
SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

January/February 1977 · Socialist International Information · Vol. 27 No. 1

The Geneva Congress



Socialist Affairs

January/February 1977
Vol. 27 No. 1

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

Layout Peter Bonnici and Mike Phillips
Photo: L. Bianco, Geneva. SI Photos

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

Rates per annum

Ordinary Subscription £5 (\$15)
Socialist Party member £3.75 (\$10)
Payment by sterling or dollars Cheque, postal order or International money order payable to Socialist International
88a St Johns Wood High Street
London NW8 57J

Telephone 01-586 1103
Telex 261735
Cables Intesocon London

Contents

- 3 EDITORIAL
Action programme of the SI
Bernt Carlsson

- 4 GENEVA CONGRESS
Introductory report
- 5 President's address
Willy Brandt
- 8 A letter on the European Communist Summit



- 9 TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER
Leopold Senghor, Helmut Schmidt, Giuseppe Saragat
Willy Claes, Joop den Uyl, Lillian Uchtenhagen



- 17 HELSINKI – WHAT NEXT
Kalevi Sorsa, Yitzhak Rabin, Richard Muller



- 21 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD TODAY
François Mitterrand, Michael Foot, Filipe Gonzalez, Mario Soares



- 27 THE SITUATION IN THE THIRD WORLD
Daniel Oduber, Carlos Andres Perez, Jean Ziegler

- 32 Resolutions of the Geneva Congress
- 36 New statutes of the International

OTHER REPORTS

- 38 Conferences
Spain, Portugal, Senegal
- 40 Elections
Jamaica, Japan Mauritius
- 43 Socialist Notebook

Action programme of the SI



Willy Brandt (left) and Bernt Carlsson

Bernt Carlsson General Secretary

"A new start" was the phrase most commonly heard in connection with the 13th congress of the Socialist International held in Geneva last November. It was the keynote of the address delivered by the new President of the International, Willy Brandt (see this issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS), and it was repeatedly used by many other speakers, delegates and journalists.

What must be done now — and particularly in the two-year work period until the holding of the 14th congress in Vancouver in 1978 — is to ensure that the spirit of the Geneva congress is translated into concrete action. The impetus provided by the 13th congress must not be lost.

On the political level great efforts must be made to ensure that negotiations bring an end to the arms race. The support of detente should thus be given the highest priority by the Socialist International.

The International is also committed to supporting the demands for a new world economic order. The discussion within the International could be used as an instrument for focusing the attention of the member-parties on the problems of the North/South dialogue.

Among the other tasks facing the International over the next two years is the drawing up of the final report of the International's working party on the operations of multinational companies, which is clearly a subject of central importance to socialists of both the

developed and developing countries. If it is possible for socialists of both the rich industrialized first world and of the third world to reach a common view on this question, such an achievement will obviously have an influence in other world forums where proposals concerning the operations of multinational companies are under discussion at the present time.

Other particular initiatives in the international field proposed for the coming period until the next congress in 1978 are the sending of two high-level missions: one to make contact with the liberation movements of southern Africa and the other to study the longer term prospects of democratic socialism in the United States. Both these initiatives are topical, as the era of white supremacy and colonial domination rapidly draws to an end in southern Africa and in view of our coming congress in North America — the first to be held by the International in that continent since the Philadelphia congress of the First International organized by Karl Marx in 1876.

The International must also continue to carry out its task of giving support and solidarity to the people and especially to our fraternal parties in countries with repressive regimes, such as Chile. The Socialist International has a good record in the struggle for civil rights and it will be maintained in the years ahead.

At the organizational level, the main aims should be:

- Improved contacts between the Socialist International and the international trade union movement

represented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats.

- More effective use of the International as a point of contact for affiliated parties and organizations.
- Creation of an effective centre of research, information and publications at the Secretariat.
- An expansion of relations with progressive movements and parties in the Third World.
- Better liaison between socialist parties inside the European Community and those outside.

The International should also attempt to take a more active interest in other political issues which are the concern of socialist parties on the national level — issues such as economic policies, economic democracy, industrial democracy, the quality of the working environment in industrial life, including industrial safety and the entire complex of problems relating to ecology and the protection of our biological environment.

We should aim at making the International a better instrument of coordination and exchange of information and experience in these fields for the benefit of all affiliated parties. An SI working group on economic problems could be set up with the aim of submitting concrete proposals to the 1978 congress in Vancouver.

All these items add up to a formidable workload for the two years ahead. But the burden should be shouldered with enthusiasm in the knowledge that the Socialist International is a genuine international political movement of a kind that our adversaries cannot match.

The present state of democratic socialism as a political movement is at the centre of discussion within the international labour movement. There can be no doubt that after a considerable upsurge in the late 1960s and early 1970s democratic socialism has suffered from electoral reverses more recently, particularly in the industrialized world, where economic recession has tended to polarize political options to the disadvantage of the democratic left. But the view that democratic socialism has entered a permanent decline is in no way justified.

It should also be the task of the Socialist International to promote discussions on the aims of the democratic socialist movement. There is a crucial question involved here. Experience has shown that the most profound dilemma facing democratic socialism may occur when it attempts to go beyond the field of its traditional policy of trying to achieve social democracy, into the area of economic democracy. If democratic socialism is to succeed the International must now initiate a discussion on this problem.

13th Congress of the SI held in Geneva

The thirteenth postwar congress of the Socialist International was held in Geneva on November 26-28, 1976, attended by some 200 delegates from over 40 affiliated parties and organizations. It was preceded on November 23-24 by the ninth conference of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and on November 25 by a joint panel organized by the International Council of Social Democratic Women and the Socialist International and consisting of a number of prominent socialists; the panel members answered questions from journalists and members of the public on the subject of the equality of women, especially as regards public life. All three events took place in the headquarters building of the International Labour Office.

The Socialist International congress, which was opened by François Mitterrand, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, was marked by a strengthening and expansion of the organization and by a renewal of its leadership. In addition to adopting a new statute, the congress adopted resolutions on 'The Political Situation', 'International Economic Solidarity' and 'Latin America'. Five parties were newly admitted to membership of the International while six others which were already affiliated changed their membership status and the status of two organizations which had previously held the status of full member was changed to that of associated organization.

The delegates unanimously elected Willy Brandt (Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party and former Chancellor of the Federal Republic) as President of the Socialist International in succession to Bruno Pittermann (former Vice-Chancellor of Austria), who had been Chairman of the International under the old statute since 1964. The congress also elected fourteen Vice-Presidents of the Socialist International and decided to establish an Honorary Committee, whose members would be the Honorary Presidents of the Socialist International; thirteen eminent figures from democratic socialist movements were elected by the Congress as members of this Committee. Bernt Carlsson

(International Secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party) was unanimously elected as General Secretary in succession to Hans Janitschek (Austria).

Representation of member organizations at the Congress included three Presidents (Daniel Oduber, Costa Rica; Léopold S. Senghor, Senegal and Carlos Andres Perez, Venezuela) and six Prime Ministers (Bruno Kreisky, Austria; Helmut Schmidt, Federal Republic of Germany; Yitzhak Rabin, Israel; Dom Mintoff, Malta; Joop den Uyl, Netherlands and Mario Soares, Portugal). Among the guests attending the Congress were Otto Kersten (General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and the former British Prime Minister, Sir Harold Wilson. The latter was presented with the International's Silver Plate of Honour at the Congress, as were David Lewis, former leader of the Canadian New Democratic Party and Trygve Bratteli, former Norwegian Prime Minister.

Full details of the decisions of the congress are set out below (the texts of the resolutions adopted and of the new statute of the Socialist International being given elsewhere in this issue).

President of the Socialist International
Willy Brandt, Federal German Republic

Vice-Presidents of the Socialist International
Edward Broadbent, Canada
Bettino Craxi, Italy
Bruno Kreisky, Austria
François Mitterrand, France
Daniel Oduber, Costa Rica
Olof Palme, Sweden
Irène Pétry, International Council of

Social Democratic Women
Yitzhak Rabin, Israel
Léopold S. Senghor, Senegal
Mario Soares, Portugal
Anselmo Sule, Chile
Joop den Uyl, Netherlands
Gough Whitlam, Australia
Harold Wilson, Great Britain

Honorary Committee of the Socialist International

Trygve Bratteli, Norway
Walter Bringolf, Switzerland
Tage Erlander, Sweden
Jos van Eynde, Belgium
David Lewis, Canada

Sicco Mansholt, Netherlands
Daniel Mayer, France
Golda Meir, Israel
Alfred Nau, Federal German Republic
Pietro Nenni, Italy
Rafael Paasio, Finland
Bruno Pittermann, Austria
Giuseppe Saragat, Italy
General Secretary of the Socialist International
Bernt Carlsson, Sweden
New Membership of the Socialist International

The Progressive Union of Senegal (UPS), the Revolutionary Party of the Dominican Republic (PRD), and the Indian Socialist Party were admitted to the International as full member parties.

