

A major reorganization of the centre and to some extent the fellowship was accomplished during the year. The reorganization took the form of a sharper division of labour by the fellowship into project areas, at the same time assuring a greater degree of accountability by individuals within the projects. The entire institute now operates in four areas of focus: the World Economy, Militarism and Disarmament, Third World and Culture and Ideology. In both the Fellows' Meetings during the year the fellowship spent a considerable amount of time and energy in these groups to plan and evaluate the work within the institute. The four groups will develop their own peer community for encouragement and help and also plan series of activities such as publications, conferences and seminars.

In the wider objective world, the recession still effected most developments in Europe and the Third World. The major changes in 1983 - 84 that have occurred, have been largely discouraging: the quantitative leap in expenditure and deployment of nuclear weapons, the 40 % real decline in aid to the Third World, the mounting debt problems of most Third World countries were compounded by regional war situations in the Middle East, Central America and Southern Africa. Having faced negative growth rates in 1983, most African societies faced four years of successive drought and famine, the worst in the history of the continent. In West Europe, apart from Sweden, the recession compelled most governments (Conservative and Socialist) to pursue restrictive economic and social policies. In this climate the dependence on US economic and military protection was markedly increased, though this was punctuated by significant differences of East - West relations and economic policy. However, the dependence was reflected in both the security question, by the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles and not least in the main North - South questions. The encouragement and reliance on market forces to develop the Third World, generally lead to less government assistance and therefore to a decline in resources transferred to the Third World. In addition, the wave of protectionism both in the US and Europe restricted the marketing of products from crucial industries in the Third World.

In Europe itself, Holland, Germany, France and Italy saw a small but significant rise in neo-Nazi ideology, as was reflected in the results of the last Euro-parliamentary elections. The more positive signs in the society remain with the social movements encompassing peace, women and community issues. On the state level the rapprochement between the two Germanies was achieved despite consternation in Moscow and in other West-European capitals. In the Third World the struggle for democracy remained unabated. The elections in Argentina and a marginal opening in Brazil opened more space for solidarity work among the dispossessed social groups.

THIRD WORLD PROJECT

The project designed to confront crisis areas in the Third World was largely devoted to events in Central America and Southern Africa. The Amsterdam Centre has been active in both areas institutionally and in terms of individual effort. Apart from the natural constituency of solidarity groups and development agencies, more work was done in areas involving policy makers and parliamentarians.

Southern Africa

The region was dominated by a significant and far-reaching political and military offensive by the South African government in its efforts to destabilize most of the Front Line African states. The offensive was helped by the severe drought and the resulting famine which affected most of the African societies.

In December 1983 the institute participated in and contributed to a week-long 'Open Hearing on South African aggression', organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Holland. Participants included representatives of the governments of the Front Line states, Anti-Apartheid forces from South Africa and important political and media figures from Holland. The proceedings were presided over by Ms Marga Klompé, a former Christian Democrat Minister in the Dutch government. The evidence presented by most participants demonstrated a most brutal ad-hoc military campaign by South Africa to terrorize civilians in the Front Line states, causing many deaths and enormous economic damage to the infra-structure. Many government participants visited the Hague and Brussels to appeal for more aid to combat the aggression and the effects of the drought.

In January 1984 TNI organized a small meeting with representatives of the Zimbabwe government and non-governmental organizations on the plight of 120,000 children whose nutritional condition had deteriorated markedly and was likely to be permanently impaired. Pledges of more milk product aid were made by the EEC and other aid agencies.

In April 1984 representatives of the co-operative movement of Zimbabwe and Mozambique toured Western Europe for aid and to share experiences in developing skills for co-operative work with West Europeans. TNI organized many of the meetings for the group. In particular, aid to the tune of \$2 million was pledged for the co-operatives in Zimbabwe.

In May-June 1984 TNI Managing Director made numerous speeches on the implications of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique signed in March 1984. The Accord has fundamentally transformed the balance of power in Southern Africa, threatening the independence of many African countries. TNI is working with two Dutch parliamentarians and various political parties to retain the momentum towards supporting the Front Line states. A West European parliamentary conference will be held in Copenhagen 25-26 October 1984 to work out a strategy on the issue.

