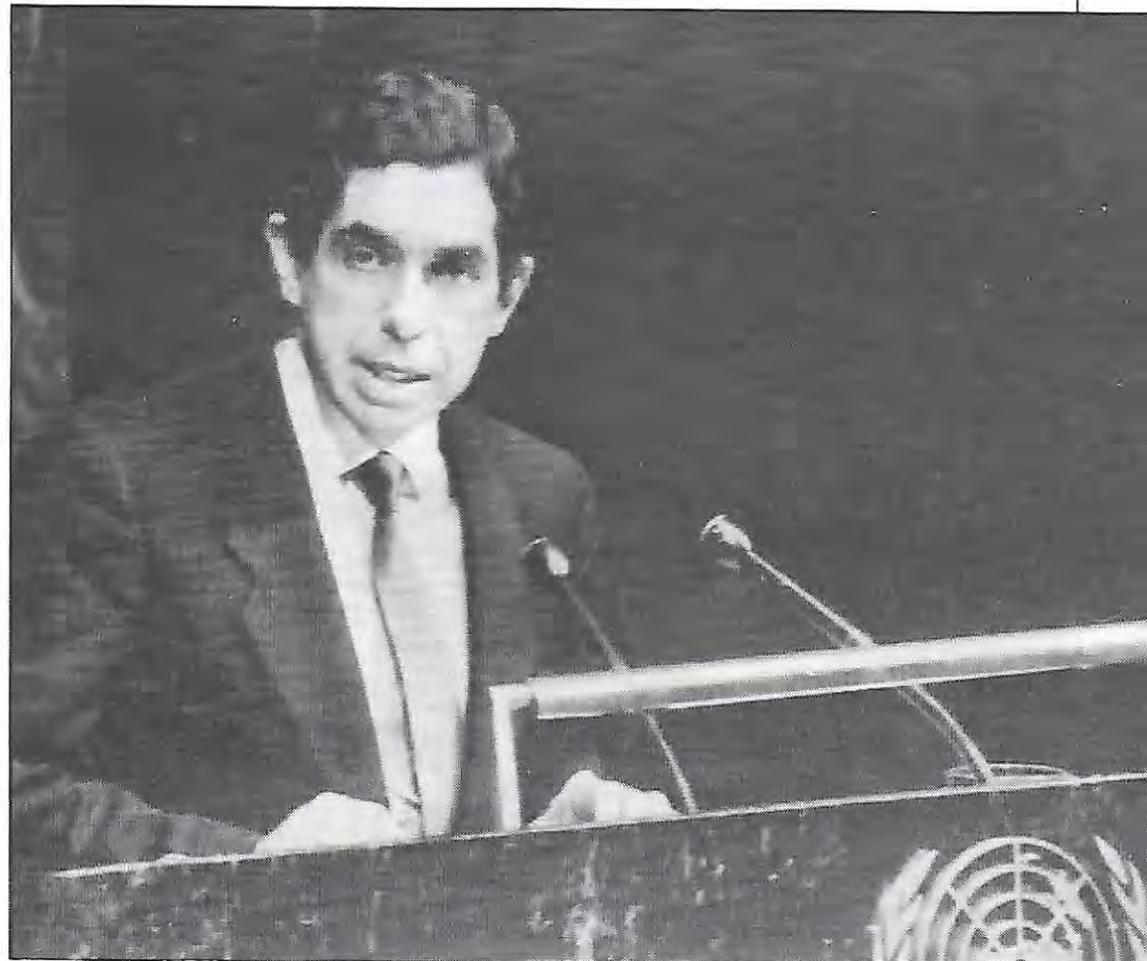
The other major issue at Vancouver was that of Fiji, where a week earlier the military regime had declared a republic based on the principle of indigenous Melanesian supremacy.

Endorsing the standpoint of the Labour governments of Australia and New Zealand, the Commonwealth leaders noted this development with 'sadness', and decided that Fiji's membership of the organisation had effectively lapsed.

COSTA RICA

Nobel Peace Prize for Arias

It was announced in October that President Óscar Arias Sánchez, leader of the National Liberation



Peace work: President Óscar Arias, winner of the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize, addressing the United Nations in September 1986

Popperfoto

Party (PLN), had been awarded the 1987 Nobel Prize for Peace in recognition of his efforts to secure a negotiated settlement to the conflicts in Central America.

Arias was the principal architect of the Esquipulas II accord signed on 7 August by the region's five presidents (see 3/87, page 51).

The Nobel committee praised Arias' achievement in rescuing the stagnating Contadora initiative and formulating a strategy acceptable to five governments of widely divergent orientation.

Arias announced his intention of using the substantial cash prize to endow a social services foundation. He is only the second Central American Nobel laureate, and the first to win the Peace Prize.

(Further details, including a report of the prize presentation in Oslo on 10 December, will appear in the next issue.)

Debt breakthrough

In a development which is expected to facilitate the renegotiation of the country's foreign debt burden, the National Liberation Party (PLN) government has obtained – after lengthy negotiations – the backing of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for its economic programme (see 1/87, page 66)

An IMF standby facility of US\$65 million was made available on 28 October, five months after the signature of a preliminary accord. This and other funds which have become available since have permitted the reactivation of the government's housing programme, along with other capital projects. The World Bank, foreign private banks and development banks had made the releases of loans and grants, as well as renegotiations of debt,

dependent on the IMF agreement.

Economic reforms

In order to reduce the fiscal deficit (a key demand made by the IMF and the World Bank), the PLN government has introduced a series of executive and legislative measures to maximise state revenues and to trim subsidies and other public expenditure.

A luxury-tax package essential to the IMF deal was at first rejected by the opposition Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC), to the extent of staging a congressional boycott during October. But it eventually agreed to the reforms in the national interest.

Other economic reforms include an effort to diversify agricultural production, increases in fuel and utility prices, and a limited programme of privatisation.

DENMARK

Auken takes over from Jørgensen

By a virtually unanimous vote, Svend Auken was elected chair of the opposition Social Democratic Party at an extraordinary party congress held in Copenhagen on 3 October. He succeeded Anker Jørgensen, who had announced his resignation shortly after the Social Democrats' setback in the September general elections (see 1/87, page 53).

A political science graduate of the universities of Aarhus and Paris, Auken, aged 44, was first elected to the Danish parliament in 1971. He served under Jørgensen as labour minister from October 1977 until September 1982, also becoming a deputy chair of the party.

Poul Nyrop Rasmussen was elected to take over Auken's previous post, while Birthe Weiss remains as the other deputy chair.



Svend Auken

● In the September general elections the local Social Democratic Party won one of the Faroe Islands seats, and the other went to the conservative People's Party. (In 3/87 it had been incorrectly reported that both Faroe seats were won by non-socialist candidates.)



Arms signing away: Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan seal the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces in Washington on 8 December

DISARMAMENT

Superpowers sign first real disarmament treaty

On 8 December the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty providing for the elimination over three years of their countries' land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

Nearly 1300 nuclear missiles deployed mainly in Europe will be destroyed under the agreement, the first between the two superpowers to abolish an entire category of nuclear weapons and to result in a reduction in their arsenals.

