

SOCIALIST DIARY

Dos Santos

Marcellino Dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, the African liberation movement fighting in Mozambique, visited the Secretariat of the Socialist International on 21 June, for talks with the General Secretary. Dos Santos said that the meeting was an important step for FRELIMO and that although FRELIMO and Social democratic parties may differ in their approach to certain problems their aim is the same—they are all fighting for freedom. Dos Santos emphasised the important role the Socialist International could play and expressed the hope for continued good relations between the two organisations.

Research Council

The Socialist International Research Council held a seminar in Stockholm from 25–26 June. This was the second seminar of the Research Council since it was established by the Bureau in March 1971, the first having been held in London in January 1972. Twenty-six representatives of research departments and institutes of parties affiliated to the Socialist International took part and continued their discussion on Multinational Companies and Industrial Democracy.

Two main papers were presented to the seminar: the first on Multinational Companies was presented by Bo Elmgren of the Research Department of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, and the second on Industrial Democracy was presented by Per Kleppe of the Research Office of the Labour Movement in Norway.

The seminar elected a drafting committee, composed of Terry Pitt (Research Department, British Labour Party), Jan Olsson (Metal Workers' Union, Sweden) and Sylvain Libert (Emile Vandervelde Institute, Belgium), to prepare a resolution for presentation to the Bureau of the Socialist International on Multinational Companies based on the findings of the Council so far. The resolution concluded:

'We urge the Bureau of the Socialist International to take up the proposal by

the International Metal Workers' Federation and set up a Task Force to prepare specific short and medium term proposals for national action and draw up a comprehensive code of international regulations. It should put special emphasis on the possibilities for socialist parties to follow up politically international trade union action.'

'The Task Force should also be a centre for the flow of ideas and information. The Task Force should represent both parties and trade union organisations, and should have adequate resources and staff to draw up a first full report on one year. Meanwhile the Socialist International Research Council will continue its work, and prepare a comprehensive report on the problems arising from multinational companies. The report will be ready, if the Bureau so requests, in time for debate at the Council meeting in Malta in November.'

Bureau

The Bureau meeting on 30 June adopted strong statements condemning the phoney plebiscite held in Greece on 29 July to inaugurate one of the Colonels as Head of State. It also very strongly supported the Government of President Salvador Allende in Chile in the face of new, this time armed, attacks from the Extreme Right. The Bureau further authorised the General Secretary to undertake study trips to Romania and Cyprus and it laid down the agenda for the forthcoming Council Conference of the Socialist International to be held in Malta on 2 and 3 November. The main subjects being the General Secretary's report and Debate on the international situation. The Bureau also heard reports on recent meetings of study groups of the Socialist International dealing with questions of development and environment, of international terrorism and of equality of women. The Bureau also discussed the financial situation of the Socialist International in view of the fact that a substantial number of member parties are in arrears with their affiliation fees. The Bureau finally appointed Hans Janitschek to succeed Alan Day as Editor of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS. The Bureau will meet again in London on 29 August.

Mario Soares was an official guest of the British Labour Party during Dr Caetano's visit, the Labour Party having announced that they would boycott all public events connected with the visit.

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EDITORIAL

Watergate International

We are publishing in this issue a report (to be followed by more detailed ones) about the second session of the Socialist International Research Council, the co-ordinating instrument of the Research Institutes of the Member Parties of the Socialist International, which has been investigating the sinister role of multinational companies in the world of today. At the same time we are reviewing on page 79 the latest book by Anthony Sampson, called *The Sovereign State*, focusing again on the power or, better, the abuse of power exercised by one of the multinational giants, namely the ITT.

This special emphasis on the subject of multinational companies in this issue is no accident. It is an indication of the growing concern of Social Democrats about the growing interference by multinational companies in the affairs of the nations and, above all, the peoples of this world, about their cold-blooded defiance of the laws and rules established by civilised nations; about their employ-

ment of methods and devices on a much larger scale than had been used by the Watergate conspirators in the United States.

With the war in Vietnam having come at least to a temporary halt and the Middle East conflict at least for the present time being contained, world public interest should now be drawn to the threat of the multinationals. As the case of Chile has shown so clearly some do not hesitate to attempt to overthrow governments; as Watergate itself has demonstrated they are capable of involving the Attorney-General of the most powerful nation—if not anyone even higher up—in their illegal manoeuvres and as the Socialist International Research Council said in Stockholm in June, penetration by international private capital makes no distinction between developed or less developed countries.

There is no organised force to stop these troublemakers in international affairs. It is time for the nations of the world to find the remedy. Social Demo-

I should like to take the opportunity to express thanks to Alan Day who gave up the editorship of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS in order to join an international publishing house, for the pioneer work he has done in this respect by drawing the attention of our readers to the danger of the multinationals and, of course, also for all the other assistance and guidance we had from him during his five years of service with the Socialist International.

Hans Janitschek

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GREEK REFERENDUM

The Colonels' Second Coup

The abolition of the Monarchy and the latest transfiguration of ex-Colonel Papadopoulos into a 'Presidential' dictator, have been interpreted as signs of a further strengthening of the regime of April 1967. The institutionalisation of Army rule becomes more apparent and the choice of the Chief of the Armed Forces General Angelis as the (unopposed) Vice-Presidential candidate in the referendum of 29 July are clear signs of adoption of the Turkish model whereby the post of the President will be filled when it becomes vacant by the Head of the Armed Forces.

Yet, the circumstances under which the so-called Republic has been proclaimed show that recent developments have in fact produced a significant erosion of the power basis of the regime. Since its inception, the Greek Colonels' regime has been based on the open and unquestionable support of the Armed Forces. Several purges took place, especially during the regime's first year in power, in order to ensure that the totality of the Armed Forces is behind the regime. Serious doubts have always existed as to how far this has in fact been achieved. But no concrete evidence of serious opposition from within the serving officers has been produced until 23 May, when an attempted mutiny in the Greek Navy led to the arrest of sixty officers in acting service including five Air Force officers; another three retiring high ranking officers were also implicated and held briefly. Hardly had the regime recovered from its shock and another mutiny—of minor military importance but of major political significance—was reported on 25 May when Captain Pappas and his crew of the destroyer *Velos* leave NATO exercises off Naples, mutiny and seek (and obtain) political asylum in Italy. The regime's panic from these events could be easily seen from the measures that followed: for many days hundreds of officers have been undergoing interrogation inside their barracks, the Air Force was grounded and most naval and air bases were surrounded by tanks—a visible sign of the junta's weakening grip over the Armed Forces. Not so, however, for the NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Copenhagen early in June, which has decided to maintain its myopic view and refuse to consider the question, asked by Captain Pappas in a press conference, as to how Greece can ensure the defence of NATO's eastern

flank when half of her military officers are either in jail or under surveillance and the other half are busy guarding them.

Constantine dethroned

Although the naval mutiny was used as the pretext for the dethronement of Constantine it was not nevertheless its cause. It was obvious for many years that the junta wanted to close the file of Constantine whom they considered as their most serious rival in the contest for the control of the Greek Armed Forces. As Constantine never made explicit any intention to give up what Greek Kings always considered as their right—i.e. to actively head the Armed Forces—it was inevitable that a regime whose only constituency is that of the Armed Forces would attempt at a certain stage to abolish the Monarchy as a means of consolidating its own power over the military.