The Southern Africa Economic Research Project

The Amsterdam Centre has established a project to develop a documentation and research centre on Southern Africa. With the help of institutes and universities world wide, the project will gather analyses and data on the South African economy and its international relations. The object of the exercise is two-fold:

- a. to use the Centre to train a group of South African Students on planning the post-Apartheid economy.
- b. to build an expertise on the social and economic consequences in Africa and elsewhere on any changes the South African economy will undergo after a change-over of power.

In the longer term the institute hopes that a serious body of knowledge on a sophisticated and complex economy will contribute towards legitimizing the forces fighting

apartheid and gain the confidence of those still dubious about the ability of the black majority in running the economy.

In the 1984-85 period the project has earmarked three areas of investigation:

1. the dependence of African states on the South African economy.
2. a macro-economic study of the South African economy with the evaluation of the relative importance of various sectors.
3. South Africa in the global economy - a start of a bigger study on the importance of the South African economy to the various sectors of the world economy.

The project, which will have an initial full-time staff of two, and an intake of two students of South African origin from the University of Amsterdam, will develop close relations with the UN and the Economic Commission on Africa.

The following universities and institutes of higher learning have expressed a desire to co-operate with the project:

- a. the Netherlands: Amsterdam University
Landbouwhogeschool of Wageningen
University of Leiden
Institute for Development Studies of Tilburg
University of Nijmegen
- b. Scandinavia: Centre for Development Research, Denmark
Scandinavian Institute for African Studies
Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway
Peace Research Institute, Norway
Norwegian Foreign Policy Institute, Oslo
University of Lund
- c. Federal Republic of Germany: Hamburg Institute for African Studies
Research Institute for International Politics and Security, Ebenhausen
German Development Council, Bonn
German Foundation for International Development
- d. England: University of Warwick
University of York
Chatham House
University of London
University of Reading
Commonwealth Institute
- e. Italy: IPALMO
- f. Africa: University of Zimbabwe
Institute for Development Studies
University of Nairobi
Namibia Institute
Council for Economic and Social Research in Africa, Dakar

Efforts are being made to establish relations in France and Belgium.

Visitors from Southern Africa to the institute included:

- Mr Pallo Jordan, Head of Research ANC
Dr. Ernest Tijiange, Head of Legal Affairs SWAPO
Dr. Michael Sefali, Director of the Institute for Southern Africa Studies, National University of Lesotho

Dr. Rui Cruz, Judge of the Court of Appeal of Angola
Mr. Mario Silla, Angolan Ministry of Defence
Mr. John Nkomo, Secretary of State in Zimbabwe
Dr. Frank Mbengo, Ministry of Tourism in Zimbabwe
Dr. Albert Ndinda, Co-operative Movement of Zimbabwe
Dr. Aquino da Braganza, Director of Centre for African Studies
Mr. I. Mabote, Co-operative Movement in Mozambique
Mr. Abdul Minty, Director of World Campaign against Nuclear Collaboration
Dr. E. Chibasso, Minister of Information in Mozambique
Mr. T. Nkobi, Executive Member ANC

Central America

A commitment to ensure the independence of Nicaragua and a general promotion of democracy and development in Central America was a significant undertaking by the institute in this year. The military escalation and the brutal repression of civilian populations in many countries of the region resulted in widespread suffering and deprivation. The institute, in view of its critical attitude towards the policies from Washington, has embarked on a unique project to stimulate West European opinion to promote a different approach to the historical problems in the region which is not traditionally a European concern. The success of this exercise cannot be evaluated immediately despite notable achievements both in West European parliamentary circles and among the general public. The fact remains that the institute, through this experience, will have appreciated the complex and sometimes unfathomable ways in which the policy is determined by the European powers, not least because of the solidity of ^{the} historically placed Atlantic Alliance. In global terms, implicit in the project is an attempt also to investigate the possibility of alternative economic support for Third World Countries that desired genuine non-alignment and were instituting radical social programmes.

Through the Committee of European Parliamentarians and Politicians in support of Nicaragua, the institute organized two petitions to the US Congress (June 1983 and January 1984) to urge it to stop the illegal covert intervention by the US Administration in Nicaragua. The Committee is chaired by Ms Eveline Herfkens, Development Spokesperson for the Labour Party in the Dutch Parliament. The first petition was signed by 400 MPs from seven European countries. Signatories included Olav Palme, Joop den Uyl, Hans Vogel and Alain Jospin. The second petition of January 1984 was signed by 600 Members of Parliament.

