

BUREAU MEETS IN LONDON

The Bureau of the Socialist International at its meeting in London on 13-14 September called for the immediate release of Orlando Cantuarias, Minister of Mining in Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government, who has been held in a Chilean concentration camp for almost two years for his role in bringing about the nationalisation of the Chilean copper mines.

The Bureau also called for the release of Anibal Palma, another Radical member of President Allende's Government, as well as other political prisoners in Chile.

The Bureau further expressed its utter condemnation of the death sentences pronounced in Burgos and Madrid by the Spanish authorities against the anti-fascist activists José Garmendia Artola, Angel Otaegui Echevarria, Manuel Blanco Chivite, Vladimiro Fernandez Tovar and José Baena Alonso.

Bacila Alonso.

The Bureau, under the chairmanship of Karl Czernetz of Austria in the absence due to illness of the International's Chairman Bruno Pittermann, in addition reaffirmed its conviction of the right of civil rights

isolation of the Chilean military régime is increased and that all possible diplomatic and economic pressures are applied with the aim of bringing about the restoration of democracy in Chile.

The Bureau further discussed the situation in Portugal and requested the General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Mário Soares, to take up the matter with the Government.

The Bureau further discussed the situation in Portugal and requested the General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party, Mario Soares, to represent the Socialist International at the forthcoming conference of the British Labour Party.

given to Chilean political refugees and to relieve the hardship and suffering of the persecuted and their families in Chile.

'The Bureau expresses its full support for all those Chilean democrats struggling to restore democracy in

The Bureau which was attended by representatives of the Austrian, Belgian, Chilean, Danish, Finnish

ian, British, Chilean, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Israeli, Italian, Dutch, New Zealand, Maltese and Swedish member parties of the Socialist International, as well as by representatives of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and the International Union of Socialist Youth, welcomed in a statement the conclusion of the interim agreement between the Governments of Israel and Egypt.

Statement on Spain

The Socialist International at its Bureau meeting in London expresses its utter condemnation of the death sentences pronounced on 28 August in Burgos against the anti-fascist activists José Garmendia Artola and Angel Otaegui Echevarria and also of the death sentences meted out on 11 and 12 September at the court martial

in Madrid against Manuel Blanca Chivite, Vladimiro Fernandez Tovar and José Baena Alonso.

The Socialist International denounces the fact that there is now permanent state of emergency in Spain following the promulgation for two years of a so-called anti-terrorist law which in reality is the means for the Franco régime to continue its indiscriminate and brutal repression of political and trade union opposition to the régime.

'The Socialist International expresses its complete solidarity with an support for the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and other progressive forces in their struggle against the death sentences, the repression and for the establishment of democratic rights.'

Statement on the Middle East
'The Bureau of the Socialist International extends congratulations to the Governments of Israel and Egypt on the conclusion of the interim agree-

the conclusion of the interim agreement and expresses the hope that the agreement will prove to be the first step towards a just and permanent peace throughout the Middle East.

'The Bureau extends its best wishes to its affiliate, the Israel Labour Party, for further successes in the cause of peace and socialism.'

VIETNAM COMMITTEE

The first meeting of the Socialist International's ad hoc Committee on Vietnam was held in London on 12 September. The Committee had before it a report from the Vietnam Socialist Party (a member party of the Socialist International) and submitted recommendations to the Bureau of the Socialist International for material support for the Vietnam Socialist Party.

The following representatives member parties and associated organisations of the International attended the meeting: Bui Kien Thanh, Assistant General Secretary, Vietnam Socialist Party; Giampiero Rolandi, London representative, Italian Socialist Democratic Party, and Vera Matthia Secretory, International Council Social Democratic Women. Hans Jitschek, General Secretary of the Socialist International, also attended

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

September/October Socialist International Information Volume XXV Number



MUTUAL TRUST IN EUROPE

NEW LIFE IN PORTUGAL

THE HEART OF ROTTERDAM

INDIA SINCE THE DARK NIGHT

CONFERENCES/DOCUMENTS/ELECTIONS

SOCIALIST DIARY

Sorsa on Europe	page 82
Soares on Portugal	page 83
Van der Louw on Rotterdam	page 84
Rustin on India	page 87
Cruise O'Brien on Socialism	page 88

Conferences	
Sweden	page 89

Documents	
Mitterrand letter to CP	page 89
Dutch Socialists: Portugal	page 90
Spain: Democratic Convergence	page 91

Elections	
Norway	page 92
Ontario	page 92
Finland	page 93
Austria	page 93

Book Reviews	
White Media and Black Britain	page 93
Socialist Diary	page 94

Socialist Affairs covers the policies of democratic socialist parties throughout the world
Published by the Socialist International

Editorial Committee
Gino Bianco Giampiero Rolandi
Carlos Parra Jenny Little Yoram Peri
Vera Matthias Harry van den Bergh

Editor Hans Janitschek
Editorial Assistant Caroline Soper
Indian Correspondent M. S. Hoda

Rates per annum
Ordinary subscription £5
Socialist Party member £3.75
Payment by sterling or dollars
USA & Canada \$12 (\$8)
Cheque, postal order or International money order payable to Socialist International
88a St Johns Wood High Street
London NW8 5J
Telephone 01-586 1103
Telex 261735
Cables Intesocon London

Signed Articles in Socialist Affairs do not necessarily represent the views of the editorial committee

Social Democracy and European Security

TOWARDS MUTUAL TRUST IN EUROPE

Kalevi Sorsa

Recent years have seen changes in European politics. Although the confrontation between East and West continues, it has eased considerably. The days of rigid bloc alignment and the cold war have gradually been abandoned and new means of ensuring national security are being sought in place of armaments and the so-called 'balance of terror' based on the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Instead of interventions and blockades, rational forms of peaceful co-existence and competition are being sought. This fact has had a profound effect on East-West relations, particularly in Europe.