The abolition of the Monarchy should thus be seen as the latest development in the struggle for the domination of the Armed Forces by two rivalling sections of conservative forces in Greek society both of which consider the Army as one of the key factors that would enable them to exercise effective power in that society. The origins of the present feud between the constitutional royalists and the *sui generis* fascists of the Papadopoulos gang can be traced back to the post-civil war developments in Greece. Under the influence of reactionary right wing governments that dominated the scene before 1967 (with small interruptions between 1950-51 and 1964-65) a host of intelligence, security and paramilitary organisations have been created whose sole aim was to prevent the progressive forces on the left wing from coming to power. The growth of these organisations led finally to the development of a parallel state, a state within the state—a fact so vividly portrayed by C. Gavras in his film 'Z'. It is this parallel state which has become the state itself since April 1967. The intelligence officers, the militia men, those who practised intimidation before election time and fraud during elections, were not any longer satisfied with the role of the messenger boy of the Establishment. In the process they have constantly tried to deprive their former patrons—the Greek conservatives—of all the vestiges of power. In this they were assisted by their alliance with the

shipowning interests and the major foreign companies operating in Greece which have found in the junta a far better guarantor of cheap labour sources (through the control of the trade unions) and of their tax privileges.

Whatever the origins of the split in the Greek right, the fact is that the abolition of the Monarchy was the last card that Papadopoulos could play in his desperate game to consolidate the power of his ruling junta. The naval mutiny by forcing him to act prematurely, meant that certain preconditions that had to be fulfilled were not satisfied. This may then lead to further complications especially within the Armed Forces and the possibility of a series of coups in the Latin American fashion should not be excluded.

Such a possibility is further strengthened by reports, following the recent events, that Papadopoulos intended to relieve all former army men in his government of their responsibilities after the referendum. Pattakos' statement that he was ready for a rest, and a fierce attack on some of the terms of the referendum by a Cretan newspaper very close to Pattakos. The rumours of the serious discord among the junta members were so persistent that Papadopoulos' office took the unusual step of issuing a statement emphasising how solidly united the regime has been.

Students challenge

It would however be wrong to see the events following the naval mutiny in isolation and not to place them in perspective. The mutiny and what followed were perhaps the climax of a series of escalated acts of resistance against the regime whose origin can be traced back to the student unrest that became particularly difficult for the junta to suppress.

The students' challenge to the regime's authority started last December when first in the University of Athens and then in the other Universities in Salonika, Patras and Ioannina, the campaign to hold free elections for the union executives, to take part in the elaboration of a new higher education charter that the ex-Colonel in charge of Education was threatening to introduce and to get rid of government commissioners in universities, has gained such a momentum that it was no longer possible to avoid an open clash with the regime's police by invoking the usual methods of intimidation. Buildings were occupied in many higher education establishments, demonstrations have taken place and in some cases a number of hitherto docile professors have expressed support for the students' cause.

Until the beginning of May—i.e. just before the examination period—students' protests and open acts of defiance continued and the regime used the traditional brutality, for which it is renowned, to crush this protest movement. More than 100 students were drafted to the Army, seventy more students and six of their lawyers were arrested and held for months without charge in the dungeons of the security police—the place from which have come the most disturbing torture stories.

The growth of the student movement and its success in constantly challenging the authority of the military regime has been the most important development inside Greece since 1970. The students have shown exceptional political maturity and shrewdness and have succeeded where the older organised resistance movements failed, i.e. in mobilising people in a co-ordinated and united way and challenging the system of oppression with unusual courage and determination. The significance of the student movement is that it is a movement with true revolutionary potential in the sense that it has shown to other sectors of the population how to mobilise and effectively confront the oppression that permeates everyday life. The militancy and political consciousness of the students, their astuteness in avoiding the trap of division and disunity, have certainly taught vital lessons to the Greek resistance. In a way the Greek students have repeated to their compatriots what Kazantzakis had once said: 'Do not despair to ask, Shall we win? Shall we be defeated? FIGHT!'

The naval uprising came thus as a response to a situation that has been developing since the Greek students took action. It must be now pointed out that this has not been the only response. The Greek working people are now set to follow the students' example. Early in July the first effective strike action by the printers' union succeeded in disrupting for a day the publication of five Athens dailies. Construction workers and bank employees are also discussing strike action. The economic situation with a serious inflationary process in full movement renders such developments plausible. One hopes that the growth of similar movements among other sectors of Greek society will soon lead to a multifaceted popular revolt that will signal the end of the junta.

With the student movement ready to surface again after the summer, with important sections of the working class already following the path that students have opened up, with the basis of the junta inside the armed forces seriously

eroded, with discords within the junta becoming more visible everyday, it is hard to conclude that the proclamation of the pseudo-Republic has strengthened the military regime. Undoubtedly, the cause of Republicanism in Greece is very popular. But people's tolerance cannot be bought by the dictatorship by simply ousting the King whilst at the same time maintaining martial law, restricting basic freedoms even further and continuing the systematic oppression as before.

American multinationals

The regime's difficulties inside Greece are likely to be accompanied by increasing international complications. The EEC-Greece association treaty is bound to come under revision in the framework of the new EEC policy towards the Mediterranean countries. This may give the opportunity for an entire suspension of the association treaty—a development that may lead to a confrontation between the junta and the business community in Greece. The position of Greece in NATO may also come under renewed criticism. There is already talk about the setting up of an ad hoc committee to investigate the state of the Armed Forces in Greece. And in the United States the sub-committee on Europe of the Foreign Affairs Committee is starting a new series of hearings on Greece. The revelations of CIA involvement and Papadopoulos's pro-Nazi record that appeared in the London *Observer* (1 July 1973) are bound to exert some pressure on the Committee. But perhaps more significant is the fact that in the wake of the Watergate scandal, important links between some American multinationals and the dictatorial regime came to the surface. During the investigations of the accounts of the Committee to re-elect the President, the US General Accounting Office has shown that Tom Pappas made twelve round trips between Athens and Washington on behalf of the Committee in 1972 in order to bring funds back into the Nixon campaign. Now, Tom Pappas is the co-owner of the ESSO-PAPPAS complex in Greece whose activities after the coup expanded from oil refining and petrochemicals to steel, Coca Cola and food products. An intimate friend of the Greek dictator, he was also the promoter of Spiro Agnew in 1968. In 1972 he became one of the eight co-chairmen of the Committee to re-elect the President. The question to be investigated is on the one hand the source of the funds brought back to Washington by Tom Pappas and on the other hand the extent

to which questionable dealings might have been involved. Such questions are bound to come up in the hearings of the sub-committee. And perhaps the role of another multinational, Marriot Hotels, may also come under scrutiny. Co-owner of Marriot Hotels in Greece and supplier of food for Onassis' Olympic Airways is none other than Donald Nixon, brother of Richard Nixon. The fact that he is the President's brother may not in itself be significant, but the

easiness with which he has just swung a \$10 million loan from the junta and the generally hospitable conditions his company has found in Greece are strong indications of the methods used by the junta to develop friendly relations with the present US Administration. The Colonels are willingly transforming Greece into an economic satellite of American multinationals.

George Yannopoulos

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democrats

Five years after the Prague Spring it seems appropriate to throw light on one of the basic problems of that period, the resumption of the activities by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. The reason for it is not so much the anniversary but the development of international relations, in which some features of this chapter of history transposed into other dimensions, seem more topical now than in 1968, but are in the East hidden from our sight by dogmatic clichés and in the West judged in a more or less simplified manner.

One of the basic elements of the policy of the Dubcek leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, elected on 5 January 1968, was the question of the revision of the preceding political trials. The Social Democrats had been particularly hard hit by the perversion of justice inherent in the system of Communist monopoly power, both in connection with the methods of interrogation, the harshness of the sentences and their implementation and the chicanery after release. This perversion of justice extended far beyond the last years of the Stalinist period. After the 1953 workers' revolt in various industrial centres, the organisation of state security initiated in connection with the forcible abduction from Salzburg of B. Lausman, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, a large-scale persecution campaign to which several hundred party functionaries fell victim.* Even in 1956 a further trial of Social Democrats was prepared, but did not take place.

