

# Composition of the SI

The following is a full list of all parties and organizations currently forming the Socialist International:

## Full member parties

Argentina:	Popular Socialist Party
Australia:	Australian Labor Party (ALP)
Austria:	Socialist Party (SPOe)
Belgium:	Socialist Party (BSP/PSB)
Canada:	New Democratic Party (NDP/NPD)
Chile:	Radical Party
Costa Rica:	National Liberation Party (PLN)
Denmark:	Social Democratic Party
Dominican Republic:	Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)
Finland:	Social Democratic Party
France:	Socialist Party (PS)
Germany (Federal Republic of):	Social Democratic Party (SPD)
Great Britain:	Labour Party
Iceland:	Social Democratic Party
India:	Socialist Party
Ireland:	Labour Party
Israel:	Labour Party
Italy:	Italian Social Democratic Party (PSDI)
Italy:	Italian Socialist Party (PSI)
Jamaica:	People's National Party (PNP)
Japan:	Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)
Japan:	Socialist Party (JSP)
Korea (Republic of):	United Socialist Party (USP)
Luxembourg:	Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party (LSAP/POS)
Malaysia:	Democratic Action Party (DAP)
Malta:	Malta Labour Party
Mauritius:	Mauritius Labour Party
Netherlands:	Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
New Zealand:	Labour Party
Northern Ireland:	Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP)
Northern Ireland:	Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)
Norway:	Labour Party
Portugal:	Socialist Party (PS)
San Marino:	San Marino Independent Social Democratic Party
Senegal:	Socialist Party of Senegal
Spain:	Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE)
Sweden:	Social Democratic Party (SAP)
Switzerland:	Social Democratic Party
USA:	Social Democrats USA (SDUSA)

## Consultative parties

Bulgaria:	Socialist Party*
Cyprus:	Edek Socialist Party
Czechoslovakia:	Social Democratic Party*
Estonia:	Socialist Party*
Hungary:	Social Democratic Party*
Latvia:	Social Democratic Party*
Lithuania:	Social Democratic Party*
Paraguay:	Febrero Revolutionary Party
Poland:	Socialist Party*
Romania:	Social Democratic Party*
USA:	Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)
Venezuela:	Democratic Action (AD)
Venezuela:	People's Electoral Movement (MEP)
Vietnam:	Socialist Party*
Yemen (People's Democratic Republic):	People's Socialist Party*
Yugoslavia:	Socialist Party*

\*in exile

## Fraternal organizations

International Council of Social Democratic Women
International Union of Socialist Youth

## Associated organizations

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization
Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community
International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International
International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press
International Jewish Labor Bund
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers
Labour Sports International
Labour Zionist Movement
Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe

# SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

March/April 1977 Socialist International Information Vol. 27 No. 2

Arbeiderbevegelsen  
Arkiv  
Oslo



Thomas Mirow, Felipe Gonzalez, Willy Brandt

## MARCH 1977: BUREAU MEETING



Luis Solana, Luis Yáñez Barnuevo,  
Felipe Gonzalez, Christoph Berger



Eiichi Nagasue, Shozo Sugiyama



Irène Pétry, Otto Kersten



M.S. Hoda, Israel Gat, Yoram Peri



Irène Pétry, Caroline Diop, Vera Matthias

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# Socialist Affairs

March/April 1977  
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The Bureau unanimously adopted statements on Spain and Czechoslovakia (see below) and approved the appointment of Rodney Balcomb (36, Britain) as Assistant General Secretary of the Socialist International.

The next meeting of the Bureau will be held in Rome on June 2-3. It will mainly deal with the problems of Europe and the Mediterranean area.

## Bureau Participants

### Socialist International:

Willy Brandt  
Bernt Carlsson

### International Council of Social Democratic Women:

Irène Pétry  
Vera Matthias

### International Union of Socialist Youth:

Friedrich Roll

### Argentina:

Victor Garcia Costa

### Austria:

Fritz Marsch  
Walter Hacker

### Belgium:

Victor Larock  
Karel van Miert

### Canada:

Robin Sears

### Chile:

Anibal Palma

Carlos Parra

### Denmark:

Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen

### Dominican Republic:

José Francisco Peña Gomez

### Finland:

Paavo Lipponen  
Helvi Saarinen

Pentti Vaananen

### France:

Robert Pontillon

### Germany (Federal):

Horst Ehmke  
Wilhelm Droscher

Hans-Eberhard Dingels

### Great Britain:

Ron Hayward

Ian Mikardo

Alex Kitson

Jenny Little

### Iceland:

Benedikt Groendal

### India:

Surur Hoda

### Israel:

Israel Gat  
Nava Arad  
Yoram Peri

### Italy (PSDI):

Egidio Ariosto

### Italy (PSI):

Gianni Finocchiaro  
Gino Bianco

Enrica Lucarelli

### Japan (DSP):

Eiichi Nagasue

### Japan (SPJ):

Shozo Sugiyama

### Luxembourg:

Robert Krieps

### Malta:

Francis Cassar  
Jo Bartolo

### Mauritius:

Leckraz Teelock

### Netherlands:

Harry van den Bergh

### New Zealand:

Frank Duffield

### Northern Ireland (SDLP):

Dennis Haughey

Paddy Devlin

### Norway:

Ivar Leveraas

Bjoern Tore Godal

Thorvald Stoltenberg

### Portugal:

Rui Mateus

### Senegal:

Léopold S. Senghor

Babacar Bâ

Caroline Diop

### Spain:

Felipe Gonzalez

Luis Yáñez Barnuevo

Luis Solana

### Sweden:

Pierre Schori

### Switzerland:

Christoph Berger

### Guest:

Otto Kersten, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

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## SI BUREAU MEETING

The Bureau of the Socialist International met in London on March 30 — its first meeting since the Congress of the Socialist International held in Geneva on November 26-28, 1976. It was chaired by the new President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt. Two Vice-Presidents of the Socialist International were also present: Léopold S. Senghor, President of Senegal, and Irène

Pétry, Chairman of the International Council of Social Democratic Women. Fifty-five delegates representing 33 member organizations attended the meeting.

Among the subjects discussed by the Bureau were the future work of the Socialist International and the situation in Spain less than two months before the first free elections for more than 40 years. Felipe

Gonzalez, First Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), reported on the situation. The Bureau also heard a report on the situation in India by M. S. Hoda, European representative of the Indian Socialist Party, which now, together with its allies in the Janata Front, forms the new Indian Government [see elsewhere in this issue].

As regards the future work of the Socialist International, the Bureau discussed the Party Leaders' Conference to be held in Amsterdam on April 16-17, 1977, at the invitation of the Dutch Labour Party. It was agreed that the principal theme of this conference would be relations between East and West after the Helsinki Declaration of 1975.

The Bureau also discussed a Party Leaders' Conference of the Socialist International which is planned to be held in Japan, on December 17-19, 1977, at the joint invitation of the Japan Socialist Party and the Japan Democratic Socialist Party.

Other initiatives discussed by the Bureau were:

- A Socialist International mission to southern Africa under the leadership of Olof Palme, Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. This mission will visit the "front-line" states of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, and possibly also other countries.
- A conference on Chile to be held in Rotterdam on August 29-31, 1977.
- A Conference on energy policies to be held in France on September 22-23, 1977.

The dates for the next Congress of the Socialist International were fixed for November 3-5, 1978. It will be held in Vancouver, Canada.

Ron Hayward, Jenny Little, Ian Mikardo, Alex Kitson, Benedikt Groendal



### Statement on Spain

The Bureau of the Socialist International, after hearing the report of the First Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) on the situation in Spain:

- Reaffirms its solidarity with the PSOE, and supports its tenacious efforts to achieve a democratic regime for Spain which will guarantee the exercise of individual and collective freedoms.
- Notes with optimism the evolution which has taken place in Spain but observes with concern that the continued existence of autocratic practices of the former regime could have a negative effect as regards the impartial conduct of the forthcoming elections, which we consider to be of vital importance for Spain's process of transformation and a determining factor for that country's future relations with the other countries of Western Europe.
- States its firm resolve to maintain close contacts with its Spanish member organisation, the PSOE, in order to follow step by step the development of the situation at this time of particular importance for the emergence of democracy in Spain.

### Statement on Czechoslovakia

The Bureau of the Socialist International confirms and underlines the declarations made by Willy Brandt, Bettino Craxi, Bruno Kreisky, François Mitterrand and Olof Palme with regard to the controversy about the Charter 77 manifesto in Czechoslovakia.

We are aware of the difficult conditions under which there and in other places people try — accepting severe sacrifices — to achieve their civil and human rights. We express our expectation that those citizens too will benefit from the principles of Helsinki.

José Francisco Peña Gomez,  
Leopold Senghor



Felipe Gonzalez, Willy Brandt



# APARTHEID: THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

OLOF PALME

The following is the full text of a statement by Olof Palme, Vice-President of the Socialist International and Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, to the Security Council of the United Nations on March 25, 1977.

Let me first express my deep gratitude to the Council for the honour you have shown me and the movement I represent by giving me this opportunity to make a contribution to your important debate. I would like to express a special word of thanks to the African group in the United Nations — a group of states which plays an increasingly important role in the work of the world organisation.

When the United Nations was founded 32 years ago, only four of its 51 original members were African. One of these was South Africa. Today the African group make up 48 out of the 147 members. Thus, the cause of Africa is also the cause of the United Nations.

On this occasion, I would also like to pay a tribute to the African states for having so persistently sought to work through this organization in finding a solution to the problems of southern Africa. The United Nations was created as an instrument for peaceful settlement of conflicts. This is also the way you have chosen to work in order to seek a change in South Africa — through negotiations and by demanding support from the rest of the world.

South Africa is still a bastion of racism. But an increasing number of people are beginning to see the end of apartheid and colonialism and the beginning of freedom and human dignity for the oppressed majority.

At the last congress of the Socialist International, in Geneva in November last year, the problems of southern Africa were at the centre of interest. The democratic socialists of the world made it clear, through a resolution, that "neutrality towards the existing and coming struggles in southern Africa is impossible. Between the exploiters and the exploited there is no middle ground. Action must be taken designed to end a system which is both evil in itself and a threat to peace."

This week, the people of South Africa have painfully been reminded of a tragic day — the massacre in Sharpeville. Sixteen years later came the events in Soweto. Both

many thousands of mentally ill black Africans, detained against their will. They are being forced to work without any pay. These institutions, labelled "human warehouses" by a retired official, get the bulk of their "patients" — in reality "mental" or political prisoners — from South Africa's Ministry of Health. The private firm, Smith Mitchell of Johannesburg, which operates this slave labour system on a profit-making basis and has done so for more than a decade, calls it "therapy". It earned \$13,700,000 in 1973. Between 8,000 and 9,000 black mental patients are involved.