The attempts to reduce tension have as their background the protracted dialogue between East and West on questions of peace, security and armaments. The present situation and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have been preceded by the solution of many problems created by the Second World War.

The solutions, placed on a lasting foundation by the non-proliferation treaty, have been written into the historic treaties signed by the Federal Republic of Germany, the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The parties have agreed upon the integrity of national boundaries and have undertaken to refrain from using force or threatening force against one another. The four-power agreement has clarified the difficult problem of Berlin. The basic agreement has placed relations between the two German states on a firm footing. Recognition on the diplomatic level and membership of the UN have consolidated their international standing.

The leading powers, the US and the USSR, have taken measures to avert a nuclear war and to control and resolve the problems caused by strategic arms. The European powers have begun talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe. It was on this basis that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was able to approach its

difficult task.

All in all, following the first conference on security and cooperation, it can at least be said of the present-day situation in Europe that the setting of the cold war cannot easily be repeated in its old form. By the joint efforts of the states considerable progress has been made towards a situation in which international relations are based on treaties, negotiation and cooperation and in which problems are not resolved by violence or threats of violence.

Finnish security policy has been consciously directed as part of this general development. We have been pleased to note that the promotion of our own interests and security has been compatible with and parallel to international aspirations.

Our security policy has been distinctly international in character. It is founded on UN principles, the Paris Peace Treaty, and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. The main aim of this policy has been to obtain a situation in which it will be possible to avoid any armed conflict which may affect us directly or indirectly. This line has involved us in tasks and projects which have a wide bearing over our own neighbouring territory, eg our role in UN peace keeping operations, our CSCE policy, and our administrative role in the initial stages of SALT.

Since the 60s under the leadership of President Urho Kekkonen, Finnish security policy has been an active and peace loving policy of neutrality, which has deep roots in our earlier history and in the post-war revaluation—in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance—but which is above all a progressive policy adaptable to new tasks. We see our security policy—a policy for overcoming difficulties—closely bound up with general foreign policy—a policy with real possibilities.

There are, however, deeper objectives behind Finnish views and aspirations.

Peace in Europe is not merely the absence of war. Therefore, it is important to support negotiations which not only relieve tension and reduce the threat of armed conflict, but also further European cooperation irrespective of differences of social system. Lasting cooperation is best built on the principle of mutual benefit. It must not be an instrument of political pressure. Success depends upon the ability of European states to reconcile their sovereignty with their international obligations in a sensible manner and direct international intercourse towards positive action.

Although the relations between the great powers and the balance between the military alliances still exert considerable influence on the development of international relations, the preservation of peace is not merely the result of developments in military politics. On the international scene—especially in Europe—we are reaching the situation where the consolidation of the state of peace is affected by many factors of a political, economic and social character. One such factor is the increase in reciprocal influence and interdependence between states, which has made resorting to arms in order to resolve conflicts more difficult than before. At the same time opportunities to resolve these conflicts through diplomatic channels have improved.

In this respect it is quite natural

Social Democracy and Portugal

NEW GOVERNMENT- NEW LIFE

Mário Soares

The formation of Portugal's Sixth Provisional Government gave rise, throughout the country, to a ray of hope. The platform-programme, announced the week before by the Prime Minister, Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, based upon the agreement between the three participant parties and the care taken in the composition of the Government itself — four socialists, two People's Democrats and one Communist, plus four members of the armed forces, all subscribers to the 'Document of the Nine', and three independents — were inter-

preted by national and international public opinion as a clear intention to 'turn the tide' in order to broaden the social frame and supporting policies of the Revolution, so dangerously restricted.

Despite the attempts of the Lisbon morning press and, first and foremost, of the Radio Stations R.C.P. and R.R. (Rádio Clube Português and Rádio Renascença) to create an artificial reactionary climate against the new government, showing it as *Right Wing Government* to a country which is getting less and less identified with

wide trends. We North Europeans must constantly examine our role in wider international developments, especially in our aspirations towards disarmament and troop reductions, in the new spirit created by increased co-operation between the USSR and the US, in Europe following the first CSCE, in the developing cooperation of economic groupings and so on.

Steps in a wider framework create the conditions required for regional measures, which will strengthen the structure of peace and cooperation. Open discussion and preparation, initiative and freedom from prejudice are all essential. During the CSCE the concept of confidence-building measures was born and this has been applied chiefly in the military sphere. If it is given a more political meaning it is a fair description of the current situation in Europe.

An excellent example of an area in which measures leading to increased political trust are required is the exploitation of natural resources on the high seas beyond traditional national territorial boundaries. This kind of problem has of course become actual in Northern Europe. In Finland great importance has been attached to the consideration with which Norway and the USSR have opened discussions on questions affecting them on the Northern seas.

The same consideration and mutual trust should be applied to other kinds of problems and negotiations.

the revolutionary activism of Lisbon, the new Government was welcomed with sympathy and hope as being the only effective way 'to overcome the crisis and save the Revolution'. Every responsible person is conscious of the uncontrolled and anarchical process imposed on the country by a minority which cannot last much longer without the risk of inexorably opening of the door to counter-revolution.

It was not by accident that Commander Alpoim Galvão, in an interview given to the newspaper *O Jornal* stated that the maintenance of power of Vasco Gonçalves' team would have considerably helped the counter revolutionary conspiracy he is organising in Spain.

Problems of tremendous magnitude which cannot be postponed face the new government: unemployment, inflation, the deficit hitting nearly all the major nationalised industries and

those still in the hands of the private sector, the exhaustion of foreign currency reserves, the exodus from Angola, the progressive anarchy in production, the general indisipline amongst the workers, the abuses carried out in the name of Land Reform, the illegitimate occupations, the mistrust of the emigrant, who hesitates in sending his savings to Portugal. For all these problems the new government must start finding a solution, with great urgency and efficiency. The country can wait no longer and the country is tired of demagogic. The country wants to be told the truth—the country wants to know where it stands. The continuous pseudo-revolutionary verbal attacks produced a counter-productive effect upon the people producing legions of disenchanted if not rebellious people. Perhaps all this may have been the reason for the 'change in the wind' now conspicuously beginning to blow from the Right with the inevitable reflexes upon the Armed Forces Movement.