One must, however, not overlook that for the CP of Czechoslovakia in 1968 the revision of the political trials was mainly for their own rehabilitation in the eyes of public opinion. At the

problem of the then situation: to confront the proclamations of the CP of Czechoslovakia regarding democratisation, which had been fairly imprecisely formulated in their Action Programme of April 1968, with reality. We considered this our duty. At the same time we were of the opinion that it was not a question of re-establishing the Party, but of a resumption of our activities.

Socialists meet communists

Upon the invitation of the Chairman of the National Front, the Preparatory Committee (Zd. Bechyne as Chairman, Fr. Coupek, P. Janyr, J. Munzar and Dr J. Veverka as members) met the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia (J. Smrkovsky, Dr Fr. Kriegel, A. Indra, all members of the Presidium of the Party, and St Posusta, member of the Central Secretariat of the CP of Czechoslovakia) on 23 May. The subject of the meeting was by no means the question of 'getting permission' for the Social Democratic Party to exist, as this would have meant dependence upon the CP and also because neither the CP of Czechoslovakia nor the Ministry of the Interior or any other state institution could have exercised such a right. In the discussion we have justified our decision as follows:

1. We welcome the course on which the new leaders of the CP of Czechoslovakia have embarked and support it.

2. While this course has met with a very positive response by the public, some voices have been heard which demand guarantees for a really democratic development, among them also a rebirth of Social Democracy.

3. The resumption of the activities of the Social Democratic Party, which will anyway be achieved independently of our decision, will prevent a further radicalisation of the public mood, offer guarantees for maintaining the positive sides of the changes in society which already happened and limit the risks of the growth of certain powers which might be opposed to it.

4. We would not like to hold against the CP of Czechoslovakia their past, as we are convinced that the new leaders

* The mysterious disappearance from Salzburg of B. Lausman in December 1953 and his re-appearance in Prague in May 1954 has been differently interpreted in the West. As late as March 1969 the SII (page 47) published the article 'The Death of B. Lausman' which refers to the report published by me, but raises doubts as to whether Lausman had really been abducted. Today there is no longer any doubt on this point.

The point in question was a basic

are ready to settle that account themselves, and shall endeavour to achieve good relations as equal partners.

The representatives of the CP of Czechoslovakia were opposed to the decision we had arrived at, and explained this with very problematic arguments:

1. While they consider our intentions as sincere, they believe that the resumption of the activity of Social Democracy would mean a fragmentation of socialist power and would lead to fighting amongst each other.

2. It would lead to the establishment of further parties.

3. The working class would not tolerate a further split.

They invited us to become members of the CP of Czechoslovakia, promising that they would offer us adequate positions. We have rejected their opinions and offers and declared that we would continue our preparations. In this connection we raised the question as to whether we would be prevented from it by sheer force or through an action of the Ministry of the Interior. A. Indra replied to this literally: 'We would not dream of treating you from a position of power... We shall only fight you with political means.'†

When judging these attitudes, we must not forget that the representatives of the CP of Czechoslovakia expressed the opinions of the Party Leaders and not perhaps their personal conviction; but even those opinions show new features.

Censorship

The mentioned 'political means' consisted above all in instructions to the press not to report about us at all. With the exception of a few papers these instructions were also respected and even enlarged by spreading misleading news about us. Nevertheless preparatory committees were formed in various places and the organisational structures of the Party created. The dogmatic powers within the CP made use of this by alerting the Party apparatus with an alarming report on our alleged plans to

† In the publicity campaign which the regime wages at present against Social Democracy, this meeting is not mentioned with a single word in order not to compromise A. Indra, at present President of Parliament and Member of the CP Presidium who in August 1968 had been designated by the Soviets as Prime Minister of a 'workers and peasants government', but would not like to be reminded as having negotiated with representatives of a party branded today as 'illegal'.

destroy the CP of Czechoslovakia; thus they used pressure on Dubcek to proceed against us.

At that moment we received an invitation from the Prague Town Committee of the CP (which belonged to the most powerful and progressive ones) to an 'unofficial' meeting, which, we were told, had, however, been approved by the Party Presidium. To forestall the endeavours of the dogmatists, we had come to the following arrangement:

1. The decision about the moment of change from preparatory to political activity is left to the judgement of the leaders of Social Democracy, but will not be taken without prior consultation with the CP of Czechoslovakia. The CP will, on the other hand, respect what Social Democracy had undertaken so far.

2. The CP of Czechoslovakia will guarantee that the law will not be changed in any way that could prevent Social Democracy from functioning.

3. Both sides will discontinue attacks on each other in the press.

4. They shall also in future keep in constant touch.

This arrangement was accepted by the presidium of the CP of Czechoslovakia and properly kept by both sides. The Prague Town Committee also offered us seats on the Czech National Council then in the making, which, though, we did not accept, just as some personal offers submitted to us by J. Smrkovsky by order of the Party Presidium, as these were aimed at making us change our decision.

At that juncture the international situation had rapidly deteriorated. From Warsaw the five Communist parties wrote a letter to the CP of Czechoslovakia in which they defined the activity of Social Democracy as an attempt to restore the capitalist order. The CP's reply, which had been unanimously approved by the plenum of the Central Committee, in no way reacted to this reproach, thus giving to understand that it regarded it as unfounded.

Through our contacts with the CP of Czechoslovakia we had information about the fact that their relations with the other East-European parties had by no means consolidated themselves and that further moves from that side should be expected; what one had in mind were at most economic measures, and the possibility of a military solution was not seriously mentioned. Then the CP of Czechoslovakia got an invitation for talks with the CP of the Soviet Union. In order not to complicate this anyway difficult situation, we decided

on 26 July to call a halt to our activities. Shortly before the departure to Cierna we answered the question of a member of the CP of Czechoslovakia's delegation as to whether we intended in future to form the opposition, with a clear 'no' and the question whether we would be ready to join the Government together with the CP, with a clear 'yes'.

Although the Meeting at Cierna provided a glimmer of reassurance, we did not resume our activities, and in view of the events of 21 August we confirmed in a letter to the CP of Czechoslovakia of 2 September that the stoppage would continue.

Democrats slandered

Dubcek's final downfall in April 1969 and the restoration of the dogmatists to the leadership of the CP of Czechoslovakia opened the door to an extended slander campaign not only against the Czech Social Democrats but also their Western comrades. This continued in Czechoslovakia even at the time when Brezhnev was submitting to Western socialists offers of mutual contact. Czech historians of the labour movement have supplied the relevant well-known abusive pamphlets and those among them who even before 1968 were aiming at a more objective appraisal of the role of Social Democracy were removed from the scientific institutes. The rehabilitation of Social Democrats—unless achieved at a prior date—was practically rendered impossible.

To-day's CP of Czechoslovakia has thus the same attitude towards Social Democracy as during the years of dogmatism, 1948–67, which led to a dead end and a crisis which created the events of 1968. The results of such an attitude at a time of basic change in world politics and new relationships among the European countries are even more problematic for Czechoslovakia where even twenty years of Communist monopoly power was unable to destroy among its peoples the longing for a synthesis between socialism and democracy. This problem is here to stay even though the year 1968 and its course now belongs to history.

But it is by no means only a Czechoslovak problem. It is the problem of Europe to create the proper preconditions for European security and collaboration. Best proof of this are the consequent events of 1968, which at the time had put a stop to such a development, and still encumber the European atmosphere.