Testimonies, among others in the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, claim that many Africans are arrested in the slums for having "stirred up trouble" and are — after a hasty examination — sentenced as being "imbalanced" and sent away to these institutions.

Take the torture and deaths in South Africa's prisons: many people have died due to "suicide" in the South African prisons. They have been held under the so-called security laws, which allow for incommunicado detention without charges for an indefinite period. The most absurd explanations have been given for these deaths. The police talk of hangings, slipping on a piece of soap or on a staircase, jumping out of a window, etc. The responsible Minister for the Police, Mr Kruger, has given his explanation — the prisoners committed suicide on instructions from the Communist Party. The Catholic bishops of South Africa have protested against the widespread torture in the prisons, which is used against children as well as old people. The authorities answer by preparing new laws against so-called terrorism — laws which in other countries only would be applied in times of war.

Yet the system prevails, maintained by force. Is it so, that those who are not directly affected simply cannot conceive what apartheid really is like, what it really means? Let me give a few examples of what apartheid means to the people, in human terms.

## What Apartheid Means

Take Soweto: we now know what really happened in June last year. The official documents and police reports give this picture. It all started in Soweto, but the protests spread to more than one hundred townships in the entire country. The immediate cause was the childrens' protest against the compulsory study of Afrikaans in the schools. But behind there was the dissatisfaction of the black majority with social and economic conditions in towns like Soweto. The brutality of the police led to new demonstrations. According to police inspector Gerber in Soweto, more than 16,000 bullets were fired in Soweto alone from June 16 — when the protests started — to September 16. These bullets killed and wounded 1,611 persons, while another 1,229 were killed and wounded by "other causes".

According to Professor S. J. Taljaard, who examined 229 of the killed people in Soweto, two-thirds of these had died from bullet wounds. 80 per cent of those killed were shot in the back. A doctor at the Peninsula Maternity Hospital in Cape Town states that in his hospital alone seventy infants died from teargas poisoning.

Take the system of "mental prisoners": this very day, the World Health Organization is publishing a report on a chain of privately owned institutions accommodating

Ian Smith has said that Rhodesia and South Africa are agreed that they are both fighting to preserve the western democracy that the white man brought to Africa. They are both hoping for external aid to fight for the interests of the so-called free world. For us in Europe, with our colonial past, it is necessary to be crystal clear. We will never accept Smith's and Vorster's perversion of western democracy. Their oppression and racism will never be included in a free world. They represent the very opposite of democracy. They are denying the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa the most fundamental human and political rights — the same rights that the European labour movement was denied and that formed the basis of the original programmes of our liberation movements. Therefore, the workers of Europe historically are linked in solidarity with their oppressed brothers and sisters in Africa.

The resistance of the racist regimes raises the question of whether changes can be brought about only by violence or revolution, or whether there is still a peaceful way of eradicating the affront to human dignity known as colonialism, racism and apartheid. But it is easy to foresee that when people in search of peace and progress are met only by oppression and exploitation, they will ultimately resort to violence. The armed struggle becomes the last possible resort. Now, in Namibia and Zimbabwe, continued armed struggle seems to be unavoidable. How much armed pressure from the nationalists is necessary depends on how much unarmed pressure the western powers apply in the form of sanctions and the like, as President Julius Nyerere so well put it.

It is quite possible that white South Africa earlier could have believed that the policy of apartheid would succeed, if only they could buy a little more time and show a little more flexibility in some areas. But the architects of apartheid indeed built their plans on quicksands. Minority rule is coming to an end, and southern Africa is rapidly moving towards an uncertain climax. As the climax approaches and the struggle deepens, the risks of unnecessary violence and economic disruption increase, as well as the risk of the wrong kind of foreign intervention by the continued introduction of major power rivalries in the region. The right kind of foreign intervention is that which will support the liberation struggle and reduce the resistance of the forces which still cling to the ideas of maintaining white supremacy.

Last year, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute — SIPRI — published extensive documentation of the risks of a steep escalation of the conflict in southern Africa, which may grow into the next major international battlefield.

The SIPRI study points to the risk of extensive foreign investments in South Africa helping to internationalize the conflict. The country's raw material resources and its strategic position may furnish a pretext for further involvement on behalf of the white regime. At the same time, however, such involvement would encourage other powers to become more active in the area. The same is true for Namibia. We are facing the twofold risk of a racial war and an escalated conflict between the

foreign interests in this area. Thus the global consequences of the development in southern Africa, South Africa's threats and aggressions against her neighbours, the situation in South Africa created by apartheid — these three elements constitute a threat to international peace and security.

The liberation of the Africans will be their own work. And that liberation will inevitably come one day. But the international community can contribute to shorten that struggle and make it more peaceful, with less human suffering.

## Role of the United Nations

It goes without saying that the United Nations and its Security Council have a very particular and central responsibility. I sincerely hope that the UN and your deliberations in this Council will make a decisive contribution towards a just development in South Africa and towards the liberation of the whole of southern Africa.

However, the actions taken in the United Nations, or the lack of such actions, cannot serve as an alibi for passivity on the national level. Each country and government, each popular movement, has its own responsibility and its own role to play.

Allow me then to mention some of the areas where such action could be taken.

Firstly, we must work for a halt to all arms exports to South Africa and all military cooperation with its Government. The apparatus of oppression is strengthened by each new weapons delivery or licences. Military cooperation gives the country the means to start its own manufacturing of arms in most important areas of weapon technology, maybe also in the ultimate of weapons. Can you really condemn the policy of apartheid in the UN, while you at the same time send arms to those who are practising apartheid?

Let me also point out that the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Harriman, has recently referred to a substantial foreign involvement — direct or indirect — when it comes to supplying South Africa with rifles, helicopters, teargas and ammunition, which were used in the Soweto massacres. No African country or combination of African countries could be a military threat to South Africa. Yet South Africa continues to be armed from abroad. What is the logic behind such a policy? South Africa's continued refusal to heed the demands of the international community gives no alternative to a mandatory arms embargo.

Secondly, we must seriously deal with the question of investment and export of capital to South Africa and Namibia. I will elaborate on this vital point in a moment.

Thirdly, we can give material and political support to the liberation movements and the already autonomous states in their struggle for national independence and economic emancipation. Governments could also easily increase their contributions to the UN Trust Fund and the International Aid and Defence Fund. These bodies need funds and are doing extremely useful work in the field of humanitarian and legal aid to the victims of apartheid.

The repeated acts of aggression against Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana must be condemned. If we are to be credible in our opposition to foreign involvement in African affairs, we must also put an end to the

recruitment, financing, training, transit and assembly of mercenaries on our own soil.

Fourthly, our refusal to recognise the so-called independent Bantustans — Transkei being the first one — should be followed up by opposition to the efforts of international companies to give unofficial recognition by massive investment in those areas.

Fifthly, we should increase our efforts to bring an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, refute sham arrangements, and support SWAPO, without whose participation no realistic policy could be shaped. Namibia should have immediate independence and majority rule.

Sixthly, parliaments could set up parliamentary committees to investigate the activities of those companies which have subsidiaries in South Africa, for the purpose of ensuring that such companies are run along the lines of internationally acknowledged working practices. Where these are not adhered to, the company should cease its activities entirely.

## Curbing Foreign Investment

For a long period of time the South African government has been encouraging foreign investments in the country. Behind this policy there lies not just a desire to increase the economic resources of the country. Of no less importance is the fact that foreign investments create ties to a number of rich industrial nations which acquire an economic and political interest in the preservation of the apartheid system. The foreign companies benefit both from the country's high technical standards and from the extremely low wages of the black labour force. The return on invested capital is high. In addition, the investments help along the country's flow of trade, which in turn makes South Africa's trading partners more sensitive to disturbances in the South African economy. Riots in South Africa have repercussions on employment in other countries.

Since Angola and Mozambique have become independent states, South Africa's isolation has increased. The country has no friends on the African continent other than the Smith regime in Salisbury.

In this position, South Africa, has intensified her efforts to attract West European, American and Japanese capital.

According to information from various sources, the Vorster government is carrying on a broad international campaign to induce foreign capital to participate on favourable terms in the exploitation of natural resources, preferably in the Transkei and in Namibia.

There is a theory that economic development and foreign investments in the long run would help to loosen up the apartheid system. The idea is that the lack of trained manpower would force the government to let black labour into jobs which had previously been reserved for whites only. The foreign companies would also be able to set a good example in their relations to coloured and black labourers. Reality has effectively contradicted this theory. The disparity of wages between black and white workers has, for instance, continued to widen. Leading black South Africans, supported by many years of experience, have categorically denied the claim that it is possible to achieve gradual development toward greater economic and social justice

within the framework of the apartheid system. Both the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia have urgently appealed to the international community to try to stop further investments in South Africa and Namibia. There is a growing understanding for their demands. Their appeals are more and more being met by proposals for practical action.

In November 1976, at the Scandinavian Labour Congress — an association of all the social democratic parties and trade union organizations in Scandinavia — a resolution was adopted calling for a ban on new investments in South Africa and the adoption of a national plan of action in accordance with the recommendations of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). And at a conference on apartheid, the ICFTU has adopted recommendations which — among other things — call for a ban on all new investments in South Africa, including the replacement of machinery, repairs and maintenance. These proposals reflect a growing awareness among the trade unions of the treatment of black workers in South Africa — arrests, dismissals, job reservations, bans on trade union activities etc. They want to show their solidarity with their harassed and persecuted friends. And they realize that unjust and unfair labour policies in South Africa will in the long run also harm labour relations in the investors' home countries.

The Social Democratic Government in Sweden had for several years discouraged Swedish businesses from investing in South Africa. Last August we proposed a sharpening of the attitude to Swedish investments in South Africa. At the same time, on a Scandinavian basis, the Government took the initiative for a common action at the international level.

This policy has been continued. In this context let me mention that the Nordic foreign ministers took a resolution two years ago which stated that they would welcome a decision in the Security Council on a mandatory arms embargo and decisions with a view to preventing further foreign investments in South Africa.

Next week, the Swedish Parliament will debate a motion presented by the Social Democratic Party which asks for an immediate change in Sweden's currency legislation in order to prohibit the export of capital to South Africa and Namibia. As a second step to guarantee the deceleration of Swedish financial interests in South Africa we urge the Government to initiate discussions with the companies having subsidiaries in other countries investing in South Africa for the purpose of reaching an agreement on how restrictions on Swedish companies operating in those countries should be applied. If such an agreement cannot be reached, we will propose further legislative measures.

