A spring Bureau in Slingerup

The magnificent spring beauty of the Danish Metalworkers' school near Slingerup, Denmark, was the setting for the first meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist International in 1984 – a site famous not only for its inspiring natural beauty but the elegance of the facilities.

On April 25 and 26, nearly 150 participants in the Bureau discussions debated an unusually broad range of topics, from acid rain to the situation in Cyprus.

But it was the continuing dilemma surrounding the fragile recovery in the world economy, and the dramatic changes in Southern Africa which occupied centre stage for much of the deliberations. These two main themes were also the focus of the SI committee on acid rain and an SI committee on acid rain was also constituted.

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Response to SI Disarmament Appeal

President Reagan and President Chernenko were among the many heads of state in Europe and North America who responded to the International's disarmament appeal issued in February.

In the appeal, sent to the heads of state of all thirty-five countries of the Convention of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the International had warned against the dangers resulting from the interruption of important disarmament and arms control negotiations, and had called on the heads of state to do all in their power to improve mutual trust and break the spiral of the accelerating arms race.

Full text of Chernenko and Reagan letters, page 10

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O pening the debate on the world economy, Lionel Jospin, the first secretary of the Socialist Party of France, PS, cautioned those who were too sanguine about the pace of recovery to note its patchy and uncertain pattern. He pointed out that as yet the recovery had not included declines in unemployment levels throughout most of the industrialised world, let alone the Third World.

Carlos Andrés Pérez, who with Jospin opened debate on the main theme, underlined his call for concerted joint action. Jospin and Pérez both appealed for a rejection of unilateral attempts at reflaction. Pérez, a former president of Venezuela and vice-president of the Socialist International, reviewed the staggering burden which the mounting of foreign debt had imposed on the Third World and especially Latin America.

Socialist International President Willy Brandt, both in his opening remarks and subsequently, reminded the Bureau of the need to pursue a breakthrough in the North and South deadlock in the context of the recovery. He cited efforts of Group of 77 chairman Porfirio Muñoz Ledo to outline a new approach to negotiations. (Muñoz Ledo describes this initiative in the Horizons section.)

Former Australian prime minister Gough Whitlam, the head of the Australian Labor Party delegation, detailed the efforts of the United States' government to block the replenishment of the soft loan facility of the World Bank, the International Development Association, IDA, warning that it should be seen as part of a generalised attack by conservative forces on multilateral institutions.

The Bureau decided to issue a statement on the world economy addressed to the leaders of the western economic summit countries, in advance of their meeting in London on June 7-9. (The text is published in Documents, page 9.)

On Southern Africa, the Bureau heard a tough and concise review of the behaviour or the apartheid regime in South Africa in recent months from Charles Kileo, the delegate of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM, the governing party of Tanzania. Kileo, currently governor of the province of Arusha, declared that whatever the appearances of recent accords, apartheid remained unchanged.

Maarten van Traa, of the Dutch Labour Party, urged member parties to undertake more concrete actions domestically against apartheid in their own countries. Following a report from the coordinator of the Preparatory Committee on Southern Africa, Jean Bernard Curial of the Socialist Party of France, the Bureau agreed that the first stage of the long-awaited conference on Southern Africa should be held in Arusha, Tanzania, on September 4-5.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party had urged the Bureau to adopt a specific proposal on acid rain, given its...
An interview with the Swedish minister responsible for acid rain, Svante Lundkvist, who addressed the Bureau, appears in the Horizons section.

Walter Hacker, of the Socialist Party of Austria reported to the American journal Scene about the state of the Austrian Labour Party (AP) and gave a report to the Bureau that among those who had responded were the president of the Soviet Union, Konstantin Chernenko, and the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan. (The two letters appear in Documents, page 10.)

Hacker outlined SIDAC’s plans for a mission to the Far East later this year, and planned efforts to step up contacts with the Non-Aligned Movement.