Premysl Janyr

Labour Party Journey to Moscow

When the Labour Party delegation left London Airport for Moscow on 4 June it was the first such visit by an official National Executive Committee delegation since 1959. The fourteen years in between have seen some major setbacks to détente, not least the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968; nonetheless there have also been years of increasing East-West dialogue and a gradual relaxation of the icy grip of the Cold War. For this relaxation much credit is due to the imagination and courage of Willy Brandt and the Ostpolitik of the Federal German Government. The National Executive believed that, on the eve of the European Security talks in Helsinki, it was time for a Labour Party initiative to improve Anglo-Soviet relations.

Prior to accepting an invitation from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences we made it clear that we had no interest in a programme of long, sterile propaganda exchanges. We wished to discuss frankly the problems facing the world in general and Anglo-Soviet relations in particular. I think we can honestly say that it was the frankness of the exchanges, on both sides, which enable us to believe that our visit was so worthwhile.

One of our major objectives was to probe Soviet thinking on the Security Conference and on the prospects for mutual and balanced force reductions. We had the opportunity to do this at length with Soviet Foreign Minister Andre Gromyko and CPSU Secretary, Suslov.

The Soviet Government has invested a lot of prestige in the conference and they are, I believe, in an optimistic and constructive frame of mind. Indeed, Foreign Minister Gromyko emphasised his optimism to us. It is clear that they wish to see a framework built up which would promote an atmosphere of general confidence in Europe. They look to a series of trade, technical, scientific and cultural agreements, together with some broad commitments on the non-use of force and the inviolability of frontiers as being the main ingredients of a successful conference. They are, as was borne out in Helsinki, openly suspicious of Western intentions concerning a freer exchange of peoples and

ideas. We told them that they were being too cautious and too negative on this question and that some concrete agreement on this could be one of the most successful confidence building factors to emerge from the conference.

For our part we also emphasised that progress on mutual and balanced force reductions was the real prize for which we should strive. There is less enthusiasm on their part concerning MBFR than there is for the Security Conference. They are suspicious of what the West means by 'balanced' and they obviously want some success in Helsinki before moving on to MBFR.

We had to state frankly that in our view to believe that the Security Conference would move ahead to success without any signs of progress in Vienna was unrealistic. Nevertheless, we came away convinced that what we are now witnessing is Brezhnev's 'West

Politik'. Great emphasis is placed on the present good relations with the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, and there is considerable enthusiasm for 'joint co-operation' projects involving the West supplying technology and advanced machinery in return for Soviet raw materials and labour.

In the forthcoming months the good will of both sides will be tested by their willingness to put their names to specific agreements. In the meantime, however, we believe that the maximum of contracts provides for the minimum of misunderstanding. We do not delude ourselves that on a number of fundamental issues we are very far apart. But there are other issues where, with good will and a clear understanding of each other's intentions, progress can be made and Europe and the world will, as a result, be made a safer place in which to live.

Ray Hayward

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

Soviet Delegation in Belgium

At the invitation of the Belgian Socialist Party, a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) visited Belgium from 12-19 June. This visit was the continuation of contacts started last November during a visit to the USSR by an official delegation of the Belgian Socialist Party led by its two co-Presidents. The Soviet delegation had the opportunity to study the organisation and achievements of the Belgian Party as well as various aspects of Belgian economic and social life.

According to a communiqué issued at the end of the visit the Bureau of the Belgian Party had talks with the Soviet delegation and views were exchanged on questions of concern to both sides in a 'frank and friendly' atmosphere. The two delegations noted that during the last few months especially, 'considerable progress had been made by the forces working for peace in many parts

of the world and more especially in Europe'. The series of high level diplomatic talks as well as the treaties and agreements concluded since 1970, 'give reason to hope that it will from now on be possible to act in such a way that Europe will become a peaceful continent'.

The two delegations expressed their opinion that the future development of relations between their countries, especially economic collaboration, would be a valuable contribution in the interests of both peoples, and they felt that it would be desirable for methods of approach to be examined concerning the development of economic links between European countries on a bilateral and multilateral level.

The CPSU delegation invited an official delegation of the Belgian Socialist Party to visit the USSR again. This invitation was accepted.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Norway Prepares for the Autumn

no other parties in Norway are committed to seek membership in the lifetime of the next parliament (Storting).

Since last Autumn there has been an upheaval in Norwegian politics. No less than four new parties have emerged, and all are running for the election. To the left of Labour there are now four parties altogether, and three of them have formed an election alliance. To the right of Labour there are six parties, the biggest of them still the Conservative Party. The old Liberal Party split after the referendum, and both groups face a very gloomy election.

On the other hand, the Labour Party has now consolidated itself on domestic policies, and is ready to fight an election campaign which is already showing signs of becoming quite hard. The election manifesto contains a proposal for making the major, privately-owned banks, 'institutions of society', by democratic elections to the boardrooms. This proposal has already provoked a sharp reaction from big business and the Conservative Party. Alongside prices and taxation, the democratisation of finance institutions is going to be a main topic during the campaign which starts in the middle of August.

The question of membership in the EEC has rapidly become a non-issue since the trading agreement between Norway and the Community was concluded in mid-April. The agreement is duly signed and ratified, and will secure free trading for most of Norway's manufacturing products until 1977. Some problems arise from exemptions made for key exports like aluminium, other non-ferrous metals and paper products, but in time these products will also be without duty and other restrictions.

The Labour Party has said that it will base its Market policy on this trade agreement for the next parliamentary period (four years). Although the Labour government fought fiercely for membership until it resigned after the 'no' referendum, Labour voters were very much split in their views. For the party itself it would be very damaging to open up the old wounds. Unless the state of the Norwegian economy should become very critical during the next few years, a prospect which today seems very unlikely, Norway will remain outside the EEC in the foreseeable future. This is the key factor in Norwegian Labour's policy. Except for the Conservative Party and the New Liberals,

very nervous about his impact on the 20 per cent odd conservative electorate.

For Labour the starting point before the campaign is uncomfortably low. For the first time since the war the party has dropped to just under the 40 per cent mark in the opinion polls. But the prospects are better. Labour is the only party that can give the electorate and the nation any hope of a credible and stable government. The health of the party itself is sound, and there are signs of people on the political fringe rallying to its support. The party leader, Trygve Bratteli, although not the jolly hero of the television age, carries more sincere weight than all his opponents put together. He is also a leader who shows all his best qualities when the going is hard. In the state of political confusion Norway is now experiencing, Labour has more than a fighting chance of winning the election.

Bjørn Hansen

ELECTIONS

Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly

The Socialist International's two Japanese member parties, the Japan Socialist Party and the Japan Democratic Socialist Party did not do as well as expected in the 8 July elections for the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly. The Japan Socialist Party only managed to maintain its pre-election strength of twenty seats and the Democratic Socialist Party saw its four seats further reduced.

The Liberal-Democratic Party made an unexpectedly good showing in the elections and retained its position as the largest party in the assembly. The popular percentage vote for each party was as follows: Liberal-Democratic Party, 34.13 per cent; Komeito, 17.65 per cent; Japan Communist Party, 20.21 per cent; Japan Socialist Party, 20.54 per cent; Japan Democratic Socialist Party, 3.62 per cent. The Tokyo Metro-

politan Assembly election was held as a 'prelude' to next year's House of Councillors election and drew nationwide public attention as a major event to serve to set the future course of the nation's political situation.

New Chilean Cabinet

President Allende of Chile announced on 5 July the formation of his new 15-member Cabinet. Among the members of the Cabinet are three Ministers from the Radical Party, the Socialist International's member party in Chile which forms part of Allende's Popular Unity Government; they are M. Aníbal Palma, Secretary-General of the Government, M. Humberto Martínez, Minister of Public Works and M. Edgardo Enríquez, Minister of Education.

