SOCIALIST DIARY

International will be held on 17 January 1976.

Statement on Madagascar

The following statement on Madagascar was unanimously adopted by the Bureau:

'The Bureau of the Socialist International, meeting in London on Saturday 22 March 1975, expresses its grave concern at the recent events in Madagascar which have led to loss of life, and the suspension of all political parties and groupings. It expresses the hope that a situation can rapidly be brought about in Madagascar in which full human rights are restored, and there is a resumption of normal democratic political activity. In particular it expresses its grave concern at the arrest of Mr. André Resampa, General Secretary of the Malagasy Socialist Party, and demands his immediate release'.

Research Council

The fifth seminar of the Socialist International Research Council (SIRC) was held at the Danish TUC Folk High School, Helsingor, from 2-3 April at the invitation of the Danish Social Democratic Party. 11 people attended the seminar representing 7 research departments or institutes associated with member parties of the Socialist International in Europe. Geoff Bish, Research Secretary of the British Labour Party, introduced the main topic for discussion—Economic Planning: The Techniques of Industrial Intervention—which included subjects such as government assistance to the private sector, regional economic machinery, price controls, financial institutions and funds for investment, and monopolies, mergers and restrictive practices policies. On the basis of information received from participants, Geoff Bish will prepare a paper on Economic Planning, drawing out key conclusions, for presentation to the next seminar.

The seminar agreed that the SIRC should present a report on multinational companies to the International's special committee on multinational companies for its consideration. The first meeting of the committee is to be held in July at the time of the Bureau meeting. The report will outline what legislation countries should put into effect in order to limit the harmful effects of multinationals. Bo Elmgren, head of the Swedish Social Democratic Party's research department, and Geoff Bish will prepare the report which will incorporate aspects of previous work the SIRC had done on multinationals.

The next SIRC seminar will be held in November 1975 at which Employment Policy as well as Economic Planning will be discussed.

Harry van den Bergh

Harry van den Bergh became International Secretary of the Dutch Labour Party at its Congress held in Amsterdam from 10-12 April. He succeeds Relus ter Beek who was elected to the Party's Executive Committee.

Karl Czernetz

The Assembly of the 18-nation Council of Europe elected Karl Czernetz as its new President on 21 April. Karl Czernetz, International Secretary of the Austrian Socialist Party and a member of the Bureau of the Socialist International, succeeds Giuseppe Vedovato, a Christian Democrat senator from Florence.

Reiulf Steen

Reiulf Steen, 41, was elected as the new Chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party at the Party's Congress held in Oslo on 23 April. He succeeds Trygve Bratteli who wished to retire as Chairman of the Party, but who will continue as Prime Minister of Norway. Reiulf Steen has been Vice-Chairman of the Party and is a member of the Norwegian Government.

Bureau Meets in Australia

The Bureau of the Socialist International will hold its first meeting ever in the Asia-Pacific region from 12-13 May in Adelaide, South Australia, at the invitation of the Australian Labor Party. The meeting, which will be presided over by Sicco Mansholt, the Dutch Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International and former President of the Commission of the European Community, will be attended by **Anselmo Sule,** President of the Radical Party of Chile, **Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen,** General Secretary of the Danish Social Democratic Party, **Robert Pontillon,** National Secretary, in charge of international affairs of the French Socialist Party, **Alex Kitson,** member of the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party, **Jenny Little,** International Secretary of the British Labour Party, **Wilhelm Droescher** (Germany), Chairman of the European Confederation of Socialist Parties in the European Community, **Michael Harish,** member of the Knesset and Foreign Affairs Spokesman of the Israel Labour Party, **Harry van den Bergh,** International Secretary of the Dutch Labour Party, **Bernt Carlsson,** International Secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, **Vera Matthias,** Secretary of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and **Hans Janitchek,** General Secretary of the Socialist International.

The New Zealand Labour Party will also be represented and **George Fernandes,** Chairman of the Indian Socialist Party, will attend as a guest. The Bureau will mainly discuss the political situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the activities of the International's Asia-Pacific Regional Organisation.

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SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

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Carlos Morales, Carlos Parra, Anselmo Sule and Hugo Miranda (from left to right) at the International: the leaders of the Radical Party of Chile visited the headquarters of the Socialist International in London during their tour of European countries in April.

Radicals on the Move

The leaders of the Radical Party of Chile, a member party of the Socialist International, which also has a seat on the Bureau, made a triumphant tour of European capitals in April. Anselmo Sule, President of the Party, Senator Hugo Miranda and Deputy Carlos Morales (both former Presidents of the Party), visited Helsinki, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Bonn, Rome, London, Copenhagen, Oslo, Brussels and Paris, at the invitation of member parties of the Socialist International for talks with social democratic leaders including Willy Brandt and Prime Ministers Olof Palme, Trygve Bratteli, Kalevi Sorsa, Joop den Uyl, Anker Joergensen and Harold Wilson. They also had talks with François Mitterrand, James Callaghan and Ron Hayward.

While in London the Radical leaders also had talks at the headquarters of the Socialist International with Hans Janitschek, General Secretary.

Sule, Miranda and Morales were expelled from Chile in March following one and a half years' detention in the most difficult circumstances in concentration camps, including the notorious camp on Dawson Island. But their spirit is unbroken and their appearance at socialist party congresses in Europe, their talks with heads of government and party leaders, have strengthened the ties between the Socialist Internaional and the democratic socialist resistance movement in Chile.

The Socialist International is fully committed in its support of the Radical Pary in Chile, the vanguard of social democracy and freedom in Latin America.

H. J.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND LATIN AMERICA

Peru: Beyond the Tanks and the Smoke

The recent disturbances in Peru once again focussed attention on the most profound revolutionary change currently taking place in Latin America — and one of the most complicated and intriguing political processes anywhere, seen from a social democratic point of view.

With tanks in the narrow streets of Lima, with smoke billowing over the stucco Plaza San Martín, about a hundred dead in the morgue and who knows how many people behind bars — followers of APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) the nearest thing to a social democratic party in Peru, one could easily claim that the whole fabric of military rule was breaking up due to its anti-democratic character, its lack of organic contact with the masses and its political isolation in the Hemisphere.

Rightly so, but in his six years of government General Juan Velasco Alvarado and his uniformed collaborators had also produced a number of far-reaching social and economic reforms, the importance of which not even the sworn Aprista-enemies will deny. The rich coastal sugar-plantations have been taken from the now dismissed oligarchs and reorganised as cooperatives under peasant and — yes — military control; collectivisation of most arable land in the high Sierra will aid thousands and thousands of otherwise destitute Indians; and in the cities and towns economic democracy, benefitting the workers, is to engulf practically all industry, commerce and transport. Minerals and multinational companies have gone to the state, earning Peru a considerable measure of disrepute in Wall Street and the World Bank, but also for the first time in post-Colombian history a sense of independence and self-respect and a leading role among progressive third world-countries.

That the reigning officers, amidst these political feats, have demonstrated a cool capacity for survival — quite in contrast to the tragic fate, which befell Chilean President Salvador Allende — and managed to go undaunted, maybe even radicalised, through the crisis of February only amplify the credibility of the Peruvian process and thereby strengthen its challenge to both local political forces around Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the ageing, but brilliant father of Aprismo, and to Socialists outside Peru, believing in reform by democratic means.

Democratic Socialism?

In Lima, once the seat of Spanish colonial dominance over the Americas, then for decades the capital of an unresponsive bourgeois parliamentary system, one question, crucial to many of the remaining democracies in the developing world — and, soon, perhaps, also to the industrialised parts of the globe — comes to mind: is democratic socialism really suited to the conditions of our ruthless time? An answer, though not necessarily the right one, may be found further down the Pacific Coast. Salvador Allende, legally elected Head of State and a democrat to his spine, was forcibly removed from office, his work undone, and his gentle treatment of political opponents replaced by a reign of terror, so far claiming the lives of 15,000 human beings or more.

Democratic socialism, of course, did not come to an end with the death of Allende and his compatriots. Despite the endless stream of stories, published by a reactionary press, we now know that it was Dr Henry Kissinger, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize— not Socialism—which brought havoc to Chile. We also know, from Congressional evidence, that it was the clandestine infusion into Chile of about 10 million US dollars—not a Socialist economy—which caused the banning of Chilean trade unions and political parties and the opening of half a dozen concentration camps, still in use.