The reason for this increased pressure for unilateral action is not difficult to discern. We all feel that a dramatic change has taken place in the political situation in South Africa since the riots in Soweto last summer. The risk of racial war has drawn closer. The question of limiting or ending foreign economic interests in South Africa thus becomes not merely a political question about what could conceivably be done to

put effective pressure on the South African Government. It also becomes a moral question for each government whether our companies — in our countries — should be allowed to take part in the exploitation of the black labour force. According to South African laws, the foreign companies have to apply the rules of apartheid at their places of work. Thereby they are forced to place themselves on the side of the oppressors in the battle which is now about to enter a new and more serious stage. Therefore, in my opinion, the situation in South Africa has progressed to such a point that each country has to consider unilateral prohibitive measures.

It has been argued against a ban on investments in South Africa that this would hurt the mother companies in the western world and lead to unemployment for the workers there.

But in this case, it is important to note that the workers themselves have made their choice, through their International Confederation. They have told their governments that they support a ban on investments in South Africa and are prepared to take the consequences of it. Now, the governments and the companies must take their responsibility. It is time to decide on which side we stand, what forces we want to support.

A ban on investments in South Africa can be really efficient only if it is part of an international action that has the support of those industrialized countries which have the largest economic interests in South African business and industry. It can be really efficient only if it has the whole-hearted support of the world community. Therefore the Security Council must take the lead in such actions. This underlines the great importance of your deliberations and your decisions. It is of primary importance now to get a process started in common action.

Permit me to conclude with one last reflection. The international debate has taken on a new dimension of moral commitment and involvement in the human and political rights of people. This reflects a concern for basic values — a concern for the fate of people, their plight and their suffering but also their hopes and dreams of a better future. It represents an element of vitality and humanity that is badly needed today.

There can hardly be a place where moral commitment is more eminently justified than in the case of South Africa. Firstly, because apartheid is a unique and, in many ways, extreme form of human evil. Secondly, because we all know that the system cannot prevail for any longer period of time without direct or indirect support from abroad. Thirdly, the liberation of South Africa will primarily be the task of the Africans themselves. But we all know that the international community could make a decisive contribution if only the necessary political will is mobilized.

The Security Council of the United Nations should be the expression of a united political will. Therefore, the oppressed peoples look towards this Council with hope and expectation.

It is sometimes said that there is no higher moral than to preserve peace. Rightly so. But as long as there is apartheid and racism, there can be no peace.

# SI 76



*The following is the edited text of the introductory speech on 'Democratic Socialism and Human Rights in the World Today', delivered by the Chairman of the Chilean Radical Party at the Geneva Congress of the Socialist International in November 1976.*

When, thirty years ago, the constitution of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were proclaimed, a great hope ran over the world. Humanity was expressing its wish to create effective weapons to prevent the repetition of the nightmare into which nazi-fascism had plunged it.

The present situation is, however, desolate. Especially as regards human rights. These are systematically violated by regimes of force under which the dignity and the integrity of the human being have a relative value. To the political suppression of these rights has been added a more sophisticated method of attacking man. When we can prove by statistics that two thirds of humanity is being lashed by starvation, we are announcing a new method of violation of these rights.

Since this system implemented by military dictatorships has become general throughout Latin America with very few exceptions I find myself obliged to concentrate my action on this continent to denounce how in what form human rights are being violated there, fundamentally to protect the interests of imperialism and to impose an economical model for the power of arms and institutionalized terror.

I also wish to state what corrective measures the community of nations must put into practice so that Latin Americans cease to live in fear of misery and repression.

## Economic and Social Factors

This important area of the world called

Continuing our series on the speeches delivered at the 1976 Congress of the SI published in our last issue...

## LATIN AMERICAN DIRECTION

ANSELMO SULE

Latin America displays a desolate picture of its present political, social and economic field, a clearly seen connection between the Creole oligarchies and foreign capital, and this for the purpose of concentrating the wealth created in a few hands, with the following disadvantage — namely that of the failure to satisfy the most basic needs of the great working masses. For this same reason the disequilibrium in increase between the demographic index and that of the goods supply is very much greater since underdevelopment is on the increase and consequently the gap between the people and the satisfaction of their needs is widening.

On the agricultural plan the system of ownership of land, far from constituting a productive source of work and food has become a factor for the exploitation of the rural areas which finally forces them to emigrate to the city in search of presumably better living conditions, thus creating the marginal belts of misery and poverty all the big cities in our countries manifest.

Sometimes governments try to secure the absorption of this labour force by recourse to foreign capital in order to develop industry but without making adequate planning, as a result of which this measure is soon transformed into another burden for the State as the low level consumption power of the people causes a premature saturation of the market which necessitates tax-free deliveries and subsidised products in order to complete the cycle with an increasing foreign indebtedness as a result of which the factors of dependency become stronger. And this, with the consequent social cost, namely increased rates of mortality, chronic illiteracy, low salaries, unemployment, starvation and malnutrition.

In 1970 the people devoted themselves to the task of demolishing the system of exploitation and dependence under which they were suffering and in accordance with the constitutional regulations which were in

force in the country, they elected a government which sought to establish the bases for a transition towards a socialist society within the framework of democracy.

The results achieved in only three years of popular government can be summarized as follows: the recovery of its basic wealth; copper, iron, saltpetre and coal; the nationalization of the banks, in order to remove their speculative character, and to place them at the service of the great interests of the country; the participation of the people and their social organizations in the mechanics of decision; the fair distribution of the national income by giving to the working population an adequate income to spend; the supply of half a litre of milk daily per child in order to lower the level of malnutrition and prevent the consequent hindrance to its intellectual development; the intensification of the Agricultural Reform in order to give the farmer the right to the land and put an end to a colonial system of exploitation; and the completely free education which makes it possible for the son of the worker and for the worker himself to enter the University halls.

In these three years of popular government Chile never claimed to export its model but the progress achieved affected the interests of the national and transnational capital and their dreadful action followed forthwith. Today a fascist dictatorship has come to our country which overwhelms the world with fright. Barbarism, massacres, torture, executions, disappearance of persons, arbitrary arrests, denunciations, deportations, suppression of nationality and assassinations inside the country and abroad have subjected this people, until yesterday an example of democracy, to the state of terror in which dictatorship holds it today, as well as to the total elimination of all the political, trades union and social gains of the people which show an unemployment rate of over 20 per cent of its working population with its sequel of starvation, malnutrition and misery.

The international organizations have not without reason condemned the fascist regime of Chile for its repeated violation of human rights and the decision recently taken by the Military Junta to change its fascist international image by releasing some political prisoners is as clearly farcical because the repression does not stop nor do they admit it.

## Human Rights and Under-development

International legislation is plagued by good intentions to defend the rights of man.

How paradoxical it is that in contradiction to the existence of these standards of the international community, two thirds of the world's population is living afflicted by economic, political and cultural discrimination to which must be added that existing men and women, between the social groups in the city and in the country, between the races and the colour of the skin and more profoundly the detestable differences of privilege imposed by capitalism which deprives the majority of the peoples of the Third World of access to well-being and development.

To this world-wide actuality must be added the new concept of the fascists for

violating human rights and submitting the working mass to their arbitration.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the prevailing economic order has widened the abyss between the industrialized nations and the countries which are ill called "in process of development".

The rights of speech, forming unions, protection against arbitrary imprisonment, social and economic justice, equality for all, work, the right to health, leisure, accommodation, the guaranteeing of well-being to the child and education to the youth, have become utopian for the underdeveloped

countries and this leads us to state that selfdetermination by the people is a dead letter in the poor countries of America, Asia and Africa.

We have been emphasizing that the only alternative for the countries of the Third World is democratic socialism for the people's liberation. Democratic socialism has to turn into an alternative that, while giving an authentic meaning to democracy, turns itself into a real possibility for the poor men of our societies.

About our world — the Latin American — a lot is said, written and theorized. There

are many words but few effective actions. I must take advantage of this platform to say that we need actions with a political will to contribute to the change in our part of the world. Parties of the Socialist International are in government or in a position to influence them. It is time that the parties of the Socialist International expressed their intentions without flexibilities that sometimes sound like insensitivity, to say the least. It is time for the International to come in the assistance of the millions that are still in the hands of the oligarchies and imperialism.

## EAST-WEST OR NORTH-SOUTH

EGON BAHR

*The following is the text of the introductory speech on 'Helsinki — What Next?' delivered by the Federal Secretary of the German Social Democratic Party at the Geneva Congress of the Socialist International in November 1976.*

The question is often posed — and quite rightly so — whether North/South considerations are not becoming more important than those of East/West relations. I believe that we may be sure that the North/South dialogue will become more dramatic and in the long run will take up more time, more efforts and more funds than East/West problems, especially since the North/South aspects are not entirely under control and not governed by us. By contrast, the East/West aspects are problems in which we already have experience and which we can believe to be controllable.

But our friends in the Third World, too, should know that for them as well much depends on the course of détente between East and West being continued.

Let us for a moment imagine what a return to the Cold War would mean in terms of huge financial expenditure, so that our friends in the Third World may get an idea of what they would lose in funds of which they have a far greater need than we in the east or west of central Europe. Furthermore, it is also important to see East/West matters from the point of view that their settlement should enable the East European countries to make a greater contribution to overcoming the problems of the Third World than before. There can be no doubt that the East European countries are industrial states which must be expected to do more for the Third World than pass resolutions and supply arms for money; they must be expected to provide other services as well which should be made just as transparent as those provided by the Western industrial nations.

Détente between East and West as we see it today was possible only on the basis of the existing alliance systems. Even the un-

committed countries have profited from these two alliance systems and their existence. It was possible only within the framework of those two alliance systems to develop what has been called the German Ostpolitik. One important result of this policy of détente was that it has been recognised in the agreements of the Four-Power Treaty for Berlin and in the final resolution passed in Helsinki that the United States and Canada are factors which are indispensable for security in and for Europe. Contrary to the former demands made by the East, i.e. that the United States should get out of Europe, both the Berlin Treaty and Helsinki have shown that the Soviet Union has accepted United States' presence in Europe for an indefinite period of time.

In view of the actual conditions of power and the actual military potential on which the balance of security depends, I consider this to be a major concession to reality on the part of the Soviet Union and I fail to see how this basic position should change in the foreseeable future. For the foreseeable future and longer, the United States' firm commitment in and for Europe must remain the basis for our East/West détente. Without it, I cannot envisage any progress in détente. Without it, I cannot envisage any progress in détente — at least, détente would have lost its foundations.