Statements of the Bureau of the Socialist International

A meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist International was held on 30 June, 1973, in London. The Chairman, Bruno Pittermann, presided and representatives from the following countries and associated organisations attended: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy (both the PSI and PSDI), Netherlands, Malta, Sweden, The International Union of Socialist Youth and the International Council of Social Democratic Women. Two Statements, on Chile and Greece, were unanimously adopted.

for the Chilean Government

“ This meeting of the Bureau, aware of the present problems in Chile, sends its warmest greetings and support to the Radical Party of Chile and to the Popular Unity Government, and congratulates them on defeating the recent attempt by reactionary forces to overthrow them.

It calls on all its member parties to urge their Governments to provide maximum economic assistance to Chile, particularly in regard to the rescheduling of the repayment of Chilean foreign debts.

It expressed its appreciation of the great advances in democracy and socialism which are being made by the Popular Unity Government in Chile and its hope that they can continue in peace.”

against the Greek Plebiscite

“ It has been very clear, following the *coup d'état* of 1967, that the Greek junta has no intention of establishing democracy in Greece. In this light the Bureau is firmly convinced that the so-called plebiscite of 29 July in Greece is no more than another attempt to trick public opinion into believing that progress towards democracy is under way, while in reality the Greek regime is strengthening its dictatorial hold over the Greek people.

With only one candidate—Papadopoulos—standing for the presidency, with all the apparatus of a police-state operating throughout the country, with the regime able to control all the mass-media, with no guarantee that voting will take place in truly free conditions, and with the authorities able to falsify, as they did in 1968, the results of the voting, these elections can only be a sham.

We share the abhorrence of the Greek people for the self-appointed regime which daily oppresses them and assure them of our solidarity in the fight to establish freedom and to bring democracy and socialism to Greece.

We call on all socialist parties and other democratic forces in the world to unite in support of the Greek people, and condemn the supply of arms to their oppressors.”

The Northern Ireland Elections

The most encouraging feature of last month's elections for the new Northern Ireland Assembly was that they were held. The turn-out was over 70 per cent despite calls for a boycott of the polls by the Provisional IRA. There were no incidents of intimidation. Nobody is contesting the veracity of the results and everybody accepts the outcome as the legitimate expression of the views of Northern Ireland electorate. The importance of this achievement cannot be overstressed. For the first time in four years we know who speaks for whom in Northern Ireland.

Within the Protestant community the election debate raged around the new Assembly devised by the UK Government to replace the Stormont Parliament which, for half a century, had enjoyed an independent status envied by many a state inside federal systems. The new Assembly is a much more modest affair with mundane provincial powers and with an additional innovation of an executive to be drawn from all parties (or as many as are agreeable) in an attempt to substitute power sharing for the old style one party domination by the Unionists.

Where once there was a Prime Minister, Cabinet and Parliament, now there is to be merely a Chairman, Executive and Assembly. The question for the Protestant community was whether to accept the realities of Westminster's authority—and determination—to end a system that had so tragically collapsed into communal violence, or fight to restore their former Parliament, even at the risk of a major confrontation with the UK Government.

Within the Catholic community the debate was whether to accept the obvious advances towards equality contained in the new constitutional provisions at the cost of ruling out any possibilities of political unity with the rest of Ireland for the foreseeable future or else to support the Provisional IRA's terrorist campaign of violence in favour of Irish unity. The issue before both communities was whether to accept a compromise short of their total demands or carry intransigence to the point of total communal breakdown.

Election results

The results indicate that the new Assembly will be divided 51-27 between those who are committed under certain conditions to making it work and those who are determined to destroy it by demanding nothing less than a return to the old Stormont regime. This is a modestly hopeful outcome.

The results indicate that the Catholic community voted overwhelmingly for their Social Democratic and Labour Party's approach of qualified acceptance of the new Assembly and against the IRA or any faction which had supported violence. The SDLP annihilated its opponents in the Catholic community and won nineteen seats. It got 22 per cent of the vote.

The SDLP totally eliminated the old style right wing Nationalist Party which had for over a century represented the Catholic political aspirations and left that party without even one member in the new Assembly. Likewise the SDLP withstood the abstentionist tactics of the right wing Provisional IRA and the challenge by the political arm of the Marxist oriented IRA. The 'Marxist' IRA's political representatives received a derisory 1.8 per cent of the vote. The Catholic community voted in overwhelming numbers in an unequivocal repudiation of abstentionist tactics of the Provisional IRA. The SDLP whose ultimate political objective is the political unity of Ireland, is led by Gerry Fitt and other politicians who have withstood the sectarian pressures and terrorism of the last four years. They have indicated that they would be prepared to make the new Assembly work provided that the concept of power sharing between the two communities (in contrast with the regimes of the past) is given meaningful expression within the new executive. The SDLP also wants the Council of Ireland, a link between the North and South, to become operative and their co-operation within the Assembly is contingent upon progress in getting the Council to work.

The Protestant community divided into two main blocks, one supporting the Unionist Party, led by the former Prime Minister, Mr Brian Faulkner,

and the other supporting a loose coalition of parties opposed to the new constitution.

Mr Faulkner has for some months accepted the political reality of the British Government's authority and power to determine the constitutional framework of Northern Ireland and has with great skill moved his party towards qualified acceptance of the new constitution. His line was described as 'moderate' in contrast with the more extreme attitude adopted by the so-called 'loyalist coalition' led by the Rev. Ian Paisley and Mr Bill Craig, the former Home Affairs Minister. Mr Faulkner's official position is that he will use the opening stages of the new Assembly to negotiate with the British Government on the enlarging of the powers and role of the new Assembly. This policy did much to soothe the humiliation many Protestants felt at the suspension of Stormont and won them away from the more extreme loyalist coalition.

Yet Mr Faulkner's performance was disappointing. His Party won only twenty-two seats and can count on the support of only one other elected member. Ten other Unionists were elected but were not endorsed by Mr Faulkner as they failed to sign a pre-election pledge committed to his policy of partial support for the new Assembly. Effectively all but one of this group must be taken as opposed to the new constitution.

The Protestant community therefore has twenty-three members in favour of the new arrangements and twenty-seven opposed. The loyalist coalition raged against the British Government's proposals, consisting of the unpledged Unionists, mentioned above, and the groups led by the Rev. Ian Paisley and Mr Bill Craig. But the wing led by the Rev. Ian Paisley wants complete integration with the United Kingdom instead of an Assembly with minor powers. The other wing, led by Mr Bill Craig, wants an 'Independent Ulster', if necessary, making its own unilateral declaration of independence. For the moment the interests of both wings coincide in wanting to prevent the new assembly

from working. Thereafter it may prove to be a very volatile coalition.

from working. Thereafter it may prove to be a very volatile coalition.

The Protestant community showed itself as determined as the Catholic community in repudiating candidates who had any association with paramilitary organisations. This was dramatically shown in the abysmally poor vote of the former Vice-Chairman of the UDA, a Protestant mirror image of the IRA. Protestant working class voters, in an equally encouraging trend, refused to support candidates who have been predominantly associated with attempts to divide the trade union movement on sectarian lines and this tendency is in itself a very hopeful sign for the future. For the British Government the election was a disappointment as it had hoped for a strong centre group to emerge committed to reconciliation between both communities. The centre consisted of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, affiliated with observer status to the Socialist International and the recently formed Alliance Party. They won only 12 per cent of the vote and have nine seats between them.

The NILP in the past has drawn votes from both Catholic and Protestant workers, although it was commonly regarded as a Protestant Party in so far as it accepted the constitutional status of Northern Ireland as a part of the UK. Its performance in this election was most disappointing and it won only one seat.

It had been expected that the other partner of the centre group, the middle class Alliance Party, would poll well. However, it got caught in the nutcracker of communal politics and it merely polled 9 per cent of the vote winning eight seats. This party, based on the proposition that only an alliance between Catholics and Protestants can bring peace seems to have won about one-sixth of the catholic vote, but a much smaller proportion of the Protestant vote.

