

SOCIALIST DIARY

Statement of the Governments of China and Japan (signed in 1972), and that no backward step is permissible.

The above statement was signed in Peking on 12 May by Liao Cheng-Chih, leader of the delegation of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and Tomomi Narita, leader of the Japanese delegation.

NDP IN SASKATCHEWAN

The New Democratic Party Government of Mr Allan Blakeney was returned to power in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan in the elections held on 12 June. The NDP lost seven seats, but held on to 38 of the 61 seats. The Conservatives, always strong in this province, claimed 27 per cent of the vote and won seven seats. The Liberals retained 15 seats as in the last election, but dropped 10 per cent of the popular vote. Mr Blakeney has unfortunately not received the strong mandate he wanted in order to argue at Ottawa on the issue of control of natural resources, particularly of oil and potash.

JANITSCHEK IN SENEGAL

The General Secretary of the Socialist International, Hans Janitschek, paid

an official visit to Senegal from 9-13 June, at the invitation of Leopold S. Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal and General Secretary of the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise.

Janitschek discussed with President Senghor preparations for an Afro-European socialist dialogue which is to take place in Tunis from 10-15 October. He also discussed with President Senghor and other high-ranking party officials, plans of African socialist parties to set up an African socialist bureau. A conference of African socialists to discuss this project will take place in Tunis from 1-5 July with, among others, President Senghor, President Bourguiba (Tunisia) and President Kaunda (Zambia) participating. Janitschek also met the leader of the Senegalese opposition party (Parti Démocratique Sénégalaïs), Monsieur Abdulaya Wade.

Janitschek's visit was reported in West Africa as the first official visit ever by a General Secretary of the Socialist International to a black African country.

CO-VAN-HAI

Co-Van-Hai, Secretary General of the Vietnam Socialist Party, an affiliated party of the Socialist International, had talks in London with the General Secretary of the Socialist International on 17 June to discuss the situation in Vietnam following the takeover by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Co-Van-Hai, who at present is living in exile in Paris, will return to Vietnam after a tour visiting leaders of affiliated parties of the Socialist

International. He is accompanied by Bui Kien Thanh, Deputy Secretary General of the Vietnam Socialist Party.

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS

Reflecting the biggest swing to a political party in any election since the war, Italy's regional elections on 15 and 16 June are being seen as a major success for the country's Communist Party (PCI). With 32.7 per cent of the poll, the PCI vote was within 2.8 per cent of the Christian Democrats 34.8 per cent. The Italian Socialist Party also increased their share of the vote from 11.0 per cent to 12.7 per cent, a result which Pietro Nenni called 'good, but not overwhelming'. The vote for the Italian Social Democrats, however, fell from 7.3 per cent to 5.8 per cent.

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SOCIALIST DIARY

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May/June Socialist International Information Volume XXV Number 3

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BRITAIN IN EUROPE

Jenny Little

After two and a half years of uncertainty British membership of the European Community has been finally settled.

In the first national referendum to be held in Britain 64.5% of the electorate voted by an overwhelming majority to stay in Europe. When asked whether Britain should remain a member of the Community 17,378,581 or 67.2% voted 'Yes' and 8,470,073 or 32.8% voted 'No'. The only areas to record a majority of 'No' votes were the Western Isles and the Shetlands, two areas on the fringe of Britain, which obviously felt Brussels was even more impossibly remote than London. Contrary to some expectations, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland all followed the trend, though with markedly less enthusiasm.

The immediate effect of this vote is that Britain will now play its full part in all the institutions of the European Community. The Trades Union Congress has already indicated that it will end its boycott of the institutions and no doubt the Labour Party will follow suit.

As far as most people are concerned, including the anti-Marketiers in the Labour Party and Government, British membership of the EEC is no longer an issue. The important question for the latter, as for the whole Labour Party, is the development of Britain in a socialist direction. Everyone recognises that our presence in the EEC will not automatically solve any of our problems and that now it is essential to turn our minds to Britain's economic difficulties. If we are to over-

come them the unity of the Labour Party, indeed of the labour movement, is essential.

As we went into the referendum campaign many feared for the unity of Britain, because of the effect on nationalist tendencies in Scotland and Wales in the event of an overall 'Yes' vote but a 'No' verdict being recorded in these areas. In the event these fears were unfounded and the myth that separate development is necessary has been exploded.

Britain is now in Europe and the Labour Party will work with their socialist colleagues to turn the Community as far as possible in a direction compatible with democratic socialist ideals and beliefs.

MAY/JUNE

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Social Democracy and Latin America

Sicco Mansholt, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, undertook a ten-day visit to Chile from 6-16 March this year, at the request of the Bureau of the Socialist International. Before Chile, Sicco Mansholt visited Caracas together with Carlos Parra, International Secretary of the Radical Party of Chile. There he met the President of the Radical Party, Anselmo Sule and Carlos Morales, a former President of the Radical Party. After his visit to Chile Sicco Mansholt went on to Washington where he had talks with the President of the World Bank, Robert MacNamara, the President of the International Monetary Fund and Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson.

The following is Sicco Mansholt's report of his trip to Chile:

CHILE AFTER THE JUNTA

Sicco Mansholt

The superficial observer (the tourist) does not notice anything special in Chile. There is not much police or military movement in the streets, and life is seemingly quite normal. However, a world of misery opens up when one immerses oneself in the position of the working class in the big towns or in the position of the groups that are left and are or were engaged in politics. And when one comes into contact with ex-prisoners and tortured people, with the wives of prisoners etc., and when one has meetings day after day with the representatives of opposition parties, trade unions, churches, universities, etc., then one discovers that under that seeming tranquility a world — concealed from the eye — of suppression, terror, persecution, intimidation and rape of the law is hiding. A world that in many aspects is comparable with the Nazi terror in my country during the second world war.

The junta has long-term political objectives. It is not, as a lot of people were hoping during the coup d'état, that the junta would prepare a new government, but the aim is now to eliminate all opposition in a process of 'nazification' that makes every return to democracy impossible.

The junta has absolute power and is in a firm position. The organisation of this power policy based on terror and intimidation cannot but lead to even sharper measures, based also on fear. Fear of a counter-revolution and fear for their own lives, lead to even more severe and more efficient methods. All those with whom I talked affirmed that as far as the duration of this régime is concerned one can only say: 'it will not disappear of its own free will'.

I had many discussions with leaders of political parties — the Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists, the

Christian Democrats and even the rightist National Party.

All opposition is forbidden, and so also are the parties. All their activities are illegal and as the party leaders are for the greater part either dead or in prison or expelled, the parties are very strongly handicapped. This is not the case, or much less so, with that of the Christian Democratic Party, most of whose leaders are free. I have the impression that the Communist Party is the most tightly organised party all over the country and that it has a good relationship with the workers. The Socialists, already very divided in the past, seem, because of the elimination of their leaders, severely weakened and I did not notice any real organisation of their party.

The Radical Party (the social democrats), affiliated to the Socialist International, are making a serious effort to develop themselves as the driving force of the unity of the Left. It is of the utmost importance that the Socialist International gives its full support to these efforts — moral as well as political and material, that is to say — financial.

I consider it feasible that, after a certain time, this party will one day turn up considerably reinforced, but that too depends partly on our support.

The position of the Christian Democratic Party is not clear. Its leaders are free, but I do not think that there is a real working organisation and real political action. It stays prepared and ready in case there is a chance of it playing a part again. Besides that, the party can apparently count on a rather firmly defined support, as is stated elsewhere in relation to religious based parties.

Political Objectives

There is a clear tendency towards greater collaboration between the groups on the left. That is urgently needed. The epidemic common to left parties all over the world, namely to split up in small groups, is leading to sectarianism and personal opposition. This raged violently in Chile and did hurt the authority of the socialist government of Allende severely, and perhaps also aided its fall. It is of the utmost importance that an effort is made to gather together the forces to make socialism a real alternative. The Radical Party makes this one of the main objectives of the future. It seems to me that this could be crowned with success.

The political alternative to the successor of the junta could consist of a common programme of the socialist parties, aimed at restoring the democratic institutions, ending the violation of human rights and preparing for free elections. The Radical Party is of the opinion that in this context the future socio-economic policy should be kept in the background.

It appeared to me, however, that the socialist Rodrigues has a somewhat different opinion in this matter, and he considered, for example, the restoration of community-owned international enterprises as one of the main and urgent aims of the programme. Apart from that, deliberations are still in the early stages and we shall have to wait for further developments.

Speaking with the Christian Democrats I observed a great interest with regard to this programme, but they too are of a different opinion as far as the question of 'Who is taking part in it' is concerned. The right wing rejects all cooperation with the 'non-democrats', such as socialists and communists, while the left wing is of a different opinion and does not exclude them.

Whether that might lead to a split in that party, I could not ascertain. But that it is a point of discussion was clear to me because of the reactions of various representatives of this group when I asked them what their political objectives were. Apart from that, everyone is convinced that this development is still quite uncertain, and perhaps in the remote future, because there is not one sign that there will be any changes soon. Only the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party gave me the impression that the time is not far off when important changes in the structure of the government could be expected — perhaps already this summer.

Trade Unions

The original Unified Trade Union (CUT) has been dissolved by the junta. Many of the trade union leaders are in prison, have been expelled or even killed. A new organisation was created by decree of the junta, consisting of workers and employers, under the direction of junta-nominated administrators. It is clear that the workers do not have any confidence in this organisation and that it cannot even be called a trade union. This organisation has to accept the decrees of the junta with respect to wages and social conditions. By means of mass-

dismissals the junta tries to intimidate any opposition. Tens of thousands have become unemployed in this way and do not receive any support. The fear of dismissal when it is discovered that one has had contact with leftist groups makes it very difficult to maintain the old ties or to establish new ones. I observed that there is still support for the state trade union of Chile, especially by American trade unions like the AFL-CIO and the North American enterprises, the multinational companies.

The organisation that is connected with these American organisations is the Orit, an American regional workers organisation and it is very closely connected with the junta and against the free trade unions. It should be clear that every connection between the Free Trade Union Movement and the state organisation should be avoided, and be replaced by direct support for the clandestine movements in Chile.

The Socialist International has to select its contacts very carefully and has to put into the public pillory the collaboration of trade unions in North America with the junta organisation. The representation of the state trade union of Chile at the ILO in Geneva should not be accepted. On this matter the free trade unions as well as the governments have to take a clear position.

The Resistance

Armed resistance would be very difficult, but there is a resistance by courageous people. It seems to me unlikely that the position of the junta could be endangered by means of direct armed resistance. But the situation is very different concerning efforts to organise opposition among the broad mass of the workers, farmers and members of the petit bourgeoisie through information channels. Here the support of democratic forces outside Chile is necessary. There is a great need for information on what is really happening in the world and even in Chile itself.

My visit to Chile brings me to the following conclusion:

In the Socialist International we have to consider ways and means of establishing a strong world-wide radio network. Through this we could spread information on Chile to all parts of the world, where it is needed, and more especially to the Latin American countries. By means of a Socialist International radio network we could have

a real influence and make people conscious of our ideals and strengthen them in their attitude towards resistance. Through this we could organise action that would replace the incidental resistance that very often fails and needlessly takes too many lives.

Church and Church Organisations

After the initial lax attitude towards the junta and the failure to condemn the coup d'état of 1973, the church has, since the spring of 1974, increasingly criticised the policy of the junta. The Vatican also for a long time hesitated to condemn the violent oppression in Chile. Cardinal Raoul Silva Henriquez had, in the beginning, too much confidence in the intentions of the leaders of the coup. I will not say that he did not condemn the methods of the junta — he certainly distinguished himself from many of the bishops by his independent position, and as the intentions of the junta became clearer to him, he disapproved sharply of their policy and methods. Now there is no doubt where he stands and he is regarded by the left as a symbol of the unbroken morale of the Chilean people. However, he stands above the junta and they do not dare to hurt him.