The Popular Unity of Chile, I dare say, was the last attempt in Latin America for a very long time at initiating genuine social advancement within the treacherous framework of bourgeois parliamentarianism. After the coup d'état of September 1973 democratic socialism with its unique offer to the old ruling class of a gradual and orderly reduction of the level of inherited injustice can be applied theoretically only to the problems of the continent, not because it is spiritually worn out, which it is not, but because it is insufficiently equipped to defend itself against present methods of imperialist aggression. The lesson, thus, to be drawn from the examples of Chile and Peru is that democracy less than ever is a quality in itself. What counts is its social accomplishments and their durability compared with those of other political models.

Chile was salvaged for imperialism but there should be no doubt, however, about the will of the US to 'destabilise' other progressive régimes as well. One surely must wonder, if in the case of Peru the much-admired Dr Kissinger demonstrated anew that he will not stand idle, while little nations 'go communist due to the irresponsibility of their own people', a fantastic remark by the way (could that Nobel Prize be revoked?), but utterly consistent with the man, who wrote 'A World Restored . . .' etc.

That a CIA conspiracy was behind the Guardia Civil rebellion in Lima is a rumour as long as it remains unproven. But who can say that no secret funds were available to the 22,000-man police force, always a stronghold of Aprista-thinking, and who could fail to see some significance in reports of General Vernon Walters, Deputy Director of The Company, having an ultra-confidential meeting in those critical hours with Messrs Banzer of Bolivia, Giesel of Brazil and Pinochet of Chile? The persistent talk of a pre-emptive strike by these indecent allies across the borders of Peru also carries a message to right-wing Peruvian officers: either they put their house in order or they risk incurring the wrath of their Good Neighbour with the Big Stick.

Gone then, in the US as well as in Latin America, is the notion, spurred by the Kennedy era, of social progress being desirable and inextricably bound up with so-called moderate and enlightened middle class power, functioning within bourgeois democracy.

Two of the most overrated instruments of this frivolous notion are Eduardo Freí in Chile and Fernando Belaúnde in Peru, both promising presidential candidates and both disastrous in office.

Not only did their poor performance in the sixties lead to a radicalisation of the political climate in ther respective countries — against all hopeful calculations of their imperialist masters — they also, after their fall from prominence, proved themselves furious adversaries of any attempt at reform by their successors.

Freí especially in his self-created role as travelling scandal-monger and traitor at the end of the Allende administration gave an unforgettable demonstration of middle class political reaction in Latin America: for fear of their paltry privileges they eagerly sell themselves to foreign interests. Ask the bourgeoisie in any Latin American country to choose between money and freedom, and they take the money. Democracy is something you play only as long as it pays off!

Road to Progress

So the road to perceptible social progress in Latin America is most likely not that of democratic governments, which either neglect their social obligations or get strangled, when they want to go further than allowed by outside powers. A road may be found in the armed experience of Cuba — possibly an exception — or in a determined, hard-nosed military régime as in Peru, for the moment the only convincing alternative to the Brazilian effort at opening up a capitalist road out of underdevelopment.

Conservative souls try to present Brazil as an example to be followed by others in the league of developing nations. The big cities of Brazil, her mighty industries, rapidly increasing export of finished goods and constant economic growth of about 10 per cent per annum since 1968 is the realisation of an old conservative dream: the dream of empty growth rates.

A very substantial part of the truth about Brazil's economic 'miracle' is that it takes place only in a few metropolitan areas and that it favours almost exclusively the multinationals and the highest placed stratas of the population. The real wage of workers and peasants, it is calculated, has been reduced by more than 30 per cent over the last ten years.

The Big Cities

The distorted capitalist development of Brazil also is evident in the constant flow of taxes and duties from all parts of this vast and impoverished nation to a few privileged centres of the South and South East — notably Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Belo Horisonte, the cities, which to the outside world are synonymous with Brazil, but which to thinking Brazilians are cancers on the national body.

The superficial and harmful 'overdevelopment' of the Brazilian metropoli to a large degree explain the real underdevelopment of the surrounding land. In the national capitalist system of Brazil these metropoli have the same function as the big powers in the global economic intercourse. They profit from their surroundings just as the metropolitan states in the imperialist system profit from the developing nations. The result is an ever-deepening poverty, ending somewhere in the interior of Brazil, in the vicious Sertao, where people are reduced to a sub-human level of existence and where an ordinary life spans no more than thirty to thirty-five years.

Peru may not be the best example of social renewal, but presently it is the socially most satisfying model to be found in Latin America. Not that there is no poverty in Peru; it is as excruciating in the Andes as in the Brazilian North East, but things, at least, have begun to move in Peru. Besides, the Peruvian military régime has shown more durability than the Chilean Socialist experiment, and it displays only a few of the inner contradictions so obvious in Brazil, where, for example, plans for the creation of the world's first tropical superpower is financed by pawning natural resources and strategic industries on a grand scale.

Where the Chileans failed — or rather were failed — and the Brazilians stare bewitched at the swamps of free enterprise the Peruvian officers now construct, with enormous difficulty, a third road to the future, neither capitalist nor socialist.

In the fact that they have survived so far and apparently can go on their reforming course, also after the experience of February, lies a dilemma, not easily solved, for both a Bourgeois and a Socialist Democracy.

Per Nyholm

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE NORTH

Public Control in Sweden

The 1972 Congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) resolved in favour of a revision of the party programme. The Congress instructed the Programme Commission to submit draft amendments to the party programme to the 26th Party Congress to be held in Stockholm 27 September to 5 October 1975. In discharging its duties, the Programme Commission was guided by the principles of earlier programme revisions.

Responding to the publication of the new SAP draft party programme the German social democratic newspaper Vorwaerts carried the following interview with Anders Fern, a member of the secretariat of the Programme Commission:

Q. Do the Swedes want to seize capitalism by the throat or don't they?
Anders Fern: Of course we do. But who says that this can be done only by buying off, nationalising, confiscating or requisitioning capitalists? What will count in the end is not who owns the means of production, but who is in control and how this is done.

Q. Isn't it true that neither private nor state capitalism is able to create justice and security or to solve the global economic and poltiical problems inside a country?
Anders Fern: We want to put the right of control into the hands of the whole nation and not only into workers' hands. And this not solely through influencing citizens regarding a planned economy or influencing the voter, but also influencing workers to improve working conditions and consumers position with regard to the orientation of production.

Q. Do you think that the Swedish credit system, for example, should be left entirely in the hands of the bankers? Do you also think, for example, that about twenty technicians and engineers should decide what should happen to Swedish energy, more than 10 per cent. of which is produced by only two power stations? Furthermore, will a factory controlled by workers think in terms of expansion and build up the necessary reserve funds, or will it become a 'closed society'?
Anders Fern: In a people's economy where industry is controlled by workers, it may be more difficult than in a capitalist society to achieve and maintain full employment.
Q. Firstly, which propositions of the SAP Programme Commission contain details of all these changes? Secondly, what form will collective decision making be taking in a particular case? Thirdly, who should have more right to speak on behalf of the workers—the trade unions or the employees? Fourthly, in what stages do the Social Democrats want to introduce the 6-hour day? And, finally, what is meant by better services for old age welfare?
Anders Fern: I certainly have my own ideas as to how these things can be done. We all worked out schemes in some sectors in more detail than in others. But this has nothing to do with the programme itself. The programme gives a leading line for the next fifteen years and sets out the aim. How this is achieved is a question for political routine. When, before 1920, we prepared the road for a breakthrough into political democracy we did not bother about how much to pay to the King. Now we are preparing another breakthrough into economic democracy.

We say that the industrialists must not have sole and exclusive command of the profits of the company, nor the sole and exclusive right of decision making. This is a continuous process. Why put something down in writing now. The worker already has the means through the welfare officer to stop a factory completely if there are well-founded reasons for suspecting health hazards. We cannot say now that this has to stay as it is; it must not be narrowed nor broadened. Ever since the Spring of 1974 we have had legal obligations on industry to use excess profits for the protection of the environment, a good law which could perhaps be improved. We want a programme, the aim of which makes good sense and which can serve as a firm base for further developments'.

SOCIALISM IN ASIA

A New Socialism for India

A non-violent mass movement—unique of its kind—which has been launched in India by Jay Prakash Narayan (popularly known as JP) to bring about a 'total, economic, political and social revolution' may well prove to be a turining point in Indian history. If the great surge of people at the New Delhi demonstration on 6 March 1975 and the crushing defeat of the ruling Congress Party in recent by-elections JP People's Candidates contested the by-elections and were jointly sponsored by all opposition parties) is any indication, JP's movement presents the gravest potential challenge to the existing Indian 'system' and the régime since Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent freedom movement against the British Raj.