The election was held under the same form of proportional representation as used in the Republic of Ireland. The new electoral system, unlike the British one used in previous elections in Northern Ireland, gave an equitable representation to each party and group in the Assembly and future debates there will at least be between groups who accurately represent the various tendencies within the whole Northern community.

Political objectives

Two main political objectives must now be achieved. Firstly agreement must be reached between the parties on an

executive that will itself be acceptable to the British Government. But the formation of an executive naturally presupposes a political will to make the Assembly work. It is precisely this that is in doubt but the indications are that the majority of the new members will want it to work and therefore it is probable that the new executive will be formed.

The second objective is the formation of a Council of Ireland, linking in some as yet undefined way, the Assembly in the North of Ireland and the Parliament in the Republic of Ireland. Agreement by the SDLP to participate in the executive (thereby making the Assembly work) will be contingent upon the Unionist agreement in making the Council of Ireland work. But the Loyalist Coalition of Paisley and Craig is expressly committed to blocking this development. The relationship between these two objectives is recognised by everybody and nobody minimises the difficulty of achieving both of them more or less at

the same time.

The Government of the Republic of Ireland, of which the Irish Labour Party is a coalition partner, is determined to assist the formation of an executive within the Assembly and of a Council of Ireland. The Irish Prime Minister has stated that the primary objective in the North of Ireland is peace and reconciliation. He has committed his Government to pursuing a policy that respects the aspirations of both communities in the North, Catholic and Protestant.

The elections have at least cleared the air. It is evident that the terrorists on either side lack any popular support. It is evident too that the majority of people both Catholic and Protestant, want peace and are anxious that their political leaders should formulate a new accommodation. This at least is cause for hope. After four years of unmitigated despair a little hope, however fragile, is at least a pleasant change.

Brendan Halligan

NDP in Canada

The New Democratic Party Government of Manitoba was sustained in a general election on 28 June, 1973. The result was NDP 32, Progressive Conservative 21, Liberal 4, for a total of 57.

In the preceding election, held in June 1969, the result had been NDP 28, Progressive Conservative 22, Liberal 5, Social Credit 1, Independent 1.

When the Schreyer ministry took office in 1969, it was the first social democratic government in the history of Manitoba and the only one at that time in Canada. Since then it has been joined by NDP governments in Saskatchewan (1971) and British Columbia (1972).

Although he was one seat short of a majority in 1969, Premier Schreyer determined to govern in a manner which would obtain the support of the majority in the Legislative Assembly which had been elected, rather than to attempt to obtain an artificial majority through a quick 'band wagon' election. The encouragement which he was prepared to give to the small Francophone minority in the Province obtained for him the support of the Liberal member for Saint-Boniface, the centre of Franco-Manitoban culture. Laurent Desjardins, who thus held the balance of

power in the legislature, eventually joined the NDP and became Minister of Cultural Affairs.

Far more than any previous government, however, the NDP administration is representative of Manitobans of European descent other than English or French. Premier Schreyer himself is a Roman Catholic of German and Austrian stock. This characteristic has, if anything, been slightly strengthened by the 1973 election. To the great regret of the Premier, M. Desjardins defeated in Saint-Boniface by his former party, the Liberals, but a leading Anglo-Saxon member of the cabinet was defeated by the Conservatives in another Winnipeg division, St James. On the other hand, the most striking NDP gain was the rural constituency of Emerson, in the southeast corner of the Province, where Steve Derewianchuk raised the party's vote from 13 per cent to win the seat from the Conservatives. Steve Derewianchuk is of Ukrainian background.

In addition to the loss of Saint-Boniface, another cabinet minister was defeated in St James. Both of these electoral divisions are unhappy about the NDP's 'unicity' policy, the merging of previously independent municipalities into one large City of Winnipeg.

Manitoba was created by Canada in 1870 following the purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. Until 1915 its politics were normally dominated by the Conservatives, essentially the party interested in conserving the new connection with Quebec and Ontario to the east. The period from 1915 to 1958 was one of radical Liberal and Progressive government, more closely identified with the interests of Manitoba farmers and the promotion of a natural flow of trade with the United States to the south and through Hudson Bay to the north. Eventually, as in Britain earlier, the growing importance of the labour vote finally created a three-party situation which enabled many minority Conservatives (renamed 'Progressive Conservatives' for the benefit of Manitoba farmers) to secure election and revive that party. But in 1969 Manitoba entered its third stage with the formation of an NDP government representing a final union of all the labour, social democratic and co-operative movements of the past. Now in 1973 that government has achieved a clear majority.

The bitterest struggle after 1969 came over the replacement of private by public automobile insurance, a measure which was carried through its various stages by the casting vote of the Speaker. Promised for the future are denticare, pharmacare, and more government involvement in farming and business where necessary.

In 1969 the election of an Independent in the immensenorthern electoral division of Churchill revealed the growth under the Conservatives of political regionalism in that area. The energetic response of the Schreyer government has been rewarded by the election this time of the NDP candidate in Churchill. 'We have turned the face of the Manitoba government to the north and it will continue', the Premier said at the end of the election campaign.

Premier Schreyer himself was re-elected with a massive vote in the rapidly growing Winnipeg electoral division of Rossmere, lying between the Red River flowing north and the Canadian Pacific Railway connecting Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto with Vancouver, two transportation routes which sum up Manitoba's history. At the Union Centre in Winnipeg after the results were known on the night of 28 June, Premier Schreyer said, 'I intend to dedicate the next three or four years of my life to bringing the truth of social democracy, properly understood, to every single constituency in Manitoba.'

Gordon O. Rothney

CONFERENCES

Party Conference in Copenhagen

When the Danish Social Democratic Party opens its 31st Congress on 16 September the party will be happy that a large proportion of its policies endorsed by the 1969 Congress will already have been carried through.

This includes such essentials as reform of the daily sickness benefit therefore securing for everyone 106 Kroner per day from the first day of sickness, and compensation for loss of earnings on the same scale if unemployed. Furthermore, compensation of 106 Kroner for absence from work due to accident and cases of permanent inconvenience, until a decision has been taken on compensation, or until work is resumed in full.

In the coming parliamentary session, one can expect reform in the field of industrial democracy. This reform would mean joint ownership for workers in private undertakings and a share of the profits through the establishment of a central fund.

The 1972-3 session of parliament passed changes in the Companies Act so that in future employees will be represented on the boards of management. Labour legislation has been greatly modernised and further legislation is proposed for increased security for all Danish industrial workers.

Added to this there have been great improvements in the modernisation of the educational system in both secondary and higher education, and opportunities for the re-education and training of unskilled workers.

The 1973 Party Congress will, therefore, deal with a wide range of new objectives for the next four years. Committees broadly representing party membership have prepared a 40-page manifesto outlining the new aims. These include social policy, the improvement of the environment and the national fight against pollution. The Congress will discuss this programme and suggest solutions to be considered by the Party.

E. Hovgaard-Christiansen

IUSY Congress

The renewed strength of the 27-year-old International was clearly visible at its Tenth Congress which ended four days of debate in Malta on 4 May. The Malta meeting was attended by some 100 delegates and observers from thirty coun-

tries and several international organisations. Observers also came from the Communist youth organisations of Romania and Yugoslavia. The Congress agreed that in the next administrative period the work of IUSY will be directed in particular at the fight against dictatorship, colonialism and capitalism. The Congress passed, among others, resolutions against the engagement of American forces in Cambodia, against the three fascist dictatorships in Turkey, Greece and Spain, and against Portuguese colonial policy in Africa. The Congress also decided, that until the next meeting in three years time, seminars should be held on Latin America, the Near East and the EEC.

