



# SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

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# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS 1980

PEACE  
FREEDOM  
SOLIDARITY

SOCIALIST  
INTERNATIONAL  
CONGRESS

# A light in the gloom

The congress that the Socialist International held in Madrid could perhaps be compared to a beacon at a moment when threatening shades of darkness were closing in on the world.

When there was little clear sign that the two super-powers were willing to come to a rapid and concrete arrangement to halt the nuclear arms race, the congress put forward detailed and realistic measures to halt the suicidal course of rearmament before the world was enveloped in a cataclysm.

More than one speaker at the congress made the simple point, which appears to have escaped the attention of many of the world's strategists, that the stockpiling of hydrogen bombs can scarcely be called a race. A race is supposed to have a winner and there will be no winners if the world stumbles into a nuclear war.

When many of the richest developed countries were meeting in Madrid at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to register the results of the Helsinki declarations, the representatives of powerful political forces from every part of the globe gathered at the Socialist International congress in session a mile away were reaffirming economic and social rights of universal validity.

When the blind forces of the market, backed up by the sterile ideologies of misguided monetarists, were keeping the developing countries in penury and millions of working people in the developed countries in hopeless unemployment, our congress declared that economics must always have a human face.

Willy Brandt, Bernt Carlsson



# MILESTONE IN MADRID

It was amid wars and rumours of war that the members of the Socialist International and their friends from round the world met in Madrid in the middle of November under the banner of Peace, Freedom and Solidarity. Hope fulfilled, one might say, and hope deferred.

Hope fulfilled in that not even the most perspicacious of observers could have forecast a decade ago that Felipe González and his richly hospitable comrades in the Partido Socialista Obrero Español would be having the opportunity to welcome socialists from all over the globe to a congress in the capital of their country which had for many decades been the undisputed playground of the right.

Who would have thought a decade ago that the rightful king of Spain would be welcoming a German socialist and former federal chancellor, the Austrian chancellor, the Swedish general secretary of the Socialist International and other notables in audience as they with others represented our organisation on the eve of its worldwide gathering?

The venue in Madrid was evidence that the hope and steadfastness of the International's Spanish comrades was amply rewarded. The symbol of a rose in a fist which was seen throughout the city during the congress made it plain that Spain, which at one time seemed locked in the glaciers of an outworn political ideology, had achieved the full political maturity that allows the existence of a sophisticated pluralistic way of life. In that sense the holding of the congress was the fulfilment

— indeed the overfulfilment — of the hopes of a decade ago.

But the gathering was less positively the expression of hope deferred. Less than a year had gone by since the Soviet Union had taken the unconscionable step, which the Socialist International had condemned in unambiguous terms, of sending its troops into Afghanistan. The Soviet action at Christmas 1979 was the beginning of a year which was to bring little cheer to socialists and which was with the Polish crisis to provide the background to the sombre opening speech of the International's President Willy Brandt, which followed Felipe González's speech of welcome as the congress opened.

'I do not know what will become of humanity in the 1980s', he said, 'how should I then be able to say what will become of the Socialist International!' From such a sombre opening Brandt developed the argument that the International had an increasingly important duty to become the 'worldwide party of peace'.

He was at the same time realistic about what the International was and what it was not. It was not a superparty and the individual members must decide their own courses of action. SI resolutions must be seen as no more than recommendations. At the same time he added that there was scope for much more consultation and coordination among parties.

He also pointed out that we were a poor organisation endowed with a minimal capacity which must be offset by imagination and dedication.

Organisation without politics was pointless, he suggested, and politics without organisation seldom led to results. Lastly he warned that unless the International cooperated with the new forces emerging from different backgrounds round the world, it would lose its credibility and its influence.

Brandt's speech was followed by Bert Carlsson's resume of the work of the International since the last congress.

The first session ended with the adoption of six new full members of the International.

That the congress was seen by the Spanish media as one of the foremost happenings of the moment in their country was made clear by the large amounts of space devoted to it by press and television. Newspapers of all political persuasions put the SI on their front page, the monarchist ABC featuring a photograph of King Juan Carlos' audience with the SI leaders on the eve of the opening.

The media saw our gathering as a much needed moment of optimism after days during which they had been underlining the difficulties and dissensions which were evident at the Helsinki review conference which had been debating at the Palace of Congresses, a short distance away from the SI's deliberations.

Meanwhile behind the scenes committees and working parties were drafting budgets and planning resolutions which would be tabled and approved before the congress broke up. Robin Sears of Canada and Maarten van Traa of the Netherlands had particular responsibilities here.

Philippe Farine, Lionel Jospin, Maarten van Traa



Mitsuo Tanaka, Tamio Kawakami, Masaru Yoshida, Shozo Sugiyama



# Hugh O'Shaughnessy

The Madrid congress set the tone for the world of the Socialist International for the next two years. Here Hugh O'Shaughnessy offers a personal assessment of the mood of the delegates.

Behind the scenes too, work was going on to try to find new ways forward on the Arab-Israeli question. Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Shimon Peres, the Israeli Labour leader, took advantage of the presence in Madrid of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Egyptian deputy foreign minister, to agree and announce to delegates a statement which applauded the progress on peace made so far by Israel and Egypt and which called for more progress, with due respect for Palestinian rights.

Later in the congress a different emphasis on the subject was put by a group of signatories led by the Spanish Socialists themselves who called for the specific involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the peace-making process.

There was no gainsaying the fact that the membership of the Socialist International is not yet at one on the whole issue of Arab-Israeli relations, a fact which clearly gives the opportunity for a great deal of useful interchange among fraternal parties. Delegates were conscious of the special circumstances of the Israeli party at a moment when general elections seemed to be on the horizon in Israel. Nevertheless it is unlikely that Madrid will be the last occasion on which the role and status of the PLO will be tabled.

As the debate proceeded on arms control and disarmament, North-South relations, the principles of the SI, human rights, employment, socialism and equality, it was fascinating for the observer to see how the new extra-European world role of the

International was reflected in the persons of the speakers who took the podium. It was interesting too to see the immediate effect the words of the majority of speakers had on their listeners.

The name of Kim Dae Jung was very often quoted from the rostrum as from Brandt to Asukata speaker after speaker took his fate at the hands of the South Korean regime as a test case for democracy in East Asia.

The attention which every mention of Kim was given by the North Korean journalists — each with their lapel badge of Kim Il Sung — was a demonstration of how seriously many of the regimes of that region took the attitudes of SI members. To say this is not of course to pretend that Kim's views of democracy have much, or indeed anything, to do with the totally personalised form of leninism practiced by the Pyongyang regime.

The same immediate reaction was to be found to speakers from Latin America. Guillermo Ungo of the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario, who reported on the turbulence in his country El Salvador as the extremists of the right tried to roll back the tide of change, was given a warm welcome. Similar warmth was extended to Carlos Gallardo of Guatemala, who faces the same threats to his life from right-wing terror squads in his country as Ungo does from extremists in El Salvador.

The third brave man from Latin America had to be accommodated on the podium when the medical treatment he was undergoing in his hotel room would allow it. A

standing ovation at the beginning and at the end of his speech was accorded to Jaime Paz, the rightful vice-president of Bolivia, victim with his runningmate Hernan Siles Zuazo of the military coup in July. In a simple and direct message he called for more concrete help for third-world liberation movements. The skin grafts on his face and hands performed on him after an attempt on his life showed how much he had had to sacrifice for his own cause.

That the Socialist International did not mean to be passive in the face of threats against those progressive regimes in the western hemisphere which had achieved power was shown by the action taken after the intervention on the platform of Comandant Bayardo Arce, of the leadership of the Sandinista movement. Fifteen SI personalities, headed by Brandt, have, it was announced at Madrid, formed an international committee for the defence of the Nicaraguan revolution.

As the final resolution was approved on Sunday 16 November and delegates started dispersing in the cool autumn air of a melancholy Madrid, they took away an unequivocal message from the congress despite the shadows which surrounded it.

Felipe González summed up the mood as he commented: 'We must show the strength of the position of socialists from all over the world . . . A timid, lukewarm attitude by the Socialist International would only produce the effect of a feeling of abandonment for many political forces who are fighting for the freedom of their countries and for democracy'.

Anker Joergensen



Alfonso Guerra



Pietro Longo



# TESTING TIMES AHEAD

## Willy Brandt

At the Madrid congress Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, pointed to the tasks facing socialists at a time of world crisis. Here follows the keynote speech he delivered.

I.

I do not know what will become of humanity in the 1980s. How should I then be able to say what will become of the Socialist International!

Yet that does not free us from the obligation to think about our goals and about the opportunities which we have — as individuals, as political parties and as an international community of democratic socialists — to face up to the uncertainties threatening mankind and to avert the lethal dangers ahead.

We are, above all, the worldwide party of peace. And for that reason, our foremost object must be to use our influence to stop the major powers from pursuing the

international arms race and, by that, to help in overcoming world hunger.

There are many things to add to this elementary demand: not only demands on others, but also on ourselves.

Of one thing there can be no doubt. When the issue at stake lies in mankind's very survival, it will not suffice for the Socialist International to adopt resolutions — however good these may be. What we need to disseminate is the will to reverse the march of events. Those who do not want to see nations being armed to death must do much more than hitherto to unmask the pretences made about security. And they must prevent technology from winning the race against politics.

Willy Brandt



II.

The Socialist International is holding its fifteenth congress in Madrid, a great city with a great past. And what hopes and fears and fresh expectations are conjured up when we hear the name 'Madrid'!

I salute the citizens of Madrid, the Spanish nation and the peoples of Spain! I give my thanks to Felipe González and to all his friends for the kindness and hospitality shown to us here.

What we are experiencing today, with gratification and emotion, is the shaping of a democratic system, the struggle to bring about a decentralisation of power and participation, the political modernisation of a society long forced to lie on the procrustean bed of dictatorship!

Only after the antiquated and authoritarian regime had retreated was the Spanish nation able to demonstrate just how much maturity and sense of political responsibility it really possesses. And although this new Spanish democracy did not spring to life in an age of economic prosperity and soon found itself shouldering many of the mortgages of past decades, it has proved capable within a few years of winning the confidence of neighbouring countries and indeed of the whole world. It has gained their confidence as a future and welcome partner in Western Europe: as a partner bearing European and international responsibilities.

Ample proof of this may be seen in the choice of Madrid as the venue for the second followup conference to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. That meeting in our immediate vicinity deals, under painful starting conditions, with a subject very close to the hearts of all of us, whether we come from Europe or from elsewhere.

The Partido Socialista Obrero Español ranks among the oldest members of our family of parties: its founder, Pablo Iglesias, was one of the founding fathers of the International of 1889. The fine traditions of this party, its contributions to the political culture of the nation, its fortitude — even in defeat — and its sacrifices for freedom represent a commitment for all of us. And our confidence in the further expansion of the free system in this country rests in particular on the role which falls to democratic socialists. A great deal depends on their sense of responsibility for the whole of Spain.

In this geographical venue, our thoughts never stray far from the other part of the Iberian peninsula. It has long since been nobody's secret that we took a close interest in the developments in Portugal at a time when others seemed to have written off the cause of democracy there.

Portugal has had a difficult time since its revolution, and it will certainly still face considerable difficulties in the future. For this reason our friends there should bear in mind — now more than ever — that we have no intention of leaving them to their own devices.

III.

Almost exactly four years have gone by since we gathered for our congress in Geneva to deliberate upon a new start for the Socialist International. Since then our community has gained in significance.

All continents and many countries in the world are represented here today by dis-

tinguished delegations, who have a historic legacy to contribute to our proceedings. And they want to play their specific role in order to cope with the urgent problems of the world.

Influential political groups, particularly from the Third World — who, unlike ourselves, did not originate in the workers' movement of the last century — have come along to tell us of their problems and hopes, to describe how they see things and to ask for our support. I bid them welcome here in Madrid and offer them our partnership.

Governments and organisations from all over the globe have sent representatives or observers to maintain contact with us. I extend a cordial welcome to them. We look forward to meeting them, as we do to journalists from all countries.

All of this naturally gives reason for gratification. Yet I must not dwell too long on an exchange of greetings, but pass on to my theme: our Socialist International as the worldwide party of peace. It must allow this claim to serve as the yardstick of its achievements.

Needless to say, an exchange of opinions and experience between our parties has assumed even greater importance. It constitutes an exchange between parties either related to each other or linked by firm bonds of friendship. In many cases, this has taken place with the intention and opportunity of conducting a dialogue designed to help the search for common solutions.

But that raises questions which not only others put to us, but which we should also be asking ourselves in a spirit of genuine self-criticism. How wide may the gap become between expectation and achievement? What stance do we adopt on our own decisions? And what backing do we get in our own countries and in our parties for what we deliberate upon or condemn or deem correct in our capacity as an international community?

This brings me to four observations which I would like to make on what the Socialist International *is* and what it is *not*. And perhaps I should add: what it might become if we made a greater effort.

**Firstly**, the Socialist International is not a superparty. Any attempt to make it into one would be suicidal. Every party should, and indeed must, decide on its own course of action and its policies. And it must do so in the light of the different conditions, which, after all, flow from the legacy of the past.

The various parties' independent policies cannot be called into question by any resolutions adopted by the International. When applied to parties, these resolutions can only serve as recommendations. But it is of course welcome if the deliberations held within the framework of the International are matched by parallel attitudes on the part of the participating parties.

My **second** point is this: there exists a great need for consultation and for exchange — and, in many areas, a coordination in substance. Moreover, this need is expanding.