The INF treaty – the outcome of seven years of bilateral negotiations – was signed during the third summit meeting between the US president, Ronald Reagan, and the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, in Washington on 8-10 December.

During the three days of talks the two leaders also discussed a number of other matters, including proposals to cut their arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons by half and regional conflicts.

Both sides summarised the summit as a success. In the final communique the two leaders stressed that their meetings had created a sense of goodwill important for reducing tensions between the superpowers. 'We

have proven that adversaries, even with the most basic philosophical differences, can talk candidly and respectfully with one another, and with perseverance, find common ground.'

Terms

The INF treaty, which will need to be ratified by the Supreme Soviet and the US Senate, provides for the destruction of all longer-range (1500-5000 km) and shorter-range (500-1500 km) land-based intermediate nuclear missiles within three years of it taking effect.

As indicated in a memorandum of understanding, the Soviet Union undertakes to destroy 470 deployed and 356 stockpiled longer-range missiles and 387 deployed and 539 stockpiled shorter-range missiles (a total of 1,752); and the United States undertakes to destroy 429 deployed and 260 stockpiled longer-range missiles and 170 stockpiled shorter-range missiles (a total of 859).

Among the missiles which the Soviet Union will destroy are the triple-warhead SS-20s as well as SS-4, SS-23 and SS-12 missiles deployed in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union; among those which the United States will destroy are the cruise and Pershing-2 missiles deployed in Belgium, Federal Germany, Great Britain and Italy.

Destruction of the missiles will be carried out over a period of three years.

The treaty includes an extensive range of inspection and

verification procedures. Within three months of ratification, teams of on-site inspectors will visit every missile site listed in a protocol attached to the treaty. And subsequently each side will be able to carry out twenty inspections a year for three years, fifteen inspections annually for the following five years and ten a year for another five years.

Negotiations

Preliminary talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on reducing or eliminating intermediate nuclear forces in Europe began in Geneva in 1980. When NATO began deployment of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe in November 1983 (in response to the deployment of SS-20s by the Warsaw Pact), the Soviet Union abandoned the negotiations (see 1/84, page 73). They were resumed in Geneva in March 1985 as part of the negotiations on arms control which also deal with strategic nuclear weapons and space-based weapons (see 1/85, page 79).

Gorbachev and Reagan expressed their support for an interim agreement on intermediate nuclear forces at their first summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985 (see 4/85, page 77). And at their second summit meeting, in Reykjavik in October 1986 (see 4/86, page 58), they agreed in principle to eliminate all European-based intermediate nuclear missiles.

SI congratulates superpowers on INF agreement, page 25

EL SALVADOR

Dialogue briefly resumed

In October, the left-wing opposition and the Duarte government resumed – after a three-year interruption – negotiations aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to the country's seven-year-old civil war.

The talks were resumed within the framework of the Esquipulas accord signed by the five Central American presidents in August (see 3/87, page 51). It sets out a timetable for ending the conflicts in the region, calling for cease-fires, amnesties, national reconciliation and democratic reforms.

Although the first meeting in San Salvador on 4-6 October ended in a level of agreement on how to proceed, a subsequent meeting in Caracas failed to bring further results, and a meeting planned for Mexico City was called off following the assassination of a prominent human rights activist.

Since October 1979, the civil war has claimed 65,000 lives, most of them civilians, according to church and human rights groups.

Peace offers

Talks between the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) – which includes the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the SI member party in El Salvador – and the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) on the one hand and the Duarte government on the other had been stalled since two meetings in 1984 (see 4/84, page 74; 1/85, page 75).

During the last three years, the FDR-FMLN had made a number of offers aimed to bring about a resumption of the negotiations (see 4/86, page 60; 1/86, page 56). The latest offer, made on 28 May, comprised an 18-point plan which included proposals for the humanisation of the conduct of the war and for the limitation of its social and economic effects.

Until it changed its position in the wake of the Esquipulas accord, and agreed to hold talks, the government's response had been that there could be no negotiations until the FMLN laid down its arms.

Commissions

The meeting on 4-6 October in San Salvador – mediated, like previous meetings, by the archbishop of San Salvador, Arturo Rivera y Damas – ended with an agreement to set up two joint commissions, dealing with the practicalities of arranging a ceasefire and with other aspects of the Esquipulas accord. The commissions would be made up of four members from each side and aim to work within the timetables set out in the accord.

At the end of the meeting, Guillermo Ungo, leader of the MNR and president of the FDR, declared that the results of the negotiations had been 'sufficient to assure the continuity of the dialogue'.

However, following this initial success, the second meeting, in Caracas, Venezuela, on 20-23 October, failed to achieve agreement on the terms of a ceasefire. And a third round of talks, due to begin in Mexico City on 30 October, was canceled by the FDR-FMLN in protest at the assassination four days earlier of Herbert Ernesto Anaya Sanabria, president of the Salvadorean Human Rights Commission.

MNR returns

Following an exile of more than seven years, and braving threats from the extreme-right death squads, a delegation of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) returned to El Salvador on 23 November for a six-day visit.

The objectives of the visit were to press for a political solution to the seven-year-old civil war, to establish a domestic political presence for the party, and to explore the political perspectives for the opposition following the signing of the Esquipulas regional peace accord (see 3/87, page 51).

The delegation was led by Guillermo Ungo, leader of the party and also president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FRD), the left-wing opposition coalition; Héctor Oquelí, deputy general secretary responsible for international relations; and Hugo Navarrete, a member of the executive. The delegation was accompanied by a number of European and Latin American personalities.

Ungo and Oquelí, both mem-



Mothers under attack: A member of the El Salvadorean human rights group Mothers of the Disappeared standing in the ruins of the group's offices, bombed in May 1987

bers of the government installed after the overthrow of the Romero dictatorship in 1979, were forced to leave El Salvador the following year as attacks by the death squads on politicians of the left increased.

Together with a delegation from the Social Christian Popular Movement (MPSC) – headed by Rubén Zamora, the vice-president of the FDR, who had also returned from exile two days earlier – the MNR delegation met representatives of various political and social groups, trade unionists, human rights activists, church officials, diplomats and journalists to discuss the political situation and to explore means of contributing to a real democratic opening in El Salvador.

New proposal

On his arrival Ungo declared that one of the aims of the visit was to unblock the dialogue between the opposition and the government, and he proposed that the work of the two commissions set up in an earlier meeting in October (see

above) be resumed in Mexico City on 5 December.

When President Duarte rejected this offer, Ungo accused him of 'playing a game of public appearances' while stalling on peace negotiations.

Alliance

Prior to his departure on 29 November Ungo announced that the MNR had re-registered itself with the central elections council.

He also announced the formation of an alliance with the MPSC and the newly formed Social Democratic Party (PDS). The parties in the new grouping, called the Democratic Convergence (CD), agreed that there was, in his words, 'no true process of democracy in the country and that the solution to the conflict should lead to a government in which all sectors participate, following which it would be suitable to hold general elections'.

Guillermo Ungo in El Salvador, page 33

Reflex

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Socialist leaders chart future course

Meeting in Paris on 23 October, the leaders of the SI member parties of the European Community (EC) issued a blueprint for the future development of the Community, asserting that socialist and social democratic parties 'must again take the initiative to ensure that progress towards the building of Europe leads to the creation of a more just society'.