### Détente Policy

As far as the German share in this policy is concerned, with the system of our bilateral agreements we have basically reached a point where we can say that the German separation need not be an obstacle to détente. Reaching this point was neither simple nor easy. Such things cannot be done without setbacks. After all, we have seen suffering from such setbacks up to the most recent days and hours and we have found out that there are opponents to détente not just in the West. There are actions which have the effect of provoca-

tion, which are to discredit détente not just in the West. There are actions which have the effect of provocation, which are to discredit détente; but reason demands that we continue all the same in the interest of what we have come to recognise as necessary. And with the massive means of destruction concentrated right in the middle of Europe, we have come to recognise the urgent need for agreements to be entered into so that violence as a means of enforcing different political views may be eliminated.

The process of détente will have to prove itself in two areas. One is the complex of questions discussed in Vienna with regard to an even and balanced reduction of troops and armaments in a particular territory of central Europe. In this connection — and I think this may well be said in the International — I remember something Kurt Schumacher once said: the only International which really works is the International of the Generals. Observing the negotiations in Vienna, I must confess that the military on all sides have grave doubts. For this reason, I believe that political decisions are needed in order to make progress — step by step only, of course — in this matter, for military reduction affects what we call our "very own larder". I proceed on the assumption that as a first step a small reduction in American and Soviet troops can be agreed and that this would be followed by reductions in the national armed forces of the states in the territory or forming the territory. There can be no doubt that only the implementation of that first pair of decisions will require time.

If we now turn to Helsinki and its consequences and remember that there has been an international discussion on whether Helsinki or Vienna would be first in the sequence of détente steps, we find that a catalogue was decided on in Helsinki, a catalogue which is capable of interpretation. If Helsinki were reality, then we would not need to discuss détente any longer. We would have it. The balance to be struck in Belgrade will show that a few things have happened but it will also show that it does not appear sensible to want to put the entire catalogue into practice overnight. I can imagine that apart from the balance sheet something will have to be considered which becomes controllable, i.e. one has got to attain a position which allows a check on concrete decisions. And that would lead to an attempt at agreeing individual points — individual points in a few concrete areas which are to be carried out over the next few years so that they can be checked.

This would, of course, have to be done within the framework of the final resolution of Helsinki which should continue to be binding on all concerned. Progress in the area of troops reduction can, of course, promote progress in the area of economic co-operation. To the same degree to which economic links are promoted, further steps of reducing military power can be taken, i.e. I can see without any legal connection between the two subjects a true basic dependence of one process on the other, and a process which will concern us for many years to come. This applies to the détente between nations.

### Ideological Conflict

The principles which we have agreed in the area of détente do not apply to the ideo-

logical conflict between the systems. There will be co-operation between the nations but a confrontation of ideas. I would caution anyone against believing that communists are no longer seen as enemies of democratic socialism. We do not need to retract any of our objections against communism, which in our view fails to give the right answers to the historic and social problems of this waning century. As far as the Federal Republic of Germany is concerned, we have adopted the view that in the interest of democracy communists remain internal enemies, that they are our partners in the interest of peace and that they remain competitors of democratic socialism in the world. That is how complicated it is, but in fact both or rather all three factors do exist next to each other. However, ideological

discussion is possible only on the basis of détente. In other words: the interest in preserving peace is weightier.

Democratic socialists are people who make reason the most important factor of their thinking. Détente is the result of reasonable consideration and acceptance of the necessary. Thus, if there is ideological conflict and if it continues to exist with communists, then we must not put this ideological conflict before the considerations of détente and we must not let détente range as just another factor in the discussion, which is, however, less important than ideological conflict. That would mean a return to the cold war or to a modern type of middle ages. The world depends on seeing reason as an essential requisite for the future.

the control of power even when the power happens to be our own.

### A Dilemma

There is, I think, a dilemma to the struggle for human rights — a dilemma that goes beyond socialists' well-earned right to state their position in the face of private or state capitalism. It is the dilemma of every revolutionary movement in history. What do we want? Do we want, by taking power from the powerful, to get hold of our share of their privileges? Do we want to confirm their values by asking more of the same, only for different people? Are we going to play the old piece with a new cast, or are we going to shape different rules and create a new game?

This is not a theoretical question — on the contrary, it is a very practical and earthy one that socialists face every day. Still, it takes some radical thinking and a very open mind to come to grips with it. Take the reduction of working hours — an example that is now very much on a Swiss citizen's mind. Should socialists be for or against the 40-hour week? Whether or not one supports this historic demand of the working class movement here and now may be a matter of circumstances and opportunity. But behind tactics looms a much larger question. Should socialists — in a technological society — be fighting for the right to work — or the freedom to cut down on work? Given the assumption — and in an affluent society I think it is a realistic one — that we do have a choice: what answer does our real freedom, our human right, dictate? The right to work or the right to be idle? Have working conditions improved so dramatically since the 19th century that working — beyond earning people a decent life — can now be regarded as a way to realize oneself? Are we then, in fact, punishing somebody by relieving him from what is no longer a burden?

And should we decide otherwise — that indeed the majority of people are still doing alienated work (if alienated in more subtle forms) — what kind of freedom are we buying for them if we shorten their working time? Will the free time be really theirs — or rather subject to different kinds of strain and alienation, such as keeping up with the Joneses, driving the kind of car that will improve their competitive status, vacationing at the right place, meeting the right people? Do we — by

## PURSUIT OF REAL HAPPINESS

ADOLF MUSCHIG

*The following is the text of a contribution on the theme 'Democratic Socialism and Human Rights in the World Today' made by Adolf Muschig of the Swiss Social Democratic Party at the Geneva Congress of the Socialist International in November 1976.*

It would be tempting — and easy — for me to re-confirm our socialist commitment to human rights: it would also, I think, be legitimate. We have, as a movement, earned a right of our own to be identified with the practice of freedom. Reluctantly, we have had to move away from the noble idea that man is, by nature, free to make use of human rights. He may be created free, but he is certainly not born equal — and unless social injustice is corrected, the full use of human rights will be the exact opposite of what it was meant to be: a privilege for very few. You have to be able, materially and psychologically, to afford the basic freedoms; there can be no human rights without conditions that allow for — and encourage — their practice.

Socialists have needed power to implement social rights as a prerequisite to individual freedoms; and where socialists have gained power, they have done so by free elections — by convincing people that they will use this power to the people's advantage. On the whole socialists have resisted the temptations of power: to ration freedom again, and to reward conformism; to regard power as an end in itself. When the chips were down, socialists were more likely to abandon power in favour of principle, to put democratic legality before socialist

going all-out for the human right to work less — not in fact expose people to hard work of a different kind and serve the needs of the fast-growing leisure-industry?

I believe that this question — and the dilemma — are rather fundamental. They permeate and blur all the fronts of the socialist political struggle for more social and individual freedom.

What about the pension age? By lowering it, are we liberating people or killing them! Should we come out for a wife's right not to work outside the house, or should we, in response to her new and different needs, reverse our policy? Should we follow those that want to upgrade household work into a fully recognized profession — with all the consequences, economic, social, psychological — or follow those that refuse this logic because it is borrowed from the very system we want to overcome? Going to school — at least on the level called "compulsory" — is still called a "duty" — and the way learning used to be conceived and practised, it richly deserved that term. But it is a terribly wrong notion all the same: there is no imaginable right more basic to the acquisition of every kind of other freedom than the right to learn. In the face of a society that depends on teaching children discipline, competitiveness and authoritarian habits, how are we going about changing not only our educational system but also the way it is conceived of and used? After all, nobody needs to be taught competitiveness more badly than the under-privileged to make good in society.

### Glaring Illustration

Let me give you a last — and perhaps the most glaring — illustration of the dilemma we are facing. Recently, in Zurich, a group of young people, all of them out of work, presented a play that dealt with unemployment and its insult to human dignity. After the performance, the man next to me shook his head. 'I don't know what they are complaining about', he said. 'A year ago, I lost my job myself. For a few months, I was on the dole. That wasn't much to live on, but for the first time in ten years I had time to think and be myself. Then I started to frame pictures, just for fun, until I found that my work was good enough to be sold. I got customers and orders more than I could take; but I took just enough to make a living. Now I am earning what I need, do what I like and am master of my time. Everybody' — he pointed at the jobless — 'could do the same if only they had the imagination. They are missing the chance of their lives.'

This little story, I think, is a wistful comment on our basic social assumptions and socialist concepts. I do not think that by casting a doubt on them I have proved the point of the free marketeer. The real point is that the man was looking for neither more nor less profit; he was looking for himself. He wanted neither more nor less of the same, but something different — something more like his personal needs. The point for socialists is that, by doing our best to meet the historical needs of our people, we may end up meeting their needs of yesterday and miss out on the actual ones.

Of course, we can ease our minds by censuring these needs — or rejecting them

outright. We can brandish our good old — and still indispensable — concept of "false consciousness". That sounds like solid socialism. We can also do something else: pretend that our job is not to decide whether people should want to work more or less; whether they consider their work alienated or meaningful. That is up to them. All we can do — and must do — is to secure the economic conditions in which they are able to make their choice. That sounds very democratic. So we are safe, are we not?

I don't think we are. Socialism limited to moral judgment, and democracy abstaining from moral judgment, do not add up to democratic socialism. They are not only mutually exclusive; they are both wrong. It is not true — although Schiller said it beautifully — that all you have to do is feed the poor and give them a home, then dignity will come by itself. There are ways of feeding and housing people that will perpetuate their poverty — although not on the economic level. But it is also not true that the dignity we look for depends on Marxist blessing. Is there a way to serve the changing pattern of human rights without pin-pointing them; without on the one hand, falling back on dogma in the face of a complex and contradicting reality; without, on the other hand, selling out to that reality?

### The Reality Worth Living In

I believe there is; and it is the way to modern socialism. I believe we have to have an idea of what the reality worth living in — where human rights are given a chance — should look like — for the simple reason that we have to create this reality; it does not come by itself. We have fought a long battle to write social rights into the constitutions of modern nations. But we must now face the fact that we have done so at a price that only now begins to show.

By covering some needs, we have uncovered — and not met — others equally fundamental that have, so far, no constitutional backing and perhaps still very little backing in our own minds. I am myself hard put to even find names for them; but let me try: the right not only to save time, but to have it; the right to show your feelings, even if you have to admit to a weakness — that weakness may be a strength badly needed to see a problem; the right to say no until yes is the real answer; the right to contradict yourself in the service of honesty.