The truth is that the new government cannot fail in its mission. If its authority is not felt and respected without delay, if very concrete measures to start solving the basic problems facing the country are not taken, it is almost certain that this

country will see the Right returning in full strength, and worse still, with popular support to a degree never enjoyed before. Hence the reason why it is important to help the new government and the Prime Minister decisively in their patriotic efforts. It may be, perhaps, the last chance to create an authentic democracy, marching towards socialism in Portugal.

The extreme left does not understand, or seems not to wish to understand, this situation. Political realism never was their speciality and it defends aesthetic positions rather than political positions. Faced with the obvious revolutionary stem of the tide they order their troops to go forward in a paroxysm of agitation which is not even revolutionary because it is inconsequential. All the same they create disturbances and social tensions which are difficult to overcome. Above all it is mistaken in the choice of its opponent: in Portugal, in 1975, like Germany in the 1930s, the enemy is not social democracy but the Right, if not neo-fascism. And it is a tragic mistake, for which the Germans paid a tremendously heavy price, to confuse the two.

It has been even more difficult to accept the policy adopted by the leadership of the Communist Party during the crisis we have been

through: their refusal (childish and ridiculous) to sit at the same table with the representatives of the Popular Democratic Party; their refusal of the word *alliance* to define a Government constituted by agreement and having participation from the three parties. A certain duplicity seems to guide them towards a tricky political exercise aiming at having one foot inside and the other foot outside the Government.

The failure of their alliance game with the extreme left wing parties has placed them into a particularly difficult position *to negotiate with the Socialist Party a lasting left wing policy, capable of consolidating what has already been achieved in revolutionary conquests and able to force the counter-revolution to retreat in no uncertain terms.*

Lamentably, the campaign already in motion in the communications media against the Government, the deliberately-provoked social agitation on various fronts, does not promise anything good for the near future. Today, like in January 1975, at the time of the unity crisis, we state: If the Communist Party does not respect the rules of democracy it will be a tragedy for this country. And today we can add: the Right will be the winner.

Holland's second largest city, as large cities go Rotterdam is only a medium-sized town with approximately 630,000 inhabitants. It is really the port that made Rotterdam a familiar name around the world.

This is not new phenomenon. Even before the Second World War Rotterdam was a great world port. It was the Ruhr area's main trans-shipment point for raw materials destined to the German steel industry and a significant port of exit for a great variety of finished products. Its dependence upon its continental hinterland was not exactly a matter of continued rejoicing because the great depression of the thirties had a disastrous effect on the local employment situation what with such a large segment of the local labour force dependent upon foreign economies.

It must be stated clearly from the very outset that Rotterdam's port, however important to the Rotterdam economy, is not something the City Fathers have to contend with or to put up with. Unlike the situation in other countries Rotterdam's port is a municipal port, somewhat like other city departments such as public transportation, energy supply, and public health. In other words the port is a vital instrument with which to influence the local economy and democratically controlled by the local government.

This being the case there can be little doubt that the local government gives a great deal of thought and energy to keeping the port as it is: one of the main breadwinners for the Rotterdam population, and a breadwinner of some sort for the Dutch community as a whole. One more observation may be of interest at this point: the municipality does not actually engage in operating the port. The City government owns and develops the port while leaving the operational part in the hands of private business. It is obvious that close cooperation between those two bodies is desirable and necessary in order to obtain the maximum benefit and incentive for both employer and employee.

War Destruction

The Second World War destroyed much of Rotterdam's city centre and the larger part of Rotterdam's main artery, the port. The momentous decision facing the city government after the war's end was to make a choice. Scarcity of materials, capital and manpower made it completely impossible to start reconstruction of

both the city centre and the port installations. After most careful consideration priority was given to the port: the bloodstream providing jobs, money and basic fundamentals for daily living had to start moving again. The port had to be rebuilt first. At the same time the objective was to broaden its base: Rotterdam was not to become again—be it important—a trans-shipment port for Europe's industrial areas; it had learned the lessons of the past where economic fluctuations played havoc with the local environment. Rotterdam saw its way clear to implement the basic philosophy expressed by the national government to create jobs by concentrating on attracting foreign industry or by generating its own industrial schemes. The result of Rotterdam's approach towards the nationally-sponsored ideas were large-scale plans to expand the port area far beyond its existing borders to accommodate industrial complexes needing deep water facilities. They would provide jobs guaranteeing a more stable economic basis for the local economy and at the same time they would create more traffic in the port.

By the mid-sixties however, it became clear that the momentum the port and its industrial expansion had developed, had become so great that other vital areas in the life of a prospering city were lagging behind. It

We try to give the citizens living in the different city wards as much direct influence as possible in the area of policy making especially where it concerns them most: provisions for their own particular ward. Starting this administrative decentralisation in Rotterdam is unique in The Netherlands. Within the Rotterdam territory there are now four so-called district councils. The members of the district councils are elected directly by the population of the districts in which the councils operate. By so doing we hope to bring the government closer to the citizen and vice versa. In short: spreading power. The conditions under which the district councils are working are still far from ideal. There is no real power, of course, without authority to act and we, as the city government, have to transfer this to the district councils. Discussions are still going on about which powers have to be delegated or can be delegated and also whether all district councils need the same kinds of authority. But the first steps have been taken with encouraging results.

In their role as workers and employers the citizens are in closest con-

Socialist Mayors II

THE HEART OF ROTTERDAM

André van der Louw

Great changes have come to Dutch politics lately. At the end of the sixties, under pressure of reform movements (New Left of the Labour Party, Democrats '66, Christian Radicals, Provo, etc.) politics lost a good deal of its establishment character and the different viewpoints between left and right were brought into sharper focus (polarization). At the same time within the Labour Party a process of rejuvenation and radicalisation took place which got the ample approval of the electorate. At that particular time the Labour Party occupied 34 out of 150 seats in the Second Chamber while it now has 43 seats.