The organisations of the church are very active and the priests have close contact with the people and more in particular with those living in the poor and miserable slums of Santiago and other towns. The 'Committee for Peace' is doing splendid work by helping those who are in difficulties and distributing food to children (it has 60 eating houses). The priests are influenced by social circumstances and there is no doubt where their political attachment lies. This is contrary to some bishops who are supporting the junta and who are encouraged by the hesitating attitude of the Vatican which as on many occasions in the past is again ready to make its peace with the dictators.

Universities and Schools

The State University, as well as the Catholic University, is under direct control and management of the junta. All teachers who could be considered as belonging to the opposition are being dismissed and are finding it difficult to get other jobs. Some faculties are closed, such as sociology, journalism and political science. Ten thousand students are not accepted because of their political beliefs. Education at secondary and primary level is affected

and the teachers are forced to support the fascist regime in the curriculum and to forget socialism. A system of indoctrination prevails so widely that it must inevitably lead to serious consequences in the future. The banning of books as well as their burning fits well into this scheme. It is abundantly clear that the junta has a long-term programme with the objective of preventing a return to democracy and socialism.

The Organisation of Oppression

The 'intelligence services' of the army, navy and police are coordinated. They are responsible to an umbrella organisation, the Dina (Direccion Intelligencia Nacional). The Dina is directly responsible to Pinochet. Reports that the organisation 'is going its own way' are not true. Pinochet has the lead and is fully responsible for the crimes of this organisation. The agents of the Dina, recruited from the underworld, are of the same sort as the Gestapo agents from the Nazi period in Germany. Their thorough working methods are the same (I was given the name of an old Gestapo agent, Rauff, as one of Pinochet's advisers). The agents are operating in civilian clothes, are armed and spread terror. People are being arbitrarily arrested, interrogated and released, or they are thrown into concentration camps or jail with no charges being brought against them. In 1974 more than 40,000 so-called 'suspects' were arrested, interrogated and mostly set free. It is like the raids of the Nazis which took place mainly in the poorest parts of the towns.

All this is based on the 'legality' of the state of siege which still persists. Everything is possible therefore and 'lawful'. Several times I observed how afraid people are of these secret agents. By means of a few arbitrary arrests they can frighten a whole neighbourhood.

Freedom and Justice

By the proclamation of the state of siege the junta has given a lawful base to every act of deprivation of freedom and violation of the law. Nothing is left of elementary freedom — the press and mass media are controlled. There is no freedom of organisation and the free trade unions have been dissolved. It is well-known that tens of thousands have been imprisoned without any charges against them. Many thousands have been murdered and it is estimated that there are still 5-7,000

political prisoners in concentration camps or in jail. Even when these prisoners are eventually brought to trial and set free because their guilt can not be proven, they are often arrested again by the Dina and without any charges thrown back in a concentration camp.

It is of great importance, however, to note that as a result of political pressure from the outside, the junta has been forced to set free several prisoners. This does not of course mean that the government is liberalising its régime. When political prisoners are set free, then the junta is only pursuing its object of creating favourable attitudes in foreign countries.

The torture of prisoners still occurs — perhaps less spectacular than in the past and more in secret and less often in concentration camps or jails and more in a number of police stations spread all over the country where prisoners are being interrogated. I have spoken to people, who had been exposed during recent weeks to such interrogations. I saw women who had the marks of electrodes on their breasts and men with similar marks on their genitals. I saw others who had been cut painfully with knives; their misery cannot be described.

Psychological torture is common: prisoners are kept in complete isolation and maltreated. They are kept in absolute uncertainty about their future and permission for visitors is not granted. The cruelty of the agents of this organisation has no limits and the government bears the full responsibility.

In this context I was assured by all sides in Chile that the resolution of the United Nations in which a new investigation was demanded about the violation of human rights in Chile was a political failure. I am too of that opinion. It is hard to believe that a country like the Netherlands could, together with a dictatorship like that of Nicaragua (which is on friendly terms with the Chilean junta), back that resolution. To believe that this would be an effective way of using pressure on the junta is naïve and does not show a real understanding of the situation in Chile. The junta was, in fact, satisfied with the resolution, and indicated that the piles of paper that would be produced would have no value. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the junta would not allow any United Nations observers to investigate the allegations of torture. In any case should the investigation take place

the committee responsible will have to insist on the right to investigate without restrictions or any control from the junta, otherwise the investigation would be useless. Even then, the task of the committee will be very difficult and it will have to be carried out with the greatest caution in order to prevent any repercussions for the people that are contacted by the committee.

The Social and Economic Situation

Since the Unidad Popular government the economic situation of Chile has developed disastrously. Despite all the support given after the coup and the credit facilities given by countries such as the United States, several European countries and the International Monetary Fund, Chile, by mismanagement, is in a serious crisis.

The rate of inflation has officially reached more than 700 per cent since the coup and some independent economists have calculated that the rate has risen to 1,000 per cent, and that as an average. For the family household and for essentials for working people the situation is disastrous. During the last nine months the purchasing power of the lowest income group (almost 35 per cent of the working population) has decreased by approximately 60 per cent. Poverty and hunger are widespread as a result. Added to that there are hundreds of thousands of people unemployed while able-bodied people are made redundant. Twenty per cent of the population lives in extreme poverty (official figure) and half of them are children under 15 years. Most of these only eat once every two days and usually only some bread and water. Suicide of parents who cannot find a way out of this misery is becoming a regular occurrence.

Paradoxically, there are large middle class groups, professional people and people in industry and trade, for whom incomes and profits have increased considerably because prices and profit margins are free from any controls. This part of the bourgeoisie lives in increasing wealth, contrasting the disgraceful gap between them and those living in poverty.

The junta has no insight into these problems and is swept along on the advice of economists recruited from that part of business which is gaining most from the junta's policies. The narrow-mindedness with which the junta defends its policy is typical of its ignorance. It is unbelievable that there are governments such as the United States government and organ-

isations like the International Monetary Fund which are optimistic about the Chilean economy and which have enough optimism to grant credit facilities. This is in flagrant contrast to the period of Allende's government when credit was refused thus helping to cause the overthrow of that government.

In my discussions in Washington with the President of the World Bank and the President of the IMF, I was told that these institutions were not allowed to take into consideration policies of countries concerning the violation of human rights — they were only to consider the economic situation of countries. However, it was not made clear to me why there was a difference in treatment between the governments of Allende and Pinochet where in the case of Pinochet's government the economic policy is catastrophic.

The problem of an eventual postponement of the repayment of loans to Chile, or debts, is of particular political importance. The Achilles' heel of the junta is above all the economic state of the country.

Increasing criticism of government policy is for the most part based on the fast deteriorating economic situation. I was assured that it is of the utmost importance that the junta is not supported economically or financially from abroad. Any support either by means of a rescheduling of debts or delay in repayment or in the form of new credits would be promoting the fascist régime. It testifies to the political naivety of those governments, that however much they condemn the junta's policies, they nevertheless in 1974 signed the decision delaying the repayment of Chile's debts. We cannot and should not allow ourselves to be restricted in the use of all possible means in order to break the power of those who violate human rights.

Thankfully, since that time the meeting of the 'Club of Paris', has been postponed. I stress that in the opinion of all the leaders of the opposition in Chile that I have contacted, it is imperative that no further deferral of payment of debts should be allowed, and as the decisions of the Paris meetings are unanimous, governments of countries with a socialist majority bear an important responsibility. Every country with a socialist majority that is prepared to help financially and economically Chile's position must bear in mind that by doing so they are joining hands with fascists.

Moreover, it is a good idea to consider whether it is possible to control the policies of international organisation like the IMF, which take important economic and financial decisions which have political implications. Chile's economy is in such a state of decomposition that on mere economic grounds credit facilities should be refused. It is wrong to judge Chile's economic situation on the basis of the possibilities of western enterprises to make profits or to invest. A country in which the government, by means of terror, is carrying out a policy of deliberate and miserably low wages creates a bad economic climate that cannot be maintained. A country that by means of the violation of human rights and which in a situation of an absolute lack of freedom maintains so-called 'law and order', may be attractive to western firms, but international governmental agencies demonstrate their myopic policies when they give support to such countries.

A clear task for the Socialist International would be to formulate a policy line which affiliated social democratic parties could follow in similar situations to that of Chile.

The USA's attitude is still adamant. There is a vague hope for improving this which could be reinforced by pressure from Europe. Up till now the USA's policy has been characterised by hard opportunism and considerably influenced by the private interests of a few large American multinational companies (ITT, Anaconda, Kennecott, Cerco-Corporation) and by a military policy that prefers to support a fascist régime rather than a democratic one. It is a fact that the present Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, played an important role in the overthrow of the Allende government and the establishment of the fascist junta. US economic and financial support to the Chile government allowed her to buy large quantities of armaments for her navy and air-force and also to compensate American multinationals with hundreds of millions of dollars. Since Unidad Popular, Chile's defence budget has more than tripled. However, the concern in the USA with regard to Kissinger's policy is steadily increasing, one reason being his failure in the Far and Middle East. As one of the most important advisors to Nixon and who is now responsible for foreign policy under the weak President Ford, he is watched carefully by a Congress whose powers are gradually increasing — the balance of

SOCIALISTS SEEK THE FACTS

Social Democracy in the Middle East

A delegation of the Socialist International led by Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party and Prime Minister of Austria, visited Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya from 9–15 February 1975, for top level talks with Arab leaders on the situation in the Middle East.

The delegation, which included representatives of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (Minister of Education Bertil Zacharsson and International Secretary Bernt Carlsson), the Dutch Labour Party (former Party Chairman Anne Vondeling), the French Socialist Party (Michel Thauvin, Assistant for International Relations), and the German Social Democratic Party (International Secretary Hans-Eberhard Dingels), was accompanied by the General Secretary of the Socialist International, Hans Janitschek. The delegation met King Hassan of Morocco, President Boumedienne of Algeria, President Bourguiba of Tunisia and President Gaddafi of Libya. A similar delegation led by Bruno Kreisky visited Egypt, Syria and Israel in March of 1974.

On his return from North Africa, Bruno Kreisky gave the following interview to the Austrian Socialist newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung*:



In Israel: Members of the delegation together with Moshe Dayan.

power in the USA is shifting clearly towards Congress. It was evident in my discussions with members of the Congress that they are very much concerned with the situation in Chile.

I believe that the Socialist International has to intensify her contacts with the Democratic congressional leaders in the United States. There is an increasing demand for more information on the policies of the Socialist International and her activities have to be reinforced.

The Political Outlook

It is extremely difficult in today's chaotic situation to make a forecast of Chile's political development. The junta still has a firm hold over the situation enforced through terror. Despite this the junta seems to be in constant fear of a revolutionary movement and of course there is enough reason for a revolutionary situation to develop: the miserable social position of the working class, the increasing resistance against the lack of freedom and the violation of human rights. Nevertheless, I do not have the impression that by means of a revolution there will be a change in the short term — control and intimidation are too strong.

There is no clear political alternative. I noted that in the military there is increasing concern about the junta's policies — the economic policy as well as the policy of oppression. It is, of course, difficult to judge whether these will be the forces to alter the junta's policies. A comparison with the events in Portugal is natural, but the situation in Chile is not at all the same. The majority of the military is not left oriented in Chile. The military forces are more in the political centre, being a mirror of the bourgeois character of the country. Of course that too can be a force of change.

There is also concern amongst the parties that support the government, but it is not made public. Only the fascist wing — the ultra right — seems to give the junta unconditional support. When Pinochet claims that three-quarters of the Chilean population is behind him that is wishful thinking. Still, I believe that as long as there is no alternative to the régime the junta will have considerable support. Only in a situation in which the centre and left could offer a democratic alternative with a concrete social programme together with the return of normal liberties would such an alternative have overwhelming support. So

the junta, which wants to maintain power, will do everything possible to prevent such an alternative arising. Such an alternative could be established with the social democrats as the central force in close collaboration with the Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists.

As I have indicated before there is no agreement over the 'width' of such a combination, neither among the Christian Democratic Party nor among the Socialist Party. Besides that I wonder whether it is wise to encourage such a combination when the chance in the short term of the development towards an alternative government is so small.

