

Council debates disarmament, environment

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

The summit – officially a preparatory meeting – between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States in the Icelandic capital ended in apparent deadlock on 12 October, only two days before

delegates began to gather in Bonn for eve-of-council committee meetings. The dramatic effect of Reykjavik was still very much felt, and it was only enhanced by the fact that the summit had been arranged, staged and completed within a two-week period and that its outcome was still not entirely clear.

Not surprisingly, then, the media seized on the Council's disarmament resolution and the resolution adopted by the leaders of the European member parties of the SI on 15 October. The extent of the coverage, in the European press in particular, of the International's views suggests that it is not too far-fetched to speak, as some dele-

gates did, of the SI as a 'third force' in disarmament and security questions. In any case, the SI has consistently been able to approach and appeal to both superpowers.

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

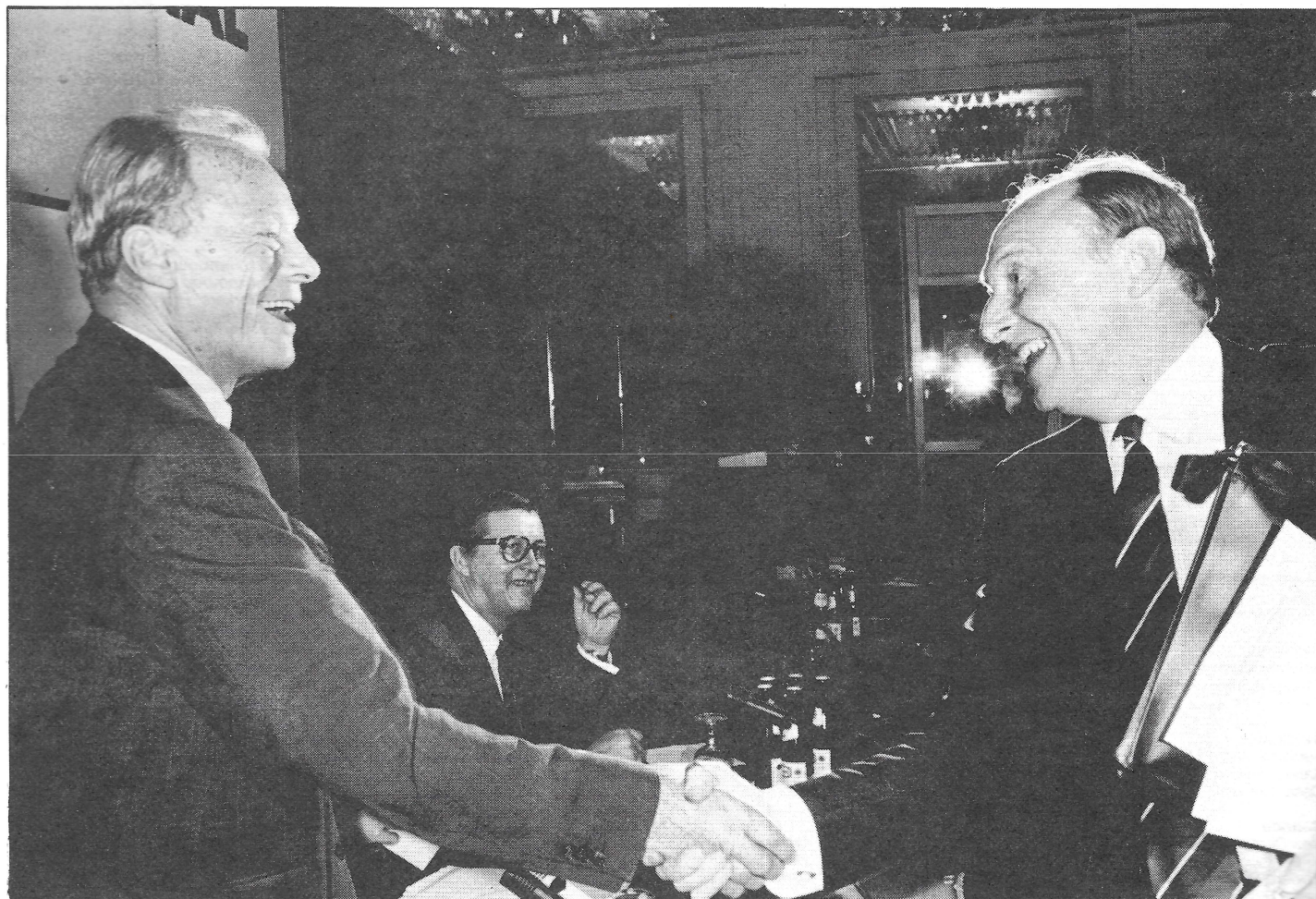
The resolution adopted by the Council (with the French Socialist Party, PS, abstaining) goes on to urge the superpowers at least to find solutions to the problems that are not directly linked to agreements on stra-