On the surface, the movement is against corruption and malpractice at the highest level in the Government; but the significance of the movement is far deeper than is generally appreciated, for JP's ultimate aim is to bring about a complete change in all aspects of the system, including electoral reform, the creation of village democracy, the decentralisation of political power to ensure the people's (especially the rural poor's) participation in the decision-making processes, land reforms, help for the landless and low-caste rural poor, rural development to revitalise the decaying villages of India where 80% of the people live, the overhaul of the existing educational system, the eradication of evil social customs such as 'dowry' and a host of other things which Mahatma Gandhi stood for and which are being advocated by a large number of Western philosophers and thinkers of today.

JP is not only the leading Gandhian in India today, but he is also and has always been a Marxist and revolutionary. In the 1920s, after studying in the USA, he returned to India as a convinced Marxist. He joined the Indian independence movement against the British Raj and came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi who converted him to the philosophy of non-violence. Although JP joined the Congress Party under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, he soon realised that the Congress Party should also have an economic philosophy and he started talking about socialism among the rank and file members of the Congress Party. In 1934 he succeeded in forming a group within the Congress Party which called itself the Congress Socialist Party. This group became a pressure group within the Congress and, as a result, in 1936 the then Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru, declared that socialism was the only path for independent India.

Gandhi's Influence

During these years JP was very close to Nehru and became his ally in pushing forward socialist policies within the Congress. It was for this reason that Nehru, even in the later years after they had parted company on a political front, relied on him and always referred to him as a person 'for whom I have a great deal of affection'. However, JP was also deeply influenced by the Gandhian philosophy and the type of socialism that he eventually beieved in is a mixture of Marxism and Gandhism.

In 1948, when India became independent and the Congress Party came into power, the conservative elements within the Congress Party began to assert themselves and it soon became clear that the Congress Socialist Party, led by JP, had no place within the Congress. JP left the Congress and formed the Socialist Party, which was later known as the Praja Socialist Party, and thus became the founder and leader of the democratic socialist movement in India. So great was his mass popularity during those days that Prime Minister Nehru openly sought his support to offset the right-wing influence in the Government and everyone in India spoke of him as the future Prime Minister. There is no doubt that, had he stayed in active politics, he would have become Prime Minister.

However, JP soon became disillusioned with the political system in India and realised that unless far-reaching changes were brought about in the whole fabric of India there would be no salvation for the mass of poverty-stricken people. His Gandhian training compelled him to go to the villages where 80% of the people lived and which had been abandoned by the Government in favour of a modern urban-based ecenomy. JP was enough of a realist and knew his country too well to not realise at that early stage that unless something was done to extract the villages from their stagnation and gradual decay, India would never progress. He remembered what Gandhi used to say: 'If the villages perish, India will perish as well'.

In 1954, therefore, he gave up active politics and made an historic announcement to offer his life for the attainment of a non-violent revolution based on land gift to the landless labourers and the creation of village industries to provide employment in the rural areas. He joined the Gandhian village movement with great dedication. His entry into the Gandhian land gift and village reform movement heralded a new era and focussed the attention of informed opinion in India and abroad on the widespread malaise of massive unemployment in rural areas, which in turn gave rise to the mass migration of the rural poor to cities, like Calcutta and Bombay, where they merely swelled the ranks of the unemployed and lived in shanty towns and misery belts in conditions of even more apalling squalor than those of their village homes.

Gentle Persuasion

JP thought that this position could be remedied by gentle persuasion of the rich, the vested interests and the exploiters to give away part of their possessions and privileges for the sake of the poor. He devoted a number of years to this movement and initially there was a great deal of enthusiasm. However, later on the Gandhian tactics of gentle persuasion started to show signs of ineffectiveness and JP began thinking seriously of adopting another Gandhian tactic, that of non-violent struggle.

In 1974, whilst addressing a meeting of the India Development Group (UK) in New Delhi, JP said that while the communist countries (both USSR and China) had a concrete plan for rural socialism, there was no such vision among the democratic socialists whose policies were based mainly on the experience of urban industrial society. He, at that time, called upon the Socialist International to give serious thought to this problem. His message was quite clear. In most developing countries, the majority live in villages. The type of parliamentary democracy and the economic developmental strategies which India and many other developing countries chose in the name of democratic socialism, far from bringing about a real socialism, created severe imbalances in society. For example, India decided to have a British Westminster-type parliamentary democracy, but this had been borrowed from Britain without the provision of any infrastructure and without introducing the checks and balances which should go with it. As a result, the force behind the Indian elections is not the will of the people, but money, power, caste, religion and, above all, the abuse of the administrative machinery. A small minority of voters actually vote for the party ideology or the manifesto. Therefore, it is not unusual for governments in Indian States and at the centre to be formed with minority votes and, once formed, they are virtually impossible to dislodge because they can become so entrenched and can manipulate the governmental machinery to such an extent that it becomes impossible to dislodge them through the ballot box.

JP, therefore, thinks that, unless there is a great degree of decentralisation of political power down to the smallest village unit, there can be no democracy or effective people's participation in the decision-making processes. In the present system, the power of the state has been monopolised by a small, city-centred, politically-powerful élite in India and, as the power of the centralised Government grows in the name of socialism, so also does corruption with no fear of public opinion, as it is impossible to recall or unseat a corrupt minister or parliamentarian. JP therefore believes that a village parliament based on partyless style democracy is the ideal for the Indian condition as this is the only way to counter corruption, the abuse of money, power, etc., and to ensure that the weakest section of the community and lowliest of the low will have a say in the running of the country's affairs. This is also the only way to get effective people's participation in developmental projects in India and to eradicate unemployment. For, in the present situation, development has ceased to be a meaningful word for the majority of Indians who can neither contribute to the nation's progress nor benefit from it. To JP, development not only means increased production of goods, but also the development of down-trodden people, the stimulating of their innate abilities, giving them the feeling of self-determination, self-reliance, self-respect and enthusiasm. He believes that unless people are involved in the process of development and are given a chance

to do something worthwhile, grasp new ideas, acquire new skills and develop a sense of their own worth, no society cannot move out of misery and impotence.

Rural Development

In this respect, JP supports the British economist, Dr E F. Schumacher and his philosophy of Intermediate Technology for the creation of employment in rural areas and the development of agriculture and rural economy. Equally, JP would like to see drastic changes in the educational system in India. The present system which has been criticised by a number of individuals and Commissions, lacks quality and content and does not prepare students to become useful and productive members of society. University degrees are achieved unfairly owing to rampant corruption in the institutions and become worthless when students cannot find suitable employment. Even when they do find employment, their education has been so irrelevant to the developmental needs of the country that the students are unable to effect economic and social changes. JP wants a revision of the whole educational system to make it more functional and relevant to the needs of the country.

Similarly, JP is not afraid to mercilessly attack deep-seated social evils, such as the caste system and other undeirable religious and social customs. He exhorts his countrymen to rise above these narow prejudices and traditions and, surprisingly, his call is having a great deal of effect and he is succeeding in this even more than Mahatma Gandhi did during his campaign for social reforms.

During the middle of 1974 student agitation in Bihar against corruption, administrative malpractice and rising unemployment provided a unique opportunity for JP to introduce the Gandhian strategy of non-violent struggle and resistance. A few months before the Bihar agitation, similar student demonstrations in the State of Gujarat brought down the State Government and forced the dissolution of the State legislature, in spite of the Centre's efforts to keep it going. JP thought that if Bihar could demonstrate that people would not accept corruption and misrule indefinitely, this could prove to be a starting point for a non-violent revolution to bring about the sweeping changes in the political, social and economic fabric of the country for which he had been planning all his life. He therefore decided to plunge into his latest struggle and, at the age of 72, once again became the leader of the young and the champion of the downtrodden throughout the country.

Initially, his campaign started with the support of student-led, non-political party committees, but today he has the support of a large majority of students and youth and almost all the opposition political parties, ranging from the Communist Party (Marxists) to the right-wing Jan Sangh. The only opposition party which is violently opposed to his movement is the pro-Moscow wing of the Communist Party of India and, in view of the close alliance of the ruling Congress Party and the pro-Moscow Communist Party, this is understandable.