After all, we find out time and again how difficult it becomes to sever domestic policy from foreign policy. If that is so, then this experience must govern our cooperation more than ever. This may be reflected in special discussions such as we have conducted on employment policy and which we shall conduct on energy policy.

We are passing through a period of time in which people in many parts of the world look with apprehension into a future apparently filled with uncertainty and menace. That does not inevitably imply that the conservatives will make gains. Nevertheless, we ought not simply to thrust aside the altered circumstances, but to consider with each other how to tackle them.

In certain situations and societies, it costs a great deal of effort to safeguard what has been achieved without losing our credibility. Moreover, the struggle to bring about reforms is not confined to material gains.

**Thirdly**, we do not really know whether to laugh or to cry about how some high-minded speakers assume we have an enormous capacity for active material support, even in arms, while others imagine us wealthy enough to distribute subsidies around the world. In reality, we are a poor organisation endowed with a minimal capacity. Moreover, that capacity may not even always have been put to its best use.

Our task, then, must be to offset material weakness by imagination and dedication. Coordinated initiatives by parties, groups and individuals can provide an effective means of supplementing the efforts made by the conferences of the International.

Even so, I feel I must recall to mind the old experience which so many of us have already made: organisation without politics is pointless, politics without organisation seldom leads to results. What we need is more solid foundations and that means also improved finances. The vice-presidents and the party chairmen must bear in mind that they have an additional duty between this congress and the next one. That should not be construed as a sombre threat, but rather as a friendly invitation.

That brings me to my **fourth** point. We have undertaken greater efforts to spread our influence beyond Europe and beyond the industrialised states. I realise that these efforts have only met with success. In some regions, we have accomplished more than in others. Yet we all remain aware of one hard fact: without more profound cooperation with the new forces emerging from a thoroughly different background to our own in many parts of the world, the International will lose its credibility as well as its capacity to help in shaping the future in any way at all. And we accomplish these efforts as a partner and not as a rival of the nonaligned.

European socialism is not an export item. And the regional cooperation on which so much hinges can, as a rule, only look forward to a promising future if it rests on the firm will to tap and concentrate one's own resources.

In my opinion, we must make a fresh endeavour and attain clarity in our own minds as to what links us together across our different continents and cultural traditions by way of common values and convictions. We must attempt this, however much we may rely on our established customs and however different the backgrounds of our efforts are.

At this congress we shall also have to talk about the work to be done on a programme and on a new fundamental declaration of principles. I believe that a major role in this must be assigned to the basic values in life: peace and freedom,

justice and solidarity. And we shall have to demonstrate as convincingly as possible that socialism for us is synonymous with a wide measure of vital democracy.

The social-freedom movements, of which we form a part, have no doubt played their role in bringing about innumerable changes, not only since the last century but also since the last generation. But, unless I am very much mistaken, the mandate for democratic socialism has always remained: to strain every muscle in the fight to make sure that man will never more be ground into the dust by his fellow men; that man will never more be abused and exploited; that man will never more face the threat of annihilation.

In our Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 we said that 'socialists would struggle to achieve a world of peace in freedom, a world which outlawed the exploitation and the oppression of people by people and nations by nations'. This challenge has remained very much a matter of topical concern.

#### IV.

At our congress in Geneva in November 1976 we pointed out in the resolution on the political situation that we did not dispute the significance of the superpowers for the progress of detente. But we refused to accept a division of the world into two immovable and opposing blocs and, with them, the risk of dangerous confrontation.

The dangers have become even more obvious now than a year ago. The negative atmosphere hanging over North-South problems has made itself felt with particular sharpness.

In the United States, the elections have come and gone. So even that is no longer a reason for the two superpowers to remain wrapped in silence towards each other. Some people see detente as finished. They point to Afghanistan, the victim of an intervention we emphatically condemned — just as the United Nations did. They point to the virtual deadlock in the efforts to control armaments. And they point to the paralysing problems facing the Conference on Security and Cooperation.

Yet let us take a closer look. The CSCE became a milestone in the postwar history of Europe. Naturally, it could not transform everything for the better at the wave of a magic wand. There has been a great deal of disappointment.

The excessive terminological zeal, the verbal maximalism followed by verbal compromises with which the Final Act of Helsinki is burdened may have created illusions which were bound to be disappointed. Moreover, justifiable and realistic expectations have not been fulfilled. Yet nobody could seriously have expected a handful of peace documents, however noble their intentions, to brush away once and for all deep-rooted ideological differences.

The balance sheet is, in fact, not as bad. Peace in Europe was strengthened during the 1970s. As a result of their participation in the Helsinki process, the responsibility of the United States and Canada for the future of this continent has taken on a new dimension.

I come from a country where we know what the alleviation of human hardships negotiated in the early 1970s has come to mean. With that in mind, it was all the more bitter recently to experience measures objectively discriminating poor people. The

common interest shown by the two German states in detente and stability — an interest which survived the first half of this year almost intact — seems to have suffered from the impact of the Polish workers' movement.

It is, however, equally true to say that the CSCE process cannot be viewed independently of the strains of the international political scene. In the light of the experience gathered in Belgrade three years ago, in spite of all an attempt should now be undertaken here in Madrid to concentrate as much as possible on the concrete details of the improvement of human relations and the alleviation of individual hardships. But certainly progress will not be possible against the will of certain states.

It would seem advisable to promote more active cooperation in the fields of energy and the environment, this to include the convening of special conferences. Such a method may also be suitable for improving the quality of what is known as confidence-building measures. This method could also help to bring about a European disarmament conference in line with the ideas of several governments.

Europe will still have a role to play if it recognises its responsibility and seizes its chances. I am no neutralist: I do not argue in my part of the world for detachment from the United States. But I, together with many others, have been advocating European unification for a long time now and thus also a wider measure of responsibility of our own for the affairs of the world.

I also happen to believe that a successful meeting here in Madrid, which does not get deadlocked over recriminations but makes a clear step forward, could assume great importance for political developments during the next few years. I call upon all those in positions of responsibility to wield their influence still to make such a development possible.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe might also develop as an exemplary model for the safeguarding of peace and for cooperation in the world. The creation of similar instruments in other regions could furnish an important contribution towards avoiding or limiting crises and conflicts.

Perhaps it will be possible via the long route of detente to ensure, by their adoption of a more liberal approach in domestic policies, that East European states are no longer in jeopardy regarding their external mobility. From the standpoint of the leaders in those countries, inner controls and stability — or what they deem to be such — form the prior condition for external cooperation.

Their foremost interests are different to those set out in 'basket three' in Helsinki. Yet certain processes might have created much more difficulties if the incipient moves towards an all-European peace settlement had not taken place.

We have been watching with much emotion the developments in Poland and noting with respect the — broadly speaking — moderate but consistent manner in which workers have asserted their demands. Both sides have so far succeeded in preventing a national misfortune. It is our hope that others who feel concerned about this development will continue to resist the temptation to be guided by dangerous ideas.

Let me, at this point, make something perfectly clear. Wherever we bear the responsibility of governmental office, we adhere within the framework of responsibility to the rule of strict noninterference in the affairs of other states. Similarly, the Socialist International does not poke its nose into matters which do not concern it. Moreover, the International will not allow anyone to tempt it on to thin ice by means of provocations. Having said that, I must hasten to add that we would be acting like the eunuchs in a harem if we permitted anyone to entertain any doubts about our sympathies!

As democratic socialists, we cannot remain indifferent when workers speak up about their interests; when people put forward a claim to their rights; and when they wish to express their opinions without hindrance and engage in a dialogue with others. No, that cannot be a matter of indifference to us!

V.

When we turn to the subject of armaments, then our concrete and urgent expectations lie above all in the direction of the Soviet Union and the United States. They must negotiate and conclude suitable agreements.

If the powers with the largest, most sophisticated and dangerous arsenals do not provide an example, then the worldwide arms race — at present costing over a billion dollars a day — will speed up even more. We have already made the simple but disquieting point elsewhere that weapons do not make mankind safer, only poorer. And we have drawn attention to the blatant contrast between the huge scale of spending on armaments and the pitifully small amounts of money available for conquering hunger and distress throughout the world.

International expenditure on arms at present amounts to 500 billion dollars a year: the allocations for public development aid make up less than 5 per cent of that sum. A mere 1/3 per cent of the yearly spending on arms would be enough to purchase, until the end of the decade, the farming machinery needed to improve agricultural

output — in the poorest countries — now so desperately short of food — and even enable them to achieve self-sufficiency.

Those who censure the states of the Third World because of their growing role in the arms race should remember that the largest concentration of weapons, the core of the arms race, is to be found on the European continent. Moreover, the big business in weapons (including those sold to the developing countries) is transacted by the two superpowers and other industrialised states of the North.

In the Middle East, Iraq and Iran are locked in battle. This war could turn into a major conflagration and threaten to destroy the whole fabric of the entire region. This conflict is supposed to have started without any string-pulling from outside. That may well be, but let us not forget the weapons. Those who line their pockets with the proceeds of selling such weapons turn a blind eye to the destruction wrought by their use.

The causes and inspiration for the arms race in the Third World must be largely sought in the industrial states — both in East and West. Deliveries of weapons present a distorted picture of the necessary transfer of technology between North and South, and they run in the completely opposite direction to the goal of setting up a new international economic order.

The link between disarmament and development is becoming a cardinal point in international politics. In the sphere of East-West relations, it may turn out that the policy of detente will not survive the 1980s if the various protagonists behave accordingly. Yet the alternative would very probably be a catastrophe in some form or other.

For a relapse into cold war would signify much more than merely a return to the ominous situation in the 1950s. Since then, the arms race has led to a series of potential war situations, and these in themselves pose an immense and additional threat to security in an age of heightened tension. In such circumstances, the machinery of war involves the danger of an armed conflict being triggered by the technocrats if a general lack of trust prevails. And what is

Saburo Tsukamoto, Hanako Watanabe



the cold war if not a condition of flourishing distrust?

Any of the numerous political storm centres outside Europe could plunge the world into a global war if East-West rivalry were to mount. With that in mind, we should not be led astray on points of substance. However painful setbacks may prove, they do not constitute a reason for retreating. What we must make sure of is that we are on our guard against wishful thinking. A matter of equal importance is not to lose sight of the goal of maintaining peace.

If we are to safeguard world peace and also to find the strength for a balance of interests between the industrialised and the developing countries, then there will have to be a reduction in tension and as much practical cooperation as possible.

We need arms limitation in order to prevent the world from literally arming itself to death and also to be able, in the not too distant future, to use the resources thereby released for development purposes.

The leaders of the two superpowers must comprehend the enormous sweep of their responsibilities and act accordingly. At any rate, they must do what has to be done if their actions are to become mutually more predictable and more credible.

To our way of thinking, detente is rational: it turns upon joint interests. Detente is not the outcome of a process, but in fact an ongoing and contradictory process in itself. The issue at stake is not the settlement of technical questions, however important that may be in individual cases. The issue at stake is that of asserting enough political will to bring about a limitation of arms and, if possible, disarmament.

We should leave no-one in any doubt as to where we in the Socialist International stand on these matters. And I do hope that this congress will make that even clearer.

## VI.

The deterioration in international relations during recent months has brought the world to the brink of a catastrophe on more than one occasion.

To this must be added the crises undergone by the world's economy. In many industrial societies unemployment, inflation and a fight for a bigger slice of the economic cake are threatening social equilibrium on a scale not seen since long ago. The developing countries are suffering even greater distress. The crisis is adding to their misery. They are now less able than ever to help themselves. Many of them lack food, energy — indeed the very necessities of life.

Regional crises are also proliferating. As these involve the major powers, that creates a further threat to world peace. The list is too long for me to recite in full. The political forces united within the Socialist International have been able to provide their good offices on more than one occasion in the past, and there will be no lack of such goodwill in future, either.

We are committed to helping the victims of arbitrary rule. We have undertaken to alleviate the misery of the waves of refugees set in motion by the genocide committed in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. We have undertaken to help the victims of racialists in Africa or of insolent generals and despotic bureaucrats in other parts of the world.

In our struggle for humanity and for persecuted individuals we do not first ask about the label of those who infringe human rights or trample them underfoot. Experience has taught us that help is sometimes only possible if we forgo publicity. The essential thing is the matter in hand, and in this case that means individual human beings. We surely also agree that our parties in countries concerned endeavour forcefully to counteract manifestations of extremism, be it xenophobia, antisemitism or any other form of inhumanity.

Let us give no-one a chance to say we are blind in one eye. No-one will convince me of the need to have a certain number of victims before we take action. In Iran, where nothing can be done about the head-on clash between two civilisations and cultures — however much armament may have been made available — we have done our best to help the American hostages.

But we have not been able to bring about their release. But we have an additional legitimisation in reminding the United States of its duty — for example, in helping to prevent judicial murder in Korea.

I would now like to turn to some regional problems where we can perhaps assist in reaching a solution.

To begin with, we should encourage all those, such as our friends in India and elsewhere, who are untiring in their efforts to find a peace settlement for Afghanistan based on keeping that country intact and nonaligned.

And then there is Africa with its simmering leftovers of a colonial past in the southern part of the continent, upheld by reactionaries who are even prepared to shed blood. If the right lessons are not quickly drawn from the success attained in Zimbabwe, everything can still remain at risk. The issue at stake is no longer merely freedom for Namibia, even though that is now long overdue. To my way of thinking, we in the Socialist International ought to agree on embarking on a new initiative for 1981.