tegic systems, in particular on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The understandings reached in Reykjavik before the talks collapsed also showed that 'the time is ripe' for a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing and for reaching agreements on effective means of verification of arms-control measures, such as on-site inspection.

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

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

Willy Brandt, Kalevi Sorsa, Neil Kinnock



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

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

Other agenda items

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

The Council also adopted a short statement on El Salvador, mentioning the need for material aid and appealing to the Duarte government to agree to a cease-

fire, at least during the period immediately following the earthquake which struck San Salvador on 10 October (for full text, see *Documents*, page 29).

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

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

SICEP, which had met on 15 October, reported on followup work to the Action Programme adopted by the Lima Congress in June (see *SINEWS* 3/86) and on plans for future activities in connection with the major items on the 1987 international econ-

omic agenda, such as the GATT negotiations on tariffs and trade, the economic summit of the western industrialised nations, and the IMF and World Bank annual meetings.

Ten years since Geneva

No less than twenty-five party leaders and fourteen SI vice-presidents were present at the Council's public opening session on the morning of 16 October. In what was one of the largest SI Bureau/Council meetings ever, nearly two hundred delegates, observers and guests had responded to the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

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

duced the main theme.

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

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

List of participants

SI Council meeting Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany 16-17 October 1986

Socialist International

Willy Brandt
Pentti Väänänen
Luis Ayala

Member Parties

Austria

Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Bruno Kreisky
Fritz Marsch
Ewald Nowotny
Lisi Kauer

Belgium

Socialist Party, PS
Étienne Godin
Freddy Joris

Belgium

Socialist Party, SP
Karel van Miert
Oscar Debunne

Canada

New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD
Howard Pawley
Tessa Hebb

Chile

Radical Party of Chile, PR
Enrique Silva Cimma

Costa Rica

National Liberation Party, PLN
Rolando Araya

Denmark

Social Democratic Party
Anker Jørgensen
Steen Christensen
Lasse Budtz
Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen

Dominican Republic

Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD
José Francisco Peña Gómez
Milagres Ortez Bosch

El Salvador

National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Guillermo Ungo
Héctor Oqueli

Finland

Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
Kalevi Sorsa
Erkki Liikanen

Allan Rosas
Lauri Kangas

France

Socialist Party, PS
Louis le Pensec
Axel Quéval
Jean-Bernard Curial

Germany, Federal Republic

Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Johannes Rau
Hans Koschnick
Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul
Egon Bahr
Horst Ehmke
Uwe Holtz
Rudolf Dressler
Karsten Voigt
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski
Hans-Eberhard Dingels

Great Britain

The Labour Party
Neil Kinnock
Jenny Little

Guatemala

Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
Mario Solórzano Martínez
Florida Téllez

Ireland

The Labour Party
Tony Kinsella

Israel

Labour Party
Israel Gat

Avraham Hatzamri
Arieh Lapinski

Israel

United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Avraham Rozenkier
Arieh Shapir
Batia Keinan

Italy

Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
Antonio Cariglia

Italy

Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Margherita Boniver
Paolo Vittorelli
Walter Marossi