Rotterdam's ascendancy as an industrial key-pocket in a largely agricultural country paralleled a growing left vote at the elections. Rotterdam has traditionally been a 'red' city as Dutch people say. And, typically Dutch the Executive has in the past always been a compromise government, a coalition type government, with the main stream of political thought represented in the governing

tact with us in the context of the so-called 'social establishment policy'. In the past the city government has been repeatedly confronted with situations in which certain enterprises did not always follow the rules of social behaviour. In a motion tabled in the City Council in 1970 the Labour Party focussed attention on the problems in this particular area. The motion went through the various preparatory stages and finally took the form of a definite 'social establishment policy'. The starting point for this is that the city government does not only have great responsibility in the areas of environmental hygiene and the entire planning of the territory, but also in a social sense in selecting the enterprises wishing to settle here. An enterprise wishing to set up shop in the Rotterdam area first has to discuss with the Labour organisations the social conditions it plans to create (working conditions, social policy, work relations and so on).

The results of the discussions are written into a so-called 'declaration' which, among other things, contains factors which will be weighed up by the City Council when the proposal is made to lease a site to the enterprise. The policy under which sites are made available does not only make itself felt in this area but also in the sphere of environmental controlling measures; it is one of the most important instruments of economic policy.

As I mentioned earlier we are the owners of the land. We do not sell the land but we make long-term leases. Within the context of those leases it is possible to stipulate all kinds of terms.

City Rehabilitation

Another matter in the years to come which will time and again predominate in discussions is the phenomenon of 'city rehabilitation'. Until some years ago this meant 'reconstruction' which in most cases was tantamount to complete destruction of entire neighbourhoods. Under pressure from the citizens living in the older city quarters the word 'renewal' has now another connotation and the emphasis is on preserving what can be preserved instead of pulling down houses. In so doing we hope to save the special atmosphere of the various districts as well as the strong cohesion often found there.

Among the quarters selected as areas to be 'rehabilitated' there are

eleven, so designated by the City Council, as priority areas. Out of a total of about 60,000 seriously neglected houses it is likely that three-quarters of them may be saved, resulting in the removal of only about 15,000 houses. A variety of other measures such as the combining of two houses will make it likely that in the end about 40,000 houses will have to be renovated. In order to be able to do this the City Government launched a large scale programme for the acquisition of houses. In the course of this year the City hopes to acquire about fifty per cent of the houses in the older city quarters.

It is almost natural to suppose that the housing conditions are but one of the problems with which the older city districts are faced. The imbalance of the population structure there (a concentration of the lower paid, concentration of older people, concentration of foreign workers and concentration of incomplete households) is another problem. The third major problem in those sections of the city is the bad environmental conditions.

It is impossible to solve all those problems independently; in the years to come they will require the very best efforts, both in the sense of personal devotion and leadership, and of those responsible administrators. One more clarification may be necessary here. The constitution of the Netherlands provides for only one type of administrative unit at the local level. It is called the municipality. There are about 850 of them and they are all organised along the same lines; they all have the same rights and obligations regarding the central government and other higher—for instance provincial—levels of government. But it is obvious from what I said before, their responsibilities and the scope of their task differ greatly. Every municipality in Holland is administered by a municipal council—often called the 'head of government'—the City Executive Committee and a burgomaster or mayor. The members of the city council are freely elected and their term of office is four years. The number of councillors vary with the size of the municipality; Rotterdam has the maximum number of 45. The City Executive Committee consist of aldermen (their number also varies according to the number of inhabitants) who are elected from among the members of the city council. They have, in larger communities like Rotterdam, a full-time job. The President of both the City Council and the City Executive is the mayor who is not elected but nominated by the crown for a term of six years (which is almost automatically renewed unless the mayor wants to resign, the Labour Party wants the mayor to be elected in the future). The mayor has only an advisory voice in the City Council but he has an ordinary vote or a casting vote in the event of an equality of votes in the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is in a way the daily government of the city; it has been entrusted with a rather broad mandate by the City Council; at any rate the Committee prepares and implements the decisions of the council and controls the city's revenues and expenditures.

room. We try to correct the situation by limiting cars and giving the streets back to the citizens.

Not so long ago it was said that in Holland there was no place for socialist policies on a municipal level. The most recent development in Rotterdam certainly does not affirm this theory, but the great political homogeneity of the present Executive Committee is without doubt one of the contributing factors.

Social Democracy and India

IN INDIA SINCE THE DARK NIGHT

Bayard Rustin

Graveyard of Democracy

What an unspeakable tragedy, then, that the cradle of Satyagraha should become a graveyard of democracy; that writings of the poet Tagore, of Gandhi himself, and even of Mrs Gandhi's father, Nehru, should be considered dangerously subversive in that they speak of freedom and resistance against tyranny; that Gandhi's great disciple, Jaya Prakash Narayan, a man of extraordinary honesty, integrity, and gentleness, should be thrown into jail and called a 'fascist' and an 'imperialist agent'. If Mrs Gandhi has the support of the Indian people, as she claims, why is it that she could not permit a delegation of the Socialist International merely to visit J.P.? And why was I, once an honoured guest at the first Congress Party Assembly after independence, informed by the Indian Consul General in New York that I could not obtain a visa without being invited by some organisation approved of by the Prime Minister? Mrs Gandhi does not give the impression of sitting securely atop the vast state powers which she has unjustly usurped.