At the same time, the Socialist Party of Cyprus (EDEK) and the Democratic Socialist Organising Committee, USA, were admitted as consultative parties.

In addition, six parties which were already affiliated to the International moved to a different category of membership (previous status shown in parentheses):

Northern Ireland Labour Party — member party (consultative member);

Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland — member party (consultative member);

National Liberation Party of Costa Rica — member party (observer member);

Democratic Action (AD) of Venezuela — consultative party (observer member);

People's Electoral Movement (MEP) of Venezuela — consultative party (member);

Febrerista Revolutionary Party of Paraguay — consultative party (observer member).

Also, the status of two organizations which had previously belonged to the category of member party of the Socialist International was changed to that of associated organization: these were the International Jewish Labor Bund and the Labour Zionist Movement.

The status of observer member was abolished under the new statute adopted in Geneva, there being now only two categories of membership for parties: member party and consultative party. As shown in the statute (printed elsewhere in this issue), the Socialist International also comprises international organizations (i.e. the International Council of Social Democratic Women and the International Union of Socialist Youth) and associated organizations.

Next Congress to Take Place in Canada

The Bureau of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva, decided to accept an invitation from the International's Canadian affiliate, the New Democratic Party, to hold the next Congress of the Socialist International in Vancouver. It is to be held in 1978.

Future tasks of the International

Published below is the full text of the address delivered on November 26th by the newly-elected President of the Socialist International.

Willy Brandt President of the Socialist International

I have been charged with new and serious duties. I shall try to come up to these duties, and it is my hope that something will emanate from this Congress in Geneva that will leave traces.

What we need is a fresh start in our cooperation. I will make my contribution, but I shall depend on a great deal of support: on good advice and on the preparedness to understand each other and to come to an understanding, to assume tasks, to join forces and to take meaningful initiatives based on sensible coordination.

Sincerity to all of you demands that I make clear the factual limitations of my presidency: On the one hand, I shall not and I must not neglect my duties as chairman of the German Social Democrats. On the other, my responsibility as the President of the International can only result from what we jointly decide and what flows forth from our common convictions. The chairman of the International is not the guardian of the parties, and I do not wish to be held responsible for what the individual parties deem appropriate on the basis of the conditions under which they work and on the basis of their own responsibility.

Historical Tradition

We stand in the tradition of the International as a strong idea and as a movement, now already historical, which inspired a great deal of hope — much more than it was able to fulfil. We therefore have to be modest. Nothing is gained by taking words for reality or by shouldering more than we can carry.

No less than 112 years have gone by since the International Workers' Association was brought into being in London; 87 years since the International Workers' Congress in Paris; 53 years since I as a little boy came to the Trade Union

House in Hamburg when after the First World War the Labour and Socialist International was founded there anew; 25 years since — after the devastations of the Second World War — our present international association was brought on its way by the Frankfurt Congress.

This might be seen as a history of defeats: defeats of peoples, of reason, of humanity. The two World Wars were not prevented. Ever new forms of tyranny gained ground. Socialism as a freedom movement was largely perverted. But one can also ask the question: how much would peoples have been spared if after the First World War at any rate one had listened to the advice of democratic socialists? And how much better would the world be today had the proposals been realized which were laid down in a sense of far-reaching responsibility in bomb-raided London before 1945 or by ourselves in Stockholm within an international group of democratic socialists? Or those coming from the socialist resistance movement in France and in Italy, or from the Indian freedom fight and the Japanese labour movement, or from the great American reservoir of freedom and the many small sources of a world-wide struggle for national and social liberation?

Many warnings were not heard or did not penetrate. The painful experiences undergone in many places were first in vain. This would only be a history of defeats if we ourselves did not learn from that experience.

At the same time we have reason to be proud: in a number of countries democratic socialists have been able to prove themselves in government responsibility and — together with trade unions — help millions and millions of rightless proletarians to become citizens with equal political rights. The age of colonialism lies behind us in almost all parts of the world. In more fields than we may be aware of in our daily lives has libertarian and socialist thought found its

reflection in the thinking of those who have to act or in the upheaval of those who no longer want to be mere objects of action.

Most of us would probably agree that the general orientation on which our Frankfurt declaration of principles of 1951 is based deserves to be reconfirmed. We will also be agreed that the experiences — and what experiences they were! — of the past 25 years have to be worked up. We cannot shirk this while — and this is the decisive point! — we turn to the challenges of the 80s' and 90s'. I do not want us to neglect the debate on the programmatic fundamentals, but it would be just as wrong if this were at the expense of the practical work of co-ordination, of exchanging ideas and experiences, of deciding on joint action.

This raises the question of what the International is and what it is not, what it can be and what it cannot. At any rate, it never was and never will be an international central command prescribing to member parties which course they should take in their own countries. Allegations that it was an international party with uniform doctrines are nourished by reactionary circles with the intention of associating us with forces that in the interest of the enforcement of their own power resort to a centralist structure.

Reality of Our Community

All this has nothing to do with the reality of our community. The Socialist International cannot and does not want to do without the complexity and diversity of its member parties, being a result of long historical developments and of an expression of different objective conditions. Nor do we want to gloss over the subjective differences, the diverging opinions existing in various fields. There never was nor will there ever be a social democratic world executive.

This is a working group of sovereign parties based on a number of common fundamental convictions and — in some cases for many decades — with a bond of common feeling. It is not instructions nor unrealistic majority decisions that determine our cooperation, but ideas and moral impulses and not least the search for common solutions. And this in a world that increasingly depends on new and transnational answers to problems involving destructive threats on the one hand, and survival in freedom and dignity on the other.

I was speaking of the programme, of the principles we share. We should recall the continuity which for many decades has been at the root of our struggle for peace and freedom, for justice and solidarity.

Let us remember the inaugural address of 1864. The simple laws of

morality and justice which should rule the relations between individuals, so it said, should also be applied, as the supreme laws, to the relationship of nations. And it is laid down in the statutes for the First International that the emancipation of the "working class", thus the large disadvantaged strata, was neither a local nor a national but a social task which involved all countries in which modern society exists.

Who among us would deny that we were given a compass here that has not become obsolete despite the impressive achievements made by the labour movement, the social democratic parties, and the trade unions, and despite fundamental changes that have become characteristic of the relations between states in this part of the world. I am saying this in this place, fully aware of what was the situation between Germany and France and how it developed for the better.

Above all we stand in the continuity of the struggle for socialism which presupposes freedom and in turn generates freedom: the individual must be enabled to develop freely in a society and in a world in which the exploitation of man by man is eliminated. This led to conflict, to the break with the communists; it led to altercations which claimed sacrifices and have not come to an end by any means. The attitude towards freedom and democracy is at the same time the touchstone which will permit conclusions on the future development of some communist parties.

The orientation of democratic socialists has never ceased to centre on man, his longing for freedom and peace, his yearning for justice and his ability for solidarity and compassion. This is their tradition, and this is what makes them strong.

We shall always have to measure against reality the spiritual and political foundations of our international co-operation. Much will depend on how we shape our relationship with parties and movements of similar orientation in regions where conditions differ from our own traditional ones: in both parts of America, in Africa, in Asia. We must draw on the things we have in common in order to get closer to our common objectives. We must not lack the necessary flexibility of cooperation. This is important if one sees the International not only as an association but as a political body.

The compass continues to point to peace and freedom, to justice and solidarity. The road there must be free from discrimination, far from any kind of dictatorship, void of any imperialism, protected against intervention in domestic affairs which are a matter of the peoples and their sovereignty. It is certainly the road of political democracy

which we wish not only to safeguard, but moreover to expand and deepen. But it is also certain that there will be no single universal solution to the problems of the organization of state and society — especially none which is based exclusively on European experience. International solidarity includes, at least in my understanding, every country and every state with their own road to democratic freedom and social justice.

Which are the foundations, I ask once more, that will determine our work? I think we shall have to be guided largely by what changes history brought since the Second World War. The world map has been redrawn. The scientific and technological revolution continues. The world economic relations are undergoing a sweeping change. Another example of the historical changes of the past period is the increasingly marked polycentrism in which used to be called a communist world camp.

A few observations in this context: it cannot be our objective to blur the dividing lines or to gloss over dangers. On the contrary: one must understand the realities of communism in the late 20th century. Those who fight against phantoms lose sight of the real adversary. We are no longer confronted only with Moscow and Peking and with variants of a national communism. We are also faced with the phenomenon which — vaguely and ambiguously — is termed Eurocommunism.