Luis Ayala from the Radical Youth of Chile was elected as the new IUSY President, Johan Peanberg from Sweden was elected General Secretary, and Siegbert Metelko, the international rapporteur of the Austrian Socialist Youth, was re-elected as Vice-President of IUSY. Hans Janitschek represented the Socialist International at the Congress.

Hungarians in Exile

The Social Democratic Party of Hungary in exile held a Conference in Vienna from 1-3 June. The Conference adopted a resolution, which denied the validity of the cessation of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and its forced merger with the Hungarian Communist Party twenty-five years ago. The Conference thoroughly discussed and accepted a plan for Hungary—which came into being after many years work by a Special Committee—if and when an evolutionary situation would arise.

This document—Social Democratic Alternative—describes the possibilities and ways of changing the present one-party rule in Hungary and establishing democratic socialism, based on common ownership of the means of production and distribution with the active participation and representation of workers and employees. The democratic institutions and basic human and political rights which are laid down in the declaration of principles of the Socialist International are also included in that document. Bruno Pittermann represented the Socialist International at the Conference.

Bruno Pittermann represented the Socialist International at the Conference.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

BOOKS

Multinational

Anthony Sampson: *The Sovereign State*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, pp. 288, £2.95

As impressive and original as the title of this most recent book of the author of 'New Europeans' may be, it should really be called 'Watergate International' because the description of the multinational monster ITT by Sampson, obviously written in great haste, does not justify any comparison with any normal sovereign state, based on law and order. The world of the ITT and no doubt of other multinational companies of that size is in fact beyond such principles as sovereignty, law, order and decency. It is a world of espionage, bribery, deceit and blatant arrogance and what makes it even worse is the fact that its masters openly admit it. No doubt, there is nothing in Sampson's book the ITT would not wish to have published.

In fact, according to Sampson all the scandals in which ITT subsidiaries were involved including the Chilean adventure are regarded by its bosses as a welcome and cheap public relations exercise to 'establish the Company's corporate identity.'

HJ

Corporate Elites

Andreas G. Papandreou: *Paternalistic Capitalism*, Oxford University Press, London, pp. 200, £2.75

The term 'paternalistic capitalism' is used by the author of this book to define a socio-economic system in which the focus of power rests with the corporate elite, the civilian non-bureaucratic component of the national security managerial group, the top echelons of the bureaucracy charged with the management of national security and the military bureaucracy'.

The book reviews extensively the models of modern American capitalism presented by Baran and Sweezy in 'Monopoly Capitalism' and by J. K. Galbraith in the 'New Industrial State'. Papandreou accepts neither as adequately describing the American system: he would have liked to have seen a model whose internal logic can explain

the development of the cold war, the rise of the Pentagon dominated NATO directorate and the evolution towards peaceful coexistence and power block politics. It is doubtful whether the book advances us more towards such a dynamic model of the American capitalist system. Papandreou's views on the subject are essentially an amalgam of those earlier presented by Sweezy and C. Wright Mills.

The author attempts an explanation for the emergence of modern power block politics by relating developments in the United States to institutional developments in the USSR under the impact of state capitalism. However, there is one development that Papandreou fails to incorporate into his analysis. The interest of the Soviet Union in the early sixties and China currently in peaceful coexistence has coincided with the transition of their economies from the stage of extensive to the stage of intensive growth.

Papandreou sees the solution to the dilemma between monopoly capitalism and state socialism in the development of *social planning* in the framework of a regionally decentralised system based on regions 'anthropogeographically' determined. This concept of an 'anthropogeographic' region (taken from an obscure, unpublished, paper of an unknown author) tends to confuse the issues of social planning. One would have hoped to find here a discussion of the problems of the democratisation of the ownership and control of the means of production. Papandreou sees however, in the regional devolution of power the main answer towards the building of an humane socialist society. Surely, the issue is workers' control, not regionalism. By focusing excessively on the latter, the author finally loses sight of the former.

Taken as a whole, however, the book is an imaginative up to date synthesis of the debate on the nature of American capitalism and its expansionist dynamic and as such, highly recommendable to those interested in the development of a radical political economy.

George Yannopoulos

Socialism

Robert Kilroy-Silk: *Socialism Since Marx*. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London, pp. 362, £3.00

General books tracing the history of socialism never stop appearing off the world's presses. Probably only Christianity and sex have generated more volumes. Although some are inevitably better than others, all are welcome. Firstly, they testify to the continuing intellectual vitality of socialist movement. In the second place, new insights into well-known problems are continually being thrown up. As the perspective of history lengthens, events and personalities often show up in a new light, and sometimes a new shadow. So the continual re-treading of familiar paths is indubitably a good thing.

This volume by a young Liverpudlian lecturer is very good in parts, and not so good in others. This is not surprising in a volume which, as the cover blurb says, attempts 'a survey of the growth and spread of socialism and the changes in both theory and practice which have occurred since Karl Marx'. Cantering briskly over more than a century of intricate history, the author clips a number of fences and blunders right into others. On page 290, for example, he writes that in mid-1970, following British Labour's election defeat, 'only two social democratic parties were in power in the world, in Germany and Sweden', an assertion from which one deduces that Mr Kilroy-Silk is not very familiar with the recent political history of at least half-a-dozen other countries. Nor does his statement (p. 302) that in 1971 Hans Jochen Vogel was chief burgomaster of Berlin inspire much confidence, although his general assessment of the state of German social democracy is convincing.

Such peculiarities are almost bound to creep into a book of the span of this one. In this particular case they do not detract unbearably from the work as a whole, which is written in a lively, often wryly amusing, style. The text is also liberally laced with interesting quotes, taken from sources as far apart as Robert Browning and Germaine Greer, that of the latter being her celebrated claim that women are 'the true proletariat, the truly oppressed majority'.

It is, in fact, when he gets to sorting

out the various ideological strands of socialism today that the author is at his best, despite his uncertain grasp of current political facts. Marcuse, Fanon, the New Left, Maoism, Castroism and African socialism are all neatly dissected and their essentials placed on display. But behind Mr Kilroy-Silk's obvious fascination with the ever-increasing new variants of Marxism is an awareness, tinged with exasperation, of the continuing and inescapable relevance of the old-established social democratic and labour parties.

He is exasperated because, as he says, the reformist parties 'argue about the merits of specific policies in a particular economic and historical context, in relation to short-run ends and never in relation to the system as a whole'. But he also accepts that 'revolutionary socialists have little with which to inspire us'. So it all comes back to whether democratic socialism can deliver the goods. Mr Kilroy-Silk is mildly optimistic: 'Socialism is not dead, just dormant. It has a future, but it is one that it must create for itself.'

Alan J. Day

Malaysia

Goh Cheng Teik: *The May Thirteenth Incident and Democracy in Malaysia*. Oxford University Press, pp. 76, £1

On 13 May 1969 riots occurred in Malaysia following the near electoral collapse of the ruling Alliance Party. As a result parliamentary democracy was put in abeyance and military rule introduced. In this book the author purports to conduct an inquiry into the reasons that sparked off these events, from an historical standpoint. In very general terms, the author seeks to synchronise the political and historical role of the ruling Alliance Party (the United Malays National Organisation, the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Malaysian Indian Congress) with the political undercurrents which by that time were ready to boil over. The author attributes this situation to fear, arising out of the 'configuration of power', among the dominant Malay ruling class against the 'imminent races'. The author describes the events which followed as 'a crisis of confidence'.

The political chasm that divided the

ruling party was brought out into the open unleashing the horrendous terror that was to become the bane of democracy in Malaysia. The outstanding watermark of this book is the author's lamentation of the death of democracy. He likened the populace as the 'uncrowned king in a democracy' and averred that the ruling Party should take a good look at itself with a view to democratising it so as to facilitate communication between those at the top and those at the bottom.