Confronting the System

The ruling Congress Party and Mrs Gandhi see the movement as a kind of confrontation against the Government. However, this is not true. If anything, this is a confrontation between moral principles and administrative power, between sweeping changes and the status quo, between the vast majority of rural poor and the politically powerful urban-based élite. What JP attacks today is not the Government or the persons within it, but the whole system. Since he has been taking precautions to ensure that the agitation is 100% non-violent, he has in fact diverted the anger and dissatisfaction of the people into peaceful channels. He may well have succeeded in turning the tide against the possibility of violent and bloody revolution due to the mounting anger of the people against the monstrously corrupt Government and administration which has made the hardships of rising unemployment, inflation, shortage of essential commodities and rising prices almost unbearable.

In short he is trying to create a new India through non-violence where people will be the real masters and will have the opportunity to shape the destiny of their country through a system free from corruption, dishonesty, exploitation and social injustice —in fact, the India of Gandhi's dream. His vision is to bring about a real agrarian socialism on a democratic pattern.

M. S. Hoda

CONFERENCES

French Socialists Review Union of Left

Relations between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party were dealt with extensively at the Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Pau from 31 January to 2 February. The debate was introduced by a report from Lionel Jospin, National Secretary. The report is an information report which will be debated in the light of new interventions, new contributions, enriched and adapted, at the National Convention which the Party will be holding this year specifically to deal with relations between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The report follows on from that presented to the Management Committee of the Party on 23 November and that to the National Convention on 8 December 1974. It is a stage, a new development towards the discussion of the National Convention arranged for the purpose.

The report is in essence a joint effort, the product of a working party set up to study relations between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party by the Party Management.

The report consists of two main strands: It begins by undertaking an analysis in depth on the basis of the first conclusions or hypotheses of the Socialist Party–Communist Party working party, for while there are no grounds for the present quarrel it is not without its reasons. It will therefore recall the different proposals contained in the motions presented and the attitude on which delegates were asked to vote.

The following are the main extracts from the report:

Analysis of the underlying causes of the Communist Party's attitude

Such a analysis is necessary first of all because a working party has spent long weeks studying these questions, and secondly because an analysis of the underlying causes will guide and throw light upon what proposals need to be made from a tactical point of view on the attitude which our Party should adopt in this matter.

At the last Convention of the Socialist party, I pointed out that the special working party had adopted four main lines of reflection for its research:

—First of all the known differences, we might say the logical differences, between our two great movements of the left,

—Secondly, the international scale of the problem,

—Then, the fears which the Communist Party might harbour with regard to the development of the Socialist Party,

—Finally, the divisions which may exist within the Communist Party itself on this subject.

A. **The known differences** between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party are those, of course, which emerge within the present controversy. There is no need at this stage to go back over the past to the point at which the two branches of the French workers' movement separated, though this may be necessary at the National Convention.

a. The first question which is central to these known differences is doubtless that of the **respective position of the two parties in the French labour movement and their role in the evolution of French society.** This is undoubtedly the question, the fundamental explanation.

1. In the electoral field, in the facts borne out by by-elections and in the perhaps imprudent promises of opinion polls in the markets and streets of our towns and villages and in firms, too, in which our presence is ever more in evidence, the Communist Party is confronted by real advances on the part of the Socialist Party.

2. These advances give more readily than might have been thought concrete content to the pluralism to which the Communist Party has subscribed in its declarations and political agreements. But one might be forgiven for asking whether the Communist Party already has a systematic theory of this pluralism, this multimaterialism.

Concepts such as the 'Guiding Party','the Party of the Avant-Garde', the 'Workers' Party' seem to us to express rather the old theoretical conception than that to which we would consider to be better suited to the new era.

3. The statement according to which the Communist Party purports to represent the 'revolutionary' stream and the Socialist Party the 'reformist' stream seems to us to be particularly open to question. This analysis indeed takes little account of the politial practice of the Communist Party for twenty-five years; also of the development of the Socialist Party over several years, which renders increasingly questionable the use of the term 'reformist' with regard to it; finally of the adoption by the two parties of a strategy of breaking with the past, as embodied in the joint programme, the intention of which is precisely to evolve beyond this age-old conflict in the history of the labour movement: reform or revolution.

4. In the short term we have to note that the Communist Party thought it absolutely necessary to put political weight on the Socialist Party and, by systematic criticism, to attempt to relegate it to a place it considered more appropriate at the risk, let us face it, of jeopardising the union of the left.

Perhaps as an accompaniment to going back on the concessions made at the time of the Presidential Campaign concerning, for example, the question of the Prime Minister or the number of Communist ministers in the government, or again to secure tactical advantages in the municipal elections; but above all to reaffirm, as is legitimate from its point of view, the pre-eminence of the Communist Party in public opinion and at the same time to call to order the younger generations of the Party, imbued with the spirit of unity and without doubt little affected by the old historical conflicts, to model them and train them politically.

5. In the longer term, at all events, the Communist Party cannot escape facing up to the problem of its political transformation, which has already begun but may perhaps be difficult to carry forward.

Nevertheless, Comrades, the advancement in France of an authentic socialist movement and the continued evolution of the Communist Party itself do indeed seem to be the conditions required for the future socialist transformation of France.

b. Following on from this central question, as I have said, of the position of the two organisations in the Labour movement and in French society is that of the **model of socialism.** The rise of the Socialist Party, carrier of a different conception of socialism, even if this still has to be clarified amongst us, logically poses—and therefore introduces into the polemics—the question of the model of socialism.

Because there is little time available and in anticipation of subsequent more detailed analyses, I shall restrict my analysis of this point to two remarks.

1. Firstly, there has been a burgeoning in the Communist Press of articles in praise of the Eastern countries, and in connection with this a certain second page in 'l'Humanité' on 'Czechoslovakia, a country without crisis', made a great impression on us.

2. But in particular, at a deeper level, there was that reproach made to the Socialist Party recently that we did not show enough recognition of the merits of the political and social systems of Eastern Europe. On this point we cannot remain silent and allow ourselves to be dictated to. At some time or other we shall reply, we shall establish what is positive, in our view, in the social experience of those countries and what is far removed, there, from our conceptions of socialism.

c. The last problem, at this stage, on which a few words might be said is without doubt that of the **model of growth and consumption.**

1. In reality, this is less a difference than an area in which polemics have arisen. It is true that differences in interpretation exist between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. It would be surprising if this were not the case, since there are differences even within the Socialist Party. It occurs to us, for example, that the Communist Party attaches greater importance to a high rate of growth than to its content, its qualitative aspects. At all events, this is certainly an area in which debate should take place, free critical research and not systematic suspicion.

2. The complicating factor on this point no doubt arises from the fact that the discussion has become bogged down in the question of the crisis and hence in a false debate. It is possible that, in the analysis of the crisis, we have different shades of interpretation to that of the Communist Party. A proper discussion would no doubt enable us to gauge them, but we cannot accept the accusation that the Socialist Party would take on the management of the crisis.

B. **The international dimension of the Communist Party-Socialist Party controversy**

a. In the present state of the information available to it, the working party

does not think the international aspect is crucial in this connection. Why? Because it does not seem to us that their are any new elements in the international communist movement with regard to the implications of an accession to power of the forces of the left in France.

The USSR seems particularly concerned to maintain a certain stability at the internaiontal level, and this is no doubt understandable on the part of a great power. It might be thought that the Union of the Left is a factor of uncertainty and instability or, on the contrary, that it might be an element in a new and more durable balance. We shall try to show that the second answer is the correct one.

b. This does not mean that the international dimension may not play a more important part in the future. There are, of course, as in any living world, as in any society of men, developments and problems in Eastern Europe. In this respect, the indications are considerable, for example, the renunciation of the trade agreement with the United States and of the most favoured nation clause.

1. We have good reason to believe that certain preoccupations exist in Moscow after all, they also exist in Washington and in the European capitals—concerning the economic and political situation in Western Europe, particularly the European Mediterranean. Political and social developments, sometimes upheavals: possible ones in France, Italy and Spain), ones which have already begun (in Greece and Portugal) bringing power to new teams less predictable in the diplomatic arena and some of them associated with a new type of socialism, are attracting the attention of all concerned.

2. In times of political, social, diplomatic or military crisis, it is also possible that the international communist movement may prefer reliable groups, even if more isolated, to parties involved in uncertain alliances.

This is why we should watch carefully future developments in the international situation. In any case the complexity of this situation must surely be a reason for the French Communist Party not to exclude any strategical or tactical possibility.