It is more likely that the junta, because of increasing criticism from the military, will be forced to change its course and will have to start a liberalising process towards freedom and justice and in the direction of a social policy. This could be based on an approach to the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party which could eventually mean their representatives in the government. It is clear that in this way great damage could be done to any real democratic alternative, and for that reason alone it is already attractive to the junta.

This seems a decisive role for the right wing of the Christian Democrats and I think there might be some leading Christian Democrats who would accept an invitation from the junta to join the government if such an invitation were offered. The junta of course has to make concessions, but I doubt whether the right wing of the Christian Democrats will go so far as to demand that democratic rights are being fully repaired.

In several conversations I had it became clear that there is a great area for alternatives and one should not forget that the right wing of the Christian Democrats welcomed the military coup. I consider it possible, taking into account certain statements of right wing Christian Democrats, that in the near future a development such as that outlined above will take place. One should not even exclude social democrats from such a development as they may also be exposed to the problem of whether to take responsibility which is inherent in that development. In this development I discount the Radical Party. They can only be a real alternative for the Chilean people when they are consistent and collaborate with the parties on the left and elaborate a real socialist

policy. I found our friends in Chile clear and determined on that point and that was most reassuring.

On the left wing of the Christian Democratic Party there was no sign that they would be willing to be pulled into the mouth of the monster. The situation would be different if when pressure on the junta became strong it would have to make room for centre groups from the army together with democratic parties. There is a wide spectrum of possibilities and at the moment there are no signs indicating a change in that direction. However, every move of the junta in this direction will have an effect on world opinion. A policy of liberalisation will be tempting for the junta in order to break aversion from abroad and to get the support they so badly need. For this reason those conservative forces, and the United States is in the vanguard of these, are very dangerous because they want to give all the room for manoeuvre for their own enterprises.

For us social democrats the criterion for our attitude has to be based on the guarantees of freedom, justice and respect for human rights and also on the construction of a concrete social policy. We must not hesitate to nail to the pillory those countries that are acting to the contrary.

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cipation. Since the Israelis are not yet prepared to negotiate with the PLO, the question arises as to who else could be the spokesman in negotiations, when it comes to the return of the West Jordanian territory and Gaza.

A possibility might be a procedure on the lines of the troop disengagement with Egypt at 'kilometre 101'. On that occasion it was the military who negotiated. It worked well. Today there is a Pan-Arab Supreme Army Command. In those countries, military men in any case enjoy a large measure of authority.

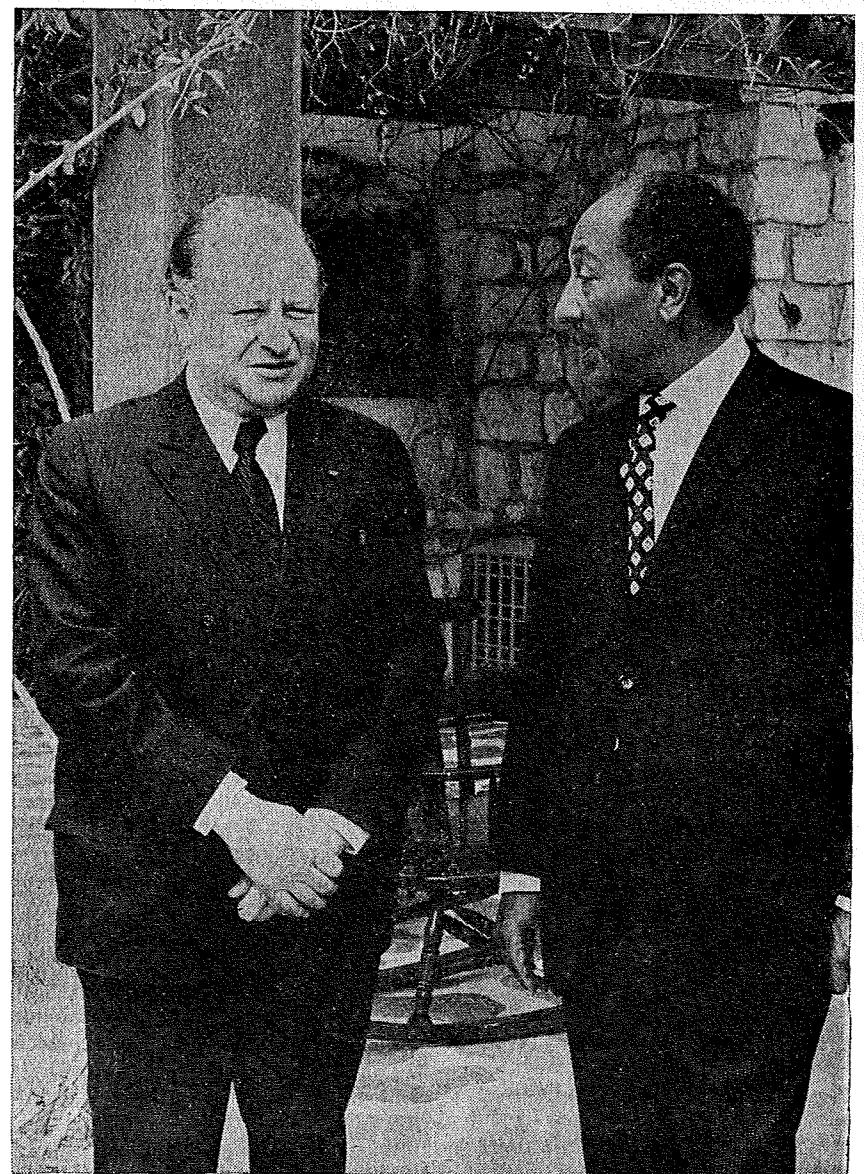
AZ: You also discussed the oil problem in North Africa, and you mentioned the possibility of discussions with the producers within the framework of the Socialist International.

Kreisky: My proposal was accepted. No official conference was envisaged, but rather an informal, open-ended discussion between Arab and European Socialist economists. I am certain that the latter will not judge the question in the same way as, for example, the representatives of the multinational conglomerates. It is indeed not true that only the producers profit from the increased oil prices. Of course, profits have to intervene between producers and consumers. That cannot be avoided. Nevertheless, experts from the producer and consumer countries could get together and discuss it.

AZ: What could be the future of the Socialist International in the dialogue with the Arab World, part of which after all professes Socialist ideas?

Kreisky: We must at all events get to know one another better. Two fact-finding visits are not nearly enough; the contacts should continue. In those countries an immense process of construction is in progress. Many of their

leaders, for example in Algeria and Libya, have done a great deal of thinking on questions of Socialism and have read much European Socialist literature. We in the Socialist International have always stuck to the principle that the most important criterion is the multi-party system. I am no arbiter in matters of Socialism, I believe that the question of what true Socialism is very similar to the theme of the one genuine ring, the one true religion, dealt with in Lessing's 'Nathan'. One cannot consider these things in isolation from social realities, from economic conditions, from production conditions. At any rate, the North Africans have promised to send Socialists of their own current of Socialism to the oil talks.



In Egypt: The leader of the delegation, Bruno Kreisky, together with President Anwar Sadat.

AZ: Can the European Socialists do anything further to relieve tensions in this region?

Kreisky: The Arab leaders know that the major powers have less to say in an area in which peace prevails. The major powers cannot prevent war, but they can determine its duration. Just as détente is a consequence of the state of balance between the great powers, so the détente established reduces the influence of the great powers. Fear of war gives them more room for manoeuvre.

The situation in the Middle East is of significance far beyond the region immediately affected. The Arab leaders with whom we talked are fully aware of this.

Social Democracy in the Middle East

THE OTHER DOCTOR K

Hans Janitschek

Almost unnoticed by the world's press a new Middle East initiative reached its preliminary climax in North Africa last February when the Austrian Prime Minister, Bruno Kreisky, led a delegation of the Socialist International on a triumphant tour through the Arab States of North Africa.

Military bands, big crowds, heads of state, Islam leaders and newspaper headlines greeted the small band of men who descended from their privately hired, two-engined Mystere jet, in the capital cities of Rabat, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli within less than six days and bringing with them a message of good will and the hopes of millions of European socialists for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Dr Kreisky, who—unique in the history of the Socialist International—had agreed to take off a complete week from his duties of governing neutral Austria to do Socialist International work had altogether 40 hours of talks with King Hassan of Morocco, President Boumedienne of Algeria, President Bourguiba of Tunisia and Colonel Gaddafi of Libya, to explore the possibility of Socialism serving as a useful basis for bringing Israelis and Palestinians together. The reaction of the Arab leaders was quite unexpected:

- King Hassan, presiding over a Thousand and One Night lunch in his royal palace at Fes, declared: 'We are all Socialists, although on different levels'.
- President Boumedienne, receiving the delegation in what used to be the seat of the French supreme military commander, offered his good services in bringing Israelis and Palestinians towards a compromise.
- President Bourguiba, seeing one of his oldest dreams being fulfilled, had tears in his eyes when he shook the hand of the Austrian Head of Government, saying: 'This is the

moment, this is the time to make peace'.

- And Colonel Gaddafi, whom the delegation met in his desert hide-out, pleaded emphatically: 'Let us talk, not fight'.

These were not just words. These appeared to be concrete proposals put forward by the Arabs for genuine co-operation between European and Arab Socialists, in order to bring about a permanent relationship. 'We have the energy, you have the technology', Gaddafi told the visiting Socialists. 'If we come together we can free ourselves of the superpowers'.

The attitude of the North African Arabs was, of course, slightly different from the Egyptian and Syrian leaders whom Kreisky and his delegation had already visited last year. There, the international power game and the presence of Israel was much more apparent than in the Maghreb, where there are no foreign military bases and no common borders with Israel. While the talks in Egypt and Syria, and for that matter, in Israel—which is another story—will play a leading role.

Letters to the Editor

TINBERGEN AND KERSTEN REPLY

Dear Sir,
My attention has been drawn to an article entitled 'Indonesia and its Rulers' published in the January–February issue of 'Socialist Affairs'. Considering the contents of this article I am indeed surprised that it should have found a place in the publication of the Socialist International. The author comes out in favour of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its guerilla activities and says that the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) was closely identified with American interests and that its leaders belonged to the 'Berkeley Mafia'.

I was also struck by the article, on page 7, by Malcolm Caldwell, on Indonesia. Although many of the facts mentioned are, as far as I can judge, correct, the article as a whole makes the impression of giving the communist rather than the democratic socialist view. Of course I know that the latter group is weak—it was prohibited already under Sukarno, in contradiction to the PKI. But perhaps it would be worth while also asking, in the future, comments from a democratic socialist from the region. I must confess to be ignorant about Mr. Caldwell's position; since our democratic socialist minister Pronk has been involved in the current negotiations with the Indonesians in the IGGI, I am sure he too would be interested to know Mr. Caldwell's view.

There is much else in the article which could be gainsaid. This means in no sense that we take the Suharto régime to our bosom. On the contrary, but the truth about Indonesia is bad enough and needs no embroidery. There is also the proverbial sensitivity of Indonesians and the need to keep our line of communication with them open.

Yours sincerely,
Otto Kersten
General Secretary, International
Confederation of Free
Trade Unions

Jan Tinbergen
Professor, Netherlands Economic
Institute, Rotterdam

which the delegation visited to report to the Israeli leaders—centred on war and peace, on disengagement, on concessions and mutual confidence, the Maghrebian meetings were highlighted by the vision of a new order on both sides of the Mediterranean. Kreisky's plan, as already put forward in Helsinki, two years ago, for the inclusion of the Mediterranean countries in any European Security System, was enthusiastically repeated by the North African Arabs. Contrary to Dr Henry Kissinger's efforts, which in their eyes were simply aimed at restoring the hegemony of the two Super Powers in the troubled area, a kind of mighty police action, the Socialist International's mission was viewed as the beginning of a new Mediterranean order, in which Israel would have to be given its proper place. While Dr Kissinger's Israel is being regarded as an unwanted obstacle, Dr Kreisky's Israel, in the eyes of the Arabs, is becoming the key to a new Mediterranean order in which they—together with the Western Europeans—will play a leading role.