Chaired by the general secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS), Vítor Constâncio, in his capacity as president of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSPEC), the Paris summit was also attended by the leaders of all other thirteen member parties: Guy Spitaels (Socialist Party, PS, Belgium), Karel van Miert (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium), Svend Auken (Social Democratic Party, Denmark), Lionel Jospin (Socialist Party, PS, France), Hans-Jochen Vogel (Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Germany), Neil Kinnock (The Labour Party, Great Britain), Dick Spring (Labour Party, Ireland), Franco Nicolazzi (Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI), Bettino Craxi (Italian Socialist Party, PSI), Ben Fayot (Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL), Wim Kok (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands), John Hume (Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, Northern Ireland) and Felipe González (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE).

Also present were the socialist members of the European Commission, namely its president, Jacques Delors (France), Claude Cheysson (France), Stanley Clinton Davis (Great Britain) and Carlo Ripa di Meana (Italy).

Coordinated policies

In their Paris statement, the Community's socialist leaders asserted that 'the short-sighted economic policies currently being implemented by conservative governments in the member states results in the waste of human resources, as is shown by the 15 million unemployed in the EC'.

They also warned that the recent world stockmarket collapse had 'seriously increased the risks of economic recession' and described the crisis as 'the vengeance of the real aspects of economic activity on the speculative financial climate which has been artificially stimulated by some governments'.

In order to avert more serious consequences, the statement continued, (a) the United States should adopt effective measures to reduce its budget deficit; (b) more expansionary policies should be implemented in Europe; (c) a 'truly European' policy should be drawn up on the dollar; (d) measures should be strengthened against any increase in protectionism; and (e) a new Bretton Woods agreement should be sought 'to bring about global reform of the international monetary system'.

On the need for 'coordinated policies for economic expansion', requiring 'a stimulus to public and private investment throughout the EC member states', the statement stressed that priority must be given to the fight against unemployment, adding that 'The Community must make use of its most important resource, its labour force, which must be encouraged to develop its creative and innovative capacities and must therefore be given better training'.

The statement said that the Community's goal of a single European market by 1992 should be regarded 'as a means to an end rather than an end in itself', because if only a free-trade zone was established, regional disparities and social inequalities would inevitably widen. 'We reject the ever-increasing concentration of wealth and cannot accept the marginalisation of sections of society.'

Essential demands

The Socialist leaders then listed their essential demands for the future development of the Community as follows: (a) the implementation of a policy of economic and social cohesion, specifically through a redefinition of regional policy to reduce regional inequalities and to increase resources transferred to the poorer regions; (b) the development of a European social dimension; (c) investment in joint science and technology projects; (d) common action to protect the environment; (e)

progress towards a coherent monetary policy; (f) more coordination of economic policies; and (g) a firm external trade policy including the defence of the European market against any external dumping arising from uncompetitive industrial or monetary policies.

The Paris summit also expressed support – with the British Labour Party reserving its position – for a number of proposals put forward by the European Commission and called for their simultaneous implementation. These were (a) a doubling of the Community's regional, social and agricultural guidance funds; (b) reforms of the common agricultural policy; (c) implementation of genuine budgetary discipline; and (d) increasing the resources of the Community's budget to the equivalent of 1.4 percent of overall Community gross national product.

● For the first time, the EC's socialist parties have adopted a joint logo. It will be used forthwith, but in particular during the campaign leading up to the elections for the next European Parliament (in 1989).

The new logo consists of the twelve stars of the European flag (ie. the member countries) re-modeled into a human shape, to symbolise the cooperation of Europe's peoples, parties and states within the Community.

● The Socialist Group of the European Parliament on 28 June awarded President Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina its Human Rights Prize.

FINLAND

SDP adopts new programme

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) adopted a new programme at its congress in Helsinki on 4-7 June (see 3/87, page 58).

The new statement of principles replaces both the 1952 programme and several subsequent major policy documents on environmental, educational and agricultural policies in particular.

Drafting of the new programme, the third in the SDP's history, was begun in 1981, and submissions from all levels of the party were incorporated.

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SDP:n XXXIV
Helsinki 4.-7

The programme defines six central aims for the SDP: a world of cooperation, peace and freedom; coexistence with nature; the transfer of power from the capital owners to the working people; a shift from a representative democracy to an active civil state; a culturally equal society and a lively reform movement.

Containing a thoroughly revised policy on the environment, the programme recommends control of the economy at national and international levels as the best means of preventing environmental pollution and the deterioration of nature's reproductive powers. Natural resources should be recognised as the communal property of the present and future generations.

The programme also recommends the use of planning mechanisms and technological means to protect the environment; careful consideration of the environmental risks involved in economic activities (and restricting them if the risks are unclear); and setting protection of the environment above rights of property.

On the economy, the programme recognises a role for both the market and the public sector. Free enterprise should be regulated, however, when it operates in sensitive markets or is causing



ventional arms (also Finland's) should be reduced.

The programme also commits the party to employing foreign-trade policy to achieve fairer development worldwide. Finland should also take its share of responsibility for refugee problems.

FRANCOPHONIE

Summit agrees on new organisation

The second conference of heads of state and government of francophone countries, held in Quebec on 2-4 September, adopted a final 'solidarity declaration' which will form the foundation for an eventual charter of francophonie, establishing the grouping on a similar organisational basis to that of the Commonwealth of English-speaking countries.

Hosted by the Canadian prime minister, Brian Mulroney, and the premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa, the Quebec summit brought together 43 delegations from 37 wholly or partly French-speaking countries. The first such conference had been held at Versailles, France, in February 1986 (see 1/86, page 61).

In a keynote speech, President François Mitterrand of France recalled that the French language had been 'at the origin of concepts such as liberty, the rights of man and revolution' and appealed against francophone resignation over what he termed 'lost French' brought about by the world dominance of English.

Aid commitments

The summit brought commitments from the three major industrialised countries present (Belgium, Canada and France) to provide some US\$50 million in aid to developing countries in 1988. In addition, the Canadian government announced the cancellation of some \$325 million dollars' worth of debt owed by seven developing African countries.

The summit also adopted resolutions calling for a Middle East peace conference; for continued economic and political pressure on the apartheid regime in South Africa; and (with Canada dissenting) for Palestinian self-determination.

destruction of the environment. Regulation should also be used as a means of securing the national right of self-determination and regional interests.

The programme also argues that labour-intensive small businesses should be supported in preference to big business. And the transnational corporations should be restricted through more intensive cooperation between the party and the trade unions, also at an international level.

The programme deals extensively with **civil rights and decentralisation**. Economic decision making should be decentralised, for example through the setting up of trust funds within companies and through strengthening the input of employees concerning issues of production and working conditions, investments and training. To increase the rights of the citizen, the programme recommends the use of referenda and the creation of regional and other autonomous centres of power. Decisions should be taken as near to the people affected as possible.

Regarding **international issues**, the programme describes a totally weapons-free world as a long-term goal. In the more immediate term, the production of nuclear weapons should be prohibited and those already in existence should be destroyed; and con-

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour decides on policy review

Following a recommendation by the executive, the annual conference of the opposition Labour Party, meeting in Brighton on 28 September - 2 October, authorised a detailed review of the party's policies.