I presume it would not exist, had it not been forced into existence partly by the vitality, by the competition of West European social democracy. To me it is not yet clear where it is a matter of tactics in the interest of power and where it is a development based on insight. The well-known conference in East Berlin a few months ago failed to shed sufficient light on this question. One has to accept that the representatives of those parties I am referring to want to remain communists; one also has to realize that some of them seem to be willing to expose themselves to the venture of democracy. Only a politically insensitive person might say that this is of little interest.

Fresh Start for the International

As regards the work of the Socialist International in the years past: who would deny that it showed considerable shortcomings? This statement does not imply reproaches, but an appeal to all of us to overcome the recognized weaknesses.

We have come to Geneva to make a fresh start. It is advisable that we do not undertake too much. But I think we can proceed from the following improved working conditions.

The Secretariat is to be better equipped and to be enabled to fulfil its coordinating

tasks more effectively.

I shall urgently request the Vice-Presidents to assume important responsibilities.

The Bureau meetings in which all member-parties will be able to participate in the future will gain if much of the routine of past years can be eliminated.

Special conferences will be able to play a greater role; it may be advisable to have them convened and organized by one particularly interested member-party, though the planning should be well-coordinated.

Occasional conferences of the party leaders and heads of government will have their place within the defined structures of the International; they can become more important — whether regional or in a wider context — as an adequate forum for an exchange of views both between parties in power and between them and parties in opposition.

In all this we should bear in mind that it is not the quantity of meetings and papers but the qualitative substance of our cooperation that counts.

I mentioned obvious weaknesses of our past work. But by giving you four examples — which at the same time indicate future activities — I want to recall that we succeeded in achieving quite remarkable results in some fields.

For example détente: there can be no doubt that since the end of the 60's the Social Democrats and the governments influenced by them have made substantial contributions to decreasing tensions in East-West relations, to reducing dangers to peace, and to creating the preconditions of increased cooperation — irrespective of contrasting political systems.

There is every reason for us to persist in this endeavour. At a conference hosted by our Dutch friends few weeks ago, a great deal of support was expressed for the policy to be continued, still without illusions and at the same time persistent. It was also agreed that we should realistically co-ordinate our positions for Belgrade — that is to say, for the first review of what was laid down in Helsinki in 1975 under the heading of security and cooperation in Europe.

For example Western Europe: in the federation of our parties within the European Community and within the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, proof is given, and must increasingly be given in the future that we are able to cooperate across national frontiers in such a way as to strengthen the social and truly democratic element in Europe. The prospective direct elections of the members of the European Parliament faces us with the task of passing a programme-platform, based on which as many social democrats as possible will be able to win, and justify, the confidence

of the citizens of Western Europe. (I deliberately said "social democrats" instead of "social democrats and socialists". The different names of the parties not infrequently lead to confusion. According to the programme of my Social Democratic Party it is the party of democratic socialism.)

When we speak of European unity we must of course not neglect the cooperation between the parties within the Community and those in countries which are in different ways closely linked with it. The same applies to the forum offered by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

For example Portugal: I do not wish to overestimate the contribution that we were able to make so that the new Portuguese democracy was given a chance. But it is a fact that we stood by our friendship with Portugal — and the Socialist Party under Mario Soares — when there was the danger that one dictatorship would be followed by another — and when from the conservative camp there came hardly anything but defeatist comments.

In about one week's time the first party congress is to take place in Madrid which our Spanish friends will be able to hold since the terrible civil war in their country. It will depend to a great extent on the energy and unity of the democratic socialists whether Spain will be able to break encrusted structures of dictatorship fast enough. Felipe Gonzalez (Secretary-General of the PSOE) must know that we are standing by his side.

I would also like to encourage our friends in Greece. We do not only wish them success in the consolidation of the democratic institutions and in overcoming internal difficulties but also the strength for a settlement with their neighbours. I strongly hope that the progressive forces in Turkey will equally make their own contribution so that peace can at last be stabilised in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean.

For example Caracas: in May this year a number of representatives of Western European social democracy had accepted an invitation by the Venezuelan *Acción Democrática* and met with representatives of democratic movements in Latin America and the Caribbean. The consultations, which were continued in the Mexican capital, were rich in substance and corresponded to the flexibility I have advised.

By citing this example I do not intend to alter the rules of procedure established between us. But I would welcome it if for the purpose of mutual information and the search for answers to topical problems, similar meetings could be arranged with interested political forces in other regions, maybe first in Africa, but certainly also in Asia and North America.



Informatory contacts have been established with a number of Arab countries by the missions headed by Bruno Kreisky. It would be a good thing if this could help shorten the way to a peaceful solution in the Middle East and to a constructive relationship between Israel and her neighbours.

A word of explanation on North America: we must certainly not ignore that the political structures there are determined by intellectual currents which are at the same time both akin and alien to us. If we have eyes to see we shall be able to observe that social democratic impulses have indeed some influence on the political and intellectual scene not only in Canada, but also in the United States; there is at any rate an undercurrent of liberality which has never been defeated. From this it follows that it is necessary to have a dialogue with American friends and partners wherever and whenever there is an indication of interest. Organizational or even ideological restrictions are inappropriate.

In any case, we are looking forward to holding our next congress in Vancouver, Canada, in 1978.

Three Challenges

I said that our community must not commit the error of trying the impossible. But by no means will our parties be able to shirk the great challenges that concern every state and every people in the world. Let me mention three of these challenges.

First: only an *offensive for a secure peace* can guarantee a future for mankind.

Not only do we live in a necessary coexistence of diverging social systems, we also live in frightful coexistence with an arsenal of destruction that is growing

day by day. It is true that the nuclear world powers agreed on first limitations of their strategic armaments, and they are negotiating — successfully, I hope! — on a second agreement. However, this does not prevent them from allowing the atomic stockpiles to grow. In addition there is the desire of so far non-nuclear states to provide themselves with nuclear capacities.

Even if we succeed in sparing mankind the disaster of a nuclear war (and we must succeed!), the scourge of the so-called conventional wars is frightful enough. We cannot accept the rationality of the irrational; the price is too high. Last year almost \$300,000 million were spent on armaments in this world. This is thirty times the net transfer of funds from the rich to the poor nations. I am trying to imagine: if only a noticeable part of the destructive expenditure were invested constructively for the well-being of mankind, how much hardship could be alleviated, how much misery could be eliminated!

I once called peace the ultima ratio of mankind, and war the ultima irratio. I know that so far there is no substitute for the existing alliances, which allow some to stay outside. Yet the arms race remains a marathon of irrationalism. Any realistic proposal for the limitation and control of armaments is worth taking up, analysing and negotiating.

My friends and I suggested — and I want to underline this here — that the Vienna negotiations on a mutual and balanced reduction of forces and armaments in Europe be released from the paralysis of the expert talks and given new impetus at high political level. It must be the objective of detente policy in this field to create a situation in which a military surprise attack will be impossible. This will take a long time, and a relief of our budgets unfortunately is hardly conceivable for the time being. But a beginning must be made, even if the first steps in the centre of Europe could only be very modest.

I do not leave other proposals out of account. Especially the suggestions made by the non-aligned nations at the conference of Colombo deserve our serious consideration.

However, mankind is threatened — as we all know — not only by war and means of destruction. So long as many hundred millions are starving one cannot in good conscience speak of peace. 1,200 million people vegetate today on an average income of less than \$200 a year. One of the most competent men made a comparison recently of the living conditions in the developed and in the poorest countries: infant mortality in the latter is eight times higher, life expectancy one third lower, the illiteracy rate 60 per cent higher. The standard of nutrition is below the acceptable mini-

mum for half of the population, and millions of children are provided with less protein than is necessary for the development of the brain.

We can attempt to draw away from the pictures of despair; they will catch up with us. They force us into the reality of global neighbourhood that has become our daily experience. A new solidarity is demanded from us, a solidarity which is in line with this reality. If simple humanity is not enough, one should at least submit to the laws of reason. The rich nations will not remain rich if the poorhouses of mankind continue to grow. In the long run there will be no islands of privilege, no oases of happiness at the expense of others. The offensive for peace must join forces with the struggle against world-wide misery; we must take it on our shoulders.

It is indeed time for a *second offensive* — an offensive for new relations between North and South.

We must learn to rethink radically before it is too late; or to put it more simply: we must learn to think. Under the banner of social democracy certain important achievements have been realized in the societies of the developed world, and many in some of the countries strongly influenced by us. Something can be deduced from this for the relations between nations. This will not happen by a magic stroke. Yet the campaign against hunger, against the population explosion, against the genocide of misery does not tolerate any delay. This demands sacrifices from the industrial states — and not only from those in the West!