At the outset, the author said: '... most Alliance leaders were drawn from the aristocratic and bourgeois classes (or had become bourgeois-minded) and they possessed a powerful instinct of self-preservation. For them the status quo was tolerable and comfortable.' He further pointedly remarked: 'The Malaysian Alliance... is not a unified, homogeneous political organisation. Race is the badge worn by each constituent unit.'

The weakness of this structuring often led to conflicting demands and alienated the rank and file from the summit. The loss of seats by the ruling Alliance Party as a result of the combined challenges posed by the Opposition sapped the confidence hitherto reposed in the communal Alliance leadership. The ultras in the UMNO were prepared to go it alone without the MCA whose Chinese support it had enjoyed for so long.

The author also opined that the 13 May incident should not be considered in isolation, nor provocation in that the latter did not 'act upon an ordinary state of mind', but that the dynamics of deadlock emanating from the success of the 'immigrant races' in the general elections powerfully contributed to the post-election vortex of politics which then existed. In his conclusion, the author drew a leaf from Indonesia's experience, suggesting that the 'immigrant races' should exercise some sort of restraint so as to give time for enlightened political consciousness to develop among the Malay people in Malaysia. Whatever valuation may be read into this suggestion, there is no doubt that a spate of intriguing questions remain unanswered.

Throughout the compass of the book, the author has made his point clear in that no volte-face can ever be hoped

for without disrupting the equilibrium of power. The rationale is as clear as the writing on the wall in that if Malaysia were to survive as a democracy, the Malays must somehow have a place reserved for them in the machinery of government.

Although the author has seemingly oozed himself away from the mainstream of partisan thinking, justice does not permit his omissions. To the 'immigrant' Malaysian reader, the lack of discussion of the political rights, fears and frustrations of the 'immigrant races' is all too obvious. To the non-Malaysian reader, it is a quick glimpse into the past failures of the ruling Alliance Party. If this book is intended to make history the wheel of politics, there cannot be a more respectable way of saying requiem to the near collapse of the ruling Alliance Party and 13 May its, epitaph.

Ngan Siong Hing

Czechoslovakia

Andrew Oxley, Alex Pravda, Andrew Ritchie: *Czechoslovakia, The Party and the People*. Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London, pp. 319, £4.50

To the vast amount of information so far published about the Prague Spring, this collection of articles and speeches from Czech newspapers between January and August 1968 provides a most valuable addition. Those unfamiliar with the Czech language are now given access to much more material than quotations in books and day-to-day reporting can provide. The selection was certainly the most difficult task for the authors. They did well by striking the proper balance between documents re-examining the past and those discussing the tasks of the day; between fundamental questions of ideology and reform and essays evoking the atmosphere of the time. They were likewise right to devote most space to the section 'What about the Workers?', thus throwing more light on this so far comparatively neglected area and mainly on the frequently asked question about the role of the workers in the reform movement. Here the workers themselves, talk, in letters to newspapers, about their initial anxieties and suspicions, and progressive writers seek to enlist the workers'

support for the freedom of the press; in response to the appeals—some articles recall—special workers' committees in industrial plants were set up in defence of this right at a time when the outspoken journalists were attacked by conservative politicians (speech by Alois Indra, now the chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly). This section is not without topical relevance for outside Czechoslovakia at a time when new doubts about political democracy are voiced in sections of the labour movement and even the virtue of non-parliamentary action preached. Rudi Dutschke, when visiting Prague, according to an article, expressed anxiety that Czechoslovakia, by 'installing a multi-party system would follow the capitalist countries up a blind alley...' Similarly the material about the origin and the experience of the workers' councils is not without meaning for the vital question of industrial democracy to which the labour movement has not yet found a satisfactory answer.

Related to this problem are articles stressing the need for greater differentiation of wage-scales, a burning issue frankly discussed by pioneers of the economic reform. The crucial and explosive issue of replacing the dictatorship by a multi-party system is scrutinised in studies and polemical articles, including an outburst by Bohuslav Chroupek (now the Foreign Minister), alarmed by the attempts to solve the crisis outside the ruling Communist Party, and, in the good Prague Spring way, effectively answered by a young journalist. And there is a speech by Gustav Husak, the first he made after years in prison and the political wilderness, attacking the purges and persecutions of the early 'fifties. Statements by prominent figures of the Prague Spring—Dubcek, Smrkovsky and Sik—are included, as well as documents such as the Action Programme of the Communist Party and the radical reformers' statement 'Two Thousand Words'; the trends which preceded the explosion in 1968 are reviewed by the authors in an introduction. All the reprinted material reflects the eruption of thought and aspirations pent up for years, and reveals an astonishing amount of outstanding talent which came to the fore after a long period of intellectual repression,

and now—it is a sad reflection—is silenced again in occupied Czechoslovakia.

Vilem Bernard

British Socialism

Stanley Pierson: *Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism. The Struggle for a New Consciousness*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, pp. 290, £3.85

Two of the best-known quotes about the origins of the British Labour Party are the one about the party owing more to Methodism than to Marxism, and the other, by the official historian of the Fabian Society, Edward Pease, that the Fabians broke the Marxist spell in England. It always seemed to me that the former was more accurate than the latter. Methodism was and still is a strong force in the British Labour movement, while the Marxist spell has never been cast in Britain, despite the efforts of sundry wizards, and so did not really need breaking.

Professor Pierson, writing from the vantage point of Oregon University, confirms this impression, if one takes as Marxism the brand of dialectical materialism which permeated many of the continental socialist parties. But if, as Professor Pierson suggests, we broaden the definition of Marxism to include social democracy, Fabianism and ethical socialism, we must arrive at a different conclusion, namely, that Marxism did profoundly influence the intellectual moulders of the British working-class movement.

It is easy to sneer at those earnest middle-class folk, many of them moneyed eccentrics, congregating in Hampstead at the turn of the century to discuss the plight of the labouring classes. Indeed, Professor Pierson's researches (which extend beyond London into provincial cities incidentally) provide ammunition for those who would sneer.

In the end, however, the alliance between the intellectual idealists and the actual working class was forged. It always tended to be an uneasy alliance, perhaps never more so than today. For those who desire a deeper understanding of why this is so, Professor Pierson's book is valuable reading.

Alan J. Day

West European Politics

Roger Morgan: *West European Politics since 1945. The Shaping of the European Community*. Batsford, London, pp. 243, £1.40 (paperback)

The party political dimension has often been overlooked in the many short general histories of post-war Western Europe published in recent years. This is doubly unfortunate. In the first place, party politics that actually work are (almost) unique to the old continent these days. Secondly, party politics, particularly in their international ramifications, provide the key to a real understanding of the way European integration has progressed since the war.

Dr Morgan's well-written book is particularly valuable because it concentrates on precisely this aspect of post-war European history. The grand themes of the period are all firmly drawn—the onset and recession of the Cold War, the German problem, the building of a 'new Europe'—but at every stage each is related to internal political developments, particularly in France and Germany. In this way a useful corrective is provided to the currently popular view that the activities of political parties are essentially irrelevant to what really happens in the world.

One fact that emerges clearly from the book is how little, in the early days, Western European integration owed to the social democrats. Apart from exceptions like the late Paul-Henri Spaak, the early giants—Schuman, Adenauer, Monnet and the rest—were political opponents of the socialists. Some socialist parties only later came round to the kind of European unification created by the Schuman Plan and the Treaty of Rome, and others have not come round at all. Whether they can now take the initiative in the new European Community of the Nine (one less than Dr Morgan, writing before Norway backed out) remains to be seen.

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