I strongly doubt that Mrs Gandhi will be able to deal more effectively now with India's social and economic

problems than before her coup. These problems are enormous. Two-thirds of India's 600 million people are illiterate; almost one-third try to survive on less than 30 dollars a year; half of the population is either unemployed or under-employed; there are more blind people in India than industrial workers; and the population is growing by some 15 million a year. Mrs Gandhi will not solve these problems by destroying democracy and suppressing the unions. She will only ensure, temporarily at least, her own survival. Nor can she expect to receive much help from her ally, the Soviet Union. Moscow can give her words of praise and encouragement, but it is having enough problems paying Cuba's bills without undertaking the economic salvation of a country about 65 times as large and 4 times as poor. Nor will Mrs Gandhi solve problems

by building hydrogen bombs, though it is not inconceivable that she will try to sell these weapons to a wealthy tyrant, thereby gaining some capital while edging the world closer to nuclear war.

No Hope Without Democracy

Democracy is certainly not the full answer to India's problems, but there is no hope without it. India is fortunate in having opposition leaders of great wisdom and dedication who have much to offer the country. If these people are silenced and jailed, any hope of marshalling the intellectual and human resources within India to deal constructively with the country's problems will vanish. Rosa Luxemburg once wrote (regarding Lenin's dictatorship) that 'Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element . . . such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalisation of public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hostages, and other violence.'

Will it come to this in India? Very likely, unless socialists and other democrats continue to put international pressure upon Mrs Gandhi to release her opponents, reopen the press, and return the country to democratic processes. Anything less than this would be harmful to India, and it would also be a crushing blow to those elsewhere in Asia and throughout the world who continue to believe that democracy and economic development can — indeed, must — go hand in hand.

Bayard Rustin, the National Chairman of Social Democrats, U.S.A., was Chairman of the Free India Committee in the United States before Indian independence and was arrested several times for sitting in at the British Embassy in Washington. In recognition of his work on behalf of

India, he was invited by Nehru to address the first Congress Party Assembly after independence. Together with Jaya Prakash Narayan, Mr Rustin also led the march from Tanzania into Northern Rhodesia in 1964 which was instrumental in forcing the plebiscite which resulted in independence for Zambia.

Social Democracy

SOCIALISM WITH A HUMAN FACE

The Irish Labour Party is one of the smallest Socialist parties in Western Europe, even in proportion to the population of the small country of which it is part. Its growth up to now has been retarded by a number of factors, one of which was a long prevailing tendency to make historical and nationalist issues the focus of current politics, thereby tending to minimise social issues. Another, and even more obvious, factor was a tendency to confuse Socialism with Communism. Only a few years ago in a small town in Kerry my wife heard a sermon preached on Communism and Socialism. The clergyman had some hard things to say about Communism, but then he went on to ask the vital question: 'What is the difference between Socialism and Communism? The fact is that Socialism is a heresy of Communism. Socialism is nothing more than a Protestant variety of Communism.' In a town whose population is almost 100 per cent Catholic, and of course anti-communist, this statement was not very helpful to the electoral prospects of socialist candidates.

Very recently indeed, I heard a speaker in the Dail seek to suggest that Socialists were responsible for the perversion of democracy in Portugal, although anyone who does no further than read the news or look at the television has to see that Socialists there are in the very front line of the defence of democratic values. However, I think that deceptions of that kind are taking less and less hold on a public which is steadily becoming more sophisticated, alert and informed.

Democratic Socialism Confused

It is not of course only in Ireland that the democratic socialist cause has suffered from the deliberate effort to

Within America Mr Rustin has been a prominent civil rights' leader and theoretician. He organised the massive March on Washington in 1963 which led to the passage of the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts, and he is currently president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an organisation of black trade unionists.

Conor Cruise O'Brien

also to lose its human face. Our socialism is in fact a functional extension of democracy, an effort to make wider areas of social and economic life responsive to the democratic process. Here we are brought back immediately to the theme of the International because democratic socialism — any more than the other kind — cannot be fully attained within the framework of one nation.

Community of Purpose

Thus, for all of us who are members of the European Economic Community the strength of the socialist parties in each of the other countries is a matter of importance, even though as we all know, the position of socialist parties within the institutions may often differ on particular matters in accordance with differing national and regional interests and the demands of electorates reflecting those interests. Important as such divergences may be, the community of outlook and purpose which unites members of the International is even more important: To take a particular example, I was interested to see a recent report of the Socialist International Special Committee on Multinational Companies, and even more interested to learn of the solid effort which is going into a serious survey of this problem. What we as socialists object to about these companies is not the fact that they are multinational, but the fact that at present their multinational character sets them to a very large extent free from all democratic control. The effort to bring them under democratic control has by definition to be an international effort and is in the highest degree an appropriate matter for the sustained attention of the Socialist International.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Bound volumes for 1973
and 1974 available

Price: £6 each

Orders to:

88A St. John's Wood
High Street, London NW8 7SJ

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Conferences

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION

At their 26th annual Party Congress which was held from 27 September-5 October, the Swedish Social Democratic Party adopted a long-term programme covering regional, energy and economic policies.

In what has been seen as a move away from the gradualist policies favoured during the Party's more than forty years in power, the Congress supported policies designed to substitute democratic control for the power of capital within large industries and multinational companies through a greater degree of employee participation.

In a major debate on the drugs industry, it was agreed that, rather than moving towards direct nationalisation, the government should give greater support to the national pharmaceutical group Kabi which already controls forty per cent of Swedish

production by granting it exclusive right to import foreign pharmaceuticals.

A proposal that banks should eventually be nationalised was rejected by the Congress which accepted instead the government's plan to introduce a bill this Autumn aimed at increasing public control within the banks. If this bill becomes law, as now seems likely, government representatives on administrative councils will no longer act merely as observers but will participate in the decision-making process.

The Congress has been seen as marking the arrival of a new generation of social democrats. 249 of the 350 were attending their first Party Congress and the average age of delegates was 44. Confidence in the leadership, however, remains strong; in a recent poll over 65 per cent of Social Democrats were said to support Olof Palme as leader of the Party.