Jamaica

People's National Party, PNP
Michael Manley

Japan

Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Eiichi Nagasue
Eisei Ito
Koichiro Hashimoto
Sachiko Taguchi

Hisashi Enami

Kiyoshi Hasegawa
Setsuo Hosomi
Shohei Misawa
Michi Nagasue

Japan

Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
Chisato Tatebayashi

Lebanon

Progressive Socialist Party, PSP
Doureid Yaghi

Luxembourg

Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL
Ben Fayot

Malta

Malta Labour Party
Alfred Sant
Leo Brincat

Netherlands

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

Norway

Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Reiulf Steen
Thorvald Stoltenberg

Paraguay

Febrerista Revolutionary Party, PRF
Fernando Vera

Portugal

Socialist Party, PS
Vitor Constâncio
Manuel Tito de Morais
Jorge Sampaio

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

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

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

Ten years, Felipe González reflected in his contribution, was a long time. He recalled that he

had been introduced as a member of an underground organisation at the Geneva Congress. Since then, democratic rule had returned to Spain, and 'not since the nineteenth century has my country witnessed such an uninterrupted period of peace'. This 'might inspire the young nations of Latin America, among others, in their struggle to achieve a democratic system and to overcome a serious economic crisis', he observed.

Spain had been able to overcome the historic isolation of decades by extending its co-operation and relations with European countries, and it was now a member of the European Community and the North Atlantic alliance.

But as his country reestablished its traditional links with Latin America, González said he had become aware of a lesson for the democratic left in Europe. There was great uniformity of approach, inspiration and orientation in Latin America, and no two continents

had more in common than Latin America and Europe. So 'it would be to Europe's geopolitical advantage to take a keener and more committed interest in Latin America'.

Towards a socialist environmental policy

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

He went on to outline four basic principles which should guide democratic socialists on questions relating to growth and the environment:

- the right of all people to a decent standard of living;
- the maintenance and enhancement of the standard of life by the free and active participation of all;
- the refusal to accept double standards, either in quantity or quality (he mentioned by way of example the marketing of dubious pharmaceuticals for the world's poor, the stripping of

the earth for minerals or precious wood, and the hoarding of foodstuffs in parts of the world that already had more than enough); and
- the rejection of the illusion that in the past lives were simple, contented and pollution-free (whereas it had been in reality a nightmare of poverty, ignorance and early death for countless millions).

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

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

San Marino
Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU
Patrizia Busignani
Emma Rossi

Senegal
Socialist Party of Senegal
Djibo Ka
Mamadou Faye
Caroline Diop

Spain
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
Felipe González
Elena Flores
Francisco Fernández Marugán
Rafael Estrella

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

Switzerland
Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
Lilian Uchtenhagen
Heinrich Buchbinder

USA
Democratic Socialists of America, DSA
Michael Harrington

USA
Social Democrats, SDUSA
Joel Freedman

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

Consultative Parties

Bolivia
Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR
Jaime Paz Zamora
Jaime Lazcano

Brazil
Democratic Left Party, PDT
Miguel Bodea

Cyprus
EDEK Socialist Party
Andreas Frydas

Panama
Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD
Carlos Ozores
Nils Castro

Peru
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
Carlos Roca Cáceres
Hugo Otero Lanzarotti
Gustavo Saberbein

Puerto Rico
Puerto Rico Independence Party, PIP
Fernando Martin

St Lucia
Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia, PLP
George Odium

Turkey
Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP
Erdal İnönü
Yakup Kepenek
Enver Özcan

Fraternal Organisations

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

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

SIW
Socialist International Women
Maria Rodríguez-Jonas
Ingrid Bergander

Associated Organisations

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

European Parliament Socialist Group
Rudi Arndt
Paolo Falcone
Henri Saby
Dick Toornstra

LSI/CSIT
Labour Sports International
Maurice Deveen

SUCEE
Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe
Andor Bölcsföldi
Bruno Kalnins
Bytautas Bylaitis
Andreas Bylaitis
Sándor Gergelyfy
Johannes Mihkelson
Marko Milunović-Piper
Mykol Pranevicius
Tadeusz Prokopowicz
Hans Raudsepp
Vilnis Zalkalns
Grits Zegners