In the debate on security issues which followed, Paolo Vittorelli, a defence and arms control expert of the Socialist Party of Italy, PSI, outlined an initiative to transcend the current deadlock in the INF and START negotiations by attempting to build a climate of trust through other forums of talks, and areas of negotiation. President Brandt observed that the question of new missile deployments in Europe was still not settled and efforts should continue to be made to reverse the trend of recent developments.

Don Grimes, a member of the Australian government and the executive of the Australian Labor Party, ALP, renewed his party’s call for a campaign to end the testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. Although the Bureau did not ultimately vote on a text proposed by the ALP, more than a dozen delegates expressed their party’s support for an end to such testing. The French Socialist Party was critical of the initiative by the ALP and the Socialist International members parties in Japan, New Zealand and Malaysia. Lionel Jospin argued against making the issue a ‘permanent agenda item’. The subject was again referred to SIDAC for its consideration and report to the Bureau.

The Bureau adopted an extensive text on the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, following a discussion of troubling developments in the region – to overcome the accumulated problems of that country, following the years of dictatorship.

The Socialist International calls on the government of Great Britain to give a positive response to the request – reiterated recently by President Alfonso – for negotiations with Argentina, within the context of the United Nations, on the Falklands/Malvinas conflict.

The Socialist International declares its full support for the overwhelming demand by the people of Brazil for direct and immediate presidential elections.

The Socialist International looks forward to the success of the presidential candidate, Rodrigo Borja, the representative of its member party in Ecuador, the Party of the Democratic Left, PID, in the elections to be held on May 6.

At the same time, the Socialist International expresses its support for its member party in Peru, the PeruAvan Aprista Party, APRA, which has nominated Alan Garcia as candidate for the presidential elections in that country.

The Socialist International reiterates once again its support for the Chilean people and the demands of all democratic forces in that country, which has been expressed vigorously in recent months, in favour of a quick return to democracy. It also expresses its solidarity with the people of Uruguay, who are making decisive progress in their struggle to reestablish democracy in that country, and with the demand for the legalisation of political parties and freedom for individuals of the opposition to stand for elections – unconditional, democratic elections – and full respect of the will of the people.

The Socialist International declares its solidarity with the Revolutionary Barbados Party, PBF, in its struggle for democracy and freedom in Paraguay.

In Haiti, which has the oldest and most cruel dictatorship in the Caribbean, the people have been submitted for so many years to poverty and social inequality. The Socialist International denounces this dictatorship and its constant violation of human rights. We call on the democratic forces all over the world to join us in the support of the Haitian people to bring the Duvalier dictatorship to an end and to establish democracy.

In light of the worsening economic problems in Latin America and the Caribbean, in particular the problem of external debt, the Socialist International affirms the need for joint efforts to overcome the serious situation affecting this region, as well as other areas of the developing world, and which affects in particular the working class and the poorest groups. In this context, the Socialist International rejects the policies imposed by the IMF, which have worsened social tensions in these countries and which do not represent a viable economic alternative.

Resolution on acid rain

The problem of acidification, which now poses a serious threat to the environment, requires that internationally coordinated action be taken urgently.

Acidification of lakes was first recorded in the 1960s, and since then it has been discovered in an increasing number of countries. A severely acidified lake shows an impoverished plant and animal life, among which some few species are entirely predominant. Fish in many lakes are now disappearing entirely, principally because acidification leads to increased levels of aluminium.

Soil acidification leads to an increased intake of heavy metals by plants. Agricultural crops in acidified areas contain higher levels of cadmium. If adequate measures are not taken, this will create a serious threat to human health.

The acidification of ground water has led to increased concentrations of heavy metals in drinking water, which is another serious health risk.

In recent years, there has been severe damage to forests through acidification in several countries. In addition to the irreplaceable ecological damage, the acidification of forests will result in heavy economic losses.

The corrosion caused by acid rain has inflicted irreparable damage to historical monuments and objects of cultural value. Although the processes leading to acidification of lakes, soil, forests and ground water are complicated, there is no longer any doubt that acid rain is the major cause. Action must be taken to reduce substantially the emissions that give rise to acid rain.