C. **The real fears which the Communist Party may be harbouring with regard to the development of the Socialist Party**

I said at the National Convention that we owed this research on ourselves to our partners in the Communist Party. The working party has not finalised its analyses on this point for, after its initial work, it quickly came round to the point of view of the Management that polemics were unjustified. The rapporteur thus invites your judgement on the two following assessments.

a. It is possible that certain former or recent members of the Socialist Party have made some ambiguous or rather imprudent statements. These may sometimes have provided excuses; they have never in our view been of a kind to give grounds for engaging in polemics.

b. But real fears do indeed seem to be present in the Communist Party, fears no doubt bound up with the past history of conflict between the two parties. These fears do not seem to us to be justified, in view of the present development of the Party. It is thus regrettable that they could have been accredited. But if we pose the hypothesis that the Communist Party is to remain faithful to the Union of the Left, we must, I think, Comrades, allow for certain sensitivities on the part of our partners.

Therefore we must be responsible, sometimes cautious in our public statements; but at the same time we should demand that our freedom of analysis and research be upheld.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

1975 Advertising Rate

Full page	£60	½ column	£18
⅔ page	£48	Column inch	£15
½ page	£36	Insertion of leaflets	£12
Column	£24		

CONFERENCES

Japanese Social Democrats Adopt New Programme

The Japan Democratic Socialist Party (one of the Socialist International's two member parties in Japan) wound up its three-day 19th regular convention on 19 February with Chairman Ikko Kasuga and Secretary General Saburo Tsukamoto retaining their posts. Ryosaku Sasaki, former Secretary General, was elected Vice Chairman since the number of Vice Chairmen was increased from two to three.

The DSP Action Programme for 1975 was adopted as proposed by the leadership. The Programme stresses the need to realise welfare-oriented 'industrial democracy' and a mixed economy in place of the growth-oriented economy pursued so far by the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. It calls for the abolition of existing economic programmes tuned to high economic growth and instead proposes a new five-year economic plan based on a 'social contract' between labour and management. In particular, the party proposes enactment of a law aimed at participation of workers in the management of large enterprises. To halt inflation, the party proposes that an increase in public utility rates should be avoided by modernising the management of public corporations and government enterprises. By these means, the party hopes to lower the annual price rise to 10 per cent from the current 24 per cent.

In the field of foreign policy the party calls for early, but conditional ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty signed by the Government. In ratifying the treaty, the party says that equality must be ensured for nations in the development of peaceful use of nuclear energy and that the security of non-nuclear countries must be assured. The party also stresses the need for the promotion of Japan's economic aid to developing countries mainly in the form of technical assistance in a way that will promote friendly relations with recipients.

The Action Programme of the party in which the character of the party is defined as anti-Communist, says 'Historically, the DSP has formed the mainstream of Democratic Socialism. Based on this conviction, the DSP rejects any easy-going opposition-party joint struggle front. Proceeding with its own policy line, the DSP will endeavour to expand its strength'. It is consequently quite clear from this that the DSP formally rejects any scheme for an all-opposition coalition against the Liberal-Democratic Miki Government.

ELECTIONS

Local Setbacks for SPD

In the West Berlin city council elections held on 2 March, the Social Democrats lost heavily to the Christian Democrats, losing their position as majority party to the CDU. The following are the results:

Political Parties	1975 elections Votes	%	Seats	1971 elections Votes	%	Seats
SPD	589,757	42.7	67	730,240	50.4	73
CDU	606,178	43.9	68	533,422	38.2	54
FDP	99,629	7.2	11	122,310	8.5	11
SEW	25,583	1.9	—	33,845	2.3	—
KPD	10,277	0.7	—	—	—	—
KBW	802	0.1	—	—	—	—
BFD	47,492	3.4	—	—	—	—
Others		0.8	—	9,136	0.6	—

In the Rhineland-Palatinate elections the Christian Democrats slightly improved on their existing majority, while the Social Democrats did not suffer the setback that had been anticipated. The following are the results:

Political Parties	1975 state assembly elections Votes	%	Seats	1971 state assembly elections Votes	%	Seats	1972 general election percentage
CDU	1,143,321	53.9	55	1,012,847	50.0	52	44.9
SPD	817,048	38.5	40	821,350	40.5	42	45.9
FDP	118,761	5.6	5	120,444	5.9	6	8.1
NPD	22,950	1.1	—	53,882	2.7	—	0.8
DKP	11,096	0.5	—	17,849	0.9	—	0.3
Others	7,300	0.3	—	—	—	—	—

SPD—Social Democratic Party; CDU—Christian Democratic Union; FDP Free Democratic Party; KPD—Communist Party of Germany; KBW—Communist Federation of Western Germany; NPD—National Democratic Party; DKP—German Communist Party; SEW—Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin; BFD—Union for Free Germany.

Further local elections are to be held in North-Rhine Westphalia on 4 May and in Bremen on 28 September.

PARTY DOCUMENTS

The Future of Spanish Socialism

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party adopted the following resolutions at its XIIIth Congress held from 11–13 October 1974:

Political Resolution

1) The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), whose endeavour is to achieve the conquest of political and economic power for the workers and the radical transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society, stresses the increasing need for the establishment in Spain of a democratic system which will provide the means for us to achieve these objectives.

2) The PSOE considers that the crisis and state of decomposition in the Franco régime is, basically, the direct consequence of internal economic circumstances accentuated by other factors of an external nature. These economic circumstances are determined by the new phase which capitalism has to pass through in Spain resulting from the fact that the middle class no longer has any confidence in the apparatus of the fascist régime born of the Civil War. The factors of an international order are merely the repercussion in Spain of the present crisis of world capitalism from which no country based on the market economy is excluded and which affects more severely the under-developed countries exploited by this same capitalism. This crisis is for socialists additional proof of the historical exacerbation of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system which is condemned inescapably to extinction, and it opens up new perspectives of struggle to be waged in communion with international socialism.

3) The PSOE considers that this crisis and state of decomposition in the Franco régime is manifested in a general loss of confidence within the system itself in the functioning and continuity of its institutions, in a struggle for power within the dictatorship, in the fear which reigns among the groups most compromised by repression and corruption, in a disaffection from the régime of economic, professional and religious circles and in the malaise and dissatisfaction throughout the country over the political uncertainty and the deterioration in the economic situation. Moreover, the groups excluded from political power: the working class and the vast majority of our people, together with the anti-Franco political and trade union organisations, are making a decisive contribution to the deterioration and liquidation of the present political régime through the sustained struggle against dictatorship, in which more and more workers are taking part as they become aware of their exploited condition, their rights and responsibilities.

4) The PSOE is of the opinion that the only way out of the present situation is on the lines of a just formulation of a democratic break, the permanent re-establishment of a system based on democratic liberties with a government emerging from the sovereign will of the people.

5) The PSOE is of the opinion that the restoration of democracy in Spain must be subject to the following indispensable conditions:

A) Release of all political and trade union detainees;

B) Restoration of all rights for all persons deprived of them as a result of political or trade union activities against the dictatorship;

C) Dissolution of all organisations of a repressive nature;
D) Recognition and protection of democratic liberties through:
a) freedom for political parties,
b) freedom for trade unions;
c) freedom of assembly and expression;
d) the right to strike and demonstrate;
e) the restoration to political and trade union organisations banned by the dictatorship of the property confiscated from them;
f) the holding of free elections within a period not exceeding one year to enable the people freely to express their will;
g) the recognition of the right to self-determination of all the Iberian nationalities.

6) With this in mind, the XIIIth Congress of the PSOE
A) Considers that there is a need to coordinate agreements with the organisations and parties opposed to Franco, basically the forces of the left, as a means of facilitating the restoration of democratic liberties to our people.
B) Authorises the Executive Committee (EC) to conclude acceptable agreements with the parties and organisations opposed to Franco with a commitment to pursue action until these liberties are regained.
C) Decides that these agreements shall not commit the PSOE any further than that; when that time comes an extraordinary congress called as an emergency measure will decide what is to follow, but, whatever happens, the PSOE undertakes not to mortgage its freedom of action in the defence of the interests of the working class.
D) In order to carry out this task, the EC will enjoy the necessary freedom of contact and negotiation for the purpose of cooperation agreements but these must of necessity be ratified by the National Committee. The said agreements will have to comply with the following directives:

a) in relations between organisations and in any coordinating bodies which may be set up, no organisation must in principle be excluded, except that any who impose a veto on other participants will exclude themselves[1]);
b) the PSOE will endeavour to ensure that the agreements extend into the factories and places of work, into the country, the urban districts, the universities, the professional bodies — through the medium of united action committees charged with the task of leading the struggle at all levels.

Resolution on International Politics
The critical situation in which the Spanish régime now finds itself is becoming increasingly acute and its isolation in the community of nations is more and more manifest.