I know this is easily said; yet one must realize that the crisis of the world economy has not been overcome. We have employment problems and monetary problems. And yet we must not allow the rift between the rich nations of the Northern hemisphere and the poor peoples of the South to deepen even further. This also means to continue with patience and energy to work out the elements with which a new world economic order is to be built.

The right to life is the most basic of all human rights. If we test this apparent commonplace against reality we shall be shocked to learn what our world is really like. The human rights are verbally embodied in the statutes of the United Nations and in almost every constitution. In reality they are effective only for a minority. Their violation, not their respect, is the rule to which the peoples are subjugated.

And yet, if human rights did not exist, at least as a goal, as a hope, darkness would befall us. Resignation would mean surrender to injustice and despair. On behalf of the Socialist International I therefore call for a *third offensive* — the offensive for human rights.

We have learnt that there are not only individual but also collective human rights. At the same time we know that collectives are the sum of their individuals. The concept of individuality may be interpreted differently in East and West, in North and South: the individual human life is both here and there a final, an ultimate value.

Security of the material existence is the foundation of all other human rights. In view of death from starvation the right of free speech becomes an abstract value. Man does not live on bread alone, but he needs bread to live. The struggle against hunger, the struggle for work and social security — that is the beginning. But also where this beginning requires the utmost efforts it cannot be a licence for all kind of violence and arbitrariness.

Violation of human rights in one part of the world is just as terrible as brutality in another. Our vision must be unobscured in all directions. Recollecting what was possible in Europe in the most recent past, I am far from any haughtiness. But we must not become indifferent.

Therefore our sympathy is with those organizations — I mention Amnesty International — which proved that people can be shaken out of their indifference and regimes can be shaken out of their self-righteousness. Churches, trade unions, newspapers . . . we are also open to cooperation with the international bodies of liberal and christian-democratic parties: there cannot be enough allies, for the task is difficult.

Survival of Man and Humanity

This was an attempt to outline some fields of work. Areas of discussion have

been identified. Goals have been set that require all of our effort. I hope we shall avoid one sin: making things too easy for ourselves. Simplifiers are always illusionists. We need the courage to see the world and its conditions as complicated as they are. In doing so we follow a good tradition: the socialist movement from its very inception has been an appeal to man's ability to think.

I will be careful not to pay tribute to cheap simplification and to proclaim the "third way". But I think that democratic socialism, that social democrats have the responsibility, and must believe in their strength, to shape the alternative and the alternatives. Both hold good, singular and plural.

We set our principle of the self-determination of citizens against capitalist collectivism of alienation and against communist collectivism of a dictatorship destructive to freedom.

We set our defence of peace against the determinism of force.

We set our struggle for specific human rights against the claims to power based on injustice and weakness.

We set intellectual mobilization against the surrender to hopelessness, which has always been defeated by history. Courage — in resistance, in the service of our fellow men, in productive thinking — will resist the tendency to resignation.

We set reason against the rationalization of the unreasonable: the alliance between reason and the will to live, morality and self-assertion, mercifulness and individual responsibility constitutes the humanity of man.

People like me long ago renounced the outdated utopia of shaping the "new man". What we work and struggle for is the survival of man and humanity.

A letter on the European Communist Summit

Among the many communications received by the Geneva congress of the Socialist International from political parties and movements throughout the world was a letter from Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR (SED). In this letter Mr. Honecker referred to the conference of European communist parties held in Berlin (GDR) in June 1976 and in particular to the document "For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe" adopted by that conference, in which the communists had reaffirmed their readiness to cooperate with socialist and social democratic parties. He added that the SED central committee had charged two

party officials with the task of presenting this document to the Socialist International and requested, on behalf of the central committee, that this matter be brought "to the notice of all parties taking part in the Geneva congress of the Socialist International".

At the press conference held at the conclusion of the Geneva congress, the Socialist International's new President, Willy Brandt, said in reply to a Soviet journalist that the Bureau of the International had considered the letter received from Erich Honecker and had found that all its members were already aware of the contents of the document adopted by the communist summit conference.

Published in the following pages are edited texts of most of the introductory speeches delivered in the four main debates of the Geneva Congress of the Socialist International.

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

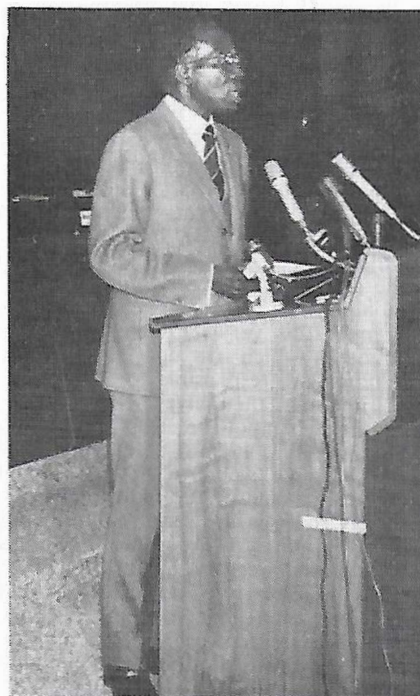


Democratic Socialism and a new humanism

Léopold Sédar Senghor
President of Senegal

This Socialist International congress will undoubtedly be an epoch-making date in the history of democratic socialism, because we shall have dealt for the first time with the *New Economic World Order*, which is the major problem of this last quarter of the 20th century. And yet, in so doing, the congress will simply have reflected its fidelity to socialist thought. It was no mere chance that at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), over half the developed states which supported the Third World "integrated programme" were governed by socialists. As pointed out in the Moroccan newspaper *L'Opinion*, the Nordic countries "paradoxically", as far as this particular problem was concerned, took up a more "advanced" attitude than the "group D" communist countries — the Nordic states, i.e. all those European countries where democratic socialism is being implemented so successfully.

I must tell you what African socialists expect of socialists in the developed



countries, especially the European states.

First, you should help Europe to assert its European identity, but also collectively to affirm its faith in democratic socialism, confronted, as it is, with the two super-powers. It was no mere chance that led Paul Valéry, who was really not a socialist, to stigmatise not so long ago a Europe which, "clearly aspired to nothing more than toeing the line to an American sub-committee".

However, it is in the interest of a "new economic world order" that European socialists should, primarily, endeavour to avoid the risks, which are greater today, of subordinating the European consciousness to divergent but equally powerful external interests.

On this socialist policy of action for the future depend, in practical terms, the chances of a real reform of the international monetary system. I mean respect for common disciplines and, in a more general sense, any new concept for production and trade between nations, not all of whom are equally favourably endowed.

I have spoken also of the complementarities to be ascertained and developed.

This means, in the first place, that African socialists should not consider copying models of Western society and "catching up" with them, as if that were desirable or even possible. Our number one priority is, indeed, to ensure the satisfaction of the essential needs of human beings, while pursuing the patient working-out of a "plan for a socialist and democratic Third World society", in which economic growth and cultural efflorescence (this last being based on our own especial values of civilisation) should go hand in hand. For the "new economic world order" cannot be an excuse justifying the absence of domestic prospects for progress. It is rather its inevitable complement.

In this sense, we should be able as we carry out our efforts to count on the active solidarity of socialist movements, especially those in Europe. But let us frankly admit we have the impression that, as far as the Third World is concerned, conformist attitudes observable in statements and behaviour too often outstrip creative imagination. I am fully conscious of the fact that, through an abuse of language to which the present age is all too prone, the term "utopia" is applied to any appeal which involves changes in habits of social action, or which invites people to bridge the gap between words and deeds.

As far as I am concerned, utopia really means imagining, behind the blind wall of extreme Malthusian theories, that pockets of prosperity can be maintained in a world in which two-thirds of its people — and thinking people at that — are abandoned to despair. Who can

fail to see the redoubtable consequences for peace, that lie in such growing disparities? In a "Strategy for Tomorrow" Mesarovic and Pestel have sounded a warning to the effect that "now is the time to work out a steering plan for organic growth and permanent development in the world . . . and for a new economic world order. In ten to twenty years, it will certainly be too late, and not even a hundred Kissingers, shuttling without pause from one end of the world to the other on their missions of peace, could prevent the world from sinking into the abyss of a nuclear holocaust".

Humanist Purpose of Socialism

I should like to conclude by reminding you of the universalist, humanist purpose of socialism.

It is obvious that apart from conflicting interests, what we are up against are the divergent ideas and, even more, the prejudices which set people at variance. We are confronted, in effect, with the problem of cultures, the problem of their coming-together, of their conflicts and their necessary interpenetration, so clearly stated in the wide-ranging debate on the establishment of a "new economic world order". Too often, in Europe and America, people imagine that an income of a few thousand dollars is hardly sufficient for someone from the northern hemisphere, but for someone from the southern hemisphere, 200 or 300 dollars are ample. The colonialist myth of the "noble savage with scant needs" dies hard. On the basis of such a concept, it is logical to pay more cheaply for the product of his labour.