As for the Middle East, we have long stood side by side with those keen to bring about a durable peace settlement. We are also willing at the right point of time to make a fresh effort to bring about a secure existence for Israel, to realise the rights of the Palestinian people and to promote the conclusion of peace treaties within and with this region.

In the Eastern Mediterranean, both Greece and Turkey belong to NATO. Yet this is no guarantee that the renunciation of the use of force will persist. Such an agreement ought to be possible and this would have to include the Cyprus issue. We send cordial greetings to our friends in both countries. We send them in particular to our friends in the Republican People's Party unable to come to Madrid. My wish is that they will soon be in a position to play an active role in helping to set up a democratic system in their country. And my hope is that the generals will be wise enough to make that possible.

And last, but by no means least, let me say a few words about Latin America. We have made many good friends over the years in South America, Central America and the Caribbean — friends and also partners, who expect something of us and who must not be disappointed. Nonetheless, our Latin American friends themselves must decide on the form and substance of their regional cooperation.

We others must remember that there are not just democracies in Latin America but also military dictatorships which, together with financially powerful corporations from abroad, tend to regard entire states as their private domain. The true significance of the events in Nicaragua has apparently not yet been understood everywhere. Otherwise it is difficult to comprehend the sad developments taking place in Bolivia, Guatemala and El Salvador. All those in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and elsewhere willing to stand up for and make sacrifices for democracy and freedom can continue to count on our sincere and sympathetic understanding as well as our willingness to provide active solidarity.

We appreciate what is at stake in Latin America. We shall never reconcile ourselves to the rule of cynicism and lawless-

Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, Chista Ranzio-Plath, Karsten D. Voigt





ness. Nor shall we reconcile ourselves to a unilateral imposition of influence. We seek no quarrel with Washington nor with the christian democrats in Europe. But be that as it may, we cannot abandon our support for the forces of freedom.

VII.

As I have already pointed out, North-South relations have worsened still further. Too many decision makers still think in terms of power and state or economic superiority.

What we need in the light of the manifest dangers is a serious attempt to distill such common interests as challenge us to act together and to forge fair compromises without simply sweeping the existing conflicts under the carpet.

For two years, I acted as Chairman of an independent commission set up, inter alia, to work out a fair programme of reforms. We did not involve the Socialist International. But I am pleased to see that our parties have drawn substantially on the report of the Brandt Commission in both national and international contexts. And I assume the congress will also do so.

Priority should be given to four central objectives for the next five years: firstly, a large-scale transfer of resources to developing countries; secondly, a reliable supply of energy at reasonable prices; thirdly, a global food programme for overcoming mass hunger; fourthly, major structural reforms of the international economic system and the institutions concerned with questions of development finance; we must thrust aside any erroneous belief in the omnipotence of market forces.

At the beginning of next year, 'global negotiations' are due to take place within the framework of the United Nations. We hope agreement can be reached soon on a reasonable procedure. And we hope that the expectations of the developing countries will not be dashed, that coherent negotiations will take place on the most important economic and financial issues where progress is possible.

At the world economic summit conference to be held in Canada next year, the leading industrial nations including Japan will be able to demonstrate their constructive approach to the justifiable and understandable expectations of the developing countries. Prior to that, however, a number of concrete measures will be necessary in order, for example, to counteract the alarming payment difficulties experienced by a growing number of developing countries.

It is also to be hoped that in early summer 1981 a consultative summit meeting will take place between heads of government from North and South in an attempt to bring a positive influence to bear on negotiations conducted within the framework of the United Nations. I attach great importance to this initiative on the part of Mexico and Austria. It may prove to be of importance to find out in this way, without the ballast of mammoth conferences, in what spheres of practical cooperation concrete progress can be achieved relatively fast.

VIII.

Is there any prospect at all of a future in which life will be worth living? My reply to that is as follows. Let us not wallow in sorrow as if the end of the world were at

hand. Let us plunge into the heart of the problems and do what can be done. That would accord with the best of socialist traditions.

If we are to safeguard peace or even to avoid serious economic setbacks, we shall require not only a willingness, but also a capacity to overcome acute crises throughout the world. What the people in North and South, East and West need are practical confidence-building measures which produce concrete results, defuse the political climate and promote international understanding through cooperation.

The 1980s will confront us with a clear-cut choice between two alternatives. One of these will be marked by uncurbed rivalry between the major powers, the prior rights of the stronger, the ruthless pursuit of own interests, a short-sighted egoism, a lack of understanding for the position of others. It will also be marked by rigidity of thought and repression and ideological blindness. The choice of such an avenue of approach would mean continuing the arms race, stepping up the East-West conflict and bringing relations between North and South to boiling point. The end could not fail to be chaos.

The other path — and one which we must take in the interest of the young generation — is the one which leads to a world of rational balance, a world of helping each other through sound cooperation as well as through a recognition and perception of common interests.

What can we do as the Socialist International to contribute our part to this goal? We set ourselves three goals in Geneva and we reaffirmed them in Vancouver: serving peace by developing cooperation between East and West; helping to overcome the North-South conflict; promoting human rights and reembodying this in our programme.

That is the course of action we wish to continue. This, in turn, has several implications. It means influencing public opinion in our countries and helping those whom we represent to make their views and interests known. It means endeavouring to obtain a regular flow of information and guidance, remaining open-minded towards fresh ideas and capable of developing those we inherited. It means mobilising the young generation on all continents with their dreams for a more peaceful and equitable world. Finally, it means endeavouring more than hitherto to take coordinated initiatives wherever opportunities arise. The framework of our organisation remains modest, even when we have to embark upon reasonable progress. But we still have our greatest assets, our wealth of ideas and our utter dedication — and these are what we must put to use!

This congress will carry out some of the important preliminary work to establish the basis for a common programme. Substantive and well formulated papers have already been submitted on the key subjects of peace keeping, North-South relations and human rights. Further substantive work is in progress in various parties. What I also have in mind in this context is the strategy presented by our Dutch friends on employment policy. Regional cooperation will probably also produce significant findings. Another item — though outside the framework of the Socialist International — may prove of great interest: a conference to be held with

American friends in Washington in early December when the subject will be the experience gathered by social democracy in Europe. Similarly, friends of ours from Asia and the Pacific plan to hold an important regional meeting.

One of our main tasks in future will be the attempt to bring together the experience gained from industrialisation in developed states and that gained from development in Third World countries. As we have known for some time, democratic socialism is no longer confined to certain countries of origin. Moreover, what was good for one set of nations need not necessarily be good for another. The task is one of translating into practice pluralism and civic freedoms, rights of co-determination and claims to self-realisation under the given economic, cultural and political circumstances prevailing in different states and regions.

Let me illustrate that with a single example. We Europeans cannot elevate the pluralism customary in our parliamentary democracies to the status of being the sole valid model of democratic socialism. Yet naturally, there can be no socialism in freedom unless there is also pluralism. And however important and fundamental the principle of 'industrial democracy' may be, it will have a different appearance in a state like Sweden or the Federal Republic of Germany to that in a country whose industrialisation only dates back a few years.

I hope we can learn more from each other and work out new perspectives together. In that way, the Socialist International will also renew its vitality as an intellectual force. And that would certainly be a good thing.

IX.

I would like to conclude by voicing my thanks. Great confidence has been placed in me over the years and I have experienced much friendship and help. Our cooperation has been a source of great satisfaction to me. I feel it has taken us all a step forward. My sincere thanks then to all who have played a part.

As I have already mentioned, the initiative undertaken by our community has also created a fresh set of problems. And there is more than one possibility for improvement. At the same time, we must heed the advice to remain level-headed. The situation is by no means such that the democratic socialist parties are all buoyant and successful at the polls.

But my final wish today is this: may the spirit of solidarity continue to stamp our work and our life. In a world bursting with problems, new and arduous tasks are sure to lie ahead of us. The last two decades of this century will demand of all who bear political responsibility decisions whose immense sweep is hard to assess.

Yet there seems no need for us to lose our courage. Through the long corridors of their history, social democrats and democratic socialists have achieved many outstanding successes. On the basis of a firm and common approach, we can step forward and meet the fresh challenges head on. Testing times lie ahead of us.

This will need all our forces. But what could be more rewarding than the struggle for freedom and justice and solidarity for a world *not* of barbarity, but of peace!

# THE EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL

## Bernt Carlsson

The Socialist International General Secretary Bernt Carlsson gives his detailed report of the organisation's record at a time of great activity and expansion.



Bernt Carlsson

This report is not intended to cover general political developments in the world during the period 1979 to 1980 but to highlight aspects of the activities of the Socialist International.

The last congress in Vancouver provided the first occasion on which a collective assessment could be made of the new course set by the 1976 congress in Geneva. The assessment was positive in its outcome. A mood of cautious optimism in the possibilities of the Socialist International was carried into our discussion on peace and the need for new initiatives in disarmament, economic democracy and how the multinational corporations might be controlled, the new international economic order and the obstacles of existing trade, aid and institutional arrangements, terror and re-

pression in Latin America and the apartheid system in South Africa.

The themes currently most debated at the international level — the international arms race and the growing North-South division — reveal the present high state of international tension. Those problems demand original thinking and tough action from democratic socialists. They require us to offer more than humane and progressive answers to the pressing questions. We must devise strategies that will attack the causes of poverty, ignorance, inequality, oppression and fear. The background to some of the present tension lies in failures, including from time to time our own, to find ways of resolving conflicts in the past and to meet the challenges of the future. The responsibilities are great. The Socialist International should tackle those responsibilities, whether as initiator, intermediary or last-stage negotiator. This report looks at how far we have come but also at how far we have to go.

From its beginning, the democratic socialist movement has held peace to be one of its major aims. Peace has been regarded both as an aim in itself and as a condition for social and political progress within and between nations and states.

Peace and development are indissolubly linked, as our last congress in Vancouver pointed out. A solution to the North-South division as well as the East-West conflict is a necessary condition for the transition to peace. This does not imply that a peaceful solution to internal political problems is the only legitimate method. Where repressive governments are denying democratic forces any possibility of working through peaceful methods, these forces may well have no choice but to resort to armed resistance. This should be seen as an expression of self-defence.

It was in this framework, synthesising the standpoints of the member parties, that the 1978 Bureau meeting in Dakar followed the recommendation of the Socialist International Disarmament Conference and established the Study Group on Disarmament under the chairmanship of Kalevi Sorsa (SDP, Finland) and Walter Hacker (SPOe, Austria) as secretary. The Vancouver con-

gress defined the continuation of detente, the peaceful solution of conflicts, the enlargement of arms control and new attempts for general and complete disarmament as the major aims in this field. Additionally, the congress called for political measures against the militarisation of the Third World. Willy Brandt pledged in Vancouver: 'In the years ahead, we shall go on making every effort to consolidate the groundwork of detente. We shall harmonise new initiatives and use our influence to make the voice of reason and common sense heard throughout the world'. The Socialist International and its members have used the last two years both to develop new ideas and to explore new ways of promoting arms control and disarmament.

The initial step taken by the Study Group was to elaborate a preliminary set of statements on the fundamental and immediate problems of detente and disarmament. The Study Group then informed itself concerning the points of view held by important political forces in the world and discussed with them its recommendations in a series of visits.

In May 1979 the Study Group held meetings in Washington with US President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale and US government experts and representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties. Kalevi Sorsa took the opportunity to stress the Socialist International call for ratification of SALT II.

In Colombo in August 1979 a meeting took place with Junius Jayawardene, the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, and A. C. Shahul Hameed, the chairman of its foreign ministers' conference.

This led to a positive evaluation of the other's work for military detente. In September 1979 the Study Group met UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and UN disarmament experts in New York. This underlined the special attention the Socialist International gives to the work of the United Nations. It strengthened the role of the Socialist International in increasing the political will to control the arms race and to disarm, and to increase efforts to raise popular consciousness about these matters. In October 1979 the Study Group met representatives of the Soviet government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and other institutions in Moscow. The group was able to hold discussions with, and present its views to, President Leonid Brezhnev. The visit was accorded the highest attention in the USSR. It gave both sides new and important information about possibilities and limitations in future negotiations.

These activities of the Study Group led to the following conclusions. First, it served as a necessary and effective channel of direct information for the respective sides. The future detente and disarmament activities of the Socialist International will profit from this. Second, both in the quality and variety of the discussions we have found a new, valid and successful way for the Socialist International to influence international politics.

They laid the basis for work undertaken by democratic socialists to restore the superpower dialogue and to engage in bridge building following the recent deterioration of detente. The future importance of these visits also lies in the international relevance of the Socialist International and the

possibilities open to its activities for promoting concrete initiatives as regards arms control and disarmament.

The Bureau meeting in Lisbon in October 1979 endorsed the work of the Study Group. It called for the continuation of the policy in support of detente, progress in arms control and especially new initiatives during the CSCE Followup Conference in Madrid 1980. It appealed to all governments in East and West to avoid measures that could aggravate tension and render future negotiations more difficult. The work of the Study Group took place against a background of the deterioration of detente and superpower cooperation. This started in the wake of the so-called Cuban brigade crisis of late August 1979. It was furthered by the United States reluctance to ratify SALT II, and was reinforced by the NATO decision on eurostrategic missiles. On the other hand, the Soviet decision to proceed with the deployment of the SS-20 and the occupation of Afghanistan further exacerbated the situation. All this emphasises the importance of Soviet and US foreign policy for the international community.

In the case of the NATO decision, the Socialist International member parties in government and opposition were able to further detente by taking steps such as visits by Helmut Schmidt, Olof Palme and Kalevi Sorsa to Moscow.