Conferences

SOCIALIST SUMMIT IN WEST BERLIN

A Party Leaders Conference of the Socialist International was held in West Berlin on Saturday, 22 February, 1975, at the invitation of Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International.

The Conference discussed three principle themes:

East-West relations and in particular, the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, the situation and developments in the Middle East, and also other questions relating to the Mediterranean, including the Cyprus problem, and the project of a conference between oil-producing and oil-consuming countries.

A number of speakers also described the internal situation in their own countries and there were also reports on the situation in Portugal, Spain, Chile and Northern Ireland respectively by Manuel Tito de Moraes, Felipe Gonzalez, Carlos Parra and Gerry Fitt. Fred Mulley reported on the recent visit to the Soviet Union by Harold Wilson and James Callaghan.

In the context of the general discussion, two suggestions were made: It was suggested that there was a need for a specifically Socialist economic policy to prevent undesirable economic developments; it was suggested that there was a need for a specifically Socialist policy with regard to oil.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Austria:
Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Socialist Party and Federal Chancellor; Karl Czernetz, International Secretary, Socialist Party.

Belgium:
Lucien Radoux, Member of National

Executive Committee of Belgian Socialist Party (Observer).

Chile:
Carlos Parra, International Secretary of Radical Party.

Denmark:
Anker Joergensen, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Prime Minister; Kjeld Olesen, Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party.

Finland:
Lars Lindeman, Member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party; Paavo Lipponen, Head of Department for Policy Planning, Social Democratic Party.

France:
François Mitterrand, First Secretary of Socialist Party.
Gaston Deferre, Leader of Parliamentary Group, Mayor of Marseille;
Robert Pontillon, National Secretary in charge of International Affairs.

Germany:
Willy Brandt, Chairman of Social Democratic Party, former Federal Chancellor; Klaus Schütz, Lord Mayor of Berlin; Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, Member of National Executive of Social Democratic Party, Foreign Affairs Spokesman for Party, Minister of State, Foreign Affairs; Hans-Eberhard Dingels, International Secretary of Social Democratic Party.

Great Britain:
Ron Hayward, General Secretary of Labour Party; Fred Mulley, Chairman of the Labour Party, Minister of Transport; Jenny Little, International Secretary of Labour Party.

Ireland:
Niall Greene, International Secretary of Labour Party.

Israel:
Golda Meir, former Leader of Labour Party, former Prime Minister; Yigal Allon, Foreign Minister; Israel Gat, International Secretary of Labour Party; Yoram Peri, European Representative of Party.

Italy-PSDI:
Antonio Cariglia, Leader of Parliamentary Group, International Secretary of Social Democratic Party; Giampiero Rolandi, London Representative of Social Democratic Party.

Italy-PSI:
Bettino Craxi, Deputy Secretary of Socialist Party; Pietro Lezzi, International Secretary of Socialist Party; Gianni Finocchiaro, International Department of Socialist Party; Gino Bianco, London Representative of Socialist Party.

Luxembourg:
Lydie Schmit, Chairman of Socialist Workers' Party.

Mauritius:
Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Leader of Labour Party, Prime Minister; Sir Leckraz Teelock, High Commissioner in London.

Netherlands:
Max van der Stoel, Member of National Executive Committee of Labour Party, Foreign Minister; Relus ter Beek, International Secretary of Party.

Northern Ireland:
Gerry Fitt, Leader of Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Norway:
Trygve Bratteli, Chairman of Labour Party, Prime Minister.

Portugal:
Manuel Tito de Morais, International Secretary of Socialist Party.

Spain:
Felipe Gonzales, First Secretary of Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; Enrique Mugica, Co-ordination Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; Francisco Lopez Real, of International Secretariat of Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

The election platform of the SPÖ states that the policy of the Socialists in Austria will be concerned with guaranteeing internal security. The policy of détente will be furthered through active neutrality and international co-operation with all states will be extended. In the economy, the concern of the SPÖ will be to press for the constant improvement of goods and services and to keep the economy as free as possible from heavy fluctuations. The supreme objective is a high level of employment coupled with measures to restrain price increases. Man says the resolution, must not be allowed to become a football kicked about by forces for which profit is the only motivating principle. Man comes before profitability and economic power must be brought into the sphere of democracy.

Again, as in the 1968 Economic Programme, the co-existence of different forms of ownership of the

Conferences

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS READY FOR ELECTIONS

On 5 May at an Extraordinary Conference held in Vienna the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ) adopted its platform for the election campaign to be conducted during the coming months. The resolution is introduced by a progress report which reviews the work completed since 1970.

The objectives of the SPÖ for the next four years were presented by Party Chairman Bruno Kreisky who said that the Socialists were introducing their election platform to the public already at this stage because they wanted to make their views and policies known as early as possible. After referring to the achievements of the SPÖ Government, Bruno Kreisky pointed out that Austria had become a modern industrial nation with weaknesses which Austria must not wait until the next boom period in the economic cycle to put right but must deal with during a period of rather slack economic conditions. This is what was done in 1970, and at that time it was successful in instituting a positive economic trend.

Sweden's attitude was clear: the conflict had to end with the national independence of the Vietnamese people. Now it was being said that the USA had lost its credibility because it had failed to win this war. But we say that, now this terrible, useless and immoral war is ended and the USA is no longer supporting a corrupt government, the USA can at last recover its credibility.

Candidates Unanimously Nominated
Before the Party Conference opened, a meeting of the Party Council was held to draw up the list of candidates. The meeting was opened by SPÖ Central Secretary Marsch and the 248 delegates were welcomed by

means of production is reaffirmed.

In the field of social policy, the SPÖ intends to continue to secure better opportunities in life for the handicapped and underprivileged and to help old people, the disabled, widows and orphans as effectively as possible.

Democratic legal reforms will be pursued with the aim of securing greater humanity, protection and security for the weak in society and greater freedom in private life and in artistic production. The democratic function of the media will be safeguarded and extended by the enactment of a media law and other measures to give active encouragement to the press, radio, television and cinema.

in its work to achieve a modern, more human Austria. It is therefore calling upon the men and women of Austria to reaffirm the confidence they showed in the Party in 1970 and 1971. It needs a strong enough endorsement to be able to continue the work of construction. The political conditions must be unequivocal. Now more than ever, a government of clarity and firmness is needed. If a government suffers from too many internal tensions, its forces become locked together. Its capacity for action is then reduced. The Socialist Government has always trodden the path of conciliation wherever possible and has acted alone where it was necessary.

Sweden Salutes Austria

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in a fraternal address to the Party Conference declared his hope that the Austrian people would reaffirm its confidence in social democracy on 5 October, turning then to speak of the situation in Sweden where the Social Democrats had been in power for 43 years. The economic situation in Sweden was good, he said: the employment figures were rising. This showed that democracy was effective, if Parliament was set to work.

Palme also spoke of his country's position with regard to Indochina, saying that during the second World War the Vietminh under Ho Chi-Min had fought on the side of the Allies against the Japanese and had been supported by the USA. At that time apparently national independence had been promised to the Vietminh. After the war, the French again occupied Vietnam and a bloody war ensued which had only now come to an end. This war should never have been started, said Palme.

At its meeting in March the Executive had discussed the results of the renegotiation of the terms of membership of the European Community and produced the statement laying down the position of the majority. It welcomed the fact that there was to be a referendum and said that it 'appreciates the efforts of all those Ministers involved in the process of renegotiation'. It noted the Government's recommendation that Britain should remain a member of the European Community but continued by saying that the terms 'do not satisfy Britain's requirements'. The Executive's conclusion was therefore that it 'opposes Britain's continuing membership of the Common Market, and so advises the Special Conference'.

An important aspect of the statement was that it specifically allowed the right of dissent to all members of the Party, in the same way as the Prime Minister had allowed Ministers who

Vienna Land Party Chairman and Mayor of Vienna, Leopold Gratz. He then reported on the 366 candidates of the SPÖ for the National Assembly elections, 160 of whom were standing for the first time. Seventeen candidates are under 30, 17 over 60, 77 are between 30 and 39, 141 are in the 40-49 age group and 114 aged 50-59. With regard to occupational background, 188 candidates are salaried employees, 89 civil servants and 48 manual workers; the remainder — almost equally divided — are self-employed businessmen and professionals, free-lance workers, farmers and housewives. The list of candidates includes 56 women.

Conferences

LABOUR & THE MARKET

Jenny Little

The Labour Party Special Conference on the Common Market was held on 26 April, 1975 in London. Delegates debated and voted on a statement put forward by the National Executive Committee. At the end of nearly six hours of debate the Special Conference voted by 65% to 35% to recommend a 'No' vote in the referendum. The vote, by 3,724,000 for the statement against 1,986,000, was a decisive defeat for the Government.

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An important aspect of the statement was that it specifically allowed the right of dissent to all members of the Party, in the same way as the Prime Minister had allowed Ministers who

disagreed with the Cabinet view the right to differ publicly. Everyone welcomed this proposal but there was some controversy on the subject of the role of the Party machine during the referendum campaign. In the statement it said 'that the Party should campaign for the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the Common Market' but only on the basis of allowing total freedom to dissent. This point had been clearly spelt out by the General Secretary, Ron Hayward, in a memorandum, the terms of which were accepted by the Executive. He believed the Executive had 'to take a lead in promoting tolerance and minimising damage to the Party machine'.

And indeed this spirit of tolerance was generally present at the Special Conference itself. The first speaker at the Conference was the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, the keynote of whose speech was that 'the people will decide'. That to him was the real sovereignty argument: 'By a decision of policy the issue is now transferred to the sovereign people for decision'. He underlined that the Conference had been called 'on the basis of a unanimous appeal for understanding and comradeship'. As a result he felt that the Party would emerge 'Proud and strong in that we had the courage to accord a right to differ on an issue which in fact divides all Parties and no less deeply divides the country'.

What's Best for Britain Turning to the arguments about the Community itself he said that in his judgement it was now best for the future of Britain, as well as for the rest of the world that Britain should remain in the Community though this would not of itself solve our problems. He then talked about how Labour Party policy had never been 'for' on principle, whatever the conditions, nor against on principle, whatever the benefits. But he went on to say he was impressed by the reality of decision making and the ability countries had to protect their national interests within the EEC. His conclusion was that: 'I accept that we have not achieved all we set out to achieve in the exact and precise terms of the Manifesto', but many changes had been won and many fears had proved to be unfounded so that he believed it was in Britain's interest to stay in.

This speech was followed by another from the platform from Bryan Stanley, the general secretary of the Post Office Engineering Union, who said, in pre-

senting the Executive statement to Conference that the renegotiations did not yield the fundamental changes which Labour demanded in its Manifesto. He said the Party was not satisfied with verbal assurances, 'We demanded, instead, specific and clear agreements on each of the issues covered by our Manifesto. And we haven't got them'. He said we would be at a permanent disadvantage because in Community bargaining sessions decisions are taken not on single issues but in carefully balanced packages. The terms did not match up to Labour's requirements on almost all counts, the Common Agricultural Policy, the Community Budget, industrial and regional policy and economic harmonisation. If we left the EEC we would regain the right to trade freely with the rest of the world and to enter freely into the best possible relationships with countries of the world.

In the carefully balanced general debate which followed this speech, most of the leading pro- and anti-Marketeers had a chance to speak. Of those arguing for the Market probably the most important contributions came from the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, David Basnett, the General Secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, John MacIntosh, M.P., Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, Dick Mabon, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Committee for Europe and David Ennals, Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

Those For Roy Jenkins concentrated on the myths of Community membership and on the sovereignty issue, concluding that 'we live in an integrated world and our duty is to play our part in that with our neighbours'. David Basnett's main point was that coming out would put at risk job security and living standards, and he was afraid that there would be a loss of markets which could not be replaced. John MacIntosh declared that the Labour Party had always campaigned against petty nationalism and described some of the anti-Marketeers as 'little, selfish, inward-looking, and frightened of foreigners'. His view was 'Let's stay in and redistribute that wealth in the impoverished areas of Europe and in the Third World'. Tom Jackson argued that the EEC was about peace while David Ennals used the argument that all the Commonwealth leaders wanted us in, and Dick Mabon concluded that

we should change the nature of the EEC from inside.