To declare human rights of this kind would have been frivolous during the first century of the class struggle. Not only the capitalist system had no use for them — neither had socialists when they were engaged in beating that system at its own game. Now, with the battle far from finished, we are already faced with the next challenge: to make that struggle really worth our sweat and blood. The man who traded his unemployment for a petty business may not be our man. But the reason for his turn-about shows a cause that we must make our own. It is from this kind of happening — not from dogma — that we should take a hint of what society — our society — should feel like. An odd group of people — housewives, drop-outs, youngsters, but the list does not end there — have begun to make choices that they have never dared — or been able — to make before. They may still be terribly wrong choices,

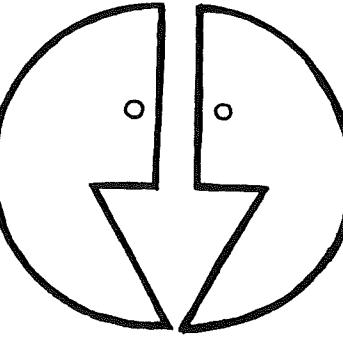
because they fall in with the patterns of a wrong society. But these choices are being made for the right reasons.

As socialists, I think we must first understand those reasons, then draw conclusions from them, and finally act according to them. After we have learned the right reasons for change from the people, we have a chance to teach them the right change. I believe that that is the way for modern socialism to be democratic and to acquire a concept — a new declaration and a new practice of human rights. The little private movements of unrest may not yet be tuned to our political work and may be very ignorant of it. But they are — without knowing — very much in tune with the hard core of socialism: the desire to bring production back to the people again. More and more people are desperately trying, at the risk of looking odd and dropping out, to steal their right to be productive — the most fundamental human right on earth — from the teeth of a monstrous and deadly production machine; to steal their basic right and get away with it. They should not just get away with it; they should come forward and become the force they could be — a force for socialism. The new basis of a mass movement in industrial countries is not the people left out from economic growth. It is those that suffer from being prisoners to this growth and feel robbed of its fruits — not because they can't buy them, but because they must buy them. They feel that they are being sold in their consumption as well as in their production — sold in the very right that their constitutions call "inalienable."

### Collective Survival

Let me finish by saying that there is a very objective reason for change, namely our collective survival. We are lost if we fail to open a new dimension to our production — a production that will save our ecological basis rather than destroy it — or if we fail to come up with a radically different concept of growth. There is not much space left; there may even be less time. Unless we learn how to make use of both without diminishing them, they will be lost for good — and so shall we. Social death is showing already — and this is not just the opinion of a literary man — in the way we have dissociated feeling from action on every imaginable level, private or public. It may be deadly not to act on the particular feeling that it is very late in the day. We must learn to treat the people that have made a move to resist death in their personal lives as the most precious resource of a new production — the kind of production that can save life. Let's give that industry a name: learning; learning that there is joy — and meaning — to our own limits; learning to produce within these limits a life that is growing in quality and can make us more independent from material growth. This production will be more difficult to socialize than coal or steel, for it involves a change of mind in ourselves before the direction of society can begin to change. But I think democratic socialism is ready for it, because we are committed to the right of man to become master of his own history. "The pursuit of happiness", in Jefferson's time, was a promise; now it is a necessity. Let our party be the leader toward freedom in the face of necessity.

## CONFERENCES



### Oslo

#### European Conference of Social Democratic Parties and Trade Union Confederations on economic policy and employment: Oslo April 1-3, 1977

(1) The conference has demonstrated the great value of cooperation between socialist parties and the trade union movement. It reflects the fact that the labour movement constitutes a clear majority in the political life of the countries of Western Europe. Such cooperation is of great importance for our economic and social life.

(2) The Conference agreed that full employment must be the primary aim of economic policy. Many countries in Western Europe now find themselves in a very serious situation, with more than five million people without jobs in the area as a whole. It is unacceptable that a modern democratic society cannot provide the opportunity of stable and secure employment for all its citizens. The economic loss represents a serious waste of resources. It must also be emphasized that a higher level of economic activity would increase capacity utilization and productivity, with the beneficial effect on unit costs and the level of price increases.

(3) Employment is a human right. Active economic policies and a common strategy are necessary to give full employment. The main points for the strategy for full employment must be:

● A more welfare-orientated growth. This may include improvement in working conditions and in education, health care, social security, and leisure.

● An investment policy creating employment in the public and private sector, giving priority to investments for the improvement of working environment, for the expansion of public service, such as in housing, hospitals, schools, roads, for measures to develop new energy resources and energy saving, in measures to protect the external environment and to encourage scientific research.

economic development in Western Europe as a whole.

(6) Recognising that 16 Western European nations will constitute a free trade area in industrial goods as from July 1977, the economic integration which this implies will require practical forms of consultation and cooperation between the countries and institutions of EFTA and the EEC to secure economic and social objectives. At the same time the labour movements in the EEC countries will intensify their efforts on the EEC for full employment and social progress. The framework for cooperation on economic policy extends further than Western Europe.

The organisations present pledge themselves to work for the goal of full employment in Western Europe by 1980. The OECD should prepare for a plan for full employment by 1980 for the industrial nations as a whole in a framework which would also promote the development of the third world.

(7) There should be closer cooperation in Western Europe on monetary questions with the particular purpose of creating a more orderly system of exchange rates. Concerted action is also needed to control international short-term capital movements, in order that countries are able to plan for a more stable and consistent economic policy. The Western European countries as a whole will for some time carry a deficit in their current accounts vis-à-vis the OPEC countries. The countries of Western Europe need to agree on an improved distribution of this deficit within Western Europe in order to achieve a balanced growth of employment.

(8) Policies for economic growth and policies to combat inflation are not incompatible. It is clear that inflation combined with the recession have continued to have damaging consequences for social cohesion. Selective means of intervention are needed to restrain industrial prices. An effective anti-inflation policy will also require a national consensus on income distribution which entails major further steps towards the redistribution of income and wealth. In order to develop and win general acceptance and support for such policies it is vital to promote the widest two-way communications at all levels within the labour movement and to intensify programmes of political education.

(9) Economic policy must be put in the context of wider developments in our societies. In particular, the whole of Western Europe is seeking to achieve, or advance in, the democratization of the economy and of the enterprise. This is particularly important in relation to the multinational companies. The wider accountability of companies to the community needs to go hand in hand with greater accountability to the workers in the enterprise. In this field the forces of conservatism have nothing to offer and it is only the labour movement which retains a sense of direction.

(10) Continued economic growth in the richer part of the world should not be at the expense of the poorer countries. The recession in the industrialized countries hurts the developing countries considerably. It is therefore necessary that the countries of Western Europe should be sensitive to the influence of their economic growth on

economic developments in the third world. The interrelationship between employment in the industrialized countries and growth in the developing countries puts a particular responsibility on the developed countries.

### Conclusion

(i) Employment is a human right. Active economic policies and a common strategy are necessary to promote full employment. The main points for a strategy for full employment must be:

(ii) A growth directed towards greater human welfare. This should be achieved by giving emphasis to a planned expansion of public services and through efforts to improve conditions for work and environment.

(iii) A policy for stimulating private and public investment in order to create employment. It is essential that this active investment policy is based on a close coordination of the activities in the private and public sector.

(iv) Reduction of inflation. The vital fight against inflation should be consistent with the general objective of full employment. This requires that anti-inflationary policy should be adapted on a selective basis.

(v) Cooperation for more equal distribution of payments deficits and surpluses between countries.

(vi) Closer cooperation between governments on economic policy. Especially the surplus countries should be encouraged to secure a steady increase in effective demand in order to reach full employment.

### Destination of Communiqué and Future Meetings

The communiqué and its conclusions were sent by the conference to the following: (i) national governments and other national bodies in Western Europe; (ii) the European Communities with particular reference to the forthcoming tripartite conference; (iii) the European Free Trade Association, with particular reference to the forthcoming heads of government meeting in Vienna; (iv) the London economic summit meeting of heads of governments; and (iv) the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

It was also decided that close contact and working relations between the organisations represented in Oslo would be maintained with a view to further plenary conferences taking place from time to time as part of the natural evolution of the labour movement in Western Europe.



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Jacques Delors

Jacques Gallus

Bernhard Carrière

#### NORWAY:

**Det Norske Arbeiderparti**  
Odvar Nordli  
Reiulf Steen

Gro Harlem Brur

Ivar Leveraas

Per Kleppe

Knut Frydenlund

Annemarie Lorentzen

Einar Førde

Lars Skytøen

Thorbjørn Jagland

**Landsorganisasjonen I Norge**

Einar Strand

Leif Haraldseth

Tor Talvorsen

Liv Buck

Ragnar Røberg Larsen

Oistein Gulbrandsen

Kaare Sandegren

Knut Ribu

**SWITZERLAND:**

**Parti Socialiste Suisse**

Hans Schmid

**Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund**

Richard Müller

**TURKEY:**

**Turkiye Isci Sendikaları**

Konfederasyonu

Mr. Ergun

Mr. Onbulak

Mr. Ercelik

Mr. Soyak

Mr. Aksel

**PORTUGAL:**

**Partido Socialista**

Salgado Zenha

Antonio Sousa Gomes

Manuel Tito de Morais

Manuela Silva

Jose da Gama Vieira

**SPAIN:**

**Partido Socialista Obrero Español**

Luis Solossa

Luis Carlos Crossier

**Union General de Trabajadores**

1 representative

Manuel Simon

**SWEDEN:**

**Socialdemokraterna**

Olof Palme

Ingemund Bengtsson

Anna Greta Lejon

Carl Johan Aberg

Allan Larsson

Lars Hjalmarsson

Yngve Möller

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SOCIALIST GROUP**

Lord Murray of Gravesend

Willem Albers

Georges Carpenter

**EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION**

Mathias Hinterscheid

Otto Kersten

Bo Johnsson

**INTERNATIONAL**

The PSOE is conscious of the fact that the present international society, characterised by the existence of exploiter states and exploited peoples as well as the clash between politico-military blocs, produces the division of the working class on a world scale and delays its total liberation from the different forms of social, economic, and political exploitation.

Calls on the international unity of the world working class in order to guarantee an efficient defence against the permanent aggression of international capitalism and its imperialist expression.

Proclaims its solidarity with the working class and oppressed peoples of the world

#### Landsorganisationen i Sverige

Runo Molin  
Bert Lundin  
Bengt Blomdahl  
Ake Bursteds  
Lars Starkerud  
Erik Karlsson  
Gustav Persson  
Elon Johanson

#### SWITZERLAND:

**Parti Socialiste Suisse**

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Mr. Aksel

**CONFEDERATION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES OF THE EEC**

Pietro Lezzi

was given to the regimes of Morocco and Mauritania.