These emissions drift across borders to such an extent that no country can solve its acidification problem without parallel action in other countries as well. This is an international problem and must be solved through international cooperation.

Techniques and methods to reduce the emissions which produce acid rain already exist.

The 1979 convention on long-range transboundary air pollution, brought into force in March 1983, is an important first step towards international cooperation to reduce such emissions. That must now be followed by concrete agreements whereby states undertake to decrease emissions substantially.

Socialist and social democratic governments have taken important initiatives in that direction. The Socialist International urges all concerned nations and governments to cooperate in substantially reducing the emissions which lead to acidification and threaten human health and the environment.

Resolution on Cyprus

The Socialist International, having heard the statements of the secretary-general of EDEK and other speakers, and having taken note of the report on Cyprus by the Special Committee of the Socialist International following its mission to the island in 1982, welcomes and endorses UN Security Council resolutions on Cyprus, calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus, expresses its concern at the continuing violation of human rights in Cyprus and calls for an immediate and urgent inquiry into the fate of missing persons, and supports the efforts of the secretary-general of the United Nations to reach a settlement of the Cyprus issue.
especially the mining by United States surrogates of the harbours and coastal waters of Nicaragua. President Brandt hailed the victory of the Democratic Action, AD, of Nicaragua. President Brandt also its broad legislative triumph. He thanked the Democratic Labour Party of Brazil, PDT, for its invitation to the Bureau to meet in Rio de Janeiro on October 1-2.

Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, on behalf of the SPD, condemned the mining as 'simply illegal', and attacked those who would attempt to breach Costa Rica's unarmed neutrality. He called for more specific support for the Contadora process by the member parties of the Socialist International.

Olaf Palme, the Swedish prime minister, following a tough and incisive intervention in the Southern Africa discussion, also offered the Bureau his views on the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, following his recent tour there. Welcoming the return to political democracy in a number of countries he added that in order for the gains to be guaranteed, they must be backed by even greater changes in the social and economic arena. He thanked the member parties of the Socialist International from the region for their role in revitalising the SI since 1976, and remarked that the Bureau should take note of the considerable contribution made by them as a group.

Both Carlos Andrés Pérez, reporting on behalf of the chairman of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, José Francisco Peña Gómez, and Guillermo Ungo, the leader of the Salvadoran opposition, deprecated the increasingly interventionist tone of United States rhetoric and behaviour in Central America. Ungo, also the leader

List of participants
Socialist International Bureau meeting
Slangerup, Denmark, April 25-26, 1984

Socialist International
Willy Brandt
Kurti Väänänen
Robin Sears
Luis Ayala

Australia
Australian Labor Party, ALP
Gough Whitlam
Don Grimes
Joan Taggart
Kate Moore
Netta Burns

Austria
Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Fritz Marsch
Peter Jankowitsch
Walter Hacker

Barbados
Barbados Labour Party
Louis Tull
Richard Chetternham

Belgium
Socialist Party, PS
Guy Spijtels
Indre Pétty
Etienne Codin
Michel Vanden Abeele

Belgium
Socialist Party, SP
Karel van Miert
Willy Cises
Oscar Debourne

Canada
New Democratic Party, NDP/NDP
Tony Penikett
Gerry Caplan

Denmark
Social Democratic Party
Anker Jørgensen
Knut Henriksen
Tove Smith
Einar Hovgaard Christiansen
Stein Christiansen

El Salvador
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Guillermo Moreno Unro
Héctor Quezal
Ricardo Navarro

Finland
Social Democratic Party
Eelki Likanen
Laure Kangas

France
Socialist Party, PS
Lionel Jospin
Jacques Huntzinger
Genevieve Domenach-Chich
Dominique Strauss-Kahn
Jean-Bernard Curial

Germany, Federal Republic
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski
Hans-Eberhard Dingels
Wolfgang Roth
Klaus Lindenberg
Karl-Heinz Kläri