Under the review, seven policy groups have been set up, dealing with the productive and competitive economy, people at work, economic equality, consumers and community, civil and personal liberties, Britain's international role, and the environment. These groups will report to the executive in April 1988.

The executive's proposal, 'Moving ahead', maintained in particular that lessons should be drawn from the changes in the British electorate which have taken place since Labour was last in power in 1979. These have 'weakened Labour's traditional appeal to working-class voters' and 'altered the nature of the labour force, with jobs and industries most closely associated with the labour movement contracting'.

'The Labour Party must update its policies to appeal to the relatively affluent as well as to the poor and disadvantaged if it is to win power again', party leader Neil Kinnock told delegates.

The conference also backed an executive proposal for a project to run through to the middle of

1988, and possibly beyond, to go outside the party to learn from the experience of a vast range of individuals and organisations. National and local events will be staged throughout the country to listen to people's views on how they would like to see things in Britain in the 1990s. The executive's proposal also noted that 'we must learn as much as we can from international experience, especially from our sister socialist parties overseas'.

The conference adopted a change in the system of selecting and reselecting parliamentary candidates. In future a constituency electoral college will guarantee the trade unions up to 40 percent of the votes in constituency selection meetings, with the remainder going to the individual members. Previously the smaller constituency committees had the exclusive right to select and reselect candidates.

Two other major issues dominated the conference, namely the Conservative government's proposals to change the system of raising local taxes and the education system. Its plans to introduce a standard revenue for local government from individuals irrespective of their income or ownership of property were overwhelmingly condemned, as were the plans to allow schools to opt out of the state sector.

● *Labour Weekly*, one of the party's publications, was closed down in October following the annual conference's approval of a package aimed at reducing the party's financial deficit.

Moving ahead: Labour Party conference at Brighton



Stelano Gagnoni / Report

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK IRELAND

IRELAND

Labour seeks a new start

The annual conference of the Irish Labour Party was held in Cork on 25-27 September. It was the first such gathering since the party's withdrawal in January from the coalition which had ruled from 1982 to 1987 but which fell apart as the senior partner, Fine Gael, demanded drastic cuts in welfare and health services in pursuit of balance in the public finances (see 1/87, page 73).

The Cork conference affirmed the Labour's opposition to the economic policies of the current Haughey government, which since its election victory in February has pursued very similar policies of spending cuts to that proposed by its predecessor. The 1200 delegates rejected this approach because budgetary retrenchment is not being applied fairly across different social strata and takes no account of the social consequences.

Strategy

The main topic on the conference agenda was the report of a commission on electoral strategy,

which had worked for more than a year to produce what party chair Michael Higgins called 'a programme that would challenge the conservatism, individualism and cowardly populism of the major parties'.

The report – agreed by all of the commission members, who were drawn from every wing of party opinion, and adopted by the conference by an overwhelming majority – outlined a new and comprehensive policy departure for Labour based on a strategic approach ruling out the option of coalition save in quite extraordinary circumstances. The report thus sought to resolve the issue of whether or not to join in coalitions, which had led to rifts and electoral setbacks in recent times.

Referring to the main lines of the report, party leader Dick Spring argued that 'the work that needs to be done requires us to concentrate totally from now on on the task of furthering our aims and not on moderating the aims of others. We have always been ... a responsible party, committed to solving this country's problems. But we have responsibilities to ourselves as well and to the people who vote for us and support us'.

Stressing the necessity of new and relevant thinking about the problems of the country, Spring stressed that 'the key to success is policy development and organisation'.

Policy development

The conference also dealt with a wide-ranging agenda of resolutions and draft policy documents. The 96 resolutions covered Northern Ireland (with the conference reiterating its support for the Anglo-Irish agreement, see 4/85, page 72) and all aspects of economic and social development. The campaign for adequate parliamentary control of Irish foreign policy was underlined in another resolution.

Central to the resolutions section of the conference were motions related to the party constitution, in particular to the issue of the election of the party leader. The conference endorsed the principle of election of the leader and deputy leader of the parliamentary party by the members of the party. The incoming administrative council was instructed to set up a small commission to prepare detailed proposals for submission to the next year's conference.

Among the policy drafts considered by the conference were documents on transport and shipping, fisheries, the Irish language, and education. These papers were directed back to the party organisation for detailed consideration as part of the new approach to policy development.

The conference adopted a new constitution for the party's youth organisation, a move which it is hoped will facilitate greater involvement of young people in the work of the party.

New chair, general secretary

After nine years in the post, Michael Higgins announced his retirement as chair of the party's administrative council. Mervyn Taylor, previously the vice-chair, was elected chair, and Emmet Stagg was elected vice-chair. The conference also elected a new general secretary, Ray Kavanagh, who succeeded Colm O Briain.

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ITALY

Yes to nuclear and judiciary curbs

In five referendums held on 8-9 November voters approved by large majorities proposals to restrict the future development of nuclear power and to make the judiciary more accountable.

Regarding three **nuclear energy** questions, (a) the transfer to parliament of the responsibility for selecting nuclear power station sites was approved by 80.6 percent of those voting; (b) the ending of state economic assistance for the establishment of such sites by local authorities was backed by 79.7 percent; and (c) a ban on Italian participation in foreign nuclear energy programmes was supported by 71.8 percent.

Regarding the two questions concerning the **judiciary**, (a) the introduction of civil liability for judges who committed judicial errors was approved by 80.1 percent of those voting; and (b) the transfer to parliament of certain powers currently exercised by the standing inquiry commission on alleged transgressions by government ministers was supported by 85.1 percent.

The consultations had been initiated by Bettino Craxi, leader of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), prior to his vacating the premiership in March in favour of a Christian Democrat. In the event, all the major parties – including the PSI and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI), the SI's other member party in Italy – supported the referendum proposals, a conjunction of views which went some way to explaining the turnout of some 65 percent of the eligible electorate, the lowest since the foundation of the republic in 1946.

Legislation

The positive votes, which were described by Craxi as a 'splendid result', necessitated the enactment of enabling legislation within 120 days.

On 20 November the government announced the formal suspension of plans to build further nuclear power stations and the diversion of research efforts into fusion technology. It also promised a draft bill on a citizen's right to damages for judicial error, although with judges' personal liability being limited by law.

Cabinet crisis

Three months after its formation (see 3/87, page 61), the five-party centre-left coalition led by the Christian Democrat Giovanni Goria collapsed and was then resurrected in mid-November.

Comprising the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI), the SI's two member parties in Italy, the Republican Party (PRI) and Liberals (PLI) as well as the Christian Democrats, the Goria government resigned on 14 November after the Liberals, the smallest coalition partner, had withdrawn in protest against non-inclusion in the draft 1988 budget of certain tax cuts which they claimed had been promised under the original coalition agreement.

Five days later, however, Goria reassembled the coalition on the basis of a compromise agreement that the tax cuts in question would be introduced in mid-1988 if inflation and the budget deficit had been kept to the levels targeted under the budget drawn up by Giuliano Amato, the PSI treasury minister and deputy premier.