Those Against

For the anti-Marketeers the most important participants in the debate were Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Peter Shore, Secretary of State for Trade, Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Clive Jenkins, General Secretary of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, Roy Hughes, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party's Europe Group and the former Minister, Eric Heffer, who was sacked from the Government for speaking against the Government in the House of Commons.

Clive Jenkins asked Conference to consider in whose interests the EEC worked and he added that it 'has become a joke in terms of effectiveness'. Jack Jones and the Treaty of Rome's commitment to free competition was 'a dangerous attack on our fundamental belief in Socialism' besides which he believed continued membership would pose a threat to jobs. Lawrence Daly put forward the view that Labour should put forward as an alternative to the EEC's overwhelmingly capitalist bureaucracy the development of national and international institutions of a Socialist character. Roy Hughes took up a similar point when he said that 'The Common Market is basically about capitalism. This Party was created to challenge capitalism. It was not created to make Britain safe for multinationals.'

Eric Heffer said that those who had renegotiated Britain's terms of membership of the EEC had done a first class job but, 'The trouble is that they didn't come out with what we sent them out to get. They did not come back with a fundamental renegotiation of terms.' This view was further emphasised by Peter Shore who made the point that 'Of all the 200-odd clauses of the Treaty of Association which Heath signed and we denounced, not one single clause has been amended or changed'.

At the beginning of the afternoon's debate the Foreign Secretary, Jim Callaghan, representing the minority view on the Executive, took the floor. He defended strongly the Government's renegotiations saying that his interpretation of the Election manifesto had been for him to negotiate

if at all possible, for a successful settlement. He said he had not been asked to negotiate on some of the arguments that had been put forward during the day. He maintained that the first problem he faced was whether the other countries would be willing to allow renegotiation; it had not been easy but there had been a gradual acceptance that they were serious in their attempt to reach a successful conclusion. He said he had 'never claimed that we have hit every target. But the process of change will not come to an end if Britain remains a member of the Community.' He himself had strong criticisms of some aspects of the Community and the Commission, but the question was not whether the EEC was an ideal institution; in its defence it could be said that it had the capacity for change and flexibility. The question to be decided was 'whether on balance Britain's interest is better served if we remain a member than if we leave', and he concluded it was but added it was now up to the British people to make that decision.

Bevan's Warning The closing speech at Conference by Michael Foot led to a standing ovation by anti-Marketeers before delegates voted for Britain's withdrawal from the Market. Early in his speech he quoted the words of Aneurin Bevan who had said: 'The conception of the Common Market is the result of a political malaise following upon the failure of Socialists to use the sovereign power of their Parliaments to plan their economic life. It is an escapist conception in which the market forces will take the place of political responsibility. Socialists cannot at one and the same time call for economic planning and accept the verdict of free competition no matter how extensive the area it covers. The jungle is not made more acceptable just because it is almost limitless.'

Michael Foot referred in his speech to food policy, to regional policy, to relations with the Third World, to unemployment. He then turned to what he saw as an important political problem, the difference between the Labour Party and Socialist parties in Europe, that is, that since 1900 the Labour Party had campaigned to win independent power for Labour, while in Europe 'our Socialist comrades had repeatedly entered coalition governments' and he went on that 'Here we can say we'll have no truck with any coalition governments. If we go into

the Market then for decades to come, we'll be more enmeshed in various forms of coalition government than anything we've seen before. That's how the Common Market works.'

So, Michael Foot's concluding exhortation was 'Don't be afraid of those who tell us we cannot run our affairs, that we haven't the ingenuity to mobilise our resources and overcome our economic problems. We can do that and save the freedom of our country at the same time.'

Conferences

NEW LEADER FOR NEW DEMOCRATS

Gordon O. Rothney

David Lewis was the first socialist leader in the Canadian Parliament to come from Ontario, Canada's largest Province. His predecessors had all been from the comparatively small western Provinces, as had most of their followers. His election in 1971 as federal Leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP) reflected its efforts to become a major force in Canadian politics rather than a movement with merely regional support.

There are 264 seats in the House of Commons, of which 162 are for districts in Ontario and Quebec, and only 102 for all the other Provinces and Territories put together. It is therefore impossible for a party to come to power at Ottawa unless it has strong support in, at least, either Ontario or Quebec. Since Ontario is Canada's wealthiest Province, the natural base for a Canadian party of the Left is Quebec.

But radical politics in that Province have taken the form of Provincial nationalism, with the result that the NDP and its predecessors have never won a federal seat in Quebec. The only alternative for a party with serious hopes of winning power in Canada is to seek its largest bloc of seats in industrialised Ontario. For the NDP this means relying heavily on the support of labour unions, some of the strongest and best of which have their headquarters in the USA and are far from socialist in their basic philosophy.

A federal party which seeks its principal base in prosperous Ontario cannot afford to be very radical in its rhetoric, at least so long as the voters do not believe the economy to be in a state of serious depression. This fact, along with an Ontario Leader, was accepted by the federal NDP convention of 1971.

An election in 1972 happened to leave the party in a position to hold the balance of power at Ottawa between the Liberals and the Conservatives. The Ontario NDP had by this time expelled its Left-wing 'Waffle' group, notwithstanding the fact that the 'Waffle' candidate had been the runner-up to Mr Lewis for the federal Leadership. NDP moderation reached its climax in May 1974 with the Parliamentary group, after keeping the Liberal government in office for over a year, introduced a motion of non-confidence on the budget in such general terms that it was supported by the Conservatives. The NDP position had become so blurred that in the general election of July 1974 the logical result was a loss of NDP seats to both Liberals and Conservatives, David Lewis himself being defeated by a Liberal housewife in York South, Toronto.

At the time of the 1971 convention the NDP held 23 seats. Today, four years later, it holds only 16, exactly half the number held by its predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), out of a total of only 245 in 1948 — twenty-seven years ago. This is not very encouraging. But on the other hand it now holds eight federal seats in Ontario, as compared with six in 1971, and only one in 1948. The heaviest losses since 1948, and also since 1971, have been in the western Provinces of Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In 1948 the majority in the CCF federal caucus was from Saskatchewan. Now for the first time half the caucus is from Ontario. Defeats in the west have actually left the NDP with the most Ontario-oriented caucus in the House of Commons. It can no longer be dismissed as merely a party of regional protest.

No Mood for Radicalism It is probably inevitable under a system of parliamentary democracy that vote-seeking parties will endeavour to reduce the differences between themselves and their principal opponents at any given moment to the narrowest possible margin. Canadians are not in

a radical mood, and the NDP in the present Parliament has continued to project an extremely moderate image. It has not proposed anything much more radical than a \$400 tax credit in personal income tax, rather than a further 5% reduction proposed by the Conservatives beyond the 3% across-the-board reduction in 1975 provided for by the Liberal government. But this is only social credit rather than socialism, and in fact it had the support of the *Créditistes* from Quebec. (The *Créditistes* however did not support the NDP and a minority of Conservatives and Liberals in opposing a 33% raise in the salaries of members of Parliament.)

The fact still remains that if the NDP is to build upon the foundations that have so far been laid, with a view to obtaining control of the House of Commons, the majority of the seats which it must win are in Ontario and are at present held by the Liberals. The decisions of the coming convention will indicate whether the federal party is to continue its efforts to move in that direction, or whether it is to back track and give priority to recovering lost ground, mainly in the west and largely from the Conservatives.

Among the Leadership candidates are two members of the present Parliament, one from Saskatchewan, the other from Ontario. Both are Canadian-born, in contrast to M. J. Coldwell (1939-1960, English), T. C. Douglas (1961-1971, Scottish), and D. Lewis (1971-1975, Polish). No longer does the party have to rely heavily upon immigrants for socialist leadership. But these two candidates were born in very different parts of Canada.

Lorne Nystrom (Yorkton-Melville), only 29 years of age, was born under CCF Provincial government in Saskatchewan, at a time when Yorkton already had a CCF member of Parliament. He has a good vote-getting record in his own constituency, but his gains have been from the Conservatives, rather than from the Liberals. He is a teacher.

Edward Broadbent (Oshawa-Whitby), ten years older, was born in an urban community in Ontario which he now represents, and in which the United Automobile Workers of America are an important political factor. In 1968, with 34% of the vote, he just managed to capture the constituency, in which in the previous election the NDP had ranked third. In 1974 he was up to 49%, while the Liberal share during the same period

had dropped from 33% to 29%. He is a university professor of political science and leader of the parliamentary party.

NDP Strongest in Provinces

The choice of the Provincial capital of Manitoba as the site for this federal convention reflects the fact that, in spite of repeated set-backs at the federal level, the NDP and its predecessors were never before so strong at the Provincial level as they are today. The NDP has been in power since 1969 in Manitoba, since 1971 in Saskatchewan (where it is facing another election on June 11), and since 1972 in British Columbia, although all three of these small western Provinces are Conservative in federal politics.

Their internal Provincial issues are the sore which the NDP wishes to stress, comparatively uncomplicated by constitutional questions. In the case of Manitoba, political evolution has followed the straightforward British pattern — Conservative domination in the late 19th century and until 1915, followed by a long period of Liberal-Progressive rule until the creation of a three-party situation by the labour-based CCF made possible a Conservative revival, and finally an NDP government.

Winnipeg General Strike

In 1917 the introduction by a Conservative government of military conscription for Britain's war against Germany intensified anti-imperialist and anti-federalist feeling in Quebec, and class polarisation in Winnipeg. It was followed in 1919 by Canada's greatest industrial battle, the Winnipeg General Strike. The workers' battle was lost, until vindicated exactly 50 years later by the election of an NDP government in Manitoba. In 1921 Winnipeg Centre elected a Canadian-born Independent Labour candidate, J. S. Woodsworth, who had opposed the war and been arrested during the strike. For a time it looked as though Canadian radicals would unite. Woods- worth and Bourassa in 1926 together urged that 'Canada should refuse to accept any responsibility for complications arising from the foreign policy of the United Kingdom'. And in 1930 they both advocated 'the adoption of co-operative principles in production and distribution' and the 'public control of credit'.

In 1932 the CCF was formed in western Canada with Woodsworth as Leader. But Bourassa did not join. For although the CCF proclaimed that 'Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism', it also demanded 'the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic

succeeding war of the 20th century.'

For Quebec radicals, however, military imperialism was a more important issue than direct labour representation. It drove them to a position of Canadian nationalism within the British Empire, and then, receiving little support in the other Provinces, to a position of Quebec nationalism within Canada. They were North Americans, free of the old patriotisms and prejudices which most immigrants failed to leave behind when they crossed the Atlantic.

There was thus no more co-operation between Puttee and Bourassa in 1900 than there is today between their successors, the NDP and the *Parti Québécois*. Puttee voted with the Liberal government against Bourassa's motion refusing to consider 'the action of the Government in relation to the South African war as a precedent'. And Bourassa voted with the Liberal government to defeat Puttee's motion for federal 'Government construction and operation of railways'.

development'. By this time, for reformers in Quebec, 'national' meant Provincial, and the Dominion was seen for what it was historically, an artificial attempt to keep North America divided economically, with no benefit to the people of Quebec. In 1936 a new *Union Nationale* was elected to office with a policy of abstaining from federal politics altogether.