Documents

MITTERRAND APPEALS TO FRENCH COMMUNISTS

The following is the text of a letter from François Mitterrand, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, sent on 13 August to the French Communist Party concerning the situation in Portugal:

Dear Comrades,

We would like to confirm by this letter, first and foremost, that the Socialist Party is ready to participate in any steps or approach which, without constituting an interference in Portugal's affairs, would serve to alleviate tensions and aid the cause of revolution,

i.e. the progress towards socialism.

Our party has already on several occasions denounced the threats, acts of violence, and violations of the rights of assembly and free speech, the arbitrary measures that have seriously affected the unity of the popular forces and have compelled the Portuguese Socialist Party to refuse to associate itself any longer with the responsibilities of government. It has also censured, as soon as they occurred, the assaults against the militants of the Portuguese Communist Party and the attacks against their headquarters.

The Council of the revolution was wise enough to understand and admit this when they organised the election of a Constituent Assembly. It would have been better still if they had

In view of the present heightening of tension, and specifically of the call to fanaticism and hate, which has unleashed a veritable witch hunt against the communists in the north of the country, our party reiterates even more formally this condemnation, and hopes that the parties and movements, which together led the 25 April revolution, will assess more closely the risks inevitably engendered by sectarianism and by the pursuit of power, and will learn how to overcome their disagreements.

In this respect, and contrary to the analysis made by your political Bureau, it feels that errors of judgment by the leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party have been largely responsible for imparting to events that course which we deplore. These mistakes should not be evaluated with complaisance if we wish to prepare for the reconciliations necessary to the furtherance of the revolution's aims. The refusal of a common programme with the socialists guaranteeing not only changes in the economic and social structures but also pluralism of opinions and parties and therefore of their expression; the seizure of a large number of local authorities by people without any mandate whose claim to management of public affairs appears excessive to anyone who has the interests of true democracy at heart; the virtual unconditional support given to an executive power representing but a minority; the contempt for the decisions arrived at by universal suffrage; the approval of the fact that the parties are pushed into the background and that those who had obtained the votes of the majority of the citizens, of the majority of the workers, are evicted; all these factors represent but a few of the points about which the French Socialist Party is determined to voice its complete disagreement.

The popular movement, embracing all the various trends which the revolution must take into account, will be all the stronger for submitting to the fundamental rules that distinguish democracy from pseudo-democracy. In the present circumstances, universal suffrage does not have all the answers but, without it, there is no answer at all to the hopes of the masses.

The Council of the revolution was wise enough to understand and admit this when they organised the election of a Constituent Assembly. It would have been better still if they had

drawn the essential conclusions from this ballot and extended the benefit of popular consultation to the town halls. Equally, whatever the contradictions are inherent to the revolutionary process, it would be holding cheap the experience and achievements of the workers' parties if one were to waive the priority of structured and responsible organisations in favour of groups and breakaway groupings which arise and disappear with individual events. We are convinced that, if the parties and movements involved in the Portuguese revolution united into one united government, as well as at every level of public life, if they together determined the first and next steps to be taken for the transition to a socialist society, if they boldly developed the democratic institutions, there would be an end to the present uncertainty. The supporters of fascism, emboldened by the protracted crisis, would be

Documents

DUTCH SOCIALISTS

At its conference on 25 August, the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) executive discussed developments in Portugal. The party executive wanted unequivocal clarity on the PvdA's stand in this respect. It therefore decided to publish the following declaration which was unanimously agreed upon:

- 1 We applaud the anti-fascist revolution of 25 April 1974 led by the Armed Forces Movement as we do the subsequent anti-feudal and anti-capitalist reformative measures. In our opinion, these deserve the support of all progressive people.
- 2 In respect of the Communist Party of Portugal, we define our position as follows:
We recognise and respect the role the Portuguese Communist Party has played in the fight against the Salazar and Caetano régimes and in frustrating the abortive coup of De Spinola.
- 3 Hence, we declare our immutable solidarity with the Portuguese Socialist Party in its struggle against the presumption of the Portuguese Communist Party. The PvdA joins the Portuguese Socialist Party in speaking for development directed towards a pluralist socialist democracy based on free elections and freedom of expression. To this end, the evolution of a participatory democracy (based on a foundation of self-governing units) could well represent an important and vital intensification of parliamentary democracy.
- 4 We regretfully ascertain that both in Portugal and elsewhere various

forced back into the limbo from which they were able to come because of the divisions of the Left.

All of this is possible and all of this is urgent. During these last days propositions have been put forward to this effect both by members of the Armed Forces Movement and by our socialist comrades, whilst the General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party has announced that the communist militants were particularly instructed to seek a better relationship with the other parties of the Left.

Therefore we once again declare ourselves ready to participate in a campaign able to mobilise public opinion in our country in order to support the Portuguese people in their struggle against all forms of exploitation which still oppress them, and to defend with them their right to live freely, safe from acts of violence. However, clear principles must be enounced and abided by.

reactionary forces are coming to the fore and, taking advantage of Mario Soares' good democratic reputation, are trying to turn back the revolution. The executive of the PvdA is deeply concerned over anti-communist eruptions in Northern Portugal and the part therein played by some of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (for example, the Archbishop of Braga). The PvdA has taken note with approval of the fact that the Portuguese Socialist Party has unequivocally condemned these instances of arson and attack and has invoked its cadre to resist them.

The PvdA argues that all who formerly refused to stand up against the Salazar-Caetano dictatorships have forfeited the right to sudden anxiety over the state of democracy in Portugal.

We designate as particularly suspect and hypocritical statements by the leaders of the USA, remembering very well to what extent they undermined and beleaguered the democratic Allende government in Chile. We maintain that the Portuguese Socialist Party's resistance against communist efforts to obtain a monopoly of power on many levels is legitimate and democratic, as is our support. We also hold that this position is principally distinguished from a type of anti-communism that, operating under democratic pretexts, is simply aiming to preserve or recover the old status quo, privileges and capital interest stakes.