Guests

ANC
Reg September
Tony Seeadat

Argentina
Mesa de Unidad Socialista
Hictor Cavallero

Greece
PASOK
Perikles Nearchou

Honduras
MOLIDER
Jorge Arturo Reina

Korea, Republic of
Social Democratic Party
Kim Chul

Morocco
USFP
Ait Kaddour

Nicaragua
FSLN
Samuel Santos
Hernán Estrada

Philippines
PDSP
Norberto Gonzales

Tunisia
MUP
Abdel Kader Zouari
Hichem Safi

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

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

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

In conclusion, he said that as democratic socialists we must set ourselves three tasks:

- to implement environmental impact analysis, whereby environmental considerations must be integrated into transport planning, decisions on infra-structural, industrial and agricultural development and housing accommodation;
- to cleanse the process of industrial production by the best available technological means; and
- to recognise that high environmental standards are being progressively supported by effective consumer demand.

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

International framework

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

In what was neither the first nor the last reference to

Chernobyl at the meeting, she pointed out that the accident at the Soviet nuclear reactor in April had clearly demonstrated the international transboundary effects of environmental pollution. (As the minister responsible for dealing with its consequences for Sweden, Dahl had had first-hand experience of dealing with the fallout of Chernobyl, both radioactive and political.)

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

Dahl, who was subsequently elected chair of the expanded Committee on Acid Rain (SICAR), renamed the Committee on the Environment, put

forward a number of proposals on which the new committee could act soon. For one, it should undertake as a matter of urgency a methodical analysis of the environment and the economy, resulting in a strategy to tackle the problems in those areas. Future work could centre on stressing greater respect for environmental legislation, increasing efforts in areas where time is running out, and changing over the long term our use of natural resources and the manner in which this is allowed to affect the environment.

All contributors to the debate stressed the particular responsibility of democratic socialists to try to work out common principles to deal with environmental issues in both North and South. For although the nature and magnitude of economic and environmental problems were very different in developing and industrialised countries, environmental problems were by their very nature international – the phrase recurred time and again – and global, and had to be solved on this level. The effectiveness of national environmental policies would be limited; lasting protection of our environment could only be guaranteed through inter-

national cooperation.

Action on human rights

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

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

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

The resolution on Chile adopted by the Council demands the lifting of the state of siege, the restoration of fundamental freedoms, the respect of human rights, immediate freedom for the media, and the restoration of democracy through free and guaranteed elections. It also reiterates the SI's support for a peaceful transition to democracy and its rejection of terrorism or violence, 'which lead to the polarisation of Chilean society and which the Chilean people reject'. (For full text, see *Documents*, page 29).

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

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

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

In the debate on **Southern Africa**, Reg September, the

Committees and study groups of the Socialist International

as established by the Council meeting in Bonn, Federal Germany, 16-17 October 1986

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation (APSO)

Chile Committee

Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP)

Committee on the Environment

(previously Committee on Acid Rain, SICAR)

Committee on Human Rights

Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC)

Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC)

Finance and Administration Committee (SIFAC)

Middle East Committee (SIMEC)

New Declaration of Principles Committee (SINDEC)

Southern Africa Committee (SISAC)

Study Group on Africa (SISGA)

Study Group on the Mediterranean

representative of the African National Congress (ANC) at the Council meeting, described in detail the deteriorating situation in his country, referring to the state of emergency, the chaos in the schools, the detention of thousands of political activists, the treason trials and the revelations of torture.