The PSOE demands that the rights of the Saharan people to self-government be guaranteed and expresses its moral and material support to the Polisario Front in its fight for freedom and independence . . .

The PSOE condemns the despotic regime which oppresses the people of Equatorial Guinea and expresses to the Guinean people its support and solidarity in their struggle for freedom and democracy.

Regarding the maintenance of colonialism in southern Africa, the PSOE expresses its support and solidarity with the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for independence. The party denounces, most vigorously, the apartheid politics adopted by the regime of the South African Republic, the racist manifestation of the politics of fascist oppression and of class.

The PSOE considers that the just solution to the Middle East conflict consists of the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples to their national identity and their own independent existence.

The PSOE denounces the imperialist intervention of the USA in the Latin American countries. The party declares its solidarity with the struggles of the Latin American peoples for their complete political and economic independence from the tyranny of the local oligarchies in the service of foreign economic interests. In this sense we draw attention to the heroic struggle of the Chilean people for the recovery of the freedom that was torn from them so bloodily by the military junta. The PSOE also demands that the territorial sovereignty of the Panama Canal Zone be exercised fully by its people.

The PSOE denounces the renewal of the military base agreements with the USA because they mortgage the national territory, and in addition, the home and foreign politics of the Spanish state. They are also denounced because they were established without the full approval of the people, expressed specifically on this matter.

The PSOE, being aware of the existence of the deep-rooted historical claim of the Spanish state over Gibraltar, does not ignore the existence of the Gibraltar people. In contact with the sister-parties of Gibraltar and the United Kingdom, it will propose a formula of understanding for the decolonisation of the territory by its reincorporation into Spanish sovereignty in conditions which respect the expressed interests of the Gibraltar people, demanding, in the interim period, the end of the isolationist measures, these measures having created a great human problem in the area.

The PSOE, committed as always to the defence of the workers' interests, is aware of the importance and gravity of the problem posed for fishermen by the extension of exclusive fishing limits. Therefore it demands that the Spanish state defends efficiently the interests of such workers as fishermen by the urgent negotiation of agreements with the countries concerned and eventually, the extension of the

Spanish fishing limits. In this respect, the PSOE asks for proof of international solidarity from its sister-parties.

## POLITICS General Introduction

The PSOE understands that an alternative must be provided to the present situation and the immediate problems created by it. This alternative must be backed by a fully elaborated and modernised ideology from which the best solutions to new problems that arise can be derived.

For this reason the PSOE must have a definite alternative in readiness, in accordance with its role as the hub of the evolving political process towards democracy in Spain, that will answer the needs of the country today. For this reason also, an ideological introduction to the maximum programme is necessary which will form and give substance to its stages, enabling its effective modernisation while remaining true to the fundamental principles.

### Principles

(1) The PSOE has a fundamental text; its maximum programme which, being still in force, constitutes the basis of all our thinking and action. This maximum programme must be an essential part of the propaganda through which our party is known. In order to ensure this, the ideas of the text must be defined in a series of clear, understandable explanations.

(2) The PSOE defines itself as socialist because its programme and its action go further than the capitalist method of production by enabling the working class to take both political and economic power; and to socialise the means of production, distribution and exchange. We understand Socialism as an end and the process which leads to this end. Our ideals lead us to reject any road that accommodates capitalism or its simple reform.

(3) The Socialist society that we want will have to be self-managing, because nationalisation and planning do not necessarily lead to Socialism. We want to build a model of society which is our own, and in which Socialism and freedom are complementary and not contradictory concepts; in which all persons are owners of their work and their will; in which all the powers of decision and the benefits of society are mutually owned by the community and not by dominant minorities, of whatever type.

In order to prevent bureaucratic degeneration, it is necessary to build a Socialist democracy, encouraging its development within all the parties and unions and within all the organs of power and decision, these being elected and revocable. This demands the greatest freedom of creation and criticism. In short, we want self-management and control by the workers in every aspect.

(4) The PSOE reaffirms its character as a class party, Marxist, democratic and therefore of the masses.

We are a class party inasmuch as we defend and struggle for the historical ambition of the working class: the extinction of the exploitation of one person by another and the construction of a Socialist society.

We are a Marxist party because we understand the scientific method which teaches that the transformation of capitalist society is accomplished through the class struggle as the motor of history. We understand Marxism as an undogmatic method of development, not as the automatic translation to present-day circumstances of theoretical or practical schemes derived from the specific experiences of the workers' movement. We accept the contributions of all the Socialist thinkers and the different experiences of the class struggle in history, but with a critical eye.

We define ourselves as a democratic party moulded as an organisation with the most scrupulous internal democracy and, functionally, a resemblance of the society we want to construct, the major guarantee of which is the democratic structures of the organisations that struggle for it.

(5) The PSOE is shaped by a dialectic method of transition to Socialism that combines the parliamentary struggle with the popular mobilisation in all its forms, this creating democratic organs of power at the base (co-operatives, neighbourhood associations, peoples' committees, district committees, etc.). The PSOE looks for the deepening of the democratic concept beyond the formal character that the political freedoms have in the capitalist state, acceding to the real freedoms. The PSOE must advance the claims of each moment as well as making the necessary alliances to achieve a Socialist revolution because freedom without Socialism cannot exist, neither can Socialism exist without freedom. The final objective is a society without the division of classes, the consequent extinction of the state, and the change of the government into an administration of that which will exist in a transitory stage of the construction of Socialism. Until that final objective is reached, decisive interventions will be necessary into the acquired rights and the economic structure of the bourgeois society.

This will consist in the real application of democracy and not its abolition. The degree of pressure necessary for its application is a function of the resistance that the bourgeoisie presents to the democratic rights of the people. Consequently, we do not disregard the possibility of using force to ensure respect for the rights of the majority, making irreversible the achievements of the workers' struggle by giving them control.

(6) The PSOE is an internationalist and anti-imperialist party that conceives the liberation of the workers to be effective only when their struggle for emancipation is realised on a world scale. The PSOE will always demonstrate its solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by the economic or political imperialism of other powers.

(7) Socialism, with its conception of a society without classes and with guarantees for the real freedom of all people, is the final liberator and disalienator of mankind. This means that an essential principle in the doctrine of the PSOE must be the struggle for the conquest of political power as a lever for the construction of Socialism as well as the adoption of the resources of the state for the defence, protection and more authentic development of our objec-

tives of freedom. In history, every freedom conquered is a landmark in the struggle of the classes which unquestionably supports the following conquests. These conquests are obliged to be defended without any other criteria than that of giving priority to the social necessities and community interests, over and above individual or egoistic interests.

### Strategy

(1) The PSOE considers that within the global conception of its strategy, the conquest and consolidation of the democratic freedoms, together with the immediate claims of the workers, are today the objectives with the highest priority.

(2) The PSOE understands that the current crisis of Spanish monopolistic capitalism, and the consequent deterioration of the autocratic apparatus of power, is due to its internal contradictions. These contradictions are closely linked with the current situation of world capitalism and the shifting of forces on a world scale, particularly in southern Europe.

This crisis is demonstrated, for one part, by the inability of the bourgeoisie to continue developing the productive forces on the basis of the model of accumulation of the sixties; a model based on the super-exploitation and repression of a working class devoid of organs with which to defend and represent its interests.

For another part, the present situation within the regime is principally characterised by the contradiction existing within it between two fundamental sectors of power: on one side, the sector representative of a speculative and felonious capitalism which finds itself bound inextricably to the inherited institutions of Francoism, having sustained itself within the legal, political and ideological apparatus of the same; on the other hand, the sector representative of a certain finance capitalism interested in the credibility of our political structures before Europe with the aim of securing integration within the supranational economic circuits and the attainment of an economic and social stability within the country.

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The interest of each group is represented at the political level by the ultra-conservative sectors in the first case and the so-called reformist sector in the second. Also, sectors of the Church are exhibiting their distance with respect to the autocratic planning of the regime, as well as a sector of army officers who are not disposed to maintain the gag of the popular sovereignty.

(3) During the last forty years, whilst facing these forces of the regime, the working class has been the protagonist of a continued struggle for the conquest of the democratic freedoms, succeeding in gathering wide popular sectors around itself.

All these popular sectors are the protagonists of the true democratic alternative for the country: *the democratic rupture*. This is the only rational and peaceful process that will culminate with the devolution to the people of their sovereignty.

(4) This alternative of fundamental democratic rupture becomes more feasible every

time the mass mobilisation broadens and includes a growing incidence of the democratic opposition within it.

The reformist alternative of the regime offers a pseudo-democratic option, the aim of which is to safeguard the interests of the dominant class in its intent to recuperate certain sectors that today align themselves within the democratic opposition, as well as securing a certain credibility before national and international opinion. In addition, this option is insufficient, due to the procedure by which it was elaborated as well as for not establishing political institutions that would guarantee a minimum of democracy.

(5) The PSOE understands the rupture as the constituent process for the conquest of all *democratic freedoms*, (political and trade union); the dismantlement of the institutions inherited from the Franco regime (Council of the Realm, political apparatus of the "Movimiento", the "vertical" trade union, etc.); the dissolution of the repressive institutions, purpose-built for the annihilation of democratic freedoms; the return of exiles; freedom for political prisoners; the legal and political institutionalisation of all the nations and regions forming the Spanish state, in harmony with their historical or democratically obtained rights. This project would be crystallised in a democratic Constitution; the result of a constituent process.

This Constituent Process requires a period in which all the parties, without exclusion, will have the possibility of exposing their political alternatives as a previous preparation to a general election. From this will emerge a legislative body charged with elaborating a new constitution for the country.

(6) In order to achieve these objectives, the PSOE will seek the adoption of a constitutional commitment by all the democratic political parties that participate in the electoral process. All the aforementioned political forces included in the elected organs of representation would be committed to undertake the liquidation of the autocratic elements of the regime and to the

elaboration of a Constitution that guarantees the fundamental freedoms.

During the period that leads to the democratic rupture, the party will orient itself towards:

(a) Negotiation with the Government, maintaining a co-ordinated strategy with the democratic organisations of the opposition.

(b) The responsible mobilisation of the masses in order to press the negotiation forward. Parallel to this, a real power at the grass-roots level will be constituted and promoted by the creation of organs of participation at all levels.

The PSOE reaffirms its republican vocation, but will accept the decision of the people as to the form of the State.

## Unity of the Socialists

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party declares that the unity of the Spanish Socialists will contribute to the achievement, strength, development and defence of democracy in Spain. The celebration of this Congress is a fundamental step forward to this unity. So also is the reunification and integration of all the sectors of the party. With the reunification put into practice with this Congress, we consider that the split produced within the PSOE in 1972 has been overcome.