MALAYSIA

DAP arrests in crackdown on opposition

Prominent members of the opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) were among the 106 political figures, human rights activists, academics, trade unionists and others detained in a major security clampdown from 27 October to mid-November.

The first wave of some eighty arrests included the DAP leader, Lim Kit Siang, the party's deputy chair, Karpal Singh, one of the two deputy general secretaries, P. Patto, and DAP members of the federal parliament and the state legislative assemblies.

At the same time three newspapers were closed down and public rallies by all parties were banned.

(The arrests were carried out under the Internal Security Act, which allows for detention without trial for up to 90 days, after which detainees can be held for a further two years on orders from the minister of the interior.)

Racial tension

The National Front (BN) government sought to justify the crack-

down on the grounds that the detainees had threatened national security by fomenting racial tension between Malays (forming 50 percent of the population) and Chinese (30 percent of the total).

The government's allegations were rejected outright by Lee Lam Thye, the DAP's other deputy general secretary and acting opposition leader. Rather, he said, they were an attempt 'to silence and intimidate critics of the government'; the prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, had ordered the arrests 'to discredit political opponents'.

Although its membership and support come principally from the Chinese population, the DAP is committed to multiracialism in Malaysia and has shown understanding for the government's attempts to promote the economic advancement of ethnic Malays.

Prior to the clampdown the DAP had been seeking to defuse tensions arising from plans to send non-Mandarin-speaking administrators into Chinese primary schools, an issue on which the Chinese component of the ruling National Front, the Malaysian Chinese Association, had itself opposed the government.

Further curbs

Parliament, in which the BN has a two-thirds majority, in November

approved various restrictive bills introduced by the government after the arrests.

These include further swinging new restrictions on the press. In future, reporters, editors, publishers and printers will be liable to three years' imprisonment and/or heavy fines if they 'maliciously disseminate false news'. Newspaper licensing procedures were also further tightened, and the government will now have powers to ban foreign publications if they are deemed to endanger national security or alarm public opinion.

Bills giving the police wider powers to regulate public protests and restricting the authority of judges were also approved.

The new legislation was decried by Lee as being 'the latest in a series of increasingly repressive moves' to silence opposition to the government. The measures dealing with the media, coming on top of amendments to the Official Secrets Act (see 1/87, page 74), 'mean that Malaysia now has some of the most draconian press laws in the world'.

● On 20 November 11 detainees were released, including one DAP member of parliament. But as SOCIALIST AFFAIRS went to press, 95 people, including Lim and Singh, remained in custody.

The latest, and last, headline: Malaysia's Star newspaper, reporting the detention of fifty-five opposition figures on 27 October, was banned the next day



MAURITIUS

Labour ministers

Following the reelection of the centre-left Alliance coalition, in which the Mauritius Labour Party is a junior partner, on 30 August (see 3/87, page 62), four Labour ministers were appointed to the new government.

Led by Anerood Jugnauth, the leader of the Mauritian Socialist Movement (MSM), the new cabinet has nineteen members. The Labour ministers are: party leader Satcam Boolell (attorney-

general, justice, foreign affairs, emigration); party deputy leader Ramesh Jeewoolall (housing, land, urban affairs); Joseph Clarel Désiré Malherbe (regional administration); and Vishwanath Sajadah (cooperatives).

Apart from the MSM and the Labour Party, the Alliance includes the Social Democratic Party (PMSD) and the local Rodrigues Island People's Organisation.

● Eddy Changkye was elected general secretary of the Labour Party on 4 September. He succeeded Anil Baichoo.

Results of the Mauritius elections 1987 (1983)

	percentage	seats
Alliance	49.5 (50.7)	46 (48)
Union for the Future*	47.8 (46.7)	24 (22)
others	2.7 (2.6)	0 (0)

Turnout 90%

*1983 figures for Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM)

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NORWAY

Labour's 100th anniversary

On 21 August the Norwegian Labour Party (DNA) celebrated its 100th anniversary.

The party's traditional struggle for equality and freedom was the main theme of the anniversary celebrations. The party published a book on its history and produced a cartoon dealing with the children's living conditions in the last hundred years.

Furthermore, art exhibitions, cultural events and receptions for supporters as well as political opponents were held throughout the country. A drawing competition was also arranged, inviting the pupils in schools throughout the country to contribute drawings on the subject of freedom. And authors and artists were invited to write songs and make paintings relevant to the anniversary. The party youth organisation arranged an anniversary jamboree.

The main celebration took place in Arendal, in southern Norway, in the same house where the trade unionists met and founded the party in 1887. And on the evening of 21 August, the highlight of the celebrations was a jubilee performance in the Norwegian Theatre in Oslo, which was attended by more than 600 party members and guests.

Dominant political force

The Labour Party was founded in 1887 by a group of active trade unionists, who intended to use the party as a tool in their political struggle. The new party united various socialist and labour groups by then in existence, in particular in the countryside among timber workers, peasants, fishermen and artisans. The extensive poverty in Norway at that time and the growing radicalism among working people created favourable conditions for the growth of the new party.

Two developments at the end of the nineteenth century were crucial to the party's rapid rise to political dominance, namely the introduction in 1898 of adult male suffrage and the establishment in 1899 of a central trade union federation.

The latter in effect developed as the trade union arm of the Labour Party, increasing its

membership strength and forging close organisational and financial links. These remain in place today: many trade unions are collectively affiliated to the party, and there is mutual representation between the party and the trade union movement.

In the 1927 elections Labour polled 37 percent of the vote and formed its first government, which was short-lived. But in March 1935 the party formed its second administration under Johan Nygaardsvold, embarking on five years of government, until the occupation of Norway by Nazi Germany in 1940.

At the end of the second world war the party leadership passed to Einar Gerhardsen, who had been an active member of the internal resistance. Having won an overall majority in the December 1945 elections, Labour embarked on a major programme of reconstruction and development. The party retained an overall majority until 1961 and continued to govern as a

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minority government (with a short interval in mid-1963) under Gerhardsen until 1965, when the non-socialist parties obtained a majority and formed a coalition government.

Labour thus went into opposition after thirty years of almost uninterrupted governmental power, during which it had built a modern welfare state in which increasing economic prosperity reached all sections of society.

Labour again formed a minority government from 1971 until 1981, under Trygve Bratteli (until 1976), Odvar Nordli (until February 1981) and Gro Harlem Brundtland, the current party leader and prime minister.

Faced with deteriorating economic conditions, Labour lost the September 1981 elections and went into opposition. The non-socialist bloc retained a majority in the 1985 elections, but when that coalition collapsed in May 1986 Labour agreed to form a minority government.

PARAGUAY

Accord protests as Stroessner regime digs in

In the runup to the 'election' in February 1988 which will confirm President Stroessner in his eighth consecutive five-year term, the dictatorship has intensified repression of opposition groupings.

Despite this, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF) and the other three parties in the National Accord – the Authentic Radical Liberals (PRLA), the Popular Colorados (MOPOCO) and the Christian Democrats (PDC) – have stepped up their campaign for a peaceful transition to democracy.