- 5 We have heard with approval of the proposals put forward by the Portuguese Socialist Party on 28 July to set up a government of National Salvation, founded on a broad population basis, a number of important political parties and the Armed Forces Movement. This kind of government could guarantee advance in a socialist and democratic direction and, knowing itself supported by a majority of the population, evade the chance of a relapse into fascism. We likewise commend Soares' suggestion of a joint conference of the socialist and communist parties of Portugal, Spain, France and Italy to discuss a strategy for switching to socialism.
- 6 The PvdA naturally respects the choice Portugal will make in the future as to the forms of its executive organisations as well as its choice of economic, military and political alliances, provided that

these will reflect the will of the majority of the population and providing that the rights of men, including minorities, will be assured.

- 7 As things stand in Portugal, the not entirely obvious balance of power does certainly not preclude the possibilities of democratic developments and 'socialism with a human face'.

In the light of this situation, we

Documents

SPAIN: THE PLATFORM OF DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE

The following is the manifesto of the Platform of Democratic Convergence, an alliance of Spanish political and trade union organisations opposed to the Franco régime and seeking the establishment of a democratic and pluralist society in Spain. The Platform was established inside Spain on 12 July and includes among its founder organisations the Socialist International's Spanish affiliate, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).

MANIFESTO:

The peoples of the Spanish State have been subjected for nearly forty years to an anti-democratic régime which has prevented its citizens from exercising their fundamental rights as human beings.

The Spanish State is confronted by serious political, socio-economic and cultural problems, as much on the internal level as that of international relations, so there is a great need for clarification of our positions, in the service of our people, and common action of all the trade unionist and democratic forces.

The democratic forces have got to act in common in this historical moment that we are passing through — marked by the decomposition of the dictatorship. This necessitates a firm refutation of the régime and its foreseen continuity in the Monarchy, established by the succession laws.

plead for fast economic support for Portugal (from the EEC, amongst others), commensurate with the country's stage of development. That means a generous trade policy and comprehensive financial aid without raising barriers against a continued socialist development in Portugal. Economic aid without surveillance can, in our opinion, stimulate the chances of development in a democratic direction.

3—The form of the government has to remain subjected to the decision of the popular will expressed in elections.

4—The Platform of Democratic Convergence propounds that through the popular will, means of changing the socio-economic and cultural structures should be adopted urgently to obtain an improvement in the conditions of work and life of the people and to build a progressive and just society.

5—The Platform of Democratic Convergence is conscious of the existence of nationalities and regions with their own ethnic, historical or cultural personality within the Spanish State. It recognises their right to self-determination and the formation of organs of self-government in the nationalities of the State, from the moment of the democratic rupture and proposes a federal structure in the constitution of the Spanish State.

6—The Platform of Democratic Convergence, in the situation in which the opposition to the régime finds itself, adopts, without any reserve, a united position, and considers it necessary to maximise efforts to create a single organism within which the existing member organisations can be integrated and merged together, as well as all the democratic parties, movements and trade union organisations that desire inclusion.

The Platform of Democratic Convergence reiterates its decision to act as a driving force in the mobilisation of the people to build a régime of Justice and Liberty, opposed to oppression.

Signatories of the Manifesto are:

Basque Consultative Council (Basque Nationalist Party, Basque Nationalist Action and Socialist Central Committee of Euzkadi, CNT of Euzkadi, Solidarity of Basque Worker's UGT of Euzkadi); Democratic Left; Spanish Communist Movement; Revolutionary Organisation of Workers; Carlist Party; Galician Social-Democrat Party; Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE); Socialist and Democratic Regroupment of Catalonia; Democratic Union of the Valencia Country; General Union of Workers (UGT); Spanish Social-Democratic Union; Spanish Democratic Republican Alliance (ARDE); Solidarity of Catalonian Workers (SOC).

The other essays are a hotchpotch. They include simple straightforward accounts of their experiences from two well-known journalists, one black (Lionel Morrison) and one white (Derek Humphry) which though highly readable are totally different from Husband's tightly argued essay. There are useful illustrations of racism in personal accounts and extracts from

interviews. John Downing and Alexander Kirby zealously expose the racism, respectively, of media coverage of Africa in the 1960's and the floundering oligarchy of the old Institute of Race Relations in the early 70's.

The basic message of the book is important for politicians and those concerned with equality. It is this:

doing nothing in a society which is basically racist (because of its imperial history and culture) is tantamount to encouraging racism. It is necessary actively to present counter-myths and counter-stereotypes as a conscious act of positive discrimination in order to combat the endemic racism of the mass media and the society.

SOCIALIST DIARY

COMMON GROUND FOR SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

An informal conference of Socialist party leaders from France, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece was held at the invitation of François Mitterrand, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, at his country house at Latché, south of Bordeaux, 23-24 May. Those taking part were Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, Felipe Gonzales, First Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, André Cools, President of the Belgian Socialist Party; Andreas Papandreou, Chairman of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement was represented and Charalambos Protopapas, Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Union of Greece was also present. Other representatives of the French Socialist Party included Gastone Deferre, Mayor of Marseille, and Robert Pontillon, Mayor of Suresnes and National Secretary in charge of international affairs of the French Socialist Party.

The situation in Portugal was the subject of intense discussion on both days of the conference. While no official statement was issued from this informal meeting, the delegates made clear their support for the Portuguese Socialist Party at a press conference

held for Mario Soares after the meeting.

Describing the situation in Italy on the eve of the provincial elections, Bettino Craxi pointed out that Portugal was important in the campaign with the Christian Democrats attempting to use the situation in Portugal against the Communists and Socialists. He did, however, stress the firm attitude of the Italian Communist Party in defending freedom in Portugal, particularly in connection with the 'República' affair. All representatives at the meetings condemned the recent suppression of the freedom of the press which led to the closure of the Portuguese Socialist Party's daily newspaper 'República'.

With regard to Greece, the representatives of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement and the Democratic Socialist Union of Greece, while explaining the differences of opinion between them were in agreement that the political climate in Greece had worsened.