Although the CCF accepted participation in the war of 1939 and replaced Woodsworth by Coldwell, it opposed the principle of the conscription of men for overseas service without the conscription of wealth. In the Quebec Provincial election of 1944 a CCF candidate was actually elected for the mining district of Rouyn-Noranda. But later that year both he and the federal CCF caucus supported the federal Liberal government when even the majority of the Quebec Liberals, federal and Provincial, protested the actual sending of conscripts overseas. That was the end of the CCF in Quebec so far as electing members was concerned. In 1948 the CCF did not even have a candidate in Rouyn-Noranda, and the seat went to the *Union Nationale*. 1948 was the peak year for the *Union Nationale* in Quebec, as it was for the CCF federally.

In 1961 the CCF united with the Canadian Congress of Labour and the small Newfoundland Democratic Party to form the NDP. But in 1968 Quebec produced its own social democratic party in the form of the *Parti Québécois*, which demands full Provincial sovereignty. By 1973 it had replaced the *Union Nationale* as the strongest opposition party in Quebec, the Liberals having returned to office in 1970. Time appears to be on the side of the *Parti Québécois*.

These are the reasons why Ed Broadbent and others believe that there is no alternative for the federal NDP but to continue to strive to do as well as possible in Ontario, and to hope that by refusing to treat the *Parti Québécois* as rivals or enemies the day may yet come when some form of co-operation will be possible. But this is unlikely to happen unless it becomes evident that a majority could be obtained in Canada as a whole for State ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and a Swedish-type policy of neutrality with regard to power politics everywhere in the world. The alternative is federal disintegration.

Conferences

NEW ZEALAND:

LABOUR PREPARES FOR BATTLE

Graeme Colman

Rowling's Policies

The economic policy has Rowling's stamp. A former Rhodes scholar, school teacher and army instructor, he holds a degree in economics. He is the first Labour Prime Minister to do so. He came to power last September after the death of Prime Minister Norman Kirk, who led the party to victory and into a gambit of new internal and foreign policies, including the recognition of China, and strong protests against French nuclear testing in the atmosphere — sending a Frigate to the Mururoa testing atoll and the country's Minister of Justice, Dr Martyn Finlay, to the World Court.

Rowling initially found it difficult to fill the shoes of 'Big Norm' — Kirk was more than 6ft tall and weighed more than 18 stone for most of his Parliamentary career. Rowling is just over 5ft, a stocky, trim figure. The country's second youngest Prime Minister at 46, Rowling was facing the acid test when he appeared before this year's party conference. But he slammed home Government achievements and threw brickbats at the Opposition and its leader. He brought delegates to their feet four times and they interrupted his 80-minute speech 43 times with applause.

More importantly, he avoided a defensive stance, by talking about and promising a 'new society' under Labour. He dealt with land and other speculators with a heavy hand, announced the Government's recognition of the PRG in South Vietnam and pledged full employment and other egalitarian policies.

Some commentators were astounded by the rostrum-bashing Prime Minister who before was noted only for his quiet smile, reasonableness and precise mind. Delegates lapped it up. Rowling's deputy, Finance Minister Bob Tizard, followed up with a heavy attack on the Opposition, and then pledged a Budget 'better than you ever

dared hope for'. The Budget, in fact, was presented on 22 May, and brought in massive increases in Housing, Health, Education and Social Welfare votes. New benefits were created for 20% of the elderly who had been shown to be in trouble by a Government survey, and a new cost of living index for beneficiaries was created. The Government has been keeping its pledge for six-monthly benefit wage rises. Government spending will be pushed up by 19%, and there will be a record internal deficit before borrowing. But it's unlikely to be inflationary, because the manpower and other resources are in adequate supply.

There were personal tax cuts for all wage earners, except those on more than \$24,000 a year. They number only about 5,000 in the one million strong workforce. The Under-Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Bruce Barclay, could later boast in the Budget debate that the hard-pressed farmers were now receiving more in assistance per head than old age pensioners.

The party itself is the healthiest it has ever been. As party president Dr Charles Bennett told the Socialist International Vice-President Sicco Mansholt '594 delegates may seem small to you, but in New Zealand its very big, and a record'.

The International Represented

The conference visit by Mansholt and his delegation, over from a Bureau meeting in Australia, was the first the International has sent to a Labour conference. Mansholt's message — that social democratic parties had to find answers to the world's big problems, and to take united approaches

Conferences and delegations of socialist parties and organisations in NORWAY Bjoern Hansen

ALL CHANGE AT THE TOP

An enormous public interest surrounded the Norwegian Labour party conference this year, held from 20-24 April in Oslo. The question of who was going to be the next Chairman and leader of the party drew all the attention, and when, in the end, the 41-year-old Reiulf Steen got the unanimous vote, it was only after a very tense behind-the-scenes contest.

Before the conference the whole question of party leadership was

on several issues, including multi-national capitalism — was warmly received.

Mansholt appeared to talk a day after the leaders of New Zealand's union movement, the Federation of Labour, had told conference they were backing Labour in the second election running. The unions campaigned openly for Labour for the first time in 20 years in 1972.

The Opposition has pledged to scrap Labour's superannuation scheme, which came into effect in April, to cater for 66% of the workforce, and to introduce non-compulsory unionism, house unions and bring back the harsh penalties Labour took out of the country's new Industrial Relations Act. The union-party sense of dependence has probably not been greater since 1916. The FOL has been readily co-operating in wage stabilisation plans, also a lot fairer than those enforced by the National Government in 1972.

Bratteli himself declined to clear the matter at the start, neither by officially giving any sign of his own preference, nor by any team-making attempt. In fact, the conference was to have a free choice, and so it had.

Majority for Steen
The whips on each side soon did their sums: a clear majority in the 300-strong conference was inclined to support Steen. But the majority in the nomination committee, among them the Chairman of the powerful Engineering Union Leif Skau, was in its internal discussions insisting on Nordli. But knowing the mood in the conference, the committee minority had the upper hand. The knot was untied late at night before the last day of the conference. The committee hammered out a compromise, which placed Steen in the chairmanship, and gave a public declaration that Nordli was to succeed Bratteli as Prime Minister, when the latter decides to resign.

Prime ministers are not normally elected by party conferences, and Nordli's position as Prime Minister designate rests on the unanimous support for Steen as Chairman, and vice versa. In this way a clash between opposing fractions was averted, and short of happiness in all quarters, there was common satisfaction that a solution was found.

There has been a very heated discussion about the political colours of the two top men in the Norwegian Labour Party. Steen, Vice-Chairman since 1965, is the youngest of them, and has the ability to inspire with his ideas. Nordli is more of the practical politician, with solid experience from his

contests would be between Reiulf Steen and the Parliamentary Leader of the party, Odvar Nordli. In some ways this reflects an old situation in the Norwegian Labour Party where traditionally the party organisation has been more of an executor of this policy. But in later years the parliamentary group obviously has gained some more influence.

While Steen got his support from the youth organisation, most party newspapers and some trade unions, Nordli was backed by the majority in the parliamentary group, the leadership of the Norwegian TUC and his local organisation. Support for the candidates was seldom explicitly expressed, it was always a race in the shadows, except for some odd actions from more activist supporters.

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matter at the start, neither by officially giving any sign of his own preference, nor by any team-making attempt. In fact, the conference was to have a free choice, and so it had.

Party Documents

MITTERRAND MEETS BREZHNEV

The following is the text of the Official Communiqué issued in Moscow after the talks between representatives of the French Socialist Party and representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

At the invitation of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the French Socialist Party (SP) stayed in the Soviet Union from 23 to 30 April 1975. The French SP delegation, led by François Mitterrand, First Secretary, consisted of Pierre Mauroy, member of the Executive Bureau, National Secretary; Gaston Deferre, member of the Executive Bureau, President of the French SP parliamentary group in the National Assembly; Robert Pontillon, member of the Executive Bureau, National Secretary; Lionel Jospin, member of the Executive Bureau, National Secretary; Jean-Pierre Chevènement, member of the French SP Executive Bureau; Michel Rocard, member of the French SP Executive Bureau; Didier Motchan, member of the French SP Executive Bureau;

parliamentary work. There may be differences in outlook and in political style, but basically both belong to the mainstream and not the wings of the party. The difference was much more marked among some supporters, where left wingers tended to back Steen, while some on the right of the party expressed their preference for Nordli.

In fact, the Labour Party has got the youngest leadership among all Norwegian parties, and may prove vital in the present situation. It is well known that the party's grip on younger generations has been slipping since the early 70s, mainly because of the fight about EEC membership, where most young people voted 'No', while the party officially went heavily for a 'Yes' vote and was beaten in the referendum.

With a prime minister designate already appointed by informal agreement, the question of Bratteli's resignation naturally becomes the talking point. Again the Prime Minister himself keeps his mouth shut. He is a man who never shows his cards before playing them, and Bratteli does not want to stimulate any speculation about whether he is staying on until the local elections this Autumn, to next year or to the general election of 1976. But it is a sound guess that he will resign in time for Nordli to fight the 1976 election as Prime Minister.

In the party offices Steen has got a very young and able team working with him. The new International Secretary Ivar Leveraas has many years of experience both from trade union and administrative work.

The new Vice-Chairman, Gro Harlem Brundtland, 36, is the first woman elected to the top leadership. She is also Minister of the Environment and has

been a member of the European Parliament.

The party's newly elected central committee has also become younger and with a stronger representation of female power than the previous one. There is certainly new wine in old bottles.

The delegation laid a wreath of flowers at the Lenin Mausoleum and visited Lenin's museum-apartments in the Kremlin and at Smolny.

At the headquarters of the CC of the CPSU, the French delegation had talks with the CPSU delegation, consisting of M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, Secretary of the Central Committee; B. N. Ponomarev, substitute member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, Secretary of the Central Committee; P. N. Fedosseiev, member of the CC of the CPSU; N. N. Inozemtsev, substitute member of the CC of the CPSU; G. A. Zhukov and V. V. Zagladin, members of the Central Commission of Revision of the CPSU; V. G. Aganassiev, chief editor of the journal 'Communist'.

International Problems

The talks took place in an atmosphere of frankness and comradeship. The two delegations made a wide-ranging review of international problems, the situation in the international labour movement, and exchanged information on the activities of their respective parties. It was noted that, in spite of certain differences of opinion, the positions of the CPSU and the French SP coincided or came close to one another on the assessment of many problems in the international situation.

The delegates of the French SP noted the progress made by the USSR on the road to socialism in accordance with the plans and conceptions of the CPSU, and the increased prosperity of the Soviet people and the achievements of Soviet workers in the economic, social, cultural and scientific fields.

The CPSU and French SP delegations emphasised the serious positive changes which have occurred in international life in recent years. On this the SP delegation expressed its appreciation of the constructive contribution of the Soviet Union to the process of international détente. Moreover, the two delegations noted that the imperialists and reactionaries were still continuing their attempts to revive the spirit of the 'cold war'.

The CPSU and the French SP firmly resolved to do all in their power to make international détente historically irreversible so that it would embrace all regions of the world and achieve long-term development of mutually advantageous co-operation between States with different social systems based on total equality of

rights and on mutual respect in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The CPSU and French SP delegations paid particular attention to the problems of Europe and European security. The two delegations considered that the consolidation of security and the development of co-operation between all the States of the Continent fully met the profound aspirations of the peoples of Europe.

European Security Conference

Taking into account the results already achieved by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the two delegations considered that all the conditions were now present for the holding of a third stage in this Conference at the highest level and at the earliest date.

The two delegations declared their support for the adoption of a more flexible form of institutionalisation for the Conference which will make it possible to consolidate the results already achieved and to institute new measures which will make Europe a continent of peace.

The two delegations considered it worthwhile to develop economic and scientifico-technical exchanges between European countries on a bilateral and multilateral basis. They called for the abolition of discriminatory measures in the field of external trade.

In the new situation of consolidation of détente it was agreed that appreciable possibilities had emerged for cooperation, in the fields of culture and the exchange of ideas, for extending information and contacts between the peoples within the mutual respect of the laws and traditions of each country and of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

The CPSU and the French SP advocated that political détente should be complemented by measures of military détente.

The recent Soviet-American Declaration on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons and the objectives pursued at Vienna within the framework of the negotiations on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe appeared to the delegations to offer positive prospects for the reinforcement of détente in Europe.