In the name of so-called "models", such a hegemonistic view of the universe refuses to allow the Other Person the right to differ, in other words, the right to think, act and live "by himself and for himself". Far from promoting rapprochement through understanding and solidarity, the extraordinary spread of means of communication, particularly the mass media, seems to exacerbate the tendency to fall back on oneself and pander to selfish particularisms.

But, on the contrary, it is through a dialogue of cultures based on differences clearly accepted that men and women will succeed in getting to know and recognise one another and co-operate in a spirit of fraternity, as they should. One of the common idioms we refer to is to be found precisely in democratic socialism, whose major lesson to the contemporary world is that, as far as humans are concerned, reason, justice and liberty are indivisible. It is the application of these principles and the political will, provided it is displayed by all concerned, which alone will secure the success of the Paris Conference for the establishment of a new economic world order and, consequently, of a new humanism.

Putting our own house in order first

Helmut Schmidt Federal Chancellor of West Germany

All I am asking to be permitted to do this afternoon is to make a little side-remark regarding the so-called new economic order. And it is not going to be an ideological remark. Because what I want people who are talking about a new economic order of the whole world to understand is that it is not going to take place if we ourselves in our individual countries do not restore a sustainable economic order within our own boundaries.

We are now in the year number three and will very soon enter year number four of a world-wide so-called recession. It is not really a recession: it is the consequence of more than one structural breakdown within a very short period of time, one after the other. It is not just a business cycle: it is more than that. And it is not that this only happens to so-called Western industrialized capitalist societies. It has also happened to states and societies governed by social democratic majorities; it has also happened to military dictatorships in all the five continents; it has also happened to the Soviet Union and its allies: it has happened to all of the globe.

Printing Money

It has nothing to do with specific failures, or specific shortcomings of a specific type of society or government. There are three grave mistakes, or three grave sources, for the economic upheaval of the world. There are 140 states or countries in the world out of which 130 at least have indulged since the late 60s or the early 70s in printing money which they have not earned. And even at this very date, many of those countries which are now stricken with inflation are responsible for the amount of inflation themselves. Some of the countries cannot be held responsible, that is true. But most of us are responsible because we have tried to finance greater demand of the individual or the society towards the state than we could meet by money which other people had earned, and we have taken off them by taxation. Therefore we printed money. This has been done in democratic and capitalist countries, in socialist countries and communist countries and in dictatorships alike.



The degree of our using the printing press — the velocity with which we use these machines — was different, I concede. The difference in velocity led to the breakdown of the so-called Bretton Woods system which had functioned so well for a quarter of a century. And to add to the breakdown of the system of fixed parities between all our currencies — which created a great variety of additional difficulties which were graver for some countries than for others — we had the explosion of the oil crisis. We are being told that oil prices are going to be raised again within the next four weeks or so, and all I am asking you is: please try to look to the bottom of this structural economic crisis of the world and understand that the reasons are those which I have tried to sketch in a very few short sentences and that it is not correct to believe that we are living in this economic crisis just because the old order was bound to collapse but because we have let it collapse by individual behaviour of all these states whether they are socialists, capitalists, communists, democrats or dictators or whatever we may call them.

No Easy Way Out

All I am trying to say is that there is not going to be a new economic order of the world unless we in our countries achieve greater economic and social stability. There is no use and no sense in trying to solve problems of the world

just by printing more money. And there is a great danger that we are still trying to look for this easy and cheap way out. Many discussions are being held in different international theatres: ministers and governments meet in Nairobi under the auspices of UNCTAD; some other ministers meet in Paris in the context of the north-south dialogue conference; other ministers meet for an IMF conference once a year; other political leaders again meet at meeting places like Rambouillet or Puerto Rico, or at summit conferences of the European Community. At all these meeting places, people try to shift the responsibility to some other place.

I really beg you to try to understand that there can be more stability and economic order in the world — a stable new economic order in the future if you want to call it that — only if we help ourselves in our respective countries. There is no possibility, by no new order of the world, to fight inflation internationally if we do not fight inflation in our own country. And it is impossible to cure the economic disease which has befallen the world within the last three years by applying more inflation, after inflation has been the initial main source of the disease. Some people believe that just by putting up public expenditure you can get away from unemployment. The world has seen that too much public expenditure which was not correctly financed has brought about unemployment.

And all of us in our countries have to steer the same very tricky and difficult course between not adding to inflation on the one hand but fighting it, and on the other hand fighting unemployment at the same time. And there is not going to be a new social order or a new economic order of the world if we are not able in our own countries to restore economic stability in terms of monetary order or inflation and in terms of full employment. And please do not look for any easy way out in ideological terms which allow us to avoid the real difficulties at hand. It is a very difficult thing to tell one's own Parliament and to tell one's own public opinion, one's own comrades within the trade union movements, and to tell anybody in one's own country, that some of the fault lies with ourselves, and not with the so-called system. This is not to say that improvements of our respective systems should not be sought after. I am really in favour of improving the way in which we are managing our economy — particularly our public sectors, in which we try to bring about social security and stability and, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, the happiness of our people. But we are deceiving ourselves if we believe that this can be achieved without facing up to the real situation.

Strategies for international economic recovery

Giuseppe Saragat
President of the
Italian Socialist Democratic Party

No truly socialist view of world economic problems could neglect a certain number of principles which should constitute a basis for development and promote new relationships between the different groups of countries and between the countries within each group. Since the end of the Second World War economic development in the industrialised countries has been founded on principles of economic return and aimed at ever more ambitious targets to increase national income. This view of development, which is a very partial one, has gradually exerted considerable influence on the development models of poor and backward countries, in the firm belief that a steadily developing national wealth would automatically lead to an improvement in social conditions in the countries concerned. They overlook, however, that efficient mechanisms for the distribution of wealth should have been introduced, so that those who contribute to creating this wealth, i.e. the workers, can obtain their fair share of improved conditions.

No such systems for a fairer distribution of the fruits of labour do as yet exist, or only to a very insufficient degree, either in the highly industrialised countries or in the developing countries. The concept of social welfare is lacking in the formulation of economic policies

and only recently do we see the beginnings of an awareness that objectives directed solely towards increasing national wealth entail ever-rising social costs that are no longer compensated by any social advantage. All our ideas concerning the process of development therefore need to be fundamentally changed, before it becomes too late, and changed on the basis of new social welfare objectives which certainly need to receive priority.

This means that even in the rich countries economic progress should be evaluated according to new criteria, very different from the income and productivity criteria used so far.

Ideological Example

The new international economic order should draw its inspiration from policies genuinely aiming at improving conditions and able to ensure the greatest net benefits to the communities concerned. This can be achieved by a more active and decisive participation of the workers in the management of production and in the processes required for the distribution of national wealth.

Industrialised countries must serve as an ideological example and political guide to the developing countries, proposing to the latter new ways of organising and managing the economy whilst observing the principles of social welfare and justice, that have, to a large extent, been neglected up to the present time.

However, the role of the industrialised

countries should not stop there. The chequered configuration of the world's economic and trade interests comprises at least three groups of countries (not taking into account the Sino-Soviet group, nor those other countries whose economy is centrally planned), i.e. the highly industrialised countries with their great diversity of national situations; the developing countries deficient in raw materials; and the oil-producing developing countries.

The future of the world economy during the next few years will depend on the relations that can be established between these three groups of countries and on the economic policy adopted by each one of them within the framework of their own sovereignty.

Forecasts, which it is always possible to make, indicate that those with the greatest current balance-of-payment surpluses will be the OPEC countries, that this will be the case for the next five to ten years and that, to a large extent, all will depend on how those surpluses are used. The present order of magnitude of these surpluses is around \$40,000 million a year, and they could become stabilized at a level of some \$25,000 million before the end of the seventies. In 1971, these resources were used as follows: approximately one quarter went to investments in countries; one quarter to bilateral or multilateral aid to developing countries; 10 per cent to the IMF oil fund, and the very considerable remainder, approximately one half of the total, was poured into liquid assets and Euro-currency investments, thus increasing the amount of "hot money" which, as we know, contributes to the imbalance in the rates of exchange of the main world currencies.

A more rational utilisation of the OPEC countries' surplus based on a new international economic development strategy, could contribute very decisively to the attainment of increasingly ambitious objectives of social welfare for all countries, and especially for the developing countries. The residual funds from the OPEC countries' surpluses should be partly channelled to the poorer countries that are at present burdened by debts exceeding \$170,000 million, so that they may be in a position to finance their imports from the industrialised countries, and thus sustaining world demand; these funds should also in part serve the OPEC countries themselves to finance the imports essential for their development. At the same time, to keep their foreign debt in checks, the poorer countries should adopt intermediary technologies requiring a relatively high level of employment, to make better use of the abundant man-power available in these countries, to broaden their productive basis and find substitutes for their imports.