Felipe Gonzales, describing the situation in Spain, on which events in Portugal had a more direct influence than elsewhere, said that the likelihood of imminent changes in Madrid provided greater justification for closer links between socialists in Southern Europe.

François Mitterrand summing up the work of the meeting stressed that the socialists at the meeting were faced with a unique problem: 'It is a question of knowing how to develop the union of the masses with the political parties representing the popular forces. This raises the problem

of alliances, union and cohesion between the socialist and communist parties. It is for us all a question of socialist choice'.

MARIO SOARES

Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party, represented the Socialist International at the annual Conference of the British Labour Party at Blackpool held from 29 September-3 October. He was accompanied by Rodney Balcomb, Assistant General Secretary of the Socialist International.

In the history of the British Labour Party Mario Soares is only the fourth foreign party representative invited to address Conference. Invitations had been extended previously to Leon Blum, the French Socialist leader, Helmut Schmidt, the German Social Democratic leader and Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party.

MAGATTE LO

The General Secretary of the Socialist International, Hans Janitschek, had talks in London on 1 October with the Political Secretary of the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS), Monsieur Magatte Lo, who is also a member of the Government of Senegal.

Monsieur Lo came to the United Kingdom to attend the annual Conference of the British Labour Party at Blackpool to which he had been

invited as the first representative of a West African socialist party.

SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN PORTUGAL

Social Democratic leaders from 11 nations met in Stockholm on 2 August immediately following the Helsinki summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Participants of the meeting, set up on the initiative of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, were Trygve Bratteli, Prime Minister of Norway Anker Joergensen, Prime Minister of Denmark and Chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party, Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor of West Germany and Vice-Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain and Leader of the British Labour Party, Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria and Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, Joop den Uyl, Prime Minister of the Netherlands and Leader of the Dutch Labour Party, Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel and Leader of the Israel Labour Party, Willy Brandt, Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party, Reulf Steen, Chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party, and Kalevi Sorsa, Prime Minister of Finland and Chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

The meeting discussed the situation in Portugal as well as Israel's position in the United Nations. Mario Soares told the meeting that he was still optimistic about the chances of democratic development in Portugal. He said Portugal was suffering from an economic crisis and a social crisis caused by lack of authority and he appealed for aid without political strings from the European Community.

The meeting, to a large extent a demonstration of support for Dr Soares and his Party, decided to form

a committee of friendship and solidarity in support of democratic socialism in Portugal. Guidelines for the activities of the committee were later drawn up by a working group under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

The Party leaders also took a unanimous stand against any attempts to exclude Israel from the United Nations.

GUY MOLLET

Guy Mollet, Prime Minister of France for sixteen months from 1956-7 and a former Secretary-General of the French Socialist Party for twenty-two years, died on 3 October at the age of 69. Guy Mollet, born on 31 December 1905, the son of a weaver, joined the Socialist Party as a teenager and became its Secretary-General in 1946.

Guy Mollet was an ardent supporter of the Socialist International in its early days after the Second World War when he was elected Vice-Chairman. Writing in 'Socialist International Information' (the predecessor of 'Socialist Affairs') in December 1952 in an article entitled 'In Aid of the Socialist International', he appealed for his Party to support the International — 'I count upon the devotion of all, convinced that I shall not appeal in vain to the deep feeling of international solidarity which has always been prevalent among French Socialists. Let us all set to work, comrades, in support of the Socialist International'.

SOCIALIST GROUP AT IPU

A Socialist Group was formed at the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held in London from 2-13 September, to coordinate action by socialist delegates.

The Group was formed at a meeting chaired by British Labour MP Bob Edwards on 10 September in the presence of Hans Janitschek, General Secretary of the Socialist International who, together with Ron Hayward, General Secretary of the British Labour Party, addressed the meeting.

The meeting was attended by: Tony Lamb (Australian Labor Party); Al-

fred Gisel (Austrian Socialist Party); Omaar Capels (Belgian Socialist Party); Jean Perrier (French Socialist Party); Klaus Von Dohnanyi (German Social Democratic Party); Mrs Ora Namir (Israel Labour Party); Giuseppe Amadei (Italian Social Democratic Party); Pietro Lezzi (Italian Socialist Party); Pieter A. de Ruiter (Dutch Labour Party); Thorbjørn Kutterup (Norwegian Labour Party); Chong Yee Chai (Singapore People's Action Party); Sture Ericson, Mrs Kerstin Jordan, Mrs Maj-Lis Landberg, Birger Rosqvist, Barbro Engman (Swedish Social Democratic Party); Noureddine Glenza (Neo-Destour Party of Tunisia); W. T. Williams, Lord Segal, Bob Edwards, William Hamilton, Alex Woodall (British Labour Party); Jaime Lusinchi (Democratic Action Party, Venezuela); Haluk Ulman (People's Republican Party of Turkey); Virat Kamudamas and Sunit Khurasri (New Forces Party of Thailand); Charalambos Protopapas (Greek Democratic Socialist Union); Camillo Salva (Radical Party of Chile).

CHILE MPS AT INTERNATIONAL

A parliamentary delegation of the Unidad Popular of Chile accompanied by the Chilean Christian Democratic leader, Bernardo Leighton, and the former Chilean Ambassador to London, Alvaro Bunster, visited the Secretariat of the Socialist International for talks with the General Secretary, Hans Janitschek, on Friday, 5 September.

The delegation which was led by Camillo Salva, member of the Executive Committee of the Radical Party of Chile, a member party of the Socialist International, expressed thanks to the Socialist International for its support for the liberation struggle of the Chilean people.

The delegation which had come to London on the occasion of the annual conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union consisted of Camillo Salva (Radical Party), Alejandro Jiliberto (Socialist Party), and Luis Tejeda Oliva (Communist Party).

Carlos Parra, International Secretary of the Radical Party of Chile, as well as Claudio Huepe of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, were also present.