The member parties were not able to find a common platform for pursuing military detente. In line with the policy of peaceful conflict resolution in international relations, of preserving national sovereignty and independence and of supporting self-determination as being fundamental for international progress, the party leaders' conference in Vienna in February 1980 condemned the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It called for a political solution that would take into account the interests of the Afghan people and their neighbours. This must include the withdrawal of all Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan.

The Oslo Bureau meeting in June 1980 surveyed the recent international developments and welcomed all concrete initiatives to promote detente, including military detente.

Since the Oslo meeting, there have been further developments complicating moves to ease this international tension. Changes in nuclear weapons strategy led to a further escalation. The International must underline the importance of a positive result from the Madrid CSCE Followup Conference for promoting peace and security in Europe.

Democratic developments in Poland have aroused great international concern. While recognising that interference from the outside will not be helpful, we cannot, as Willy Brandt declared in his statement on 22 August 1980, be unmoved when workers in another European country stand up for their rights and their interests and for free speech in order to defend their rights.

One has to be realistic about what the International can do. Acting by itself, the Socialist International cannot overcome the present grave international situation. The fact that the NATO decision on eurostrategic weapons was, by and large, supported by our member parties in government in the concerned countries is an unfortunate illustration of the lack of capacity

of the Socialist International to transfer call for disarmament into action.

However, in assuming a stronger political profile on these questions and in our lining the first steps towards a concrete and stimulating policy of real military detente, the Socialist International can influence the political will and widen the freedom of action for detente not only of the USA and USSR but of all other responsible countries. The report of the Study Group on Disarmament, together with its recommendations, provides a common basis for action that has been worked out by representatives of our member parties from NATO and neutral European countries, from developing countries and Japan. This has a special importance not simply for the future of military detente but for developing and strengthening the role of the Socialist International as an international force. However, if it succeeds in promoting detente in concrete terms, either by arms control and disarmament initiatives, by its member parties in or out of government and by creating the necessary improved climate and political will, it will have acted in the best tradition of democratic socialism.

The International is confident that the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the chairmanship of Olof Palme will be able to follow and build on the work of the Socialist International.

The aim of the work on disarmament by the International is to influence the policies of national governments, international organisations and defence alliances in the direction of concrete military detente. There is much work to do for the member parties in promoting and developing the present forms and ways of peace education, peace research information and various forms of international nongovernmental cooperation and communication for disarmament. In all these areas there is critical work for our time, capable of mobilising broad sections of the population but still waiting to be taken up by many member parties. In this field the Socialist International Women have taken a very active line.

The contribution IUSY has made to the development of all-European youth cooperation should also be noted.

Our parties and other progressive groups, concerned with promoting arms control and disarmament everywhere, have the possibility through fresh detente initiatives to combat the right-wing call for new weapons. Socialist and trade-union movements, the youth and women's organisations, all have to carry the common platform for arms control and disarmament, to be adopted by this congress, into concrete initiatives and sustained activity. Inaction or half-hearted gestures can only mean that we do not meet our responsibilities.

The statement made by the International on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the CSCE asserted that dramatic events of recent months had made it very clear that the balance between North and South, between industrial and developing nations, must become a second dimension of peace policy.

That second dimension must be as actively pursued as the first, for the 1980s already prove that they will be a decade of major economic upheaval.

It is no longer possible to paper over the cracks in the existing international econ-

omic arrangements. The defeat of the People's National Party of Jamaica reveals once again the extent of the power possessed by the international financial institutions.

At the Vancouver congress, the International extensively analysed the deep-seated structural problem of the world economy and committed itself to the goal of a new international order. The eight policy steps towards the new international order advocated in Vancouver remain to be achieved. Effecting those changes will first require and then encourage fundamental political changes. If our resolutions are not to be simple declarations of intent, the member parties must be in the forefront of implementing those changes. This lies at the heart of strengthening the cooperation of democratic socialists in North and South.

In the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, written under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, a unique group of prominent political leaders from North and South have, like the International, attempted to go beyond analysis to seek prescriptions. They present a minimum programme of reform, based on growing mutual interest between North and South.

Their conclusions in *A Programme for Survival* bear a relationship to those of the Socialist International. At the Oslo Bureau meeting Olof Palme (SAP, Sweden) stressed that the conclusion of the report was based on a new understanding of interdependence and common interest. He illustrated this interdependence with the problems of major US banks as they are related to the deterioration of the economics of the Third World.

The report is strategic in conception and clear in distinguishing short- and long-term goals. Special attention should be focused on the report's emergency programme for the next five years. In addition to an international energy strategy, the report calls for a large-scale transfer of resources to developing countries, a global food programme and a start on major reforms in the international economic system. Its call for a world summit to discuss these proposals is an imperative one. In their work to develop the concept of a new international order, and in the remarkable consensus reached, the commissioners have given their recommendations on outstanding legitimacy and authority. The international negotiations on development have too frequently dwindled to a dialogue of the deaf, as Willy Brandt points out in the introduction to the report. The UN Special Session on Development did not fulfill expectations and showed that there are still major gaps between the members of the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement on the one hand and the most developed industrialised countries on the other.

Those of the member parties which are in government or who will get into government in the near future will have the opportunity of trying to carry out the proposals of the Independent Commission. This should be seen as a first step towards a new international order.

The Socialist International Working Group on Employment Policies led by Eskild Jensen and Ulf Sand (DNA, Norway) was set up in view of the growing unemployment in the industrialised world and the mass of underemployment and unemploy-

ment in the developing countries. It paid special attention to the impact of new industrial technologies in the economy of the industrialised countries. Many jobs in these countries will be eliminated as a result. Democratic socialism does not stand against the principle of technological advance. But democratic socialists are concerned with the economic, social and political implications of this new technology.

The Working Group states in its report that technological progress is harnessed to provide greater leisure and higher incomes for all. This must not lead to growing unemployment and a privileged sector of higher-paid workers.

Within the industrialised countries, we must ensure that desirable consequent measures like early retirement, a reduced working week, longer holidays and extended opportunities for educational leave are not viewed as a solution to short-term unemployment. In considering the report, the Lisbon Bureau meeting felt that special attention should be given to the position of women and youth. They constitute particularly vulnerable sections of the labour force when faced with an unbalanced introduction of new technology. In the developing countries, the consequences could be even more drastic either by creating islands of advanced technology in underdeveloped economies, with massive resulting economic, social and political strain, or by undermining the whole process of establishing a competitive labour-intensive industry.

Socialist and trade-union movements must be prepared to play an active part in shaping the terms in which this new technology is introduced in the 1980s. There is a great need to draw together the results of the research made independently by our members.

The report on employment policies is in itself an example of the growing cooperation between the International and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In the past two years, there have been many occasions to recall the need not just for social and economic justice between countries but also within countries, and the role of the Socialist International in support of such policies. The preeminent case has been that of Nicaragua. In Vancouver, the International called on all governments particularly those who had for so long

maintained the Somoza regime in power, to end their support. At the Bureau meeting in Luxembourg, we heard Ernesto Cardenal and Miguel d'Escoto from the Sandinistas describe their progressive objectives of reconstruction, national unity and non-alignment. The Socialist International intensified its efforts to offer financial and political solidarity to the Sandinistas. The International denounced any form of foreign intervention designed to subvert the will of the Nicaraguan people. The International called for the recognition of the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction as the legitimate representatives of the Nicaraguan people. The Party Leaders' meeting in Bommersvik on 20-21 July 1979 greeted the Sandinistas on their triumph and called on member parties to give political and material support for the process of reconstruction.

Responding to an invitation from the Sandinistas, a mission was sent to Nicaragua in August 1979 led by Mário Soares. They were able to study at first hand the degree of exploitation and destruction of Nicaragua that Somoza's dictatorship and the war had brought. They acquainted themselves with the progressive and pluralist character of the new government.

The delegation stressed the need for international and political solidarity and economic assistance to the Nicaraguan revolution. The presence of Eden Pastora at the Bureau meeting in Lisbon gave the International a further opportunity to affirm support for the Frente Sandinista. At the Santo Domingo conference in March 1979 the parties present denounced the reactionary campaign of slander against the Nicaraguan revolution. The International's support must be steadfast. The Sandinistas face the tasks of reconstruction and the achievement of social and economic justice. Therefore we have to maintain our active solidarity with Nicaragua.

The developments in Nicaragua have had a profound effect on progressive and revolutionary forces throughout Latin America, particularly Central America.

The special conditions in Nicaragua ensure that its revolution will be a source of inspiration rather than a blueprint for other struggles against dictatorship.

In El Salvador, the International initially welcomed the coming to power of the new junta. We noted the important role placed

in the new government by our member party the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR). The International declared that as the junta moved towards its stated aims for socioeconomic changes such as an agrarian reform and an egalitarian distribution of wealth, it could count on the prompt and effective support of those who desire the emergence of a new and democratic El Salvador. Progressive forces including the MNR left the junta in January this year. Following Guillermo Ungo's (MNR, El Salvador) detailed report to the Bureau meeting in Oslo, it was decided to give the International's support to the Democratic Revolutionary Front and call on the United States to cease its policy of aiding the present junta which has led the country to a state of civil war. Ungo further underlined that the tense international atmosphere was benefiting dictatorships in Latin America. Recent developments in the United States could further aggravate such a situation.

In Guatemala, we mourn the deaths of Alberto Fuentes Mohr and Manuel Colom Argueta, both present in Vancouver and assassinated in early 1979. The Oslo Bureau meeting gave the International's backing to the Frente Democrático Contra la Represión.

In Latin America, the dictatorships and reactionary forces have demonstrated their bitter hostility to the International. At the Luxembourg Bureau meeting an agreement was made to send a mission to Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. It was cancelled when the International learned that the mission would be refused entry into Uruguay and Chile. The International instead decided to send a mission to Paraguay. It attended the congress of the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista in Asunción on 24-25 November 1979. The mission was able to observe the true nature of the Stroessner regime and the growing unity of opposition forces represented in the Acuerdo Nacional.

In the case of Uruguay, the International protested against the arrest of the veteran socialist leader José Pedro Cardozo and applauded the efforts of Convergencia Democrática to unify the opposition. The Chilean dictatorship's sham referendum held in totally undemocratic conditions has met with our strongest condemnation.

The International condemned the coup in Bolivia which violated the democratic wishes

Francisco Lopez Real, Alfonso Guerra, Luis Yáñez Jose Federico de Carvajal Alfonso Zegbe Sanen, Alma Delia Garcia Ramirez



of the people and which led to the murder of many active socialists and trade unionists.

Socialists throughout the world recognise Hernán Siles Zuazo and Jaime Paz as the elected victors of the Bolivian general election and therefore as the persons most fitted to express the will of the Bolivian people.

In addition to the request of the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista (Paraguay) to transfer of status from consultative to full member party there has been considerable interest in membership from this region.

The reorientation of the International decided upon in 1976 has now taken definite organisational form in Latin America and the Caribbean. Following extensive consultations, the Lisbon Bureau meeting agreed to establish a Socialist International Latin American Committee, with José Francisco Peña Gómez as chairman and Hector Oqueli as secretary.

The first Regional Conference of the Socialist International for Latin America and the Caribbean held in Santo Domingo on 26-28 March 1980, hosted by the PRD (Dominican Republic), facilitated the launch of the Committee. Participation in the Regional Conference was broad in its scope. It was attended by representatives of the major socialist, labour and anti-imperialist parties of the region and also included parties and liberation movements from Africa and representatives of a number of European parties. The conference covered considerable ground, evaluating the international situation and its significance for Latin America, electoral and popular strategies, the role of the multinational corporations and their close ties with some of the most repressive regimes in the region. It was critical of certain aspects of United States foreign policy, notably over El Salvador, Nicaragua and Puerto Rico.

Advancing such criticism and taking up the responsibility of developing alternatives to present superpower policies in what has been regarded as a traditional sphere of influence is evidence of the growing intercontinental development of the Socialist International.

The International supports the attempts to mobilise democratic forces in Latin America in the framework of COPPPAL.

During the last inter-congress period, there were encouraging developments in Africa. The victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe is a moment of great importance for southern Africa. It heralds a new era for the liberation struggles there. With the aid of representatives of SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa the Lisbon Bureau meeting was able to study the latest developments that had taken place. A message of congratulations was sent to Robert Mugabe on the announcement of the results of the first democratic elections in Zimbabwe. The Oslo Bureau meeting followed this by calling on member parties to respond actively to the new government's requirements in rebuilding Zimbabwe after seven years of war.

The bastion of apartheid remains in South Africa, pursuing its exploitative and racist policies. The International tried to prevent the execution of Solomon Mahlangu. We have repeatedly called for the release of the leaders Nelson Mandela of ANC and Toivo Ja Toivo of SWAPO.

Joan Lestor (British Labour Party) has said that support for the liberation move-

ments can best be achieved by imposing economic sanctions against the regime. The present situation in Namibia requires that the International and its member parties should work speedily to see that the economic and strategic interests of South Africa and an apparent lack of will on the part of the group of five western powers do not delay the end of South Africa's illegal occupation and the achievement of genuine independence.

Joop den Uyl (PvdA, Netherlands) proposed at the Oslo Bureau meeting that the International should give serious consideration to how an oil embargo could be carried into effect. There is still a wide gap between what the International and its member parties are currently doing for the liberation of South Africa and what they committed themselves to with the agreement of the Madrid Bureau meeting in 1977. The South African government's development of nuclear weapons demands that the question assumes even higher importance and urgency.