However, considering the existence of Socialist groups outside our organisation, the PSOE recommends to the national and regional federations, at the same time mandating the organs of direction of the party, to continue seeking unity, always taking the following basic concepts as their starting point:

(1) Acceptance of our party's declaration of principles in its entirety.

(2) Acceptance of the party's federal structure.

(3) Respect for, and application of, the basic principles of the internal democracy.

(4) All processes of unity must be concluded by democratic elections of all the directive organs by the integrated base.

## Israel

### Labour Party Convention WERNER DAVID MELCHIOR

The following is a report on the convention of the Israel Labour Party held in Jerusalem on February 23-25 at which Itzhak Rabin was elected to be the party's candidate for the premiership in the elections due on May 17. Subsequent to the convention, Itzhak Rabin resigned as party leader on April 7 and on April 10 the Labour Party central committee unanimously endorsed the Defence Minister, Shimon Peres, as the party's candidate for the premiership.

The recent convention of the Israel Labour Party merits interest both because there is so long between these conventions, and because it took place at a moment which may well be a landmark, introducing a new phase in the history of this country and party. Under the procedure adopted now for the second time by the party since reunification nine years ago, it all began with a census, a new registration of the whole membership. The last time, six years earlier, the score reached 300,000, but some doubts remained whether the procedures had been correct in all instances. The 250,000 registered this time reflect a membership all of whom were "live, present and voting", i.e. personally signing up. Subsequently, four-fifths of the 3,000 convention

delegates were elected by direct and secret vote of the whole membership at 1,000 balloting stations throughout the country (the remainder being constituted mainly by the outgoing central committee).

A participation of a full 60 per cent in this election contradicted all claims that the party was becoming old or fossilized, and, to the contrary, proved its vitality as reflected also by the fact that 80,000 of the members had registered for the first time. Among other noteworthy factors was the fact that for the first time 10,000 members of the Arab and Druze minorities had registered as ordinary members and were represented accordingly.

Evidently, the very size of the convention has its advantages and disadvantages. It creates among the membership a strong sense of direct involvement and "near-democracy", and it also helps express and reflect the heterogeneity of Israeli society and, therefore, of the membership. All this was desirable at a time when suspicion of affairs being managed by some narrow cliques was strongly felt, and the popular call was for replacing nominating committees by broad and direct participation of the membership. This was one reason behind the decision to have the party's nominee for Prime Minister after the forthcoming general elections elected by the convention, an exercise which may not be repeated — quite regardless of the special circumstances, on account of which its result subsequently became obsolete. If one of the disadvantages of the mammoth convention was that a total of three days left 3,000 delegates little time to articulate their views on the many issues on the agenda, this was further enhanced by the fact that for a full third of the available time all interest was absorbed by the contest for the nomination.

Virtually everything else was passed without even proposals for amendment. It was a pity insofar as a number of interesting items such as the status of women and of the minorities as well as various aspects of social and economic policies did not arouse the active interest they merited. The principal statements explaining the platform proposals did bring out the need, inherent in the experience of other sister-parties in power, to create a better balance in the

public mind between disproportionately over-emphasized failures and the overall positive balance of our achievements. Another matter is that the freedom of movement in choosing priorities is limited in a country where 40 per cent of the budget is taken up by defence needs, another 20 per cent by servicing debts (most of which are also on account of security), so that a mere 40 per cent is left for civilian budgeting.

In substance, the decisions to be adopted were as much as ever prepared by the parallel of nomination committees, namely preparatory committees which tabled elaborate proposals on all subjects with which the movement — and the hoped-for new Labour-led Government — will be concerned. Genuine political interest was aroused by one more innovation, which was also more apparent than substantial, namely the resolution dealing with the terms of a peace settlement. In the 1973 Labour election platform it had been stated that Israel would seek peace on the basis of territorial compromise, and it had not occurred to anyone that the West Bank was excluded from this. This time, however, there were demands for specification in this respect, and the formula accordingly introduced in the resolution provoked, in turn, the objection of Moshe Dayan, causing a short but intense debate and a count of votes to overrule Dayan.

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Shozo Sugiyama remains International Secretary of the JSP.

Following the defeat of his right-wing faction at the 40th convention, the

former JSP Vice-Chairman, Saburo Eda, resigned from the party in late March and announced his intention of setting up a new formation which would contest the Upper House elections due in July 1977.

# Japan

## JSP Convention

The Japan Socialist Party (JSP) held its 40th national convention in Tokyo on February 8-10 at which the delegates re-elected Tomomi Narita to his sixth term as JSP Chairman and Masashi Ishibashi to his fifth term as General Secretary. The principal outcome of the convention was the adoption of a 1977 Action Programme seeking the establishment of a coalition government of all progressive forces, including the Japanese Communists, under the leadership of the JSP.

In addition to the Chairman and General Secretary, the convention elected a new Central Executive Committee with specific responsibilities allocated as follows:

Vice-Chairmen	Yoshinori Yasui Koichi Yamamoto Torao Takazawa Zentaro Shimagami Chrisato Tatebayashi Hideyoshi Morinaga Akio Kasahara Taro Yamaguchi Ichizo Nonoyama Ippei Koyama Kenji Moriyama Michiko Watanabe Takahiro Yokomichi Tetsu Ueda Hideo Den Masahiro Yamamoto Taiji Yokoyama Shinnen Tagaya Yuji Soga Sukio Iwadare Kiichi Murayama Kenjiro Kadoya Takeshi Hirabayashi
Discipline	
General Affairs	
Organization	
Labour	
Agriculture and Fishery	
Small Business	
Local Political Affairs	
Youth	
Women	
National Movement	
Education and Propaganda	
International Affairs	
Party Organ	
People's Livelihood	
Policy	
Planning	
Finance	
Election Countermeasures	
Diet Policy	

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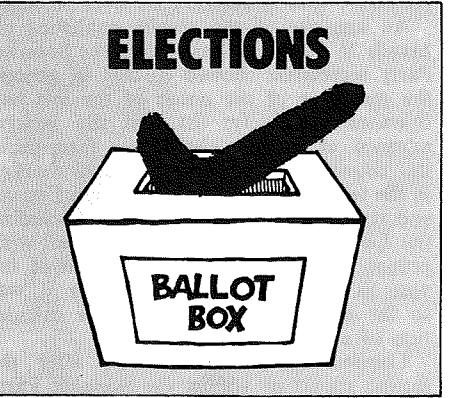
# Japan

## DSP Convention

At the 21st annual convention of the Japan Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) held in Tokyo on March 22-24, Ikko Kasuga was re-elected to a fifth term as DSP Chairman and Saburo Tsukamoto to a third term as General Secretary. The convention adopted an Action Policy for 1977, envisaging the creation of a centrist-progressive coalition government which would include the JSP, the Komeito and other forces, and also containing a detailed statement of the party's foreign policy.

The other members of the DSP Central Executive Committee were elected as follows:

Vice-Chairmen	Tadashi Kodaira, Ryosaku Sasaki, Masao Nakamura
Deputy General Secretaries	Eiichi Nagasue (Director of International Bureau), Harua Wada (Director of Organization Bureau)
Administration	Michikazu Karatai
Policy Board	Katsu Kawamuro
Education and Propaganda	Keigo Ohuchi
Party Organ	Hachiro Nishida
Election Committee	Nagatoshi Mukai
Youth and Women	Tetsuya Tabuchi
Civil Organization	Magoichi Takemoto
Policy Vision	Takato Inatomi, Shozo Nishimura, Yukihisa Yoshida, Takeki Komiya, Tsuneo Fujii, Kosaku Wada, Tai Ogawa, Koichi Honda, Norio Kijima, Itoku Tamaki, Takuji Kurabayashi, Itoko Nakazawa, Sanae Miyata, Shozo Akagi, Teiko Ozawa, Yoshizo Shimoda
Members	Tsumichiyo Asato
Control Commission Chairman	Suehiro Nishio, Shinkichi Ueda, Kazuo Nagae, Kumazo Nakachi, Minoru Takita, Ryo Moji, Kenichi Yoshida, Eki Sone, Kiyoshi Utsumi, Gentaro Takeya, Masatoshi Matsushita, Eiji Yamashita, Shigeo Murao, Tsuneo Takayama
Advisers	



# Denmark

## EJNER HOVGAARD CHRISTIANSEN

### Jørgensen Triumphs

The General Election in Denmark on the 15th of February was not called by a government, which had given up.

Or had been turned down.

The main point for the situation was that four big political problems had to be solved. Namely employment policy, problems with housing, finance policy and defence.

The Social Democratic Government wanted one collective solution on these problems. This solution simply couldn't wait any longer, because of the coming collective bargaining. It was the goal of the Government that the labour market should be able to make their own agreements in line with the political income limits which the parliament had decided in August in an agreement between 5 parties. Because of that the parties of the labour market were

demanding that the political problems with tax, rents and so on were settled before they were able to take their decision.

Cooperation is difficult in a parliament with 11 parties, and the non-socialist parties, mainly the Liberal party, prevent a solution.

Therefore there was no other way to get through than issue writs for an election and appeal to the population for a stronger mandate for the Government to ensure that the necessary policy was carried out. The main question for the election wasn't a specific political subject. First of all it was a question to the population — which party they had confidence in.

Who would be able to effect a stable and energetic cooperation? The Social Democrats or the Liberals.

The result of the election was a clear verdict to the politicians.

The electors had halved the Liberal party's membership from 42 to 21 and given

### Danish Election Results

Parties	Votes		Seats		Percentages		
	1977	1975	1977	1975	+/-	1977	1975
Social Democrats	1,151,095	913,155	65	53	+12	37.1	29.9
Radical Liberals	113,332	216,553	6	13	-7	3.6	7.1
Conservatives	262,922	168,164	15	10	+5	8.5	5.5
Single-Tax Party	102,069	54,095	6	—	+6	3.3	1.8
Socialist People's Party	120,238	150,963	7	9	-2	3.9	5.0
Communists	114,034	127,837	7	7	—	3.7	4.2
Centre Democrats	200,091	66,316	11	4	+7	6.4	2.2
Pensioners' Party	26,029	—	—	—	—	0.9	—
Christian People's Party	105,925	162,734	6	9	-3	3.4	5.3
Liberal Democrats	371,572	711,298	21	42	-21	12.0	23.3
Left Socialists	83,279	63,579	5	4	+1	2.7	2.1
Progress Party	453,532	414,219	26	24	+2	14.6	13.6
Others	271	539	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	3,105,289	3,049,452	175	175	—	—	—

through the newspapers, radio and TV, but mainly through a direct contact with the electors during intensive meeting activities. Because of that the Social Democratic Party during the three weeks of the election-campaign carried through the most extensive meeting-campaign which had ever been seen in Denmark before.