A parliamentary conference was also organized by the Committee at the TNI to assess West European policy towards Nicaragua in November 1983. Parliamentarians from the UK, Holland, Belgium, Greece, France and Italy attended and met with a high level delegation from Nicaragua. The conference decided on a 4 point programme of work:

1. to continue to petition the US Congress.
2. to investigate sources of alternative finance for Nicaragua.
3. to pressure European governments on the need for fair treatment of Nicaragua within the World Bank.
4. to increase by all possible means, food aid to Nicaragua.

On the economic front the institute made contact with financial institutions in Holland who might consider 1. the issuing of development bonds for the Nicaraguan government, 2. long term low interest loans for development projects. In the case

of bonds to be sold to the general public, apart from legal difficulties, it was necessary to involve a respectable and sizeable commercial bank to guarantee their value. Long term loans could be acquired possibly from two small banks, one in Holland and another in West Germany, that have trade union links.

Since December 1983 the institute has begun a project to produce a 'European Policy Approach to the Central American Crisis'. The process involves mobilizing academics and leading political parties in ten different countries to produce a policy document that would then be endorsed by the main political and social forces in Europe. The exercise is being done in co-operation with CRIES in Managua and will be completed in December 1984. The principles enshrined in the policy document will conform to those promoted by the Contadora group of countries in Central America, namely the removal of the Central American problem from the East-West conflict, the promotion of peace through disarmament and a stronger emphasis on regional economic development and democracy. The plans also include the sending of a high level delegation to Washington DC to promote the 'European Approach' (see memo by Anne Koch).

Through the year TNI was also represented at international conferences on Central America, held in Paris, Brussels, Stockholm, Santander (Spain) and Geneva.

Visitors to the institute from Central America included:

Mr. Tomas Borge from Nicaragua
Ernesto Cardenal "
Xabier Gorostiaga from CRIES
Guillermo Ungo from FDR, El Salvador
José Luis Corragio from CRIES
Jaime Balcazir from UN
Felipe Tomic from FIR, Nicaragua
Antonio Jarquin, Secretary for International Relations, Nicaragua
Manuel Cardenal, General Consul, Nicaragua
Roberto Lopez from CRIES

Democracy in the Third World

In January 1984 the institute organized an important conference on the performance of democratic institutions in the Third World. The conference was chaired by Mr. Jan Pronk, the Deputy Secretary-General of UNCTAD and a former Development Minister in the Dutch government. Apart from representatives of European political parties, the conference also included academics from the US, Europe and the Third World. The countries considered during the conference included Venezuela, Nicaragua, India, China and Mozambique. The conference was a culmination of a series of public seminars held by the institute to promote a better understanding of the difficulties and problems involved in establishing democratic institutions in the Third World. Despite these difficulties, both economic and military, the conference noted the often courageous struggle being waged by significant forces in the Third World for democracy. In particular it was noted that the many grass roots organizations in major Third World countries were developing a form of participatory democracy outside the state system that needed support and encouragement. A public meeting held in the centre of Amsterdam during the conference attracted a full house and got considerable press coverage.

On the occasion of the Letelier-Moffit Memorial (September 1983), the Centre invited Joan Jara to speak on cultural repression in Chile. Apart from a newspaper interview she spoke to an audience of 200 at the Balie theatre.

Given the general revolt against the Zia regime in Pakistan in October and November 1983, the Centre organized a public discussion on 'The Struggle for Democracy in Pakistan' on October 30th 1983. Invited speakers included personalities from the trade unions, political parties and academics from Pakistan. Approximately 80 people attended, largely from the Pakistani community in Holland.

On June 9th 1984 William Hinton gave a lecture on 'Democracy in China' at the Amsterdam Centre.

WORLD ECONOMY PROJECT

As determined by the Planning Board, work in this project was concentrated on the debt problem of the Third World and the activities of Multinational Corporations globally.

On the debt problem, the institute, through its resident fellow, Jan Joost Teunissen, has established a working relationship with the think tank of the Dutch Labour Party (the largest political party in Holland) and other development groups. The objective of the relationship is to popularise the debt problem, which is often discussed in expert circles and is therefore not understood by the general public.

In November 1983 the institute published a short pamphlet, called 'Whose Debt/Fault?' by Jan Joost Teunissen. The pamphlet was distributed to many grass roots development groups and was also reviewed by the in-house newspapers of the Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, ensuring a wide coverage among banking employees.