In Luxembourg, the Bureau discussed at length the position it should take on the Western Sahara. Representatives of POLISARIO and USFP (Morocco) and FLN (Algeria) all presented their viewpoints in the discussion. The Bureau concluded that a politically just and final solution had to be found that guaranteed the right of the Saharan people to self-determination.

The International has increased its activities in the Asia-Pacific region. On 1 March 1979 a regional secretariat of the International was established in Tokyo. It is operated jointly by the Socialist Party of Japan and the Japan Democratic Socialist Party.

A meeting of the parties in the Asia-Pacific region was held in Wellington in September this year. It decided to call for a large-scale regional conference in the Asia-Pacific area to take place in Sydney next February.

The International is deeply concerned over the repression now evident in South Korea. The opposition leader Kim Dae Jung has been sentenced to death. The International has pressed for the commuting of his sentence and for his release from prison.

The application of the Progressive Socialist Party of the Lebanon for full membership of the International is an important development.

The Lisbon Bureau meeting confirmed that the views of member parties on the specific question of the PLO remain divided.

The mission to Iran by the socialist leaders Bruno Kreisky (SPOe, Austria), Felipe González (PSOE, Spain) and Olof Palme (SAP, Sweden) represented a major breakthrough in establishing dialogue with the postrevolutionary regime. The subsequent meeting with Iran's Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh in Oslo continued this dialogue. It showed the key role of the International as a provider of initiatives in difficult situations.

The consequences of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan emphasises the need of the International to give more attention to this region.

The past two years have brought to the fore how the pattern of international cooperation by democratic socialist parties is followed by others.

The liberal, the christian democrat and now also the conservative parties are intensifying their internal cooperation through their internationals. This reflects a growing realisation that political parties today cannot function exclusively in a national framework. The internationalisation of political and economic problems makes it imperative to internationalise the work of political parties regardless of their ideological positions. Because of their traditions, their solidarity and their will to cooperate, the democratic socialists are here in the forefront.

The right now presents socialists with a reinforced challenge internationally, electorally and ideologically. The right has attacked the position of the organisations of working people, notably the trade unions. The right attempts to exploit the frustrations of the more vulnerable sections of society and plays on the oppression and alienation these sections experience in their daily lives.

There is a massive financing from corporate interests and an organisational strength in this offensive of the right. There appears to be a new-found self-confidence, a feeling that the democratic left can be directly confronted on the level of ideas and arguments which our movement assumed were settled many years ago. We hear the cry that freedom is incompatible with socialism. We hold the opposite to be true. As the Geneva congress expressed our standpoint that without democracy there is no socialism and without socialism there is no democracy. The party leaders' conference in Bommersvik in July 1979 took therefore freedom and socialism as its theme.

Democratic socialism's fight for human rights is distinct from the limited conception and sometimes inconsistent approach adopted by the Carter administration. The aim is to extend all areas of freedom, individual and collective, and to link democratic rights with their material preconditions. This has been at the heart of the work of the Socialist International Study Group on Human Rights led by David Mayer (PS, France) and Robert Krieps (LSAP, Luxembourg). It is a vision deeply committed to economic as well as political democracy.

The importance of economic democracy is at the centre of innovative thinking in many democratic socialist parties. Its humanistic outlook is not selective. Olof Palme said at Bommersvik, of the persecution of signatories of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, that the struggle for freedom in Czechoslovakia cannot be silenced. It is important that we as democratic socialists protest against the excesses of the regime and declare our solidarity with the forces of democracy and liberty.

We should note that the so-called rise of the right is not what it appears to be. There was a decline in the strength of conservative forces in countries such as Austria, Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Dominican Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Complacency is, however, far from justified as the results in the European Parliament elections show.

Joop den Uyl, as the new president of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Communities, informed the Oslo Bureau about the Confederation's major tasks. The enlargement of the Com-

munity to include Greece, Spain, and Portugal will have important implications for the future. The International hopes that the growing contact among socialist leaders in southern Europe will be able to strengthen collective work in the Confederation.

The male-dominated character of our member parties and of the International itself is a weakness. The discussions now taking place within the Socialist International Women and many member parties on a dialogue between socialism and feminism must strengthen women's involvement in the socialist movements and enrich democratic socialism.

It would be too easy to overestimate the role of the Socialist International. As has been pointed out by Maarten van Traa (PvdA, Netherlands) at the Santo Domingo conference, there is a danger of the Socialist International developing the ambitions and traits of some form of a mini United Nations. Our ambition has not been to give priority to a policy aimed at growth in size at the cost of ideological cohesion.

We fully support and share the goals of peace, development and liberation with the United Nations. Our role however is one of an association of political parties and organisations, sharing the basic ideology of democratic socialism.

The resolution adopted at Vancouver outlined that the work of the Socialist International is based upon the open co-operation of those forces which seek to tackle the great problems of the day by the application of the progressive principles of democratic socialism through the free consent of the people.

The gains in the work of the International during the last four years are considerable

but their foundations are fragile.

The expectations which people have of the International are enormous, but the resources are strictly limited.

The remarkable expansion in terms of membership and activities has led to an increase in work. Study and working groups (on disarmament, employment, human rights, a new declaration of principles) have been coordinated. Missions and visits require proper preparation (mission to South America, Study Group on Disarmament). Round-table meetings and committee meetings need organisation. Solidarity actions have been harmonised (Chile, Nicaragua, Jamaica). Two party leaders' conferences and four Bureau meetings have been arranged. New and old applications for membership to the Socialist International have been checked. Regional activities (Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, CSPEC, APSO) have been coordinated with the general work. Effort has gone into making SOCIALIST AFFAIRS a platform for the exchange of ideas among an increasing readership. The decisions made prior to Vancouver are also kept under consideration to see how they might be further implemented (Middle East, Western Sahara, South Africa, Cyprus).

The increased activity within the Socialist International since the Geneva congress has added demands for service from the secretariat in London. However, the working structure, technical facilities and financial basis of the work are largely unchanged since the time when the Socialist International was much more limited both in activities and membership.

The Presidium agreed in the Oslo Bureau meeting that present needs and conditions should be reviewed and ideas arising on

this presented to the next congress. Such an endeavour is linked to the elaboration of a new declaration of principles on which work has already begun.

If we are to reach full effectiveness, there must be a clear process of establishing priorities, and regularly reassessing them.

It must be assured that the organisational work of the Socialist International has the possibility to be of the same level as its expanding political activities. A considerable distance still remains before universal recognition is secured as to how and indeed why the approach and activities of the International have been updated and transformed since the Geneva congress in 1976. The strength of the International is dependent upon the extent to which the member parties and organisations are prepared to commit themselves in practice to the decisions reached by the Socialist International.

Democratic socialism has strategies to tackle the grim threats to humanity — war, poverty, unemployment, and oppression in all its forms. We have new ideas, and with those, new goals to be achieved in the 1980s. We will be resilient in the face of the counterattack we will receive, but never dogmatic. Let us be clear that to overcome cynicism and alienation from the democratic parties, and their ability to solve the fundamental problems of our time, is an enormous responsibility. The International has made real progress forward since the Geneva congress. It has demonstrated that it can get and offer solidarity.

That solidarity is the basis of the International.

Never have the challenges been greater. Yet never have the possibilities for democratic socialism been more exciting.

**Established 1946**

**Editor  
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# UPDATING OUR AIMS

## Felipe González

The host of the Madrid congress was Felipe González. Here he sets out his thoughts about the task of reformulating the principles of the Socialist International which he and others will be engaged in over the next few years.

The subject with which the Working Group on a New Declaration of Principles for the Socialist International has been concerning itself is one that is always difficult to approach, but particularly so in view of the new world situation. Therefore I will begin by asking you to be patient. We must not act hastily in performing this task.

I would like to explain to you what has been done and also the problems confronting us as we carry out the task.

During our first meeting in Luxembourg in April 1979, I took the liberty of contri-

buting some notes as a type of guide for future tasks of the Working Group.

First, it was a matter of compiling all the previously prepared documents on the different topics such as those elaborated by the Study Group on Disarmament, the Study Group on Human Rights, and the Working Group on Employment Policies.

Second, a comparison had to be made of the principal programmes of the SI member parties and fraternal organisations, since it is toward these that the growth of the Socialist International or a widening

of the internal dialogue is to be oriented in the future.

Third, the Frankfurt Declaration had to be studied, singling out the components which still have validity today as well as the problems which it does not deal with.

Fourth, an analysis of the current situation had to be made from a democratic socialist perspective.

During the meeting in Luxembourg I raised the fundamental question which affected the method of work and its very content.

Our work could be oriented to the creation of a corpus of doctrines for the Socialist International, which would reflect the opinions of the Socialist International with respect to the basic problems of today's world, followed by some general conclusions. Or it could be oriented to the creation of a text in the tradition of a declaration of principles, which would encompass the ever-increasing diversity of the documents that inspire the forces comprising our organisation.

This problem is still not resolved. Later I will return to this point.

We considered that an in-depth reflection on the relations of the Socialist International with the international workers' movement was fundamental to increase cooperation and convergence of actions at world level.

We also suggested that there was a need to study and define the position of the Socialist International on other key problems in the present world, such as North-South relations, the role of women in today's world and their struggle for equality, and new technology.

When the Working Group met again in Lisbon in October 1979, several tasks were assigned.

The Belgian Socialist Party was to make a study of the Frankfurt and Oslo declarations of principles, take note of the still serviceable aspects, and formulate some ideas on a new declaration.

The Norwegian Labour Party was assigned the analysis of the current situation from the point of view of democratic socialist basic principles.

To the PSOE went the task of summarising the programmes of several socialist parties, members of Socialist International.

\* \* \*

I am going to take the liberty of briefly summarising the documents prepared by each of the parties. I will then state what I feel ought to be the future tasks of the Working Group.

In the document submitted by Karel van Miert of the Belgian Socialist Party, a study is made of the antecedents of the Frankfurt and Oslo declarations and of their subsequent evolution. It states that 'At the time of the Frankfurt Declaration (July 1951) the cold war (Berlin blockade 1948 and Korean war 1950) and the fear of totalitarian stalinist expansionism were casting their shadows over the world's outlook. Decolonisation had already started in Asia . . . But, ten years later, the Oslo Declaration could already claim that "by 1960, most countries of Asia and Africa had won their independence and joined the concert of free nations . . . Nevertheless, colonialism still survives. It is significantly entrenched in countries where no socialist movement has been allowed to exist and where democracy itself has been suppressed.

Felipe González



... At the same time, the gap in the standard of living between rich and poor nations has widened still further”’.

What in retrospect has been called the ‘golden sixties’ opened a prolonged period of rapid economic growth for the industrial world. The accomplishments of a country, whether capitalist or communist, were measured exclusively by GNP growth rates. It seemed as if the race for world superiority was taking place exclusively in terms of quantitative economic expansion. Ultimate distribution of rapidly accumulating wealth among the different population groups and social classes within the nations’ borders was considered to be of secondary importance.

To the extent that fetishism of high GNP growth rates was accepted as the only religion, the answer to all problems had to be looked for in a wild growth race, common to the communist and capitalist worlds alike.

After all, on the list of most rapidly growing economies were Japan and Rumania: the first on the basis of a peculiar form of paternalistic private capitalism, and the second with a rigid centrally planned economy. The example of the two German was cited frequently: the Federal Republic, climbing rapidly to a leading economic position in the western world thanks to free-market liberal mechanisms, and the Democratic Republic, guided by compulsory central economic planning and with similar results in the eastern camp.

The basic document adopted in Frankfurt in 1951, which defined the objectives and tasks of democratic socialism, was ratified again in Oslo in 1962. The second declaration was not limited to a simple study of the first but was rather an endeavour to discover the consequences of its application to an international context undergoing change. It was a product of the optimism of that period, as the following quotations demonstrate: ‘History has not confirmed the doctrine of increasing misery of the proletariat’; ‘The worst excesses of capitalism have been corrected’; ‘Mass unemployment has been eliminated’; ‘A task facing socialism is to make this group [the new class of managers of large-scale undertakings] aware of its social responsibilities’; ‘State action is essential to provide for a rapid rate of economic expansion’.

The Frankfurt 1951 document remains basically valid. Socialist doctrine was mainly presented as a permanent human liberation movement, aiming at a fully democratic organisation of society, spreading from the political to the economic, social, cultural and international fields. Democracy is seen as the synthesis of freedom and equality whereby economic and social exploitation as well as political and cultural enslavement of men by men and people by people is rendered impossible. The preamble (point 2) explains on historical grounds why socialism, born in Europe, first developed as a movement of wage earners and maintained a traditional class concept conceived primarily in economic terms related to ownership of the means of production.

However, it did not explicitly question the kind of economic growth socialism aspires to, nor, for obvious reasons, did it devote adequate consideration, in light of present circumstances, to problems such as the quality of life; pollution; the human environment and ecology; conservation of

living conditions for future generations; discrimination on the grounds of sex, age and race; and the use of technology to repress dissident behaviour and thought.

- The document concludes that **socialism**
- cannot be reduced to a particular or partial focus but rather, in its constant search for what is of most general interest to the whole, must be perfectly aware of the relative importance of each special problem within the overall problem of human social order and in its ultimate organisation;
  - is fully aware of the rapidly changing nature of a living society and desires the gradual extension of control over these changes rather than being condemned to enduring them passively;
  - has faith in the ability of human beings to determine by themselves the best path to self-realisation and their ability to participate in defining the objectives of the human community;
  - does not try to impose any closed system of preconceived ideas on a passive and resigned people incapable of knowing what is most in its common interest; rather, socialism should be the result of free and active participation of everyone interested in shaping the future; socialism aspires to the continuous expansion of democracy;
  - is open, as a consequence, to the widest variety of opinions, representative of different circumstances everywhere, provided that the fundamental common values constituting the directives for its overall action are recognised and the final adoption of decisions is based on the most extensive majority possible.