Following on from a PRF proposal, the political parties have joined student organisations and trade unionists in forming a broad opposition front, the Civic

Assembly. In addition, a number of other new opposition formations have emerged, including a trade union federation, a national student association, a peasant league and several women's organisations.

The Civic Assembly has held weekly rallies in Asunción, the capital, calling for an end to the Stroessner regime, free elections and the establishment of democratic rule. The demonstrators have been repeatedly attacked by the police, and speakers arrested. Among the latter has been, on several occasions, Fernando Vera, the leader of the PRF and an honorary president of the SI. Most of those arrested are released without charge after short periods.

Closure of *El Pueblo*

In mid-August César Baez, publisher of the PRF weekly *El Pueblo*, was arrested along with nine other opposition activists. A week later the paper's offices were raided, and presses and other equipment confiscated. On 31 August *El Pueblo*, which with its sale of 20,000 was the only opposition organ circulating in Paraguay, was banned indefinitely for 'spreading hatred and class warfare'.

In the absence of the independent radio station, Radio Ñanduti (closed in January 1987), and the daily newspaper *ABC Color* (closed in March 1984), only church-sponsored periodicals now offer an opposition view of Paraguayan affairs.

During a demonstration protesting against the closure of *El Pueblo*, Vera and other opposition figures were again abducted. This time he was held incommunicado without charge for eight days.

- Alcides Vergara has been appointed as the PRF's director of international relations, in succession to Jaime Ortiz Duarte.

PERU

Congress approves bank nationalisation

The Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP) government has enacted its plans, announced in July (*see 3/87, page 84*), for the nationalisation of those parts of the banking

and finance industries not already in public ownership.

A decree by President Alan García on 29 July had granted the state interim control of 10 banks, 17 insurance companies and 6 finance houses. On 30 July, however, a Lima court granted an injunction suspending the takeover, pending enactment of the relevant legislation.

The law, approved by the Chamber of Deputies on 13 August, completed its passage through parliament on 29 September, with some modifications (permitting, for example, higher private shareholdings than the 15-25 percent originally envisaged), and was promulgated on 11 October. A six-month deadline was set for its enforcement.

Bankers and the opposition have tried to stop the nationalisation through a series of injunctions and court orders. They have taken their case to the Supreme Court, which will now rule on the constitutionality of the law and on the compensation payable in each case.

Unified defence ministry

A major cabinet change was made on 14 October when Gen. Enrique López Albuja, commander of the army, was installed as the country's first defence minister, replacing the three ministers of the army, navy and air force.

The consolidation of the three armed forces ministries into one ministry of defence was approved in an extraordinary congressional session on 3 April. The move demonstrated, in President García's words, 'the government's confidence in the commitment of the armed forces to the democratic process'.

- Alberto Vera La Rosa was appointed minister for industry on 29 September. He succeeded Manuel Romero Caro, who had resigned over the bank nationalisation issue.

- Luis Alva Castro of the PAP was elected president of the Chamber of Deputies in mid-July, a month after he had resigned as prime minister and economics minister (*see 2/87, page 80*).

Results of the Saint Lucia elections 1987 (1982)

	percentage		seats	
	30.4	6.4	30.4	6.4
United Workers' Party (UWP)	53.3	52.7	(56.4)	9 9 (14)
St Lucia Labour Party (SLP)	40.7	38.1	(16.5)	8 8 (2)
Progressive Labour Party (PLP)	6.1	9.2	(27.1)	0 0 (1)

Turnout 66% (30.4), 59% (6.4)

SAINT LUCIA

Elections declared fair

The opposition Progressive Labour Party (PLP) as well as the main opposition party, the Saint Lucia Labour Party (SLP), have made accusations of improper practices during the two early general elections held in April (see 2/87, page 82).

Following a public enquiry, the electoral commission did not accept the evidence submitted, however, and concluded that the elections had been 'free and fair in every respect'.

The election on 6 April gave a one-seat majority to the ruling conservative United Workers' Party (UWP). Thereupon the prime minister, John Compton, called new elections on 30 April and was returned with exactly the same majority. (The PLP failed to gain any representation.)

The government's position was improved, however, when a member of the SLP crossed the floor in early June, thus giving the UWP a 3-seat majority.

SENEGAL

Socialists' privatisation plan

The first phase of a major new privatisation programme launched by the Socialist Party government in October envisages selling off state holdings in ten enterprises, six of which will be completely privatised.

Managed by the newly created Commission for State Disengagement (CDE), the programme is being carried out to meet World Bank conditions for the release of the second tranche of a US\$93-million structural loan. Privatisation of major public enterprises was also a stipulation of the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) under its latest loan package granted in November 1986 (see 2/87, page 80).

The first ten companies involved are in the automotive, construction, light-industry, tourism and advertising sectors and have an aggregate annual turnover of more than 1 billion CFA francs (US\$3.5 million). Three of the country's most profitable hotels are included in the selloff, which will be open to foreign investors without restriction.

Senegal's large parastatal sector currently consists of 62 wholly or majority owned enterprises and 24 public agencies, in addition to which the state has a stake in 46 other companies. Capital participation in the parastatals amounts to over 35 billion CFA francs, more than a quarter of the government's fixed capital assets. In 1985 the parastatals and their subsidiaries registered a combined loss of some 85 billion CFA francs.

The World Bank's conditions also stipulate that a further 17 parastatals should be identified for privatisation, and that seven mixed enterprises and public agencies should be liquidated.

The CDE director, Al Hadj Malik Sy, described the first phase of the privatisation as 'a test of market reaction' and as the beginning of a long phase which could last twenty-five years. He added that eventually the government hoped to be in direct control of 'nothing more than basic utilities, transport, communications and culture'.

Official debt rescheduled

The government and the Paris Club of creditor governments reached agreement on 18 November on a rescheduling of Senegal's official debt.

The terms of the accord include a six-year grace period and a sixteen-year repayment period. No details of the actual amount to be rescheduled were given.

Senegal's total foreign debt, excluding short-term commercial debt, amounts to US\$ 2.7 billion. In the 1986-87 budgetary year (which ended in June) debt servicing absorbed 50 percent of the country's reserves and 27 percent of export revenues.

The terms of the accord were

softer than have thus far been the norm for Paris Club reschedulings. The creditors agreed to the exceptional terms because of Senegal's very heavy debt service obligations, a very low income per head, and the government's implementation of an austerity programme supported by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (see 2/87, page 80).

● The reintegration of Senegal's urban police was completed during October, following the suspension of the entire force in April after a strike which the government regarded as a rebellion (see 2/87, page 81).

OBITUARY: Momar Talla Cisse, page 77

SPAIN

Anti-terrorist pact

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) government on 10 November secured the signature by almost all parliamentary parties of a charter providing for both stronger efforts against terrorist activities and a more pragmatic policy towards known or suspected activists of separatist movements.

The charter, a crucial element in the government's strategy to combat the Basque separatist movement ETA, was signed by all parties represented in the Madrid parliament except Basque Solidarity (EA).

The acceptance of the accord by the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), the largest Basque party, and the Basque Left (EE), as well as by the national parties of the right, was hailed by the government as a major success for its policy of establishing a cross-party approach to the terrorist problem.