The PSOE attributes great importance to the fact that a conjunction of international forces can contribute to the fall of the Franco régime and to the conquest of democratic liberties for the Spanish people. The PSOE, in the name of proletarian internationalism which must lead the struggle of the working class of the world for its emancipation, appeals to all the socialist parties, particularly those in Europe, to the Socialist International and to socialist governments for action in solidarity with the Spanish people and against the Franco régime, thus giving prominence to the universal repugnance towards the survival of Spanish fascism and contributing to its elimination.

The present international economic crisis is to a large extent borne by the working classes; imperialist aggression against peoples is on the increase; the activity of multinational corporations is preventing peoples from the sovereign enjoyment of their liberty and bringing about the impoverishment of their countries, particularly those of the Third World, for the exclusive profit of those who hold the economic and political power, which highlights the urgent need to lay the foundations for an international workers' strategy to combat these manifestations of world capitalism; the parties and organisations representing the working class must play a leading part in this task.

The united struggle of the workers with international capitalism will in the first instance benefit those peoples which are at present engaged in combat with dictatorial régimes.

The PSOE declares its opposition to Spain's entry into the EEC for as long as the present political system remains in operation and reminds the European democratic governments that this integration, instead of exerting pressure on the Franco régime to force it to recognise formal liberties in our country, would only consolidate its position. Thus the PSOE declares its support for the creation of a united Europe, whilst at the same time refusing to endorse political and economic institutions which serve international capitalism. Declares its willingness to participate actively in the democratisation of the European institutions, taking them away from the domination of capital and channelling them in such directions as would be to the benefit of the workers.

The PSOE declares its opposition to all forms of imperialism and to the division of the world into zones of influence, to the existence of military blocs, for these contribute to maintaining the 'status quo' to the detriment of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The PSOE proclaims its solidarity with the proletariats of all countries and salutes the liberation movements of the Third World as well as those fighting against neocolonialism. In this spirit, it appeals to the workers and to public opinion in the industrialised countries to come to the aid of the workers in those countries in the satisfaction of their demands and in securing their rights.

The PSOE also salutes the peoples of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola on their entry into the community of nations and condemns the colonialist policy of the Spanish Government in the Sahara, opposing any solution to the problem which does not take account of the principle of self-determination freely expressed and without the intervention of any colonial power. The PSOE will favour the liberation of the territories colonised by the Franco régime on the same basis.

The PSOE denounces the military junta in Chile which, in the service of the country's oligarchy, made a bloodbath of the process of liberation of the Andean people; it expresses its solidarity with this struggle within the country and outside it for the restoration of liberty and pays heartfelt tribute to comrades Allende, Toha, Enriquez etc. and to the thousands of Chileans who have been murdered, tortured and persecuted by the junta.

The PSOE expresses its warmest sympathy to the Portuguese people, considering the triumph of the anti-fascist popular forces and the recovery of Portuguese national dignity to be irreversible, and welcomes the policy of decolonialisation adopted by its

government. It also salutes the Greek people who have succeeded in seizing back its liberties from the hands of the military junta and trusts that it will find satisfaction for the legitimate aspirations of the working class of that country.

The PSOE is of the opinion that the difficult balance in the Middle East will not be restored without recognition of the fact of the Palestinian nation and a just solution to this problem and without the right to existence of the Israeli people within secure and recognised frontiers.

Resolution on the Iberian Nationalities
In view of the fact that the Spanish state consists of very different nationalities and regions, the PSOE declares:
1) The final solution to the problem of the nationalities forming an integral part of the Spanish State must be based on the recognition of their inalienable right to self-determination; each nationality will have the opportunity freely to decide the links which it wishes to maintain with the other peoples of the Peninsula.
2) The PSOE does not analyse the problem of the Iberian nationalities from an inter-class point of view of the population of each nationality as a whole but on the basis of a formulation of class strategy, which for the PSOE means that the specific right to self-determination falls within the context of the class struggle and of the historic process of the working class in the struggle for its emancipation.
3) The PSOE declares its support for the establishment of a Federal Republic of Nationalities forming part of the Spanish State, on the grounds that this structure would make possible the full recognition of the particular characteristics of each nationality, whilst at the same time safeguarding the unity of the working class of the peoples forming part of the Federal State.
4) The PSOE also recognises the existence of regions having their own special characteristics; they will be able to set up bodies and institutions in conformity with their own personalities.

Organisation and Constitution
By decision of the XIIIth Congress, the management of the PSOE will be based in Spain.

The EC shall consist of eleven members:
— First Secretary, Organisation Secretary, Coordination Secretary, Press and Information Secretary, Propaganda Secretary, Secretary responsible for International Relations, Training and Documentation Secretary, Administrative Secretary, Trade Union Affairs Secretary, Youth Problems Secretary and Secretary responsible for Problems of Emigration.

The EC shall be elected by Congress; the vote shall be direct and nominal.

The National Committee (NC) shall consist of:
a) the members of the EC;
b) an active member and a substitute member to represent each of the seven regions of the exterior and each Federation having more than 30 members; if a Federation has less than this number of members, it may combine with another in order to secure representation on the NC.

The NC shall be obliged to meet at least once every six months and as many times as may be required either by the EC or by a third of the members of the NC meeting in extraordinary session. The NC may not however meet during the month preceding the date of the Congress but must do so immediately after its election.

The members of the NC shall account for the work of that body to the regional sections or Federations at their request with the usual precautions, having regard to the present situation of clandestinity.

The EC must submit one month in advance the agenda for the projected meeting. At this meeting, any subject may be discussed which is considered urgent by the members of the NC.

No member of the EC may belong to the National Commission of Litigations. The sections and Federations of the PSOE shall enjoy a high degree of autonomy in adjusting their lines of action to special local or regional conditions but without relinquishing the political line and structures of the Party.

Press and Propaganda
The newspaper **EL SOCIALISTA** will be set and printed completely in Spain under the responsibility and supervision of the EC.

The press and information of our organisation remain the most important vehicle for the dissemination of our ideals; because of this Congress requests the EC to examine any initiative to ensure that our sections and Federations are informed rapidly and as accurately as possible of political and social facts and events which may arise and of the attitude to be adopted collectively, all this in close cooperation with the National Committee. As part of the means to secure this objective, the EC is instructed to set up an information agency.

The ad hoc Commission proposes to Congress that the Secretariat responsible for press and propaganda should become: 'Press and Information Secretariat'.

Administration
In spite of the scrupulous administration of the treasurers (interior and exterior) and the selfless efforts of our comrades appointed on very modest emoluments, the budget of our Party is in deficit. In view of this, the commission feels that, leaving aside possible external contributions, the monthly subscription should be increased by 1 franc. But, having regard to the present inflationary situation, the EC is authorised by Congress to increase this contribution by 10 per cent as from July 1975 and, if the same circumstances prevail, from July 1976.

Each member shall, in addition to his usual monthly dues, pay an additional contribution of 10 francs to help defray the costs of organising this Congress. Members inside Spain are also called upon to make a similar contribution.

Training of Party Workers
The complexity of the present social and political reality demands a high degree of preparation on the part of our workers so as to enable them to be ready with replies to all questions concerning the working class. To this end, the following decisions have been taken:
1) Study groups are to be developed within our sections and Federations.
2) An effort will be made to give to our comrades responsible for preparation and for the direction of training courses a specialisation in their function of teachers.
Thus it will be necessary to achieve a gradual programme in the training of party workers (dates, subjects of debate etc.) by setting up a documentation service to assist the study groups.
3) The Secretariat responsible for the training of party workers will study all proposals from the Federations presented to Congress on this subject with a view to their eventual

publication.

4) There will be three types of training:
a) **Induction** courses in which new members and sympathisers will be familiarised with the political line of the PSOE;
b) **Training** courses at various levels in which the discussion will be channelled in a direction of giving content to the struggle and of organising the working class;
c) **Specialization** courses in which workers will study more precise techniques of struggle: setting up committees, trade unionism, journalism, propaganda etc.

5) Those responsible for the courses will carefully select members most suitable for a particular type of training depending on their knowledge.

6) The National Secretariat will set up a training team with responsibility for:
a) achieving better coordination between the various officials responsible for the training of party workers;
b) holding periodic meetings with all the comrades responsible for courses in order to exchange experience and direct the work in terms of needs.

7) The Resolutions Committee informs Congress that it will only be possible to bring these directives to fruition if the commission for the training of party workers is given the necessary resources.

8) The former Secretariat for the Training of Party Workers becomes: Training and Documentation Secretariat.