The economic recovery of the poorer countries might well constitute a sufficient guarantee for the OPEC countries, encouraging them to increase the volume of their loans, either by recourse to the bilateral agreements or through the multilateral system.

The economic revival of the countries least endowed with resources might lead to a steadier recovery of international trade and an increase in trade between industrialised countries and the not yet industrialised.

Socialist Framework

The implementation of this strategy implies, first and foremost, a clear political will on the part of those concerned, and this in turn is only possible within the framework of a socialist view of the world's future.

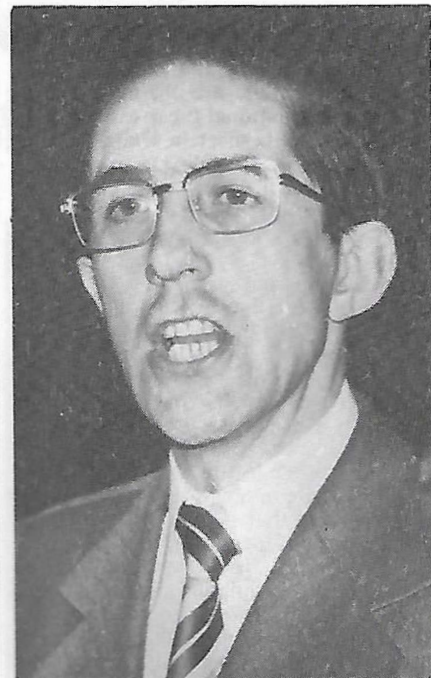
The economic situation is at present especially serious in the countries where the margins of fluctuation of exchange rates are such as to leave no adequate manoeuvring space for trade operations to be resumed and thus for their foreign accounts to be improved.

For these reasons it would be desirable that a joint world development strategy be formulated. Taking into account the obligations of the various groups of countries concerned, such a strategy would give the possibility of an efficient and continuing fight against runaway inflation and would ensure a level of employment substantially reducing the high degree of unemployment to be found at present in all the non-planned economy countries, and would also provide for greater monetary stability and greater control over international liquidity.

This need for profound changes in world development is now so obvious that concrete actions in that direction have become more and more urgent.

With this aim in mind, it would be desirable to set up within the International a political co-ordination body whose task it would be to examine in greater detail the economic and trade policies best suited to achieve all the objectives contained in a global development strategy for world economy.

The objectives, as well as the means of achieving them, would have to be approved by the organs of political leadership of the International and then submitted, either to governments, or to interested international organisations. The contents of such strategies should be in parallel with the aspirations of the working class, with a vision of the future world economy eliminating, be it in the long term, the distortions and imbalances that are rendering the civil, economic and social future of the international community ever more precarious.



Willy Claes
Joint-Chairman of the
Belgian Socialist Party

It is no secret to anyone that the entire world is today floundering in an economic crisis, the extent, duration and gravity of which far exceed everything we have known since the end of the last World War.

This is not a local crisis — it is international. It is not only a matter of the economic climate — it is structural. It is not solely of an economic nature — it is social, cultural and political. It is nothing less than a real crisis in society, of which the present economic recession is merely the symptom. The urgency for a reply to the multiple challenges now facing the very existence of the human race is becoming more and more pressing. The need for a new, better balanced, more equitable and more inter-dependent international economic order, one which is also more aware of its values and its purpose, is becoming the priority requirement for each of us.

It is now much more than a requirement of a moral order: it is quite simply the condition sine qua non of the survival of the species. Whoever endeavours to understand his times must accept the evidence. If the current evolution develops in accordance with the suicidal tendencies of the last twenty years, our planet will sink, body and soul, into

The four horsemen of the Apocalypse

chaos, ending up with the destruction of all human society.

The four horsemen of the Apocalypse silhouetted against the horizon are known well to all of us. They have the name of nuclear war, general famine, breakdown in the ecological equilibrium essential to any biological existence, and social explosion resulting from exasperation against humanly untenable inequalities.

I shall revert briefly to the hypothetical — because it is reassuring — misunderstanding which covers the notion of “equilibrium of terror”. The term equilibrium gives the impression of a stable and immobile idea. Nothing is more false. What should be known to public opinion is that this so-called equilibrium, far from being static, is merely the result — ever more precarious — of a frenzied armaments race which is continuing unflaggingly and in a growing number of countries. What should be known is that the equilibrium of terror is the equilibrium of ever more terror, a terror ever more widespread, a terror always more scientifically effective.

I am returning to this in order to denounce, once again, its overwhelming economic burden. The world total of military expenses nowadays reaches 300 thousand million dollars per year. This represents more than 300 times the amount of the net transfers from the well-endowed countries to the poor

countries on account of aid for development.

It is the urgent duty of socialists to give an exemplary demonstration that another path for economic, harmonious and equitable development is possible, that another concept of grandeur and civilisation is possible without this frenzied pursuit towards the power of domination and megalomania for the power of destruction which characterise the types of society proposed by both the East and West super-powers, and which a growing number of countries of the Third World, lacking in imagination and alternative, are endeavouring to copy.

Left to themselves, the automatic mechanisms of the economic systems of the market tend quite naturally towards a concentration of power in the hands of an ever-reduced minority. This concentration is without precedent in history. It is more and more outside the control of general interests.

Over recent times the multinational companies have hit the headlines. Their part in unleashing the rate of inflation, in the currency speculations which disorganise every attempt at restoration of an international monetary system, in the rising wave of unemployment, in the destruction, by corruption and assassination, of attempts at construction of a socialist and democratic system, has formed the subject of many scholarly studies in the industrialised countries.

It is the urgent duty of socialists,

wherever they have sufficient political power, to set up the instruments making it possible to measure, follow up, evaluate and control the benefits and drawbacks of this extraordinary concentration of economic power which knows no law other than that of its own interest, without regard either to the order of priorities or the needs to be satisfied, or the requirements of ecological equilibrium, on which future generations depend.

It seems to me to be the duty of socialists to take action whenever it is a matter of restoring the conditions of sound competition in accordance with the overall interests of the community, as they should be defined by democratic planning. Thus, for example, the possibility of creating public enterprise undertakings should make it possible to break the exclusive control by the monopolies and the oligopolies.

Towards Bankruptcy?

What demonstration must we still wait for in order to recognise that the evolution of society in the direction so far taken leads to bankruptcy?

Before the last war, the least industrialised countries were vast suppliers of foodstuffs: they exported substantial quantities of cereals to the industrialised countries. The current situation is completely reversed. Their national production of food largely produces a deficit. It is estimated that one half of all the children in the Third World suffer from under-nourishment. And famines are multiplying at various points on the globe over recent years.

The models of development which have been adopted under the stimulus of the examples given by the industrial countries have therefore apparently not permitted the countries of this Third World — the majority of which have achieved political independence only over the last two decades — to provide for their own needs in food by their own production.

A new type of dependence has resulted from this. Thus, the food surpluses available to the United States have been considered by some as a new and extremely efficient method of pressure. The American Minister for Agriculture did not hesitate to declare: “Food is a weapon. It constitutes one of our master trumps in our proposals for negotiations.”

Obviously, we must firmly reject such an attitude, which could lead to a real economic war between the North and the South. In such a confrontation, the countries of the Third World could in turn make use of raw materials and sources of energy, as similar economic weapons of retaliation. This is not the way to find the path leading to a new economic order, the only way towards salvation for all of us.

The idea of making use of famine as a strategic weapon to reduce opposition by the most atrocious constraint is quite simply revolting. It is the very opposite of a socialist and democratic conception of solidarity. On the contrary, the path which we must follow is that of enlarging the economic complementarity between the North and South, permitting the development of exchanges to the greatest reciprocal benefit of the partners.

Of course, this path will entail a profound reorganisation of our economies in order to welcome the products from the countries of the Third World on our markets, at prices which are equitable both to the producers and to the consumers. And this concerns energy resources and raw materials as much as manufactured products. An "agonising revision" is necessary in circuits of transport, distribution and redistribution in our own countries where the inflationary repercussions of the multiplicity of intermediaries and services calls for very particular attention. Solidarity entails an equitable sharing not only of the benefits but also of the drawbacks.