Progress seems desirable and possible on this basis to bring about partial measures of disarmament and a gradual reduction in military spending, the burden of which weighs very heavily on the budgets of the European States, acting as a brake on

social progress and economic development.

The task of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, of strengthening the effectiveness of the International Treaty on this subject and of increasing the number of countries covered by it is of greater importance today.

World Disarmament Conference

The two delegations considered that it would be worthwhile to call a world disarmament conference in which all the States concerned would participate under equality of rights and responsibilities.

In view of the worthwhile nature of prospects for dissolving the militaro-political blocs, the two delegations voiced their negative attitude concerning the creation of new blocs or any grouping of that kind.

During the course of the talks, the delegations exchanged views on the situation as it emerged in certain regions of the world.

The two delegations saluted the courageous struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and the other peoples of Indochina for control of their own destinies and against all foreign interference. Strict application of the Paris agreements would contribute to the development of a new and democratic Vietnam.

The two delegations agreed that they recognised the anxieties engendered by the continued existence of tension in the Middle East and considered that the surest way to a solid peace in that region presupposed the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, in accordance with the UN resolutions, the fulfilment of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their national existence and the recognition of the right of all the states in the region to live within secure and recognised frontiers. The resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference could contribute to the normalisation of the situation.

The two delegations reaffirmed their support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. They felt that the settlement of the Cyprus problem should be sought through negotiation and based on strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and on the strict application of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations on

Cyprus. They called for the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus and for the safe return to their homes of all refugees.

Chile

Nevertheless there remained vast areas of the world in which the right of peoples to decide freely on their own destinies was still being flouted. Such was the case of Chile, where the military junta, in violation of the Charter of Human Rights, pursues the physical liquidation of the Popular Unity militants.

The two parties expressed their full solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean workers. They denounced all international aid to the fascist Junta and will support any action on the part of the forces of progress to impose the restoration of democratic freedoms in that country.

It was emphasised that the liquidation of the fascist régimes in Greece and Portugal had become possible thanks to the vigorous struggle of the forces of democracy and progress. The two parties welcomed and approved the democratisation of social life in Portugal and the granting of independence to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The interests of the political, economic and social development of Portugal required the uniting of all democratic and progressive forces in the country and the emphatic rejection of attempts made by the incumbents of the Salazar and Caetano régimes to regain lost positions. The CPSU and the French SP are against all interference in the internal affairs of Portugal. The Portuguese people must be the masters of their own destiny.

The two delegations proclaimed their solidarity with the struggle of the democratic forces of Spain against the fascist régime and with efforts which must lead to the uniting of all the progressive forces in order to restore democratic government.

The two delegations stressed that they condemn any form of colonialism and racial discrimination and that they lend their support to the struggles of oppressed peoples for their freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary in 1975 of the historic victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, the two delegations noted that the lessons of this victory still remained relevant and that one of the most important things learned from

the fight against fascism during the Second World War was the need for the widest possible unity of public opinion to oppose the war-mongering forces of reaction and neo-fascism in present-day conditions.

Franco-Soviet Relations

During the course of their talks, the two delegations attached great importance to the development of Franco-Soviet relations. The CPSU and the SP noted with great satisfaction that, in this year commemorating the recognition by the French Republic of the Soviet Republic, exchanges between the two countries had reached a remarkable level.

The French Socialist Party for its part felt that there were possibilities which were worthwhile exploring further of developing the cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the economic field.

The CPSU and the French SP placed on record in this connection their determination to overlook no means in their power of developing both quantitatively and qualitatively relations between the two countries, which in their eyes constituted an indispensable basis for all European cooperation. They firmly resolved to resist all attempts to weaken Franco-Soviet friendship.

The two delegations considered that the strengthening of contacts between Socialist and Communist Parties, irrespective of their ideological differences and their particular traditions, was of the utmost importance for the international labour movement whose cohesion and solidarity — hence capacity for victory — it would strengthen.

The CPSU and the SP noted in this connection that the mobilisation in unity of all the forces of the left in France had demonstrated the credit, confidence and hope which the workers placed in the union of the parties of the working class.

The French Socialist Party delegation expressed great satisfaction at having been able to welcome a delegation from the CPSU at its last National Congress in Pau. In this spirit, the two parties agreed to develop their contacts further under the most appropriate forms and procedures. To further this they decided, in particular, to arrange two meetings in order to discuss the economic crisis and the problems of Europe.

Elections

SETBACK FOR LABOUR

One-third of the seats (839) on the Metropolitan District Councils in Britain were up for election this year on 1 May. In addition there were 18 casual vacancies to be filled, making 857 vacancies of which the Labour Party was defending 527. 851 Labour candidates contested these elections. 216 seats were lost and six gained, a net loss of 210. 317 Labour councillors were elected.

Labour lost control to Conservatives in Calderdale and lost overall control in Rochdale, but are still the largest party. Losses in Birmingham and Kirklees gave the Party parity with the combined opposition and control will depend upon the election of Mayors in each case. Conservatives gained overall control in Bury, Stockport and Wirral where previously they had been the largest party without overall control.

The following table gives a summary of the results on a Metropolitan County basis:

County	No. of Vacancies	No. of Labour Councillors	No. of Labour Defending	Labour Gains	Labour Losses	Labour elected
Tyne and Wear	128	128	89	2	27	64
South Yorkshire	91	91	77	—	21	56
West Yorkshire	127	127	67	—	37	56
Greater Manchester	222	219	127	1	69	59
Merseyside	117	114	59	2	17	44
West Midlands	172	172	108	1	45	64
Totals	857	851	527	6	216	317

SPD HOLDS ON

The most important of the six state elections taking place in West Germany this year was held in North Rhine-Westphalia on 4 May. Both the Social Democrats and Free Democrats retained a comfortable majority, but the Christian Democrats emerged as the strongest party increasing their poll by 0.9 per cent. The Social Democrats lost 1.2 per cent, but the Free Democrats increased their share of the poll by 1.5 per cent.

There was also an election in the West German State of Saarland on 4 May which ended in deadlock. The Christian Democrats lost their overall majority owing to improved performances, since the last elections four years ago, by both the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats.

The results for the two state elections are as follows:

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

Parties	1975 ELECTION			1970 ELECTION		
	Votes	Per cent	Seats	Votes	Per cent	Seats
SPD ¹⁾	4,629,513	45.1	91	3,996,808	46.1	94
CDU ²⁾	4,828,534	47.1	95	4,020,186	46.3	95
FDP ³⁾	689,429	6.7	14	478,420	5.5	11
NPD ⁴⁾	36,265	0.4	—	94,042	1.1	—
DKP ⁵⁾	54,779	0.5	—	76,964	0.9	—
Qualified Voters:	12,020,106			11,890,609		
Voter Participation:	86.2%			73.5%		

SAARLAND						
CDU	347,008	49.1	25	308,107	47.8	27
SPD	295,347	41.8	22	262,492	40.8	23
FDP	52,074	7.4	3	28,167	4.4	—
NPD	4,769	0.7	—	22,020	3.4	—
DKP	6,859	1.0	—	17,344	2.7	—
Qualified Voters:	803,340			787,049		
Voter Participation	88.0%			83.1%		

¹⁾ Social Democratic Party

²⁾ Christian Democratic Union

³⁾ Free Democratic Party

⁴⁾ National Democratic Party

⁵⁾ German Communist Party

Book Reviews

SOLZHENITSYN AND AFTER

Emanuel Litvinoff

Ten Years after Ivan Denisovich by Zhoes Medvedev, Penguin, London, May 1975, 60p, pp. 249.

This is a documentary record of one man's titanic battle for the right to speak the truth against the repressive forces of the world's principal totalitarian state, and fiction cannot match its compelling power.

The man is, of course, Solzhenitsyn. Since the book was compiled the ten years have grown to twelve, and with Solzhenitsyn driven out of his country and the publication of 'Gulag Archipelago' the drama has assumed a new shape.

There have been few books this century which have made the impact of 'A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich'. The short novel, by a then totally unknown author, was published in the Soviet journal 'Novy Mir' in November, 1962. It was a phenomenal event in Soviet life. Quite apart from its outstanding literary merit, it was the first time censorship had permitted publication of a totally truthful account of life in a Russian prison-camp. It was not the first exposure of the terror. Other memoirs and documentary records had appeared both in the USSR and the West, but there was nothing to equal the force of this deceptively simple story of a rather good day in the life of an ordinary convict, one of tens of millions herded into Soviet concentration camps. It achieved print only after the personal intervention of Nikita Khrushchev, and throughout Russia

and the world it was taken as unmistakable evidence that profound civilising reforms would soon sweep away the survivals of Stalinism.

This hopeful beginning was illusory. The first ominous signs came when Solzhenitsyn was nominated for a Lenin prize. Pressure from the top was applied on the stated grounds that the writer was unfit for the prize on 'political and legal' grounds. It was falsely alleged that he had surrendered to the Germans during the war and had not been rehabilitated. (He was, in fact, a young artillery officer with a distinguished record, arrested at the front by the Soviet secret police for writing letters to a friend criticising Stalin). A press campaign featuring letters from 'ordinary workers' opened criticising 'Ivan Denisovich' for failing, in the words of one commentator, to reflect 'the radiant ideal of the popular hero'.

As the campaign against Solzhenitsyn gathered momentum, and the censorship prevented publication of his other writings, the writer himself began to symbolise the unequal struggle between neo-Stalinist conservatives supported by the central state apparatus and those who wished to extend the literary 'thaw' that had once seemed possible. But after Khrushchev's downfall in October, 1964, the partial rehabilitation of Stalin was accompanied by an ominous drive against liberal intellectuals, creative writers and artists. The KGB confiscated copies of Solzhenitsyn's novel 'The First Circle', publication of which had been forbidden, and the author's friends became familiar with secret police harassment, searches, phone-

tappings and the instalment of listening devices in their homes. In February, 1966, came the trial of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel on fabricated charges, a harsh warning that the Soviet régime would not tolerate literary 'irresponsibility'. The struggle began to assume desperate dimensions and in 1968 an open campaign to silence, if not destroy, Solzhenitsyn began supported by all the resources of Soviet security organs, the controlled press, and the state instrument for controlling writers, the Soviet Writers' Union. Inevitably, the drama captured world attention. It had political repercussions in Western communist parties and the means used in an attempt to crush the stubborn writer became increasingly crude and abhorrent.

Reading the account of this extraordinary confrontation of a single man with the ruling forces of the Soviet state, one is irresistibly reminded of the great Stalin-Trotsky schism. Solzhenitsyn, too, has been driven into exile: but only physically. A man can be forcibly put into a plane and flown to Berlin, but the spirit he represents is not so easily exorcised. It is as though written in large letters on the walls of the Kremlin is the legend: 'Solzhenitsyn Lives'.

Vera Matthias

WOMEN IN ISRAEL

For Community Service: The Mount Carmel Experiment by Mary Saran, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, March 1975, £3.50 hardback, pp. 144.

It seems particularly appropriate, in view both of Mary Saran's longstanding connection with the ICSDW and of the interest of the United Nations in the Mount Carmel Centre, that this book be published this year — International Women's Year. For the Mount Carmel Centre is chiefly concerned with women. More specifically, with training women from the developing countries for well-trained middle-level personnel in close contact with the mass of the people, the Centre has set itself the aim of train-

ing cadres of such workers, especially for rural areas.

The prime movers of this fascinating project were Golda Meir, the then Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mina Ben Zvi, at that time an active member of ICSDW's executive and now the Director of the Centre, and Inga Thorsson also a former member of ICSDW's executive and member of the Swedish Government.

Mary Saran has been associated with the Centre ever since its foundation in 1961 and is thus in a fortunate position to assess both its work and its development.