Great Britain
The Labour Party
Jenny Lefèbvre

Guatemala
Democratic Socialist Party
PSD
Haroldo Rodas
Juan Alberto Fuentes
Carlos Gallardo Flores

Iceland
Social Democratic Party
Kjartan Johannsson

Ireland
The Labour Party
Tony Brown

Israel
Israel Labour Party
Haim Cartov
David Melchior
Richard Bell

Israel
United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Avraham Rozenkier
Ari Yaffe

Italy
Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Paolo Vittorelli
Valdo Spini
Walter Marosi

Jamaica
People's National Party, PNP
Carl Rattray

Japan
Japanese Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Eiko Nukiyama
Sachio Taguchi

Lebanon
Progressive Socialist Party
Doured Yaghi

Luxembourg
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/PSOL
Lydie Ettr

Malta
Malta Labour Party
Leo Brincat

Netherlands
Labour Party, PvdA
Wim van Velsen
Maisa van Tram

New Zealand
New Zealand Labour Party
Norman Kingsbury

Norway
Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Gro Harlem Brundtland
Reidar Steen
Ivar Leversaes
Thorvald Stoltenberg

Portugal
Socialist Party, PS
Rui Mateus
João Tito de Morais

Senegal
Socialist Party of Senegal
Latéfou Senghor
Caroline Diop
Lamine Kobi
Abd'el Kader Fall

Spain
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSSOE
Elena Flores
Emilio Alonso
Carlos Miranda

South Africa
SWAFU

Sweden
Swedish Social Democratic Party
STP
Olof Palme

Switzerland
Swiss Democratic Party of Switzerland
Jean Ziegler

Venezuela
Democratic Action, AD
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Enrique Terribi Paris
Rinaldo Figueiredo

USA
Democratic Socialists of America, DS
Michael Harrington

USA
Social Democrats, SDUSA
Joel Freedman

Consultative Parties
Cyprus
EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
Takis Hadjimemelo
Panos Hadiyianos

Guyana
Working People's Alliance, WPA
Rupert Roopnaraine

St Lucia
Progressive Labour Party, PLP
George Oudum

SUECE
Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe
Vilém Bernard
Stanislaw Wasik

Fraternal Organisations

IFM/SEI
International Falcon Movement/Socialist Education

International Union of Socialist Youth

International Union of Socialist Women

Socialist International

Assorted Organisations

Socialist Group
European Parliament
Paulo Falcone

IUSDT
International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers

Karl Erikson

Observers
Angola
MPLA
Julio Domingos

Brazil
PDT
Clíve Brígagão
Cibilis Viana

Denmark
Dansk Metalarbejderforbund
georg Poulsen

Greece
PASOK
Theodoros Stathis
Penelope Nearchou

Greenland
Siumut
Finn Lyngé

Honduras
MLDR
Jorge Arturo Reina

Nicaragua
FSLN
Hernán Estrada
José Pasos
Jorge Pallacios

Socialist Interaficana
Mauricio Kool
Mouffe Lahm
Tazifik Aïchor

Tanzania
Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM
Charles Kibo

Zambia
UNIP
John Muleba

Guest
Bülent Ecevit

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of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, of El Salvador, pointed out that US military personnel were now involved in military operations in the air over his country, as an example.

The Bureau adopted a resolution on the changed situation in Cyprus and called for a return to the negotiating table by both sides. Delegates particularly condemned the counterproductive nature of the recent unilateral declarations by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community.

Rui Mateus, Socialist Party of Portugal, reported on behalf of the Socialist International Middle East Committee chairman, Portuguese Prime Minister Mário Soares, about plans for a new mission to the region following the Israeli and Egyptian elections this summer. The Bureau, at the initiative of Maarten van Traa, adopted an appeal to the Czech authorities concerning the treatment of the founder of Charter 77, Rudolf Battek.

Anker Jørgensen, the leader of the host party, the Danish Social Democrats, and Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen, the party’s general secretary, and all their collaborators, as well as the Danish Metalworkers’ Union, were the recipients of effusive praise from President Brandt and others for their work in preparing and staging the Bureau meeting.