\* \* \*

The document by comrade Reulf Steen of the Norwegian Labour Party begins by affirming that the *objective* of a socialist policy consists of broadening the opportunities open to the community for the development of self-expression, creativity, abilities of perception, mutual understanding and solidarity.

It stresses that the workers’ movement is one of freedom and the socialist conception of freedom is comprised of three elements: the absence of coercion and obstacles, the ability to meet objectives and carry out intentions, and the opportunity to choose objectives in life worthy of being defended and to develop special skills.

Democratic socialists disagree, on the one hand, with the point of view that social evolution should ideally be coordinated by an *invisible* hand, as is justified by the liberal theory of the market; on the other hand, we do not agree that power should be concentrated *in one hand* as justified in leninist theories of absolutism. One solution divests the people of power; the other establishes power over the people. According to one theory, power is decentralised and left at the doors of the market; according to the other it is completely concentrated in the central committee. In one, the perfect society is identified with the perfect market; in the other, with the perfect leaders. In the one, the freely competitive market, no-one holds power; in the other, the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerates into a dictatorship over the proletariat. In the one, people are made impotent by the economy; in the other, by the police. Democratic socialists reject both.

In a socialist concept, freedom, power and equality are closely connected. Claims in favour of more equitable distribution of power and of democracy are their natural consequence.

Democracy means the participation of all, on the basis of equality, in the decisions referring to the use and distribution of the resources which affect options.

Socialists give three reasons for their defence of democracy. In the first place, it deals with an objective *per se*: participation has a value in itself, as an alternative which widens freedom. In the second place, it is a means in itself: the use of this freedom affects options and participation in other important spheres of life. In the third place, the point of view of democracy is related to the socialist point of view of the people as individuals: democratic institutions and participation encourage the development of democratic techniques, so that they sustain and reinforce their own reason d’être. The political essence of democratic socialism thus consists in achieving a majority in order to carry out reforms which enlarge the range of options and which, at the same time, increase the capacity to defend present interests.

A socialist policy aims to attain a new balance between the intrinsic value of human life common to all and the individual differences which enrich human co-existence and the social structure.

The difference between the socialist and the nonsocialist point of view is that, for socialists, the greatest priority is the demand for fundamental equality of resources and power, while liberals have traditionally made use of the demand for variety, in order to justify an inherited social inequality and a system which causes this inequality.

While we seek equality regarding fundamental resources, the aims of socialist policy wish to enlarge the scope of individual diversity. Once equal fundamental norms in living conditions have been reached, we propose — through the institutions that we will create — to increase the potential diversity of individual self-expression and the variety of individual qualities.

Up to the last decade, the workers’ movement emphasised growth and equality rather than the organisation of working conditions. Increasing production, abolishing poverty and creating fundamental equality in living conditions have constituted an important, adequate and necessary aspect of the way followed, opening up the range of options for many. It has been — and will be — a task of maximum priority to provide decent material conditions for the oppressed and for the working population. To this end, there still exist certain outstanding tasks at a national level, but the bulk of what still has to be done is in the international field.

As a salaried worker, the employee *depends* on the company for his subsistence. There are two consequences of this. In the first place, work becomes for many simply a way to satisfy their needs away from work, while the job itself fails to satisfy any need. In the second place, the worker’s liberty is reduced to the point where he possesses no control over his working situation or over production methods, but is subordinated to the will of others. This is what has led to government by one class and to exploitation.



The workers' movement's first claim, therefore, was for the *right to work*: firstly because it provides the means to live, and secondly because it creates a basis for the identity of the individual. When this identity is lost — for example through unemployment, illness, accidents at work, redundancy due to changes carried out in work procedures — the individual loses control of his own life.

Work and cooperation provide shared experiences which extend the range of individual experience and increase effectiveness.

Unemployment, on the contrary, isolates and demoralises.

Work provides social roots and establishes standards in relation to others. Someone may be discontented with his own status, or with the present system of employment and status. But this is different from being *without* roots, which leads to loss of identity.

These are the circumstances which support the socialist argument in favour of the right to work.

The plea for an economic democracy arises in the first place from a plea for freedom. The development of industrial democracy is particularly important. If the worker has influence in his place of work, not only is his capacity for participation in democracy increased, but also his capacity for making decisions in other spheres away from work.

\* \* \*

For our part, we have examined the programmes of some socialist parties, concentrating on the following points: (i) ideological sources; (ii) objectives; (iii) representation of interests; (iv) content of the socialist programmes, dividing this section into political democracy, economic democracy, social democracy, culture and education, various (socialism, religion, workers' control); (v) transition to socialism; and (vi) concepts of the party.

(i) With regard to *ideological sources*, there is a certain reticence to identify with any particular historical-political point of view.

Different positions are adopted against the existing socioeconomic system. Whereas some parties only show marginal displeasure with the status quo and fail to subject the present situation to a rigorous critical analysis, others do make a serious criticism of capitalism.

(ii) With regard to *objectives*, greatest agreement is reached regarding, firstly, the creation of equal opportunities as a correcting mechanism of the socioeconomic differences between the various social groups, its maximum expression being the creation of a society without classes; and secondly, the socialisation of the means of production, although the meaning of and the approach towards this socialisation differs substantially from party to party.

(iii) Referring to the *representation of interests*, the social bases whose representation the different parties endeavour to achieve are invariably defined in terms of working people. There are those parties which limit their bases of representation (with regard to interests, not to votes, naturally) to the workers, while it is understood that other minority social sectors exist whose interests should not be represented with the same intensity. However, no

party limits its thinking exclusively to the manual worker; all put on the same level of equality 'intellectual' workers — office and administrative employees and technicians.

(iv) Regarding the *content of the socialist programmes*, and referring to political democracy, the common denominator is to be found in democracy understood as freedom, plurality, universal suffrage, and so on.

Economic democracy is reflected in numerous different economic models. There are parties which insist on participation, cooperation and co-management, while the parties of southern Europe favour self-management.

Social democracy is presented with a variety of proposals for social policies, from which two themes can be emphasised: the need for the social organisation of health services (nationalisation is demanded in many cases), and the need for a more egalitarian housing policy so as to eliminate unjust situations.

With regard to culture and education, the majority of the parties insists that socialism means a culture different from that already existing, and a change in set cultural patterns.

This means the necessity for equal opportunities, and for each and every citizen to be given the possibility to develop his or her creative capacities.

All parties speak out in favour of secular, plural and participating education, respecting the freedom of teaching.

Under the heading of various, some parties recognise the importance of religious beliefs and emphasise the significant changes in the christian churches in recent years.

(v) With regard to the transition to socialism, only the parties of southern Europe deal with this theme, emphasising their common defence of the democratic approach and their rejection of reformism. The other parties do not deal directly with this matter, with the exception of one of the Japanese parties, which refers to social-democratisation.

There is greater agreement among a large number of parties on the matter of centralisation/regionalisation/federalism as a democratic question to be developed.

Many parties refer to the Socialist International, in particular in formulas of co-operation (primarily regional) and in help to developing countries. Certain parties (the French, the Irish, the Australian) make specific declarations of independence and national sovereignty.

(vi) Referring to the *concepts of the party*, statements have only been made by the majority of the southern European and by the Germanic parties, all of which agree in their definition of a democratic party. Some of them mention the meaning of internal democracy, and freedom of criticism.

\* \* \*

Allow me to finish by taking up again the question posed earlier. The growth of the Socialist International, with its ever less European-centred and more worldwide character, presents us now — and will do so even more in the future — with problems of its operational structure, with contradictions inherent in the North-South situations in which the parties will carry

out their activities and projects, and with the problematic surrounding the profound reasons which lead to certain liberation movements.

For example, can the Socialist International remain impassive in the light of the decisive role being played by christians for the liberation of the peoples of Central and South America?

We should, all of us, be able to receive the message which a certain interpretation of Islam contributes to the struggle for liberation of many muslim countries.

Democratic socialism is fundamentally secular, and respects each individual's freedom of conscience. But a phenomenon such as the Iranian revolution, for example, goes far beyond this concept.

The element of national identity, of national revolution in the most positive meaning of the word, has been, in all the nations which from a century or more ago to the present day have been fighting for decolonisation and against all forms of neocolonialism, more important in the struggle for freedom and social justice than the confrontation of social classes.

However, we Europeans feel a certain reserve when faced with such nationalist fervour, because we have not had to put up with the experience of colonialism; rather, we have been the cause of it.

Just yesterday, Willy Brandt recognised that the European concept of democracy cannot be exported to other regions on earth.

So as not to make these conclusions too long, I should like to point out to you that the risk of a new declaration of principles, which is a letter of introduction of our identity, in which present and future members of the Socialist International must be able to recognise themselves, is great. We could fall into the temptation of preserving the principles of identity of European socialism, excluding the others, thereby not giving an answer to the new problems pointed out by our friend Karel van Miert. Alternatively, we could be guilty of the fault of making a declaration so vague that, while including everybody, would satisfy no-one, even minimally, and which in consequence would not differentiate us from liberals or christian democrats, or from the defining characteristics of the communist or capitalist system.

Precisely for this reason I proposed the creation of a corpus of doctrines summarising the position of the Socialist International regarding the fundamental problems of the world today, and its discussion among all of us in the Socialist International and among those whom we consider to have similar ideas.

In other words, we should present the resolutions of the different working groups with conclusions expressing the ideological foundations of our attitudes.

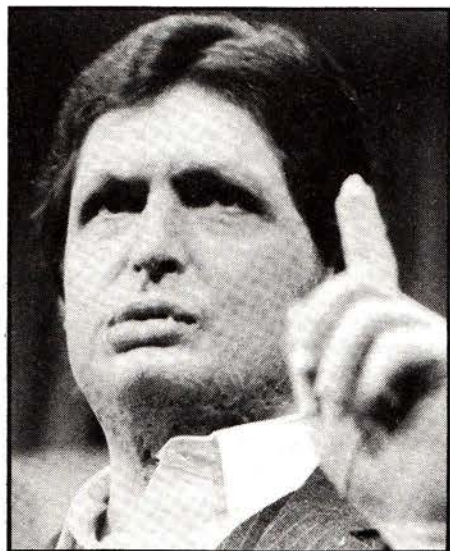
In this way we would make our identity plain with concrete statements about the serious problems of the world today, complemented with the opinions of numerous speakers. Our labours as the Socialist International would thus become more worthwhile.

You will now understand why I began by asking you to be patient. I now propose that this point be included in the minutes of the next meeting of the Bureau, together with this report, so that a definitive course of action in this task may be decided upon.

# TRAGEDY IN BOLIVIA

## Jaime Paz

No speaker at the Madrid congress received a warmer reception than Jaime Paz, vicepresidential candidate of the Popular Democratic Union of Bolivia, who with his runningmate Hernan Siles Zuazo was robbed of the rewards of victory at the polls by last year's brutal military coup. Still bearing on his hands and face the physical ravages of an attempt on his life carried out by Bolivia's right-wing extremists, he received a standing ovation at the start and at the end of his speech. This is what he said.



Jaime Paz

I would first like to salute and thank you for the concern and solidarity that the Socialist International has extended to our people during such a serious time in our history. I wish to do so on behalf of my own people; on behalf of their leader Dr Siles Zuazo; on behalf of our two parties attending this Socialist International congress; and on behalf of our Government of National Unity in resistance.

Very rapidly, since we are working against time in this meeting, I must inform you that four months after the fascist coup in my country the dictatorship can only rely on an initial military victory that has not been consolidated politically. The political victory continues to belong to the people and their representatives. I point this out because it is fundamental and differentiates between what is happening in Bolivia today and what unfortunately is going on in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. In my country the dictatorship is not politically consolidated. The situation brought about by the 17 July coup has still not been resolved. The García Meza regime is attempting to consolidate a political victory based on its military victory. And we, the popular democratic movement, are trying to gain a military victory on the basis of our political victory.

After four months, these are the circumstances in my country today. My party, Democratic and Popular Unity, and the Government of National Unity are letting it be known everywhere that we believe that the optimal solution to the Bolivian problem lies in giving the power to the legitimate representatives. We also wish to say, however, that life and struggle have taught us to be realists and that accordingly we are willing to accept, if advisable, a transition regime as long as it would in earnest guarantee the return of democratic power to the people.

I wish also to caution that the military junta, in the face of its complete internal and international isolation, is attempting to effect a 'change in image', for which we must be prepared. It is attempting to give the impression of liberalisation so as to gain more acceptance abroad. Political prisoners are freed at the same time as others are taken in secret, and the death penalty is applied for so-called political crimes. This is what the current struggle in my country is about.

There must be awareness that democracies in our continent cannot be left unprotected. Socialist parties and governments cannot take refuge in the formalism typical of conservative governments when making certain legal distinctions in the international field by pointing out that their relations are with states and not with governments, which is nothing more than the equivalent of recognising dictatorships. I am speaking of such nineteenth-century notions such as the one that the criterion for recognising a government is its effective occupation of a territory — a criterion of ignorance when seen in the light of the twentieth century, for with modern technology a territory can be occupied by wiping out the last of its inhabitants. I believe the Socialist International should reflect on this.