The International's Role

Each of the problems briefly stated above demonstrates one single and sole outstandingly clear fact: international inter-dependence no longer makes it possible to find definitive solutions within existing national entities. Whether it is the fight against unemployment, inflation or the re-establishment of an international currency order, whether it is a matter of economic problems which are posed by the armaments race or the battle against famine and poverty or the restoration of science to the service of the common good or protection of the environment — it is not by giving ground in the name of egoistic and cramped nationalism that we shall save the future. It is essential that we still continue to act and fight within the framework of our national entities in order to ensure that our ideas progress. However, this action must be concerted and mutually sustained. This is sufficient to indicate the importance of our International and the role which it is called on to play.

I believe more in the value of example than in the value of words. Let us offer the socialist alternative as an example to the Third World. We do not have to impose anything on them. Let us open the way to another choice for the developing countries. Let us thus show that as long as a spark of hope and respect for his own dignity lives in the heart of man, everything is possible, and that another society is conceivable and feasible: a society aimed towards the general interest, determined with the participation of everyone; a society where free beings will direct their own fates.

Our special responsibility

Joop Den Uyl Netherlands Prime Minister

I am addressing you as a representative of a rich country, a rich country which has done something in the field of development aid. My country surpassed the 0.7% aid target in 1975 and notwithstanding recession and unemployment the target of 1.35% of GNP for overseas development and related expenditure to be reached in 1976 was maintained. I am not telling you this because I should feel happy about that. Speaking as a representative of a rich country I feel much more ashamed that we, the rich countries, have done so little to overcome the poverty of the Third World and I assure you, speaking about the new international economic order, that the coming months in particular will be decisive in more than one respect for relations between rich and poor countries. The Conference on International Economic Cooperation which is going on in Paris has reached a stage when decisions need to be taken. The political promises of the Seventh Special Assembly of the United Nations which Jan Pronk (the Dutch Overseas Development Minister) called a commitment to commit will now have to be kept. We all know that the Western countries have been making promises and approving resolutions for years, and that, it seems to me, also means commitment.

The present economic system is defended and praised as a system of free enterprise and for the fact that it has led to unprecedented economic growth

in the past three decades. While I agree there has been economic growth, it is equally obvious that the fruits are unevenly distributed. The present economic system has created ever-increasing inequalities between and within society. It has led to inefficient use of natural material and human resources and thus to large-scale unemployment. The freedom of the present system has been praised as being a predominant characteristic of our order: this has been largely a freedom only for the rich countries. We have praised the principle of open trade. In fact we practise tariff systems with low tariffs for raw materials and high tariffs for industrial products. We praise a free flow of capital: but in fact it means a capital market dominated by financial powers in a few rich states and a number of oil-producing countries. We have praised the transfer of technology. In fact we hamper it by legal barriers. And we have to face, as an outcome of the present order, an ever-increasing scarcity of raw materials.

Today's economic problems and the demands of the Third World for a new economic order can only be solved by far-reaching reforms and we have to realise that we are in need of time to realise these reforms. A large number of raw materials are going to be scarce in the future, including those which constitute our main sources of energy, and I would like to point out that this problem does not vanish if the oil-producing countries decide on a small rise or no rise at all in the price of oil. The underlying problem remains. Energy is in

increasingly short supply and the search for alternatives to oil goes on laboriously. This is caused by price developments in the cost of energy and we will have to set aside large sums for the energy needs of the rich world. Under the present economic order it is to be feared that it will be impossible to tackle these problems progressively without crisis and confrontation and in consultation with developing countries and the oil-exporting nations.

Failure to Achieve Objectives

The failure to achieve the objectives which we set ourselves in the United Nations, the problems of scarcity and unacceptable poverty, make it essential to work for a new international economic order. It is not a matter of ideology but of justice. Anyone who recognises reality must accept this fact.

At the meeting of the International Monetary Fund held in Tokyo in October of this year, Robert McNamara (President of the World Bank) drew attention to the fact that in spite of the efforts which have been made the per capita income of the poorest billion people in the poorest countries has remained virtually static in the last ten years. In 1965 it stood at \$130 per head and ten years later at \$150 per head — an increase of \$2 per year. And our economists have pointed out that the plans and objectives of the Second Development Decade will be inadequate to narrow the incomes gap between rich and poor countries. Even a first step towards such a narrowing can only be made in this country if far-reaching changes of a social, political and institutional character are carried out in the developing countries, while as the essential complement, changes must also be made to the international economic order. It has been pointed out it would be possible to achieve a narrowing in the incomes' ratio from the present 12 to 1 as between rich and poor nations respectively to 7 to 1 in the year 2000. There are no physical or technical reasons for regarding the achievement of such an aim as impossible; my countryman Jan Tinbergen arrives at similar conclusions when he recommends negotiations or comprehensive packages of solutions, in which the legitimate interests of rich and poor are given proper consideration, to produce a move towards a more equitable international distribution of incomes and wealth.

When we look back at the events of the last couple of years it is clear that more and more people have become aware of the necessity of shaping a new economic world order. We know that a number of important conferences have been held under the auspices of the United Nations on such subjects as population growth, industrialisation in



the Third World, equal rights for women and unemployment. We have had two special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. UNCTAD IV took place in the spring of this year in Nairobi. Decisions taken at these conferences were intended to point a way for future policies. Agreement was reached on a number of objectives; but very little has been done to put these objectives into practice. That confronts us with the necessity at the present stage to practise what we promised as richer nations at those conferences.

North-South Dialogue

The Colombo Conference the Group of 77 developing countries has shown a considerable measure of internal unity in its consultations with the rich countries. At the Conference on International Economic Cooperation in Paris it has become clear that the rich countries are largely unwilling to make further progress, and I say that being a member of an EEC country. Particularly in the preliminary consultations of the European Community it is regrettable that there has been so little willingness to act on commitments entered into in the past. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that we can tolerate any further confrontations with the Third World.

The dialogue which is going on involves a number of opposed interests. This is certainly true in the short term, but in the long term the groups of countries conferring in Paris today have as many interests in common as in conflict. I believe that every effort must be made to reach concrete decisions at the

Conference on International Economic Cooperation. It must be possible to reach agreement on raw materials, on the problems of the poorest developing countries, on the transfer of resources and on the supply of energy. If the CIEC were to fail I fear that this would have a damaging effect on UNCTAD negotiations which are being prepared for March 1977 on the integrated programme for commodities and the common fund. The limited measure of agreement achieved with so much effort in Nairobi will then be put at risk. A first step towards a new international order, based on cooperation, would then have been lost, and all the socialists in all the countries involved in the Paris negotiations should be aware of what is at stake there today.

The member-states of the EEC together with the United States and Japan must recognise that we have arrived at a crucial moment in North-South relations and that negotiations must take account of this. Of course I can understand the objection that the concept of a new international economic order is until now simply not clear enough, that we have to study it and to work it out as an obligation particularly to those in the world who feel themselves responsible for bridging the gap with the poor nations. Such a broad concept of a new international economic order threatens to contrast sharply in many respects with the negotiations which are going on, but the value of the concept is decisive as an underlying notion of the decisions which have to be taken at the dialogue that is going on. If we fail to reach concrete results we have to face the fact that the world's economic problems, the shortages, the energy crisis, inflation and unemployment, monetary instability — cannot be solved satisfactorily.

I have already referred to the fact that at a number of UN conferences some agreement has been attained. That must encourage us, where we are in opposition or where we are bearing governmental responsibility, to pursue that great aim which is at the same time our main responsibility, namely that we should be the forebearers of a new international economic order, that we are responsible for bridging the gap. We have the responsibility for creating a genuine and free international economic order in which the poor of today and the weak of today will have the same rights as the rich have today. We must set ourselves the task of drawing up a strategy, of carrying out the shaping of a new international economic order. There is no time to lose. We shall have to fulfil our task and be aware that if we fail, if we are not the people who are fighting to get a real transfer of power and economic order, no one else will do it.

Central importance of Democratic Socialism

Lilian Uchtenhagen
Swiss Social Democratic Party

I should like today to put forward a thesis which few of you will dispute. And although I am convinced of the basic truth of the thesis, I should like to show, by reference to various points, the differences that can hide behind and the varying interpretations that can be given to what is in fact a perfectly correct statement.

The thesis is that as we search for a new world economic order, democratic socialism acquires a central importance. It offers a way of breaking away from the disastrous events of the past which gave a superfluity to a minority and brought underdevelopment to a majority and of attaining a new worldwide balance.

If the values and aims of democratic socialism — the right to self-determination, the creation of an economy and an environment which meets people's needs — are not to remain empty words but are understood in all their content, they will provide for the less developed and the highly industrialised countries new forms of development which will make it possible to overcome the conflict of interests that at present exists. Of course this will require a great deal of fundamental rethinking of many points by both sets of countries. Thus the developing countries will be set on a road which leads to a more independent way of life more in accord with their own civilisations and cultures, whilst the industrialised countries will be required to reject their previous way of thinking solely in terms of purely quantitative growth and to be ready to waive traditional positions of power and the advantages that go with them in international trade.