The organisation of the book affords a multi-faceted view of this remarkable institution, its staff and participants. It opens with a brief discussion

of its background and philosophical content and then, the bulk of the book,

deals with the subject matter presented to participants in the course of the various activities. This ranges from such basic issues as the family to more complex ones, such as home industries and co-operative marketing, to name but two. Here, too, Mary Saran provides the frame of reference for the Centre's work in her comprehensive definition of the term community development. A series of appendices gives supplementary information as to the personalities involved in the Centre's work, the provenance of the participants (chiefly the African countries) and a list of all the activities undertaken and in which languages.

These are further illustrated with speci-

men curricula and extracts from students' letters and essays.

Mary Saran covers a lot of ground in this book and is yet very concise. The material in the appendices, for instance, is allowed to speak for itself; its presentation in this form, rather than in the body of the text, means that much verbiage has been avoided. She has scrupulously refrained from imposing a personal imprint of her work, even minimising her personal connection with the Centre in order not to sacrifice objectivity. Nevertheless, her imprint is perceptible by implication. The very simplicity of her account underlines her evident belief in a common cause.

SOCIALIST DIARY

Bureau Meeting in Australia starts New Phase in Relations between European Member Parties and Parties in the Asia-Pacific Region/Inflation Working Group Established/Solidarity with Chile and Spain.

NEW INITIATIVES IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION

The Bureau of the Socialist International at its first meeting ever held in the Asia-Pacific Region took important decisions concerning the future activities of the Socialist International in the Asia-Pacific Region as well as the struggle of the labour movement against inflation. At its meeting in Adelaide, South Australia, 12-13 May, the Bureau also gave new incentives to the Socialist International's activities in Latin America and Spain.

During the Bureau meeting, which was attended by representatives from 12 countries, talks were held with the leaders of the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Trade Union Movement including the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, the Deputy Prime Minister, Jim Cairns, the Premier of South Australia, Don Dunstan, the President of the Australian Labor Party, Robert J. Hawke, who is also President of the Australian Confederation of Trade Unions, David Combe, National Secretary of the Australian Labor Party, as well as with the State Secretaries of the South Australian, Queensland, Victorian and New South Wales branches of the Australian Labor Party.

The participants at the meeting, led by the Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, Sicco Mansholt, paid visits to Sydney, Melbourne and Can-

berra where Prime Minister Gough Whitlam gave a reception in their honour at his residence, The Lodge.

Participants were also received by the Lord Mayor of Adelaide.

Inflation Working Group

The Bureau decided, after hearing reports from Sicco Mansholt and Wilhelm Droscher, Chairman of the Confederation of Socialist Parties in the European Communities, to establish a Working Group on Inflation

composed of politicians, trade union leaders and experts which will produce recommendations to the member parties of the Socialist International, and the governments controlled by them, as to how to beat inflation.

Asia-Pacific Representative

The Bureau decided to appoint a permanent representative for the Asia-Pacific Region to be based in Canberra who will also represent the Socialist International on the Executive of the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation which consists of the Australian and New Zealand Labour Parties, the Indian Socialist Party, the Israel Labour Party, the United Socialist Party of South Korea, the Japan Socialist Party, the Japan Democratic Socialist Party, the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia and the People's Action Party of Singapore.

Report on Chile

The Bureau had before it a report (see p. 34) by Sicco Mansholt on his visit to Chile last March in which he concludes that there is an increasing concern among the military about the junta's policies—the economic policy as well as the policy of oppression. The report points out that the economic situation in Chile is catastrophic with the rate of inflation running at more

than 700 per cent. The report says that during the last nine months the purchasing power of the lowest income group (almost 35 per cent of the working population) had decreased by approximately 60 per cent. Poverty and hunger are widespread as a result.

On the proposal of Sicco Mansholt the Bureau decided to provide regular and guaranteed support to the Radical Party of Chile, a member party of the Socialist International, as well as to urge governments not to give any economic or financial support to the Chilean government. The question of international boycotts was also discussed.

The meeting gave a standing ovation to Anselmo Sule, President of the Radical Party of Chile, who was released from Chilean concentration camps only a few weeks ago. His appearance in Australia was widely reported in the press, on radio and television which led the Chilean junta to announce that they would deprive Sule of his Chilean citizenship.

Report on Spain

The Bureau also heard a detailed report on the situation inside Spain from a representative of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).

The following statement was adopted in support of the Radical Party of Chile and the PSOE:

The Bureau of the Socialist International, at its meeting in Adelaide, South Australia, certifies its support to the Radical Party of Chile and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in their struggle for the liberation of their respective peoples.

The Socialist International states its strongest condemnation of the régimes of Chile and Spain and for the repression that is carried out against the members of these parties by the military Junta of Chile and the Franco régime in Spain.

Chile Committee

The Socialist International's Standing Committee on Chile met prior to the Bureau meeting and was chaired by Alex Kitson, member of the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party.

Silver Plate of Honour

The Bureau at its meeting in Adelaide decided to award the Socialist International's Silver Plate of Honour to David Lewis, Leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada.

SOARES TRIUMPH

The Chairman and General Secretary of the Socialist International congratulated Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party, on his Party's great victory in the elections on 25 April for a Constituent Assembly. With the turnout for the elections at 91 per cent the Socialist Party emerged as the strongest political force with 37.82 per cent of the votes and trailed by the Popular Democrats with 26.41 per cent and the Communists with 12.54 per cent of the votes.

EAST EUROPEAN STUDY GROUP

The East European Study Group of the Socialist International meeting in London on 27 April discussed various aspects of the activities of opposition groups in the Soviet Union and in particular the position and influence of personalities like Andre Sakharov and Zhores Medvedev.

The subject had been introduced by Bruno Kalnins, Chairman of the Latvian Social Democratic Party in exile, and Co-Chairman of the Study Group.

The meeting also heard reports on recent developments in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Participants included Bernt Carlsson, International Secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Giampiero Rolandi, London representative of the Italian Social Democratic Party, Andor Bölcseföldi, General Secretary of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in exile, Stanislav Wasik, International Secretary of the Polish Socialist Party in exile, Vilem Bernard, International Secretary of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in exile, Marcel Livian of the French Socialist Party and Hans Janitschek, General Secretary of the Socialist International.

EAMON PARK

The Socialist International learned with deep regret of the death on

29 April of Eamon Park, Labour Counsellor at the Canadian High Commission in London. Eamon Park, born on 26 November, 1916, in County Cork, Eire, moved to Canada early in life and became active in 1940 in the trade union movement. He rose from an organiser and negotiator in the trade union movement to become Assistant National Director of the United Steel Workers of America. He was also a member of the Executive of the Canadian Labour Congress and on retirement from this came to London in August 1972 as Labour Counsellor at the Canadian High Commission. Eamon Park had been a President of the New Democratic Party of Canada and a member of the Ontario Legislature from 1948 to 1951. He is survived by his wife, former London representative of the NDP and member of the Bureau of the Socialist International, and his son and daughter.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in exile issued the following statement on 8 June on the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia:

'On the 9th May 1945 the first Soviet units reached Prague—Czechoslovakia was free again. After the war, major social and economic changes took place in Czechoslovakia: the Communist Party secured the leading position, exploiting fully the growing Soviet influence. Major industries, banks, insurance companies, transport and the power industry were nationalised. Social security, which already before the war was among the most advanced in Europe, was further improved as were the conditions of working women and young people. The social structure of the country rapidly changed through these reforms and the country became the most socially homogeneous among those in Eastern Europe.'

This social experiment was interrupted in February 1948 when the Communist Party seized all power in the State by an armed coup. The Sovietisation of the Czechoslovak economy and political life was accompanied by a deterioration in the status of the workers and by the transformation of the trade unions into the bureaucratic instrument of the State.

'In 1968 this concentration of power and bureaucracy was temporarily broken up. The trade unions were re-organised during the 'Prague Spring'. Their new leadership demanded improvements in working and living conditions, a greater influence for the workers in the drawing-up of the economic plan and the right of control and participation in decision-making in the management of industrial plans.

'The invasion by Soviet troops on 21 August ended all these initiatives. After dismissing the reformers from the Government, the new leaders of those trade unions which had supported democratisation were quickly removed.'

'The Czechoslovak people, thirty years after the war are not yet free. The country is still occupied by Soviet military units, opponents of the totalitarian régime are still kept in prison or in detention, spokesmen of the workers are still intimidated by threats, investigations, transfers to worse workplaces or dismissed.'

'However the Czechoslovak Government is trying, together with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European governments, to reach, at the proposed European Security Conference in Helsinki, the freezing of the present situation and the recognition by the West, not only of the military, but also of the political status quo, which, for the nations and working people of Eastern Europe, means nothing but the perpetuation of the oppression and a cunning form of modern slavery.'

'It is therefore, absolutely necessary before and at Helsinki, that the solidarity of the free world and the free trade unions with the working people of Eastern Europe is made known more than ever before.'

ELEVENTH IUSY CONGRESS

The Eleventh Congress of the International Union of Socialist Youth was held in Brussels from 25–27 April. The Congress was attended by 104 delegates from 37 affiliated organisations in 28 countries and by numerous guests and observers. Opening addresses to the Congress were made by, among others, Anselmo Sule, President of the Radical Party of Chile and Vassos Lyssarides, Chairman of the Cyprus Socialist Party. Among

the resolutions adopted by the Congress were resolutions on the subjects 'Détente and European Security' and 'The World Economic Crisis'.

The Congress elected a new Bureau and a new Control Committee of IUSY; Jerry Svensson (Sweden) was elected President of IUSY, in place of the retiring President, Luis Ayala (Chile) and Friedrich Roll (Germany) was elected General Secretary in place of the retiring General Secretary, Johan Peanberg (Sweden). Alejandro Montesino (Chile), Mike Moore (New Zealand), Claude Chokwenda (Zimbabwe), Herbert Lackner (Austria) and Roberto Villett (Italy) were elected as Vice-Presidents. The Socialist International was represented at the Congress by its Assistant General Secretary, Rodney Balcomb.

KALEVI SORSA

The Chairman and General Secretary of the Socialist International sent a message of greetings on 6 June to the Finnish Prime Minister, Kalevi Sorsa, on the occasion of Congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party held on 7 June. The message also sent best wishes to the Party for success in the forthcoming elections to be held in September.

IN DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN PORTUGAL

The Chairman and General Secretary of the Socialist International issued the following statement on 28 May on recent developments in Portugal:

'The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974 raised hopes amongst democrats everywhere that the Portuguese people would in future be able to enjoy full human rights and civil and political freedoms. Certain recent developments in Portugal have, however, cast a shadow over these hopes. Central to any true democracy are the freedom of expression and freedom of public access to information and to diversity of opinions and ideas; any action from whatever quarter which restricts and impedes these freedoms — by, for example, restricting freedom of the press — is restricting democracy itself

and bringing society closer to dictatorship, with all that dictatorship implies.'

'The Socialist International fully supports the Portuguese Socialist Party, which received the overwhelming support of the Portuguese people in the recent elections, and which is fighting to defend and develop human rights in Portugal, and to build a democratic socialist society.'

STATEMENT BY WILLY BRANDT

The Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, Willy Brandt, who is also a Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, made the following statement on the situation in Portugal on 22 May:

'We express in these hours our deep friendship and solidarity with the Portuguese Socialist Party and with its General Secretary, Mario Soares.'

'The Social Democratic Party of Germany, which has shown its sympathy for developments in Portugal since the overthrow of the dictatorship on 25 April, 1974, expects the Armed Forces Movement to remain faithful to its principles and to its agreement with the political parties.'

'Those who are exercising power in Portugal today must also bear the responsibility for ensuring that the will of the electorate, as expressed in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, is respected.'

'The prestige of Portugal in and beyond Europe depends decisively on the continuation of the process of democratisation and there is a direct link between this process, and co-operation in Europe as a whole.'

LIAO-NARITA STATEMENT

In the statement jointly signed by the delegation of the China-Japan Friendship Association and the 6th delegation to China from the Japan Socialist Party (one of the Socialist International's two member parties in Japan), the two sides 'unanimously hold that it is essential to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers' and that the proposed China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship 'must be a step forward from the basis of the Joint