Other Questions

1) Having regard to the fact that Spanish women are subjected to iniquitous exploitation, the PSOE reaffirms its declaration on equality between the sexes and on support for the struggles proceeding in the direction of achieving total social equality.

2) The PSOE once more declares its opposition to all discrimination between the disabled and war invalids, considering that all have a right to the same compensation.

3) We intend to do all we can to achieve a reinforcement of the Federation of Socialist Youth.

4) The PSOE must draw up an objective and effective policy to deal with problems of internal and external emigration by the creation of organic links with fraternal parties in the receiving countries with a view to obtaining satisfaction of certain demands of a social, cultural and civil order. We must not leave to others the task of defending the rights of our emigrés. In order to accomplish this, the PSOE intends to work for:
a) voting rights in elections to any body for the defence of workers' interests within enterprises;
b) the removal of discrimination with regard to the social rights of workers and working conditions;
c) satisfactory housing without geographic discrimination making it possible for workers and their families to live together;
d) school integration at all levels of education, with no national or class segregation of any kind, whether originating in the country of origin or in that of residence. This means respect for and development of the language, culture and customs of the emigré workers on the part of the administration responsible for education in the receiving country.
e) a policy of protection of the right without discrimination of close relatives in need of assistance by reason of age or health to join their families;
f) reform of legal systems enabling emigrés to opt for residence in the receiving countries so as to avoid arbitrary situations or unjustified expulsions.
g) concession of the same rights as those embodied in constitutional laws for native citizens;
h) protection for emigrés in the receiving country in respect of political and trade union activities from reprisals on the part of the authorities in the country of origin.

Contributors

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BOOK REVIEWS

Japan: Behind the Mask

Japan: Divided Politics in a Growth Economy: J. A. Stockwin, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, February 1975, £7.00 hardback, £3.50 paperback, pp. 312.

Japan, which had seemed to be speeding effortlessly to international economic superiority in the 1960s, has suffered a number of jarring jolts to confidence in the first half of this decade: in 1971 the two 'Nixon shocks' (the announcement without prior warning—far less discussion—of his pending visit to China and the revaluation forced upon Japan by Washington); and in 1973 the trauma of the Arab oil embargo. Herman Kahn's crystal ball has lost something of its lustre; emergence of the Japanese super-state seems less certain, at least in the form and by the means projected.[1] Still, it is important that we come to grips with and try to understand the modern phenomena that is Japan and the present volume makes an honest attempt to introduce the Western reader to the complexities—and perplexities—of its society and polity.

The introductory chapters, covering the historical and sociological background and the impact of the American Occupation, are adequate, and the reader whose interest is aroused can beaver away further with the help of the brief annotated bibliographies provided. However, his analysis of the Occupation period would have benefitted substantially from taking account of the work on this period of the Kolkos.[2] Aspects of US policy which seem to him capricious or casual become explicable viewed in the light of the thesis put forward by the American historians.

The heart of the volume consists of seven chapters on the structure and working of the post-war Japanese political system. These undoubtedly form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the dynamics of politics in Japan. Psephologists will much appreciate his subtle treatment of the problems posed by the electoral system; how would a British Labour Party agent, for instance, approach the conundrum of a five-seat constituency where the voters were restricted to one vote each? Professor Stockwin is —on the evidence of his text—fairly conservative, with a small 'c', placing much value on such 'virtues' as stability, consensus, and 'modernity'. On the whole he approves of the degree of success with which the Japanese élites have pursued and attained these objectives, while pointing out that the result has entailed a complex juggling with political factions and blatant electoral gerrymandering.

The weaknesses of the book stem from the absence of class analysis in dealing with Japanese domestic affairs and of an analysis of imperialism in dealing with Japan's foreign relations. Lacking the cutting edge of these more incisive approaches, Professor Stockwin's book is, in the result, rather bland and unsatisfying, like a wrapped sliced loaf. Long before the newspapers in the West carried stories reporting Hirohito's revival of divine status (quite contrary to the provisions of the Constitution),[3] astute observers of the Japanese developments had projected the probable character and certain consequences of resurgent Japanese imperialism.[4] Certainly, nobody in South East Asia can afford to ignore the implications of the new 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' in the making, and we in the West, for our part, ought to contemplate soberly what Japan's new imperial conspiracy has in store for the world between now and 1984. By all means read this book, but to extract full value from it the reader ought to situate its information in a context of wider exploration in more radical analyses—with AMPO, the famous left-wing English-language Japanese periodical, the obvious starting point.[5]

Malcolm Caldwell

[1] Herman Kahn: **The Emerging Japanese Superstate,** Penguin Books, 1973;
[2] Joyce and Gabriel Kolko: **The Limits of Power,** Harper & Row, 1972;
[3] **The Guardian,** 14.11.74;
[4] Jon Halliday & Gavan McCormack: **Japanese Imperialism Today,** Penguin Books, 1973; David Bergamini: **Japan's Imperial Conspiracy,** William Morrow & Company, 1971;
[5] Box 5250, Tokyo International, Japan.

Labour's Inheritance

The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910-1924: Ross McKibbin, Oxford University Press, London, February 1975, £5.75, pp. 261.

One of the sadder aspects of the great British Common Market agony is the divide that it has opened up between the British Labour Party and the continental social democratic parties. The latter simply cannot understand why the Labour Party remains stubbornly opposed to British membership of the EEC and why the Labour Party is so sceptical about their own efforts to move an admittedly laissez-faire institution in a democratic socialist direction. If they would read this book about the formative period of the British Labour Party, their understanding of this apparent puzzle would be improved.

The basic point is that the Labour Party differed from the continental socialist parties in the way it was created and in how it subsequently evolved (or rather ceased to evolve) ideologically and institutionally. Whereas the big European parties like the German Social Democratic Party and the French Socialist Party originated as mass movements of individual members, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the Labour Party was a creation of the trade unions in the early 20th century and did not have a direct individual membership until after the first world war. Nor did it have a recognisably socialist programme until Arthur Henderson gave it one in the shape of the 1918 constitution.

Thereafter the Labour Party moved nearer the mainstream of the European socialist current. But as Ross McKibbin's book shows, by the 1920s the Labour Party jelly had been moulded into a shape and texture which remains firm today, and that mould was and is provided by the trade unions. In this basic way the Labour Party stands apart from the continental socialist parties, which by 1945 had all cast off the last vestiges of institutional links with their trade union allies.

In the period after 1945, when Britain's prestige was high, the Labour Party assumed the leadership of the international democratic socialist movement, notably by taking the lead in reviving the International. For some years the party's far-flung imperial connections gave credibility to this role, it being hoped that democratic socialism could be transmitted to the Third World via these connections. But as Britain retreated from empire in the 1950s and 1960s and as its ruling class discovered a European vocation, the divide reopened between the Labour Party and the continental socialists, which the frail institutional fronds of the International were powerless to bridge. With the overwhelming majority of the British working class against or disinterested in the Common Market, there was no way to resist the trade unions' assertion of this feeling as the majority view within the Labour Party, despite a vigorous rear-guard action by the pro-Market parliamentary leadership of the party. As the continental comrades look on with appalled disbelief their fraternal party's rejection of the EEC connection which is largely unchallenged in their own countries, it remains to be seen which wing of the Labour Party has majority support in the country as a whole.

Since the formative period dealt with in Mr. McKibbin's book, there have been many episodes demonstrating that the Labour Party is socialist some of the time, social democratic most of the time and trade unionist all of the time. As the author points out in his conclusion, 'the attempt to bribe into the party all men of goodwill' foundered: 'The essay into breaking out of electoral dependence upon the industrial working class was an inevitable failure'. 'In a nation profoundly divided by class, the Labour Party could expect no real support outside the class that had given it life'. The result is the paradoxical one, that the party whose appeal is intended to be classless is inextricably linked to one of the most highly class-conscious working classes in the world.

Opinions differ as to whether this close relationship ought to be inextricable in perpetuity. Mr. McKibbin writes: 'Politically, Labour can choose to govern "in the national interest", to treat the unions as just another pressure group. And it has done so, but always to its cost'. Those people who would like the Labour Party to become more continental or Scandinavian in its structure and style must come up with an answer to this undeniable difficulty.

Alan J. Day

The World Turned Upside Down

A Touch on the Times: Songs of Social Change 1770 to 1914: Edited by Roy Palmer, Penguin Educational, London, November 194, 80p, pp. 352.