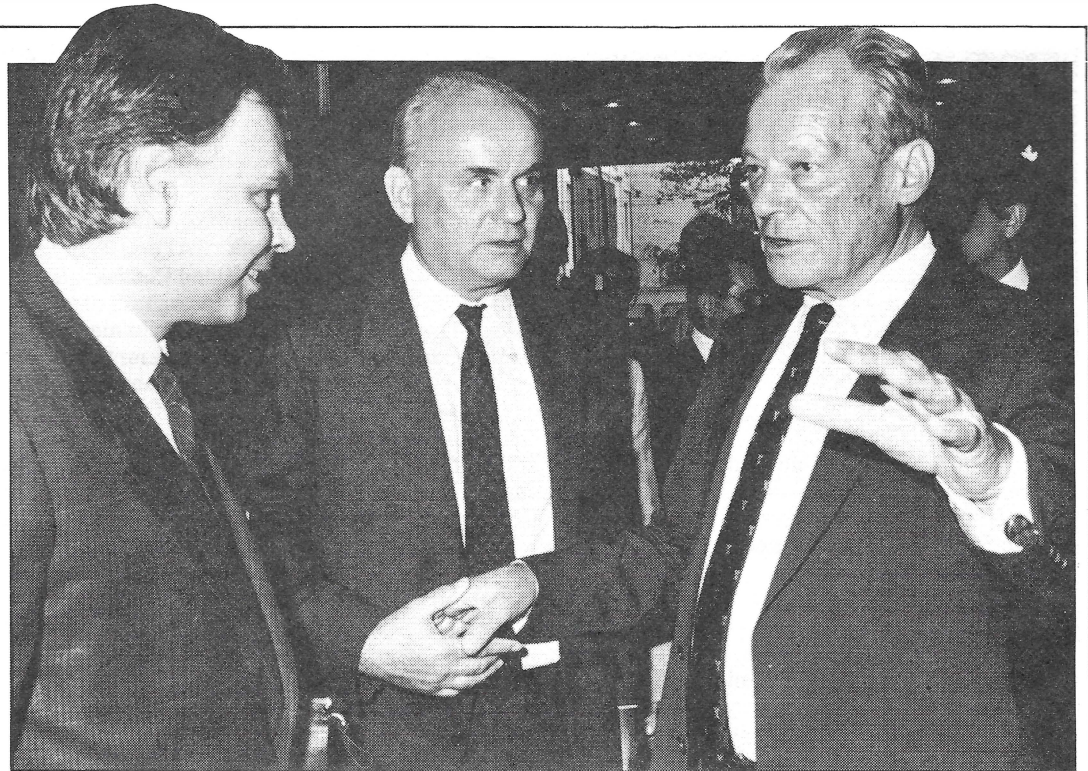
The dilemma of the Botha regime, he said, was that it was no longer able to rule in the old way. 'With the resistance of the people in every sphere of life, Botha has fallen back on total reliance on force.'

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

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

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

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



Felipe González, Klaus Mätthofer (SPD treasurer), Willy Brandt

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

SICLAC report

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

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

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

The committee had approved resolutions on Central America, Paraguay and Panama, and had adopted a statement in relation to the initiative of the Nicaraguan government in de-

nouncing Costa Rica at the International Court of Justice.

Organisational matters

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

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

On behalf of the Council, President Willy Brandt thanked those committee chairs not standing for reelection for their valuable work over the years. These were: Svante Lundkvist (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP), chair of the Committee on Acid Rain

(SICAR); Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen (Social Democratic Party, Denmark), chair of the Finance and Administration Committee (SIFAC); Abdel Kader Fall (Socialist Party of Senegal), co-chair of the Study Group on Africa (SISGA); and Mário Soares (Socialist Party, PS, Portugal), who had retired as chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC) in June (see *SINEWS 3/86*, page 31). Brandt also thanked Walter Hacker (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ), the secretary of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), who retired for health reasons.

As to other organisational matters, the Council fixed the levels of membership fees, adopted the secretariat's budget for 1987 and discussed possibilities for fundraising.

Furthermore, the rules of procedure were revised in an effort to improve the efficiency of work at major SI meetings. This was thought necessary in particular because of the fact that in recent years these have grown into major political – and media – events attended by hundreds of delegates, observers and guests, which has put some unavoidable strains on the political work and organisation.