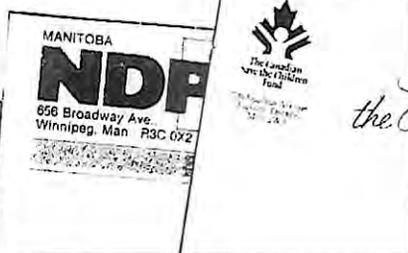
(Popular Unity, HB, the political wing of ETA - which refuses to take its seats in parliament - was excluded from the negotiations.)

The anti-terrorist charter is based partly on a document approved by the Basque regional parliament in March 1985 condemning separatist violence. It stipulates that negotiations on behalf of the Basque people with

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the national government can only be carried out by political parties in the Basque parliament, and rejects ETA's claim to represent or negotiate for the Basque people. It also calls on the group to give up violence and terrorism.

Since 1968, ETA has claimed responsibility for killing nearly 600 people, mainly national police, military and civil guard officers, in its campaign to achieve Basque independence.

Changes

In accordance with the charter's provisions, certain provisions of the current anti-terrorist law were modified on 20 November so that henceforth suspected terrorists could only be detained without charge for a maximum of five days rather than ten. Promised by the prime minister, Felipe González, in February (see 1/87, page 81), this change was supplemented by an acceptance of pro-ETA support groups provided they confined their activities to propaganda.

Also on 20 November, parliament approved a legal reform designed to encourage terrorists to abandon violent methods and to cooperate with the authorities. Under its provisions, wanted or convicted terrorists guilty of lesser offences than murder can expect amnesties or reduced sentences if they show evidence of a change of heart or help to prevent further terrorist attacks.

Ultimatum on US forces reduction

Faced with deadlock in its quest for a substantial reduction of US forces in Spain, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) government on 10 November formally gave notice that it would not renew the 1953 defence cooperation treaty between Spain and the United States when its current five-year term expires next May, unless an acceptable agreement is reached before then.

Negotiations for cuts in the 12,500-strong American military presence in Spain – centred on three major airbases and the naval base at Rota – were promised by the government at the time of the referendum in March 1986 on continued Span-

ish membership of NATO outside of its integrated military command structure (see 1/86, page 71).

The talks have focused on the government's demand for the withdrawal from Spain of all 72 F-16 warplanes currently stationed at the Torrejon base, just outside Madrid. This has thus far been resisted by the American side.

Galician Socialists topple AP

The Galician branch of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE-PSG) succeeded on 23 September in unseating the conservative Popular Alliance (AP) regional government in a vote of confidence.

The downfall of the AP in its northwestern stronghold resulted from the defection of the deputy head of the government, who took four AP deputies with him into the regionalist Galician Coalition (CG). In the confidence vote 22 PSOE members were joined by 18 regionalists to secure a 40 to 29 defeat for the AP administration.

The new PSOE head of the regional government is Fernando González Laxe, who has formed a coalition with regionalist elements in the assembly.

SWITZERLAND

Social Democrats lose to Greens

Amid a general loss of support for the four parties which have governed in coalition since 1959, the Social Democrats slipped to third place in the party rankings in general elections held on 18 October.

The results for the 200-member National Council gave the Social Democrats a vote share of 18.3 percent, 4.5 percent less than in 1983, and a final tally of 41 seats, 6 down on last time.

All three of the other ruling parties – the Radical Democratic Party (FDP/PRD), the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP/PDC) and the Swiss People's Party (SVP/UDC) – also lost votes, although the Christian

Democrats maintained their seat total at 42, thus displacing the Social Democrats as the second strongest party, while the smaller People's Party actually increased its representation by 2 seats to 25.

With the Radical Democrats again coming out on top with 51 seats, a loss of 3, the four-party coalition thus retained a substantial aggregate majority of 159 seats, as against 166 in the outgoing National Council.

The principal gains were registered by the two ecologist formations, although expectations of a major breakthrough in the wake of Chernobyl and the recent Rhine pollution scandal were not fulfilled. The non-ideological Green Party increased its representation from 4 to 9, while the joint list of the left-wing Alternative Greens and the Progressives (POCH) improved from 3 to 4 seats.

Of the other lists, the new Motorists' Party, formed to oppose the anti-motor car inclinations of the ecologists, won 2 seats in its first election contest. The far-right alliance of National Action and the Republican Movement increased its vote share marginally but lost 2 of its 5 lower house seats.

Upper house

In simultaneous elections to the upper house, the Council of States, the four coalition parties and the Swiss Liberal Party

(SLP/PLS) took all but one of the 46 seats, the exception being one independent consumer movement representative elected with the backing of a cooperative stores chain.

Environmental issues

Concern for the environment dominated the election campaign. The Social Democrats put forward a programme of concrete measures requiring sacrifices from all sectors of society to repair damage done to the environment. The party had contrasted its approach with that of its centre and right-wing coalition partners and other political parties, which issued only slogans.

Felber replaces Aubert

The foreign minister since 1978, Pierre Aubert, of the Social Democratic Party, announced on 5 October that he would retire from the government at the end of the year.

On 9 December, the new parliament elected his party colleague René Felber to succeed him in the federal cabinet (in which the Social Democrats hold two of the seven posts).

During 1987 Aubert also held the rotating office of president of the Swiss Confederation.

Results of the Swiss elections 1987 (1983)

	percentage	seats	
Radical Democratic Party (FDP/PRD)	22.8 (23.2)	51	(54)
Christian Democratic Party (CVP/PDC)	19.6 (20.4)	42	(42)
Social Democratic Party	18.3 (22.8)	41	(47)
Swiss People's Party (SVP/UDC)	10.9 (11.1)	25	(23)
Green Party	5.1 (2.6)	9	(4)
Alternative Greens / Progressives	4.3 (4.8)	4	(3)
Independents' Party (LdU/AI)	4.1 (4.0)	8	(8)
National Action / Republicans	2.8 (2.6)	3	(5)
Swiss Liberal Party (SLP/LPS)	2.7 (2.8)	9	(8)
Motorists' Party	2.6	2	-
Evangelical People's Party (EVP/PES)	1.9 (2.1)	3	(3)
Party of Labour (PdA/PST)	0.8 (0.9)	1	(1)
others	4.1 (2.7)	2	(2)

Turnout 47%



Turkey's second force: SHP leader Erdal İnönü addressing a campaign rally

TURKEY

Divided left allows Özal back in

One of the SI's two affiliates in Turkey, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), led by Erdal İnönü, emerged as the main opposition formation in early general elections held on 29 November. Gaining 24.8 percent of the vote, it won 99 seats in the enlarged 450-member parliament.

However, the division of left-wing forces enabled the right-wing Motherland Party (ANAP), led by the prime minister, Turgut Özal, to be returned to power. It obtained 292 seats, with 36.3 percent of the popular vote.

The other 59 seats went to the conservative Correct Way Party (DYP), led by Suleyman Demirel, a former prime minister.

Hurdle for DSP

The SI's other affiliate, the Democratic Left Party (DSP), gained 8.5 percent, thus failing to obtain the minimum 10 percent share of the vote required for representation.