Ten thousands of electors got the possibility to speak directly to the social democratic politicians about both domestic — and more specifically — local questions.

A big number of towns and places of work which never had been visited by politicians, received visits by ministers and MP's who were ready to discuss the local problems and the problems of daily life.

After the election it became clear that the Social Democratic Government would succeed in the policy it put on the table before the election. The non-socialistic parties, also the Liberals, were weaker and quiescent. Later on it had become clear that these political decisions had produced the result that the labour market parties, despite difficulties, obtained a solution, which was thrown out by a vote between the employers, while the workers through their votes decided to accept the results. Together with the parties which stood behind the economic policy and the aim for incomes policy, and after approval from the Federation of Trade Unions, the Government turned the result into a statute.

This happened because the result accepted the income policy's limits (6%), but also because it gives a guarantee that every adult worker should receive D kr. 29 (ca. £3) per hour.

Taken from the Social Democratic Party's point of view, the election gave a much better chance to maintain steady political development, though the conditions in Danish politics still could be more satisfactory.

## India

### Mrs Gandhi's Nemesis

The general elections held in India on March 17-20 produced a massive defeat for Indira Gandhi and her Congress Party, which had ruled the country without interruption since independence in 1947. Paying the political price for the state of emergency which she had imposed on the world's largest democracy 18 months previously, Mrs Gandhi was swept out of office by a powerful coalition of opposition parties which took the name Janata (People's) Front, within which the Indian Socialist Party (a member party of the International) played a vital role.

The results gave the Janata Front 270 seats in the Indian Lower House (out of 539) and its closely allied Congress for Democracy a further 28 seats. The Janata Front will also have the support of some of the smaller parties so that it commands a substantial majority over the rump of the Congress Party, which obtained only 153 seats. The results of the election showed that the Congress was almost annihilated in the north and centre of the country, where the effects of the state of emergency had been most severely felt. Together with the

Congress for Democracy, the Janata Front polled over 41 per cent of the popular vote, as against only 34.5 per cent for Mrs Gandhi's Congress.

Within the Janata Front the Indian Socialist Party secured about 30 seats, including the Uttar Pradesh constituency previously held by Mrs Gandhi, who was heavily defeated by the veteran Socialist leader, Raj Narain. Another Socialist victor was the Chairman of the party, George Fernandes, who fought the campaign from prison and who was released only after the results were declared and the state of emergency lifted.

The basic issues in the election were set out in an editorial published in the Socialist Party's weekly *Janata* on February 27: "What has been established beyond doubt during the last 18 months could be summed up as follows: firstly the claim that the emergency has brought an economic miracle in India is not substantiated by facts. Many countries in the world who had sunk to a zero annual growth rate due to the sudden and steep rise in fuel oil prices have again started registering more than 5 to 6 per cent annual growth rate in their GNP . . . without resorting to anything like our emergency. Therefore, the effort to establish a causal relationship between emergency and economic revival has turned out to be no more than a verbal gimmick. Secondly, if the argument is that the emergency was for the defence of democracy, that too stands totally refuted. The erosion in all our democratic values has been so grievous and the concentration of political authority in the hands of the Prime Minister and her son so blatant that its destabilising effects have been evident in the highest administrative and judicial echelons. A Prime Minister who has indulged in so dangerous an essay in political adventurism and failed should voluntarily quit the stage . . . "

In the Government formed by Janata Front leader Morarji Desai on March 27, both George Fernandes and Raj Narain accepted important portfolios, the former becoming Minister of Communications and the latter Minister of Health and Family Planning.

## France

### Landslide to Left

The French municipal elections held on March 13 and 20 resulted in a massive swing to the left and in particular to the French Socialist Party, which consolidated its position as the strongest political party in the country. In a poll involving the more than 33,000,000 registered voters electing councils in 36,575 communes, the Socialists won some 30 per cent of the votes (compared with 19 per cent in the 1973 parliamentary elections), while their Communist partners in the left-wing alliance obtained about 18 per cent (21.4 per cent in 1973).

A total of 60 major towns fell to the left-wing alliance, giving the opposition control of two-thirds of the country's 220 urban centres with over 30,000 inhabitants. Authoritative projections indicated that a similar voting trend in the 1978 parliamentary elections would transform the left's present 100-seat minority in the National Assembly into a majority of over 50 seats.

An analysis of the results published on March 26 by Roger Fajardie of the Socialist Party secretariat showed (i) that in general the discipline of the union of the left had operated effectively; (ii) that the general advance of the Socialist Party throughout the country had been particularly marked in the large urban centres of western France; and (iii) that as a whole the left (including the Left Radicals and the smaller left-wing groupings) had obtained 53 per cent of the vote in those municipalities where it was so far possible to make a precise calculation of party strengths.

Commenting on the results after the second round of voting, the Socialist Party First Secretary, Francois Mitterrand, said that he had not witnessed such a landslide to the left in any elections since the war.

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# Socialist Notebook

### British Labour Record

The following check-list of measures taken by the British Labour Government to implement its 1974 election manifesto commitments was recently published in the party's weekly newspaper, Labour Weekly:

- (1) Tories' provocative Industrial Relations Act repealed;
- (2) Employment Protection Act gives new rights and greater job security to workers;
- (3) Compulsory unit pricing on meat, fish and vegetables introduced;
- (4) Nationalised industry consumer councils made more independent;
- (5) Married women and non-degree students given fairer deal over grants;
- (6) Direct grant status of schools being phased out;
- (7) 11-plus selection in schools ended;
- (8) Comprehensive schools actively encouraged — 76 per cent of secondary schoolchildren now in the system;
- (9) Scottish and Welsh Development Agencies set up;
- (10) Legislation on Devolution brought before Parliament;
- (11) Community Land Act means development land may be taken into public ownership;
- (12) Councils given right to fix their own rents by Housing Rents and Subsidies Act;
- (13) Tied cottage system abolished;
- (14) Security of tenure given to furnished tenants;
- (15) Tax loopholes tightened to catch "Lump" labourers and Cayman Island tax dodgers;
- (16) Gifts Tax introduced — inherited wealth subject to effective tax for first time;
- (17) Standing Royal Commission on Income and Wealth set up;
- (18) Legislation protecting minorities strengthened by new Race Relations Act;
- (19) New independent body to examine complaints against police set up;
- (20) Detention system ended in Northern Ireland;
- (21) Voluntary register of MPs' business interests introduced;
- (22) Inflation proof savings scheme for the elderly brought in;
- (23) Family allowances increased for first time since 1968;
- (24) Family allowances introduced for the first time for the first child;
- (25) New mobility allowance introduced to cover all severely disabled people between 5 and 50;
- (26) Invalid care allowance brought in for those who give up work to look after relatives;
- (27) Exemptions from prescription charges extended to cover women over 60 and children;
- (28) Pay beds in NHS hospitals being phased out;
- (29) Women get equal treatment with men in social security under new Pensions Act;
- (30) Paid maternity leave now a statutory right;
- (31) One-parent families get extra benefit this year;
- (32) Sex Discrimination Act covering employment, education, and credit now in force;
- (33) Free family planning facilities provided through the NHS;
- (34) Equal Pay Act came fully into force backed by an extensive publicity campaign;
- (35) British National Oil Corporation set up;
- (36) Majority state participation in British oil development — the state now owns 51 per cent;
- (37) Special Oil Taxation Act introduced to deal with oil profits;
- (38) Land needed for oil platforms in Scotland taken into public ownership;
- (39) Industrial democracy furthered by publishing of Bullock Report;
- (40) National Enterprise Board set up;
- (41) Special help given to the dairy industry;
- (42) Plans to nationalise aircraft and shipbuilding industries laid before Parliament;
- (43) A system of voluntary planning agreements introduced through Industry Act;
- (44) Referendum on EEC membership held within 12 months of coming to office;
- (45) Value for money information given to shoppers through consumer advice centres and check-lists;
- (46) British technology backed by purchase of British reactors for UK power stations;
- (47) New national plan for coal — boosts investment;
- (48) All recipients of social benefits received Christmas bonus at end of Labour's first year;
- (49) Better pensions scheme introduced giving adequate inflation-proof retirement pensions for today's workers;
- (50) New non-contributory benefit for disabled people outside the National Insurance Scheme introduced;
- (51) Housebuilding slump reversed — in Labour's first 3 years, 32 per cent more new homes started than in the Tories' last 3 years;
- (52) Tripartite Commission on Coal Industry resulted in massive injection of funds to aid expansion — reported within 3 months of Labour coming to office;
- (53) Selective food subsidies on staple foods helped low-paid weather inflation storm;
- (54) Ceiling put on food prices of those items receiving state subsidy;
- (55) Rent freeze in both public and private rented accommodation laid down in first year;
- (56) Conciliation and Arbitration Service set up — lowest number of strikes since 1953.

### S.Korea: Kim Chul released

Kim Chul, leader of the United Socialist Party (USP) of South Korea, has been released from prison in Seoul; after his release he entered hospital for a health check-up.

Kim Chul was sentenced to prison in February 1976 on the grounds that he had released to the press the text of the indictment against Park In Mok, another USP member then facing trial. The indictment against the latter, which the prosecution had in fact already made public, contained the allegation that he had expressed criticism of President Park and the South Korean regime.

The USP has thanked the Socialist International for the solidarity of member parties in making protests against Kim Chul's imprisonment.

### Dominican Republic protests

In mid-February the Socialist International received news of further acts of repression against the Socialist International's member party in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD).

In a message the PRD General Secretary, Dr. José Francisco Peña Gomez, stated that the chiefs of the armed forces in the Dominican Republic had accused the PRD and the Socialist International of being communists and had described Dr. Peña Gomez as their enemy. Numerous troops had entered the headquarters of the PRD and had arrested and indicted Dr. Peña Gomez.

As a result of this news, the President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, sent a cable expressing his deep concern to the President of the Dominican Republic, Dr. Joaquin Balaguer. In addition, three of the Vice-Presidents of the International, Bruno Kreisky (Austria), Francois Mitterrand (France), and Bettino Craxi (Italy) sent cables expressing solidarity with the PRD, as did leaders of other member parties of the International.

On March 10th Dr. Peña Gomez telephoned the secretariat of the International to say that the government of the Dominican Republic and the armed forces had stopped their actions against himself and other PRD party members. The PRD General Secretary said that this had been due to the intervention of the Socialist International and expressed his thanks for the protests which had been sent.