Comrades, the problem is not one of legal formalism; it is one of adopting a political position. We are either for democracy, as stated in the International's basic programme, or we are not for it — let us say so honestly and without hesitation. Perhaps I am being repetitive. But I feel that with the passing of time all this weighs upon the attitude of certain governments and of certain parties, and I believe we should be forewarned.

We should also point out that the Social-

ist International, today more than ever before, bears the responsibility and the obligation to make its importance felt as a factor of multipolarity. We must prevent our world from turning towards a new bipolarity. The role of the International is that of maintaining multipolarity in the international field as a realistic basis for detente, and of guaranteeing a more adequate framework for the solution of the problems of the poor and dependent countries. It is much easier for peoples like the Bolivian, Nicaraguan or Salvadorean to fight for their just democratic cause and for their liberation from within a political framework which is multipolar at an international level. I believe, then, that this is one of the important missions of the Socialist International: no to bipolarity, yes to detente on the basis of multipolarity.

In Latin America the Socialist International has received a baptism which I consider to be positive. In Nicaragua, El Salvador and Bolivia, and previously in the Dominican Republic and Chile, it is being demonstrated that the Socialist International is making a start in our continent along the right road. I want to mention that behind the action of the Socialist International in these countries there is a real political choice, there is a true definition, and that this sort of presence of the Socialist International is what we need in the future. I do not believe that this means the 'socialdemocratisation' of our continent, in the sense that this term has historically in Europe. It seems to me that to attempt this would be a mistake, as it would perhaps constitute a new attempt to colonise our nations ideologically, which would not be profitable either for Europe or for Latin America. What it means is the fulfilment of the Socialist International's important mission, which is to generate a worldwide movement with one foot firmly anchored in socialism and the other in democracy. It means generating a movement — far-reaching and pluralist — giving nations complete liberty to organise and find independent political forms for their own movements, on the basis of these two principles of socialism and democracy.

From this perspective, I congratulate the Socialist International in its efforts to abandon its European-centred existence. It is to the merit of all, and particularly of our comrade Willy Brandt, who knew how to inspire the International in this direction. But, comrades, let us not forget that by moving out of Europe we have not stopped being centred in Europe. Colonialism, on moving out of Europe, did not stop being centred in Europe; on the contrary, its centre in Europe was reinforced.

What is important is to insure that the rich experience of the International in Europe is not used as a factor for discrimination among peoples and states, but rather as a one of mutual respect. That it not be a factor used to distort the liberalisation processes in other parts of the world. Then we would indeed be able to say that the Socialist International, by going beyond its European-centred position, has truly enriched the international scene.

Finally, I must confess that being here with you has established even more firmly my conviction that at the hour of the struggle for freedom and democracy we are all one, we are all united, and none of us is separated from the rest.

# THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Recalling the meeting that has taken place in Vienna at the invitation of Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt on 10 July with President Anwar El-Sadat and Shimon Peres, in which Egypt and Israel were urged to maintain the momentum of the Sadat initiative until the realisation of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East;

taking note of the newly established relations between the Israeli Labour Alignment and the Egyptian NDP, which were further enhanced during the Cairo meeting in November 1980;

recalling also our meetings that took place in Madrid on 12 and 13 November during the congress of the Socialist International;

bearing in mind the dangerous developments recently taking place in the Middle East area, which endanger peace and stability in the whole area;

We call upon

- all the Arab states and Israel to consider their responsibilities, to follow the courageous approach of President Sadat, and to enter immediately into negotiations to reach a speedy solution in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338;
- all neighbouring countries, and especially Jordan, to shoulder their responsibilities and enter into constructive negotiations with Israel that would turn the long-existing conflict into fruitful cooperation and coexistence and would contribute to the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects;
- the Israeli government to contribute to confidence-building measures in the West Bank and Gaza in order to introduce a new understanding between the Israelis and the Palestinians and normalise the relations between them;
- the Socialist International and all the socialist parties of the world to exert all efforts and play an active role in bringing about a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, peace which guarantees the security of all parties to the conflict and also realises the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, National Democratic Party of Egypt  
Willy Brandt, President of the Socialist International and Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany  
Bruno Kreisky, Vice-president of the Socialist International and Chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria  
Shimon Peres, Vice-president of the Socialist International and Chairman of the Israel Labour Party

There is great concern on the part of the Socialist International parties regarding the lack of clear perspectives for achieving overall peace in the Middle East. This peace must be based on the security of Israel and of all states in the region and on a definitive solution to the Palestinian problem, founded on the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

Negotiations must be initiated among all directly interested parties. All peace initiatives that have attained important results for the future of the region, as well as any that might be undertaken, warrant support. The problem, however, continues to be the establishment of direct and positive relations between the Israelis and Palestinians, between Israel, a state whose sovereignty and integrity must be respected, and the PLO, an organisation representing the Palestinian people and widely recognised as such on an international level.

Socialists enthusiastically support the end to hostilities, the surmounting of differences, the continuation of the negotiation process and the building of a peaceful future for the region.

Socialist Party, Austria  
Radical Party, Chile  
Socialist Workers' Party, Spain  
National Revolutionary Movement, El Salvador  
Socialist Party, Italy  
Labour Party, Malta  
Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic  
Socialist Party, Senegal  
Democratic Action, Venezuela

# CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The Socialist International today renews its commitment to peace, freedom and solidarity. As we begin the new decade, democratic socialists face the challenge of a worsening international situation, an economic crisis and unemployment. We confront heightened international tension, an acceleration of the arms race, and a widening gap between the industrialised nations of the North and the developing nations of the South. We are also witnessing a rapid growth in the violation of human rights. But we are convinced that democratic socialism can bring new prospects for peace, social justice, economic democracy and human rights. A just distribution of wealth between North and South is an essential condition in achieving these goals. The Socialist International, since its inception, has fought for the protection of human rights, which for us includes both the traditional civil liberties and economic and social rights.

## The International Situation

It is clear that in the current situation peace is more seriously threatened than at any time in recent years. Relations between the superpowers have deteriorated badly. New points of tension and conflict have emerged in many regions of the world.

There is a risk of a new escalation of the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Incredibly, the conviction that a 'limited' nuclear war is winnable is gaining currency on both sides. The outcome of the recent American elections has further jeopardised SALT II. Nonetheless, the Socialist International renews its appeal for the ratification of the treaty and an early beginning to serious negotiations on SALT III. Failure to do so will have a negative impact on peace and security, and on negotiations to limit theatre nuclear weapons in Europe, and could lead to a further buildup of new missiles by the Soviet Union. We call on both parties to start on a new round of negotiations to limit nuclear weapons.

Democratic socialists were among the authors of detente. And we remain convinced that there is no alternative to the process of detente as the path to peace, security and international cooperation.

We regard the Iran-Iraq war as a serious blow to stability in the Middle East and a threat to security internationally. It could damage prospects for peace among all the peoples of the region. We appeal to both parties to end hostilities and to participate in all mediation efforts.

We especially plead that the new initiative to be conducted by Olof Palme on behalf of the United Nations be greeted with openness and cooperation. The Socialist International notes with pleasure that our Swedish comrade, a vice-president of this organisation, has been chosen to lead this new effort.

Success in this initiative will require a commitment to non-intervention, not only by the superpowers but also by the nations of the region.

As the democratic socialists committed to the right of workers to organise free and independent trade unions, we welcome the recognition of these rights in Poland. We regard this as an important advance for economic and civil rights. We salute the courage shown by the leadership of Solidarity. We welcome the pragmatic and realistic approach taken by the government so far.

Our solidarity with the struggle for trade-union rights is clear. We recognise these advances as achievements of the Polish workers and believe that any further progress will be made only by them.

We regret the absence of representatives of the Turkish Republican People's Party at our congress due to the military takeover in Turkey. The replacement of a democratic system by a military dictatorship must always be condemned by democratic socialists. We stress the necessity that the Turkish generals restore democracy to that country.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is not only a milestone in post-war European history; it

is also of continuing importance in the peace-keeping process, and the furthering of detente in Europe. The terms of the Helsinki Final Act have been insufficiently implemented. But it is unacceptable that procedural differences should lead to a destruction of this important instrument of dialogue. We recognise the frustrations and difficulties the process entails. But a simple 'no' or 'nyet' could plunge us into another cold war — with all the awesome risks which that implies for the 1980s. We therefore welcome the agreement on an agenda for discussion reached at Madrid.

We believe that all of the elements of the Helsinki Final Act, including security issues, economic and cultural cooperation and human rights must be fully implemented. We must break the stalemate and seek to guarantee the continuation of the CSCE process.

It is particularly important to start the preparation of a European disarmament conference. There is a clear need for an all-European conference on energy cooperation as another important step forward in this process.

In the field of human rights new practical steps must be taken to complete the Helsinki process.

## The Economic Crisis

These events have taken place in the context of a deepening world economic crisis. This ongoing crisis is evidence of the incapacity of the existing economic order to provide both jobs and a just distribution of wealth. In addition, it is obvious that this economic order favours production which benefits neither the real needs of people in the rich countries nor the basic human needs of the Third World.

The reason for this crisis cannot be found only in dramatically higher energy costs. Higher oil prices have hit third-world countries harder than the industrialised countries, but have been given far too much attention as the root of this problem. Simultaneous inflation and unemployment have undermined policies which relied upon inequitable and disorderly growth rather than planning and redistribution to solve the internal problems of advanced capitalistic societies. The conservatives' answer to this crisis is to impose austerity on the great mass of people, to induce deliberately even more unemployment and to dismantle parts of the welfare state.

Democratic socialists reject this cruel response. We will meet

this challenge as we overcame some of the destructive tendencies of capitalism in the past.

We propose democratically planned structural change which will help to eliminate the basic causes of the crisis. An attack on the twin problems of economic stagnation, and unemployment and inflation can only be successful both with increased productivity and purchasing power, as a result of job creation through economic planning.

We need as well a significant redistribution of resources and income, nationally and between North and South.

Unemployment and inflation are not cures for one another, they are linked problems. The creation of unemployment, in a misguided effort to combat inflation, will never be acceptable to democratic socialists.

It is important to stress again and again the concrete problems facing the poorest regions of the world, especially in view of conservative arguments that a free market economy will provide the answer for them in time.

In the North-South relationship two changes are essential to help solve the even greater problems of poverty and unemployment: (a) a reform of the existing international economic order; and (b) the achievement of development aid of 0.7 per cent of GNP of the industrialised nations as set by the UN.

The crisis facing the Third World — poverty and hunger, sharply higher unemployment, massive debt burdens and the inequity of international monetary institutions, the incapacity to control the development and practices of multinational corporations, increased protectionism on the part of industrialised nations — must be addressed now.

The situation of crisis has accelerated — attacks on human rights, the liquidation of democratic freedoms, the trade in armaments, and acts of military intervention and war. The Socialist International rejects both the prophecies of doom and the promises of false hope. The problems are clear. We accept their challenge.

## EUROPE

The crisis in today's world has weakened the process of detente in Europe, but fortunately it has not yet blocked it. The importance of the contribution of the CSCE process has been set out in the introduction. The Vienna MBFR talks need a political breakthrough in order to pave the way to de-

creasing military potential while keeping a mutual balance in an area which has the largest military concentration of forces in the world.

The Socialist International welcomes all steps which will contribute to the removal of medium-range missiles in Eastern and Western Europe and which will prevent any new installations.

Under these circumstances it is more important than ever that the EEC should control its internal problems. The Community should join with other

European countries to play a progressive role on the international scene.

The efforts undertaken by Europe in improving the North-South relationship should be extended by the use of its enormous resources in a spirit of solidarity. As the Brandt Commission documented, northern measures to meet the just economic claims of the South can provide an important boost to employment in the North itself.

In its relationship with the United States, Western Europe

will have to stress its own interests and responsibilities overall, and especially in the field of peace and security.

#### MIDDLE EAST

We note the important statement by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, of the National Democratic Party of Egypt, Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Shimon Peres of 14 November 1980.

We consider the Israeli Labour Alignment, led by Shimon Peres, the only viable force for peace for and with Israel.

We call upon the Israelis, the

neighbouring countries and the Palestinians to negotiate peace. The Socialist International will continue to play an active role in bringing about a just and comprehensive peace which guarantees the security of all the parties to the conflict and also realises the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Taking into account the Middle East conflict, and the need to develop peaceful relationships between South European and North African countries, we note with interest the new status of neutrality of Malta and consider this status as a factor contributing to detente.

#### ASIA

A continent where more than half of mankind lives, where famine is still a plague without solution, Asia is still torn by great-power struggle and remains an area of conflict, while with all the wealth of its traditions and human potential its countries are trying to assert themselves.

Recent developments in Asia give cause for both concern and hope. We note with interest that China has begun to bring its policies closer to those of international dialogue. This new orientation goes hand in hand with internal change, which we are following closely and with great interest.

India is taking its place within the international community, particularly as a result of the role it plays within the Non-aligned Movement.

We express our great concern and deep sorrow at the tragedy of the people of Cambodia. The Socialist International reminds all governments of their responsibility to help heal the effects of this terrible genocide.

The unity and integrity of Cambodia must be respected. We support any initiatives towards a solution which will secure a reconciliation of the Cambodian people and its neutrality status. We are also concerned about the tragedy in East Timor. We support that people's right to self-determination, and therefore call for the withdrawal of all Indonesian troops.