When the 'sans culottes' marched from Marseilles to Paris in 1792 their song was to shake Europe; the tremors are still to be felt. Here, in this superb collection of songs, ballads and broadsheets the echoes from this side of the Channel ring out, bawled by the balladeer:

In Liberty's cause, we'll volunteer all
And those that won't help, by force we must haul
No labour! No taxes! No prisons! No laws!
Take what you want, to aid the good cause
All soldiers we'll kill in this grand reformation
Then bloodshed we'll stop, and bring peace to the nation
The priests must be hanged, and the Bibles all burnt,
For fear qualms of conscience from them should be learnt
Would the Radical Frenchmen ever have braved
All laws, had they thought they had souls to be saved.

Yes, it was 'A Radical Song', terrible only perhaps in the naive assumption that bloodshed is something one can turn off, 'stop', like a tap. Hunger and anger are, however, seldom expressed in temperate language: the goddess Reason was to be a woman enthroned naked in Notre Dame. So if God seems timid:

'Huzza for Hunt, Wooler, Paine, Satan and Co.'.

The infamous 'bastilles', as the prisons here came to be called were crammed with many whose only 'crime' was poverty. One might be transported for life for stealing a loaf of bread, for being caught poaching, There were treadmills to teach these villains a lesson. As a warder explained to Henry Mayhew in the 1850's when he visited the House of Correction in Coldbath Fields:

'"You see the men can get no firm tread like, from the steps always sinking away from under their feet and that makes it very tiring. Again the Compartments are small, and the air becomes very hot, so that the heat at the end of a quarter of an hour renders it difficult to breathe".'

But if the songs from the streets taste of salt, well, that is the taste of sweat and of tears, though if sourness were all, life would lose its savour. There is here a zestful ribaldry as well as wrath, a Goose Fair and a Wife for Sale and the cheerfully shameless infidelities of 'The Roving Miner' to make us smile, as well as the exploits of that brave lad, Johnny Green, who disregarded any warnings he might have heard concerning the hazards of being '. . . sold . . . killed . . . cooked . . . and then devoured by steam' in order to take his Nan 'Fro Owdhum to see the Manchester Railway'. And throughout there darts a point of fire; only a gleam but sufficient to irradiate, as well as to reveal, the grime of the street. And somebody dreamed a dream That the World Turned Upside Down:

'I dreamt there were no workhouses
And there were no starving poor;
And nations never did quarrel,
Nor never went to war . .'

The division of the book thematically into five sections is excellent and will be welcomed by teachers. The annotations pay brilliant tribute to the humanity and erudition of Roy Palmer; photographs are poignantly evocative and some are notably beautiful. This volume belongs with E. P. Thompson's 'The Making of the English Working Class'.

Margaret Morgan

SOCIALIST DIARY

Fan Yew Teng

An attempt to deprive Fan Yew Teng, International Secretary of the Socialist International's Malaysian member party, the Democratic Action Party, of his seat in parliament has failed.

Fan Yew Teng, who is also Director of the Political Bureau of the DAP and editor of the party newspaper the 'Rocket', was convicted on 13 January this year on charges of publishing a seditious speech in the 'Rocket' in December 1970 and was sentenced to six months in jail or a fine of 2,000 dollars. Having received a communication from the Secretary of the Malaysian Parliament to the effect that Fan Yew Teng was now disqualified from being a member of the Parliament because of his conviction and sentence, the Malaysian Election Commission took steps for the holding on 15 March of a by-election in Menglembu, the constituency won by Fan Yew Teng, by a majority of 10,748 votes, in the August 1974 general election.

The DAP immediately contested these actions, stating that they were unconstitutional and that Fan Yew Teng was still legally the member of parliament for Menglembu. In defence of Fan Yew Teng's position, they cited article 53 of the Malaysian constitution, which states:

'If any question arises whether a member of a House of Parliament has become disqualified for membership, the decision of the House shall be taken and shall be final; provided that this Article shall not be taken to prevent the practice of the House postponing a decision in order to allow for the taking or determination of any proceedings that may affect the decision, including proceedings for the removal of disqualification'.

In terms of this article of the constitution, the DAP maintained. Fan Yew Teng must still be the member of parliament for Menglembu, since the Malaysian Parliament had taken no decision concerning his membership of the parliament, and since Fan Yew Teng had appealed against his conviction, and was still waiting for the appeal to be heard by the Federal Court. Speaking at a press conference on 22 February, Fan Yew Teng said that this attempt to deprive him of his parliamentary seat was an assault upon the due process of law and appeal.

A first attempt by Fan Yew Teng to obtain a court injunction to prevent the holding of the by-election was not successful, but a second action, in which he asked the High Court to declare that his conviction did not automatically render his parliamentary seat vacant was upheld by the High Court two days before the election was due to take place; in consequence, the by-election did not take place and Fan Yew Teng has retained his seat in parliament.

Charles Kraal

Charles Kraal is the new London representative of the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia, succeeding C. M. Ting who has returned to Malaysia to continue his studies. Miss Kim Ho has been appointed deputy representative of the DAP in London.

Jenny Little

Jenny Little, 27, was confirmed on 22 January as International Secretary of the British Labour Party. She has been Acting Secretary since March 1974 and before that was a Research Assistant in the Party's International Department. Jenny Little worked for the Research Department of the Foreign Office from 1970 to 1792, specialising in South-East Asia and Eastern Europe. Educated at Sussex University, she speaks French, German and Russian fluently and has an understanding of Spanish and Czech.

Dutch Aid to Portugal

The Dutch Labour Party set a new record in the field of socialist solidarity by collecting 12 million guilders (£180,000) during a massive 24-hour collection in the streets of Dutch cities on 25 January. The campaign was highlighted by the visit to the Netherlands of Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party as well as by a football match between the two clubs of Benfica (Portugal) and Feyenoord (Netherlands). Altogether 10,000 party functionaries took part in the campaign whose slogan was 'Keep Portugal Free'. All funds collected are to be used in support of democratic socialism in Portugal. The campaign was actively supported by the Dutch trade union movement as well as by the radio and television networks of the democratic left. The committee organising the campaign was headed by Joop den Uyl, leader of the Dutch Labour Party and Prime Minister.

Georges Spenale

The French Socialist, Georges Spenale, was elected as President of the European Parliament on 11 March. M. Spenale, who is 61, succeeds the Dutch Liberal Dr. Cornelius Berkhouwer. M. Spenale, who has been a member of the European Parliament for more than ten years, is elected for a one-year term, which is traditionally extended for another year.

Mansholt's Visit to Chile

Sicco Mansholt, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International and former President of the Commission of the European Community, returned from a ten-day visit to Chile on 21 March which he undertook at the request of the Bureau of the Socialist International. Before leaving Chile Mansholt sent the following statement to the military junta, which summed up his impressions of present-day Chile:

'I must to my great regret, after a visit of about two weeks, during which I have spoken with a great many people, confirm that the Socialist International has every reason to be concerned. I must tell you clearly that I am deeply shocked with what I have heard and seen.

'Shocked, because in this country, known in the world for her long history of freedom and democracy, there is freedom no more—no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press and other media and there is no justice. There are men and women in concentration camps and jail without any charges having been brought against them.

'Many people who have been tried and judged and who should be free because they have not been proven guilty are rearrested and thrown back into concentration camps or jail without a reason being given.

'Prisoners have been and are being tortured most cruelly and I have seen the victims. Basic human rights are not respected in your country and for this you must bear full responsibility.

'I hope you will understand that I shall leave this country with a feeling of horror and with a deep feeling of unity with all those who are suffering from your régime.

'I should like to make clear that the Socialist International will do everything it can to help the Chilean people to regain their freedom, justice and democracy. The Socialist International will not hesitate to ask governments, especially those where social democrats are in power, not to give any support neither economic nor of any other kind, to your country'.

Bureau Meeting

A regular Bureau meeting of the Socialist International was held in London on 22 March and presided over by the Chairman of the International, Bruno Pittermann. Representatives from member parties in the following countries attended: Austria, Chile, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy (both the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties), Israel and Malta. The International Council of Social Democratic Women was also represented and a representative of the Irish Labour Party attended as a guest.

Next Bureau Meeting

The Bureau discussed the arrangements for the next meeting of the Bureau which is to be held in Adelaide, South Australia, on 12-13 May. Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister and Leader of the Australian Labor Party, will be attending the Bureau meeting.

Next Congress: Joint Conference with ICSDW

The Bureau agreed that the next Congress of the International, which is to be held in Geneva, should take place on 19-21 January 1976. The Congress will be preceded on 18 January by a joint conference of the Socialist International and the International Council of Social Democratic Women on the subject 'Socialists on Sexes'. The Council Conference of the Socialist