In March 1984 a lively seminar was held at the institute led by the Brazilian economist Maria da Conceicao Tavares and Jan Kregel from the University of Groningen. Participants included representatives from the Dutch Central Bank, private banks, universities and the media. The seminar attempted to trace the origins of the debt problem and considered various solutions. (a transcript of the discussion is available at the institute)

The debt problem will be the subject of a reader to be published this year by the institute. Apart from the analysis of the problem from the European, American and Third World perspectives, it will also include various solutions to this intractable problem.

An international symposium on the debt problem was held in Utrecht in March 1984, with TNI participation. Speakers included the Tanzanian Minister for International Economic Relations, Amir Jamal, a World Bank Governor Van Dam and members of Parliament from Holland and Germany.

Multinational Corporations

The Transnational Information Exchange Project of the institute made significant progress during the year. The funding base of the project has improved, and there is a greater concentration on specific areas that are of importance to the constituencies that relate to the project. TIE has also acquired a computer which will enhance its efficiency and effectiveness.

The two major areas of work in the project are the auto industry and the agro-chemical industry.

Agro-chemicals

The exercise is an ambitious attempt to link trade unions in Europe and America with farmers and agricultural labourers in the Third World, who use the often dangerous products of the industry. There has in recent years been a concern in Europe about the effects of the use of pesticides in agricultural production in the Third World. TIE is attempting to increase this concern among trade unionists who work in the industry, and have health and safety problems. The project now involves many development agencies in Europe, including OXFAM, War on Want, Christian Aid, NOVIB etc. and the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers. In addition to the special report on pesticides (published in 1983) TIE is to convene an international conference on the problem in January 1985.

Auto industry

Following on the publication of a TIE Report on 'Shop Floor Internationalism in the Auto Industry' (August 1983) the project has begun preparations for a World Conference of Shop Floor Workers in General Motors. Participants have been confirmed from most European countries, the US, Mexico, Brazil, Philippines and Japan. The conference will be held in September 1984 in Holland and will consider the implications to the workforce of the \$10 billion international investment programme of the company.

Solidarity work was facilitated by the project for workers from Brazil, South Africa and the United States during the year. In March 1984 the project published a special report on the labour situation in Brazil.

MILITARISM AND DISARMAMENT

The project continues in its effort towards giving new perspectives on security questions to the peace movement in Western Europe. The underlying assumption of the project is that an independent security arrangement can be achieved by East and West Europe, without nuclear weapons and the intervention of the super powers. In this perspective the active involvement of peace movements in East Europe and the United States is deemed essential.

In October 1983 the UN University and TNI held a conference on 'De-alignment in Western Europe'. The participants included academic and peace movement people from the US and West and East Europe. The discussion was centred on the possibility of West Europe being independent of the United States. In so far as the Atlantic Alliance was a creation of the US there was an informed and interesting discussion on the domestic US repercussions of such a de-alignment. The proceedings will be published in a book to be edited by Mary Kaldor.

A summary of the results of the 3 conferences on the theme of a 'New Europe' is being prepared by Fred Halliday and will be completed this year.

The Centre was host to three delegations from the US. They met with peace activists, political leaders and media representatives in Holland. The Centre also continues to distribute published articles from the institute on peace issues, to a network of parliamentarians, journalists and peace movement people.

CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

The present series of the Samuel Rubin seminars is devoted to novelists and writers who are being urged to give their perspectives on world events. The reasoning behind the series is that a different perspective and insight might be gained on world reality, not offered by academics and politicians. The series, called 'Another Window on the World' has featured Andrzej Szczypiorski from Poland and Buchi Emecheta from Nigeria. Other speakers included are E.L. Doctorow from the US, John Berger from France and Faiz from Pakistan.

In May 1984 the institute held a conference on 'Images of 3rd World Women'. Twenty-five women from 15 different countries discussed racist and sexist images of women as portrayed by the media in the US, Europe and the Third World. A publication is being prepared on the results of the conference, representing the various perspectives offered. (see fuller conference report by Wendy Chapkis).

INSTITUTIONAL REPORT

The building has been in the process of reconstruction and decoration. A new office has been created on the upper floor for the expanding Central America Project and the Southern Africa Project. The front room will be converted into a library on Southern Africa.

A start has been made with the restoration of the painted decorations in the hall and corridors of the building.

The heating system has finally been changed and seems to be more efficient.