We again express our deep distress at the recent developments in South Korea and pledge our continued support for democratic forces in that country in their struggle to create a free and democratic society. We strongly urge the authorities in South Korea to overrule the death sentence imposed on Kim Dae Jung.

We support B. P. Koirala and the forces attempting to bring about a new era of democracy in Nepal.

The Socialist International is

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shocked and disappointed that the Soviet Union has failed to respond to calls for the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Afghanistan, and respect of that country's independence and nonalignment. Democratic socialists the world over reaffirm their support for the Vienna statement of the Party Leaders' Conference of the Socialist International, in particular its call for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and its call for support of the Afghan people.

## **AFRICA**

In Africa millions of people are under constant threat of famine, drought, apartheid and armed conflict.

Indeed, the prospects of massive famine in the Sahel are increasing. The international community has a responsibility to assist the African nations in overcoming these problems. The Socialist International will continue to work towards solutions to these problems on economic, political and humanitarian grounds. In this context we ask member parties and governments to work for assistance and cooperation with all the democratic and progressive states of Africa.

On the basis of self-determination, we support the resolution of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa through the decisions of the OAU and the UN.

We call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops involved in those and other conflicts.

The Socialist International supports the Saharan people's right to self-determination as well, in accordance with the decisions of the OAU and the UN. Therefore, we call on the Polisario Front and Morocco to negotiate a peaceful and political solution to the conflict, as has been achieved with Mauretania.

In southern Africa we welcome the recent independence of Zimbabwe and support its call for economic assistance. We will work for the acceleration of the process of majority rule and independence for Namibia. We condemn the continued aggression by South Africa against independent Angola.

Neither with the dogma nor the practice of apartheid will we ever compromise. We reject both absolutely. Equally, we condemn all forms of racism wherever they may occur. We will continue to work with all elements of the South African resistance, especially the ANC and SWAPO, in their struggle to defeat apartheid.

We call for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and Herman Toivo ja Toivo and all

other political prisoners. We appeal to our member parties to commit themselves to a systematic programme of economic withdrawal from South Africa to join the efforts to achieve an oil embargo and to abide by the UN arms embargo. We urgently seek from all parties and governments their assistance for all the African countries fighting racism and apartheid, especially the frontline states.

## **LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**

The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Latin America and the Caribbean in their struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice.

The 1980s will be a crucial decade in proving the viability of democratic socialist development in third-world nations as an alternative to military dictatorships or traditional oligarchic regimes.

For the Socialist International this is especially true in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We express our satisfaction with the process of democratisation that is taking place in some countries of the region, and we maintain our commitment to defend their achievements gained through the hard struggles of their people. This is the case in the Dominican Republic and Ecuador.

We believe that the victory and the achievement of the Nicaraguan revolution reflect the hopes for social change in the whole region. We reiterate our support for the Sandinista Front for National Liberation.

In the Southern Cone and several Central American countries, however, violations of human rights and political repression have heightened. We pledge our support to the progressive forces in these countries fighting for democracy and freedom. The Socialist International warns in the strongest terms against any attempt by foreign powers to intervene in the internal affairs of Latin American and Caribbean countries.

In our view, Michael Manley and the People's National Party government of Jamaica made a decisive contribution to democratic socialism and to the new international economic order, not only in the Caribbean but to developing nations around the world. It is clear that external factors inherent in the inequality in the existing economic order, and its institutions, led to the deterioration of the economic and social situation in Jamaica and had an influence on the outcome of the

recent elections.

We will always stand by the PNP.

The Socialist International expresses solidarity with the people of Grenada and our new member party, the New Jewel Movement. The International will not accept foreign intervention, military or economic, in Grenada's affairs.

The Socialist International, concerned about the human rights situation in Guyana, expresses its solidarity with the people of that country and calls upon the government to ensure that the coming elections, unlike the last, are free and fair. We salute the Working People's Alliance and its presence at our congress.

The Socialist International supports the people of Haiti in their struggle against the repressive Duvalier dictatorship. The Socialist International asks the United States government to end its political and military support for the present junta in El Salvador and to recognise that this has failed to prevent further bloodshed. We reject the thesis that the Salvadorean problem is one of a junta fighting the extreme right or left. It is rather a despotic regime whose activities have led to a state of civil war.

Our deepest hopes and active solidarity are with the Frente Democrático Revolucionario in El Salvador, of which our member party MNR is a part. In Guatemala, we are behind the Frente Democrático Contra la Represión as representatives of its people's democratic struggle to end murder, bloodshed and repression.

Belize must be granted its independence from colonial rule, secure within its present borders, as it wishes.

We declare once again our support for the Panama Canal treaties which are the best proof that in Latin America a negotiated settlement is possible between big countries and small ones to fight wrongs and make possible a relaxation of tensions, to bring peace to the region.

We express our solidarity with the Unión Democrática y Popular and the National Unity Government of Bolivia, led by Hernan Siles Zuazo and Jaime Paz Zamora, in its struggle to restore the democratic process brutally interrupted by a vicious military dictatorship. We plead with all the parties concerned to deny recognition and to maintain the isolation of this regime. We express our horror at the murder of socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz at the hands of the military junta.

We join with the people of Chile in their ongoing resistance to the military junta. We support the people's rejection of an oppressive 'constitution' imposed following the false referendum.

In the same terms we denounce the 'constitutional referendum' scheduled for 13 November 1980 in Uruguay as a fraud. We support the Uruguayan people's rejection of this false democratisation programme ('cronograma'). We stand behind the Convergencia Democrática de Uruguay.

Equally, we support the struggle of the Paraguayan people against dictatorship through the instrument of the Acuerdo Nacional, whose socialist component is the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista.

We offer our solidarity to the democratic forces in Argentina fighting again repression. We confirm our wholehearted solidarity with the 'Madres de Plaza de Mayo' and demand that the Argentine regime be held to account for the fate of the missing people, with particular reference to the missing children.

We welcome the statement of the September 1980 Caracas meeting of our fraternal parties in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We were disturbed by some of the comments on Latin America made by the then Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States — especially his expressions of support for the dictatorial regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala and his attacks on Grenada and Nicaragua. We hope that our fears will not be realised. We will await policies of the new administration before making our judgments. But we will regard the new administration's attitude towards Latin America and the Caribbean as a signal of its posture in the whole world. In the 1980s, the growth of further dictatorship, or of democracy, social justice and respect for human rights in the region will be significantly affected by the United States. But the attitude of the United States itself will be determined to a large extent by the pressure of international public opinion.

At the same time we remind our European members that their countries' participation in the economic life of the region should not help to legitimise military dictatorships, as has often been the case.

## **SOCIALISM IN THE 1980s**

The Socialist International plays an increasingly important role in the fight for more political

power to achieve, step by step, the goals we have set out here. While the political pendulum has swung to the right in some parts of the world, the Socialist International has continued to strengthen cooperation, unity and solidarity among democratic socialists.

The presence of many progressive movements and parties at this congress reflects our commitment to work with other progressive movements toward common goals.

This does not mean that there is a single democratic socialist model valid for the entire world. But we will struggle for the right to self-determination for all people.

We believe there are answers to many of the problems set out above.

### 1. PEACE AND SECURITY

We reject the thesis of global dominance by the superpowers. Rather cooperation and negotiation on the basis of equality and mutual respect is the only answer.

New rounds of negotiations are the way to arms control and disarmament. In addition, unilateral steps by respective governments can contribute to this process.

The Socialist International cannot be a direct intermediary, but we see this issue as a key priority and we will use our influence in any area and through any avenue to press the superpowers and the international community to achieve a meaningful breakthrough in this process.

In this respect, it is ironic that some apparently believe that disarmament can be achieved through increased arms production.

This congress has adopted the report of the Socialist International Study Group on Disarmament. Its concrete recommendations form a programme of action. The Socialist International and its member parties will fight to implement its principles.

### 2. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Employment is a central priority for democratic socialists. In the industrialised countries, economic planning, aimed at job creation and increased productivity is the way to combat unemployment.

But in order to solve the even greater unemployment problem in the developing countries a worldwide approach is necessary.

Such a world employment plan would encompass:

- (i) the participation of the trade-union movement, North and South, in both

the planning and execution stages;

- (ii) a guarantee of minimum working conditions as defined by the ILO;
- (iii) anticipatory structural readjustment programmes in the industrialised countries;
- (iv) a massive transfer of international income to developing countries;
- (v) emergency measures to deal with the especially serious problem of unemployment among women and youth.

### 3. ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

The fundamental distinction between democratic socialists and other democratic forces rests in our conviction that economic and social human rights are as essential as the traditional human rights.

The struggle for economic justice and democracy contains the following elements:

- (i) working men and women have the right to control their lives in their places of work, and thus we are partners with the trade-union movement in this struggle;
- (ii) human dignity rests on the ability to be masters of one's own fate and not solely upon material consumption;
- (iii) the right to employment without discrimination between the sexes or ethnic groups;
- (iv) the guarantee that the work environment will be both healthy and safe.

We will strive for the liberation of women and the fulfilment of our commitment that women have the right to play an equal role in all aspects of life.

### 4. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

We believe that the power of corporations must be subordinate to the interests of people and their democratic governments. For the Socialist International the implementation of economic democracy must include control of the multinational corporations through international legislation and intergovernmental agreement.

### 5. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

As a first step to a new international economic order immediate action is needed to:

- (i) implement reform of the international monetary system and its institutions, especially the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; the IMF must end its practice of imposing unacceptable conditions of credit which frustrate progress towards social justice in third - world countries;
- (ii) bring immediate relief from the massive debt problems which are crushing the nations of the South, and which also can lead to a chaotic collapse

of the already fragile international financial system;

- (iii) provide significant assistance to remedy chronic balance-of-payments deficits;
- (iv) create fair commodity pricing regimes and access to global markets;
- (v) establish an emergency food production programme;
- (vi) help stimulate production for domestic consumption in third-world countries and promote intraregional trade.

We welcome the commitment to these goals in the Brandt Commission report. We endorse the upcoming summit meeting in 1981 on these crucial questions, organised by SI Vice-President Bruno Kreisky and the Mexican President Lopez Portillo. We also strongly support the thesis of mutuality of interest and global interdependence so well articulated by the Brandt Commission report.

### 6. IN CONCLUSION

As we approach the next century, we pledge ourselves to the battle to create a progressive option for humanity. That is what democratic socialism is all about.

It is our movement, through the implementation of these ideals, which will best secure for future generations the goal of an international community based upon PEACE, FREEDOM and SOLIDARITY.

## NEW MEMBER PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

### Full member parties:

Ecuador  
Grenada  
Guatemala  
Lebanon  
Upper Volta

Izquierda Democrática  
New Jewel Movement  
Partido Socialista Democrático  
Parti Progressiste Socialiste  
Front Progressiste Voltaique

### Consultative member parties:

Aruba (Netherlands Antilles)  
Curaçao (Netherlands Antilles)  
Israel

Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo  
Movimentu Antiyas Nobo  
United Workers' Party (MAPAM)

### PARTIES OR ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE CHANGED THEIR MEMBERSHIP STATUS

The Partido Revolucionario Febrerista of Paraguay has become a full member party

The International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International has become a fraternal organisation

# List of participants

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Willy Brandt  
**General Secretary**  
Bernt Carlsson

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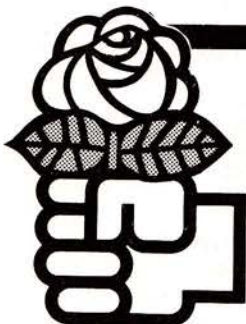
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**REPUBLIC OF KOREA**  
Kim Dae Jung (in prison under sentence of death)  
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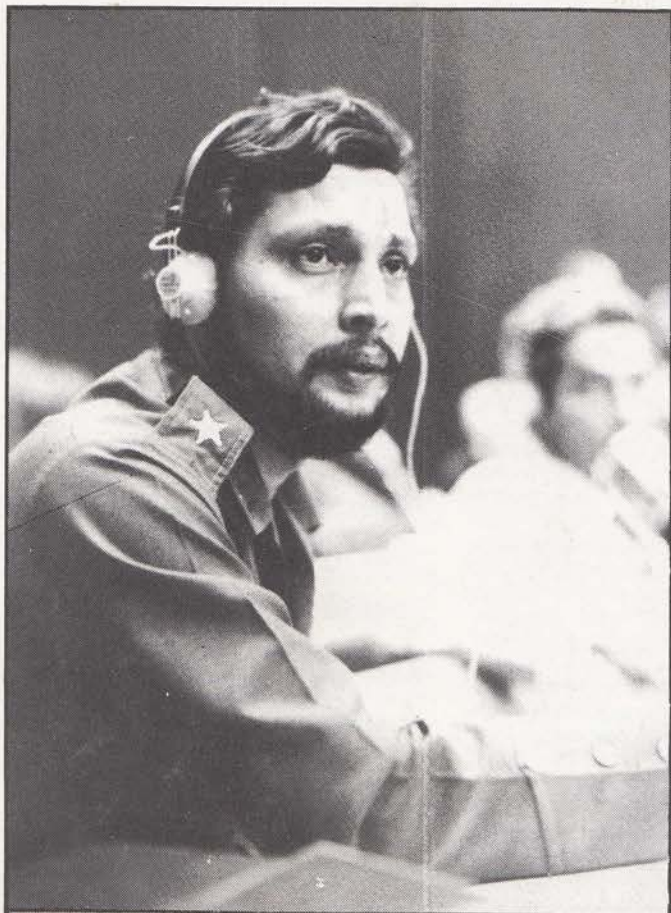
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