The meeting adjourned after a long set of deliberations and a lengthy press conference. And delegates’ final glimpse of the gleaming union centre on the hill was a row of massive red flags which adorned the school as the buses and limousines sped towards Copenhagen.

June 4, 1984
Statement by the president of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, and the chairman of the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, Michael Manley, to the London economic summit

(1) On the eve of the economic summit meeting in London, which brings together the seven richest countries of the western world and of the European Community, the Socialist International wishes to draw to the attention of political leaders and those responsible for economic and social affairs the gravity of the situation in which millions of unemployed workers find themselves, and the continuing state of underdevelopment which affects two thirds of humanity.

(2) The Socialist International recognises that the industrialised countries of the West, in particular the USA and Canada, are experiencing economic recovery, but takes note that the fruits of this recovery are most unequally distributed between different countries and between different social groups. The Socialist International emphasises that a number of OECD countries and in particular European countries, are experiencing very high levels of unemployment, and that the faint signs of recovery allow no hope of an early fall in the numbers out of work. The Socialist International maintains, in this respect, that a solution to the crisis must be the strategy developed by the trade unions and socialist parties:
   - the coordinated expansion of their economies by the OECD countries, to be led by joint action to boost public investment;
   - a balanced programme of production and innovative investment to take advantage of the new technologies; but at the same time the introduction of new technology must take full account of the effects on employment and environment;
   - a reduction in the number of working hours so that economic expansion feeds through directly into the creation of new jobs;
   - new employment and education measures to ensure that all workers, men and women alike, have the skills they need; these should include special measures aimed at helping particular groups, such as the young, women, ethnic minorities and the disabled;
   - and by measures aimed at a fairer distribution of wealth, including the support of private consumption.

(3) The Socialist International recognises the importance of promoting a fair policy to combat inflation. However, we reject the monetarist view of how to fight this problem, which, in practice, means using depression and unemployment as tools to reduce inflationary pressures. In this respect, the Socialist International expresses its deep concern at the potentially damaging consequences for the stability of world prices as a result of the monetary policies practised by the US. These have resulted in a rise in the value of the dollar to a level which bears no relation to the actual state of the US economy. It underlines the damaging effect of an overvalued dollar on savings and international movement of capital, and betrays the apparent disinterest of the American authorities with regard to their responsibility for the external value of the dollar.

The Socialist International takes note that, despite the declarations of successive economic summits, no progress has been recorded in the search for a solution to stabilise the erratic fluctuations in rates of exchange, to limit the volatility of interest rates, and reverse the growth of protectionism to control the enormous international capital market.

(4) The Socialist International stresses the difficult situation in the developing countries, where the level of external debt has become excessive. We are aware of the need to restore, within the terms of settlement, a fundamental equilibrium in the balance of payments. However, the Socialist International denounces the unnecessary severity with which adjustment policies have been imposed by the IMF notably by conditional programmes of economic policy, which are too restrictive.

The Socialist International considers that a negotiated solution on an international level must be found. Only in this way can the danger of an international financial crisis which would gravely weaken certain developing countries be avoided. The Socialist International cannot accept the improvisation of debt-rescheduling formulas which only defer the problems while magnifying them.

(5) The Socialist International emphasises the need to support development by a real transfer of technology and by a contribution to internal capital. In this respect, it deplores the decision of the donor members of the International Development Association (IDA) to limit, at the insistence of the US, the seventh replenishment of IDA resources to nine billion US dollars – a reduction in real terms and wholly inadequate for the needs of the world's poorest. The Socialist International urges that decisions be taken quickly in this respect, that the London summit addresses this issue and explores all possibilities of amending the earlier decision in order to restore the original twelve billion US dollars replenishment level and the responsibility for any failure in this regard must be clearly indicated.

The Socialist International emphasises that disarmament would make it possible to release resources from the arms industry to development.