The DSP was led by Bülent Ecevit, a former prime minister and leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP), an SI member party disbanded by the military in 1981. He took over the party leadership from Rahsan Ecevit, his wife, after a referendum on 6 September had shown a majority in favour of lifting a ban

The election was the first freely contested one since the 1980 military coup. In the previous vote in November 1983, which had brought the ANAP to power, only three parties had been allowed to take part.

on Ecevit and other leading politicians (see below).

Özal had called the election a year before the expiry of the current parliamentary term after the September referendum.

Social justice

During the campaign the left-wing parties criticised in particular the government's economic policies, which have resulted in an inflation rate of over 50 percent, increased indebtedness of the country's farmers and a widening of the gap between rich and poor. Both the SHP and the DSP campaigned on programmes which included measures to secure greater social justice.

The opposition parties also criticised the election system, which combined first-past-the-post with proportional representation, as favouring the ruling party.

● When the results of the general election became known, and it was clear that the DSP would not be represented in parliament, Ecevit announced his retirement from politics.

Political ban lifted

In a referendum held on 6 September the Turkish electorate voted narrowly in favour of lifting the existing ten-year ban (until 1992) on some 200 politicians active before the military coup in 1980. (The ban was enshrined in the military-inspired 1982 constitution.)

Those thus freed to engage in open political activity included Bülent Ecevit, a former prime minister and leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP), an SI member party disbanded by the

military in 1981, who had been prosecuted for contravening the ban on a number of occasions (see 1/87, page 82; 3/86, page 81).

The referendum results showed that 50.2 percent of those casting valid votes favoured lifting the ban and that 49.8 percent favoured its retention. Voting was compulsory for the 25 million electorate, of whom some 1.5 million cast invalid votes.

Both the SI's member parties, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) and the Democratic Left Party (DSP), campaigned in favour of lifting the ban, while the ruling Motherland Party (ANAP) opposed it.

A week after the referendum Ecevit was elected to the leadership of the DSP. Launched by a section of the CHP in November 1985 (see 4/85, page 81), it had hitherto been led by Rahsan Ecevit, his wife, who was elected a deputy chair.

● In changes in the leadership of the DSP announced in mid-July, Murtaza Çelikel and Haluk Özdalga became deputy chairs

and Nuri Korkmaz was appointed secretary-general.

SHP affirms 'European vocation'

A congress of the opposition Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) held in Ankara on 26-28 June adopted a programme reiterating the party's support for Turkey's application for full membership of the European Community (formally submitted by the government on 14 April) and affirming Turkey's 'European vocation'.

The new party programme also called for the dismantling of remaining restraints on democratic freedoms, as well as an end to compulsory religious education.

The congress reelected Erdal İnönü as president of the party. His supporters also headed elections to a new central committee contested by four different party currents.

End of martial law

Martial law was lifted on 19 July in the four southeastern provinces where it had still been in force, and was replaced by emergency rule (meaning that special powers are exercised by civilian governors rather than the military).

Martial law had been finally lifted elsewhere in Turkey in mid-1986 but had been retained in the southeast because of the threat from Kurdish rebels. A total of eight southeastern provinces are now under emergency rule.

Results of the Turkish elections 1987

	percentage	seats
Motherland Party (ANAP)	36.3	292
Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP)	24.8	99
Correct Way Party (DYP)	19.3	59
Democratic Left Party (DSP)	7.0	0
others	12.6	0

Turnout 93%

OBITUARIES



Sven Andersson

Sven Andersson, the former Social Democratic defence and foreign minister of Sweden, died in Stockholm on 21 September at the age of 77.

Trained as a carpenter, Andersson was an instructor for the Swedish Workers' Educational Association in his native Gothenburg from 1932 to 1935 and a member of the executive of the Socialist Youth Movement from 1934 to 1940.

He was appointed a national secretary of the Social Democratic Party in 1945 and was a member of the party executive for over thirty years.

Andersson joined the Erlander government in 1948 as minister without portfolio. After serving as transport minister from 1951, he held the defence portfolio for 16 years from 1957 to 1973. He was then foreign minister until the defeat of the Palme government in 1976.

Momar Talla Cisse

Momar Talla Cisse, the tourism minister in Senegal's Socialist government, died in Dakar on 26 October at the age of 48.

An economics graduate of Dakar University, Cisse joined the Socialist Party in his youth. Subsequently he held a number of posts in the party and government, becoming a central committee member of the party with responsibility for youth affairs, as well as successively price control director, director of internal trade and secretary-general of the finance ministry.

After serving as secretary of state responsible for tourism, he was appointed tourism minister in the Diouf government following the 1983 general elections.

VANUATU

Vanuaaku and Lini win for third time

The Party of our Land (Vanuaaku Pati) led by Walter Lini won a third term of office in elections to the 46-member Parliament held on 30 November.

In power since the former Anglo-French condominium of the New Hebrides became independent as Vanuatu in July 1980, Lini's party won 26 seats against 20 for the opposition Union of Moderate Parties (UMP).

The newly formed Labour Party, sponsored by the Vanuatu Trades Union Congress, presented four candidates but failed to make any significant impact.

In the previous general elections, held in 1983, the Vanuaaku

Pati had obtained 24 seats in the then 39-seat parliament and the UMP 12. Three other parties had obtained 1 seat each.

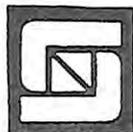
EGYPT

Mubarak reelected

In a presidential referendum held on 5 October, President Hosni Mubarak was reelected unopposed for a second six-year term.

Backed by the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) and by the opposition Islamic Alliance, he was officially credited with 97 percent of the valid votes.

The NDP had won a further large parliamentary majority in elections to the People's Assembly in April (see 2/87, page 85).



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MAYO/JUNIO 1987

No 89

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THE LAST WORD

Enduring values

'In the 70s the Labour Party stood for solidarity in society, with the state being the guarantor of that solidarity. It didn't quite happen that way. Too many of the bills were left unpaid. But there is no reason whatsoever to denigrate the idea of the state guarantee. The party must be proud of that, and should remain so.'

Joop den Uyl, former leader of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), in an open letter to his parliamentary colleagues dated 5 November

The expert speaks

'A normal person would shy away from accepting an income for being without work'

Otto von Habsburg

From *Neue AZ*, 19 November 1987

Roof damage report 1987

Statistically speaking, the dying of the forests is really nothing but a reduction of the tree line from 2000 meters to sea level



From *Vorwärts*, 21 November 1987

500 ways to ensure equal status

The Norwegian government's newly released action plan for equal opportunity contains 500 measures aimed at bringing women more to the forefront, and easing the day-to-day life of those in difficult circumstances.

Seventeen ministries have forwarded proposals which have been included in the fiscal budget for 1988 and will be repeated in the following year.

The ministry of industry calls for a minimum of 40 percent of women on all committees and councils by 1990, and will together with the ministry of petroleum and energy establish a data base with a list of all women qualified to fill such positions.

The ministry of health and social affairs proposes among other things that typical caring professions such as nursing — largely dominated by women — be upgraded in status through measures such as higher wages. In that women often carry out a great deal of strenuous work in their families, and in nursing homes etc, sweeping reforms have also been proposed for women with heavy loads of responsibility for others.

From *Norinform*, 1 December 1987

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