I think that we first have to admit to ourselves that this type of understanding of the content of democratic socialism and of socialist solidarity cannot automatically be assumed and ask too much of us as politicians, let alone of our electors. In practice solidarity often stops short at national or regional frontiers and sometimes does not even extend that far but is confined to groups

of employees whose interests are more or less the same in the short term. We and all responsible socialists will have a lot of explaining and educating to do in this connection. After all, what is particularly clear in a democracy like Switzerland, with its system of referenda, should in principle apply in all democracies, namely that one cannot ultimately put through what the people do not want. Socialism and solidarity, as new forms of development and international cooperation, must if they are to be achieved be what the people as a whole understand and demand.

In the more industrialised countries the task of getting our electors to do the rethinking that is necessary is rendered more difficult by the present recession and prospects of slower economic growth. A new world economic order which deprives us of our privileges and thus leads to a redistribution of income worldwide has the effect of slowing down already sluggish growth while requiring structural adjustments in industrialised countries which will not always go down well. Men are not like goods that can be shunted about at will.

Then we have the further difficulty that although the shift to a more qualitative growth as demanded by the rich countries of the world can be "financed" in theory by a further shift in production towards the more sophisticated technologies and services, the production of goods which improve the quality of life — by which I mean protection of the environment, development of the educational and social security systems and so on — assumes that people are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices in terms of reduced spending power and higher taxes. Most of this type of quality-of-life product do not generate any profit and are thus not produced by the private sector. Only the community as a whole, the public sector, can "produce" these goods — though not free of charge.

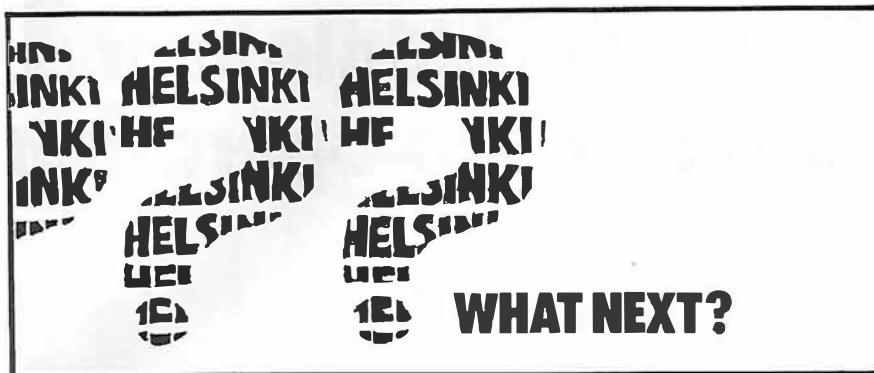
Socialists Must be Pioneers

Concepts and strategies of development which have evolved with a new world economic order in view do not just make great demands on the devel-

oped countries, however. Equally great, though different, efforts are also required of the less developed countries. And here, too, the socialists must be pioneers because as socialists they must realise that development is not the same as economic growth from which only a relatively small upper class or only certain regions with rapidly expanding cities actually profit. Economic growth must also not be allowed to destroy the cultural identity of a people. If one-sided development processes are pushed ahead regardless of the way of life, mentality and system of values of large sections of the population, any economic success will be questionable and social consequences disastrous. The rapid break-up of social structures and cultural identity almost always leads to growing estrangement, apathy, resignation and criminality.

Speaking very generally one can say that efforts to achieve development which do not relate to the entire economy of a country in both regional and sectoral terms and which are not specifically aligned to the needs of the people of a given country, can only come to a dead end. This applies to the taking over of unsuitable technologies which instead of bringing work and bread often only aggravate already low utilisation of capacity and consequent joblessness. This is true when industrialisation is one-sided and merely concerned with the replacement of imports and when it is more export-oriented, and development is never complete when the former type of industrialisation is complemented by the latter. Integration in world markets — and to a certain extent also in the new world economic order we are discussing — may help the economic development of a country but can also distort genuine development by strengthening national and international power structures.

It is the task of socialists to recognise such undesirable trends. As socialists we must know that development means above all liberation — liberation from material poverty but also from political oppression, from the deprivation of social rights and from economic exploitation. Much more important than economic growth at all costs is the introduction of processes designed by the people involved on their own responsibility and in their own cultural independence. Only by a development supported by the majority of the people and directed to fulfilling the basic needs of men can we prevent the people of these countries — although freed from their colonial overlords — from again falling under domination — domination such as can occur as a result of new forms of world imperialism which are often difficult to perceive, as well as domination by a new capitalist class in their own country.



Before and after Belgrade

Kalevi Sorsa
Chairman of the Finnish
Social Democratic Party

At a meeting of its council held in Helsinki five years ago, the Socialist International adopted a position supporting the arrangement of a conference dealing with security and co-operation in Europe. We were living in those days in the early stages of an active policy of détente. Within the international socialist movement, many still doubted this policy's possibilities of succeeding — especially where one of its components, the *Ostpolitik*, was concerned.

Thanks to assiduous efforts — not least those of social democratic workers' parties and governments — the signing of the Final Act of the CSCE was accomplished in Helsinki in 1975.

In signing the Final Act, the heads of state and government from Europe and North America endorsed détente as a permanent trend in relations between states. The Final Act defines those principles, in accordance with which the future development of relations between states should occur in various fields. At the same time, numerous practical areas in international relations were specified, in which the policy of détente can assume concrete forms on the basis of the principles agreed upon.

No dramatic advances have been made in the field of détente in the past year and a half. But neither have there been any actual reverses. Many countries — both members of either alliance and neutral states — have begun to implement the recommendations of the Final Act, both through internal measures and by means of international agreements.

Finland, too, has proceeded in this manner.

None of us is completely satisfied with the speed at which the recommendations of the Final Act have been implemented.

In this connection, particular attention has been devoted to some parts of the Final Act. One possibility is, of course, a hard discussion about what has been realized and what has remained unaccomplished. This I do not regard as a fruitful approach to the first CSCE follow-up meeting to be held in Belgrade in six months time. For one thing, two years is a short time in the international process of détente for profound changes in international relations and in national societies. And for another, it must be emphasized that the Final Act is a coherent totality: no basket or part of a basket should be separately taken from it and used as a measure of the entire development of détente.

It is in the interests of all parties to attempt to ensure the success of the Belgrade meeting and to make it a step forward — however brief — on the path of détente. Belgrade must not become a tribunal at which the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act will be judged. The most important thing would be to accomplish discussion and decisions on positive measures, by means of which the objectives set could be attained.

In the field of multilateral co-operation, a variety of projects have already been discussed in the Economic Commission for Europe and in UNESCO. The Soviet Union has proposed that special conferences be arranged to deal with energy, transportation and environmental protection. Finland supports these initiatives and has announced her

readiness to participate in arranging an environmental protection conference. We understand that these proposals, the advantage of which lies in the concreteness of their goals, have aroused interest also elsewhere in Europe. The success of the Belgrade meeting will largely depend on the international situation, especially on relations between the great powers. The delay in achieving a new SALT agreement has impeded the development of détente. The negotiations on force reductions in Vienna are in a state of virtual stagnation. There is a danger that the favourable development of international relations will begin to reverse unless political détente is paralleled by an equivalent development in the military sphere. It would have a very favourable influence on the success of the Belgrade meeting if beforehand even a modest decision on force reductions could be achieved in Vienna, as a first step forward. As a result of initiatives made by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, among others, hopes have recently been aroused that the Vienna talks are approaching a turning point. Force reductions in Central Europe would have wider significance from the point of view of efforts to bring about disarmament. Despite a number of positive achievements, the arms race is continuously intensifying in the world. It is of the greatest urgency that the question of disarmament be dealt with at the United Nations as a global issue.

The process of détente ought to be consolidated and deepened. At the Helsinki conference, the question of organizing the follow-up remained to a certain extent open. The neutral and non-aligned countries were striving for a solution that went further than either of the alliances was willing to accept. These countries will in all probability continue to make an active contribution to the process of détente in the future as well.

A programme should be prepared at the Belgrade meeting for the continuation of détente and creating a more stable framework than the existing one for the follow-up activity of the CSCE. One can speak of institutionalization, but the forms ought not to become a stumbling block.

Ideological Questions

I have been examining the prospects for détente primarily from the point of view of inter-state relations. Major changes occurring in international relations will also have a profound effect on social relationships in national societies. The CSCE is in itself a sign that the traditional rivalry between East and West is shifting more and more into the economic and social spheres. At the same time, ideological questions will also manifest themselves in a new manner.

There have been suspicions both in the East and in the West that détente might weaken the prevailing power structures in communism and capitalism. In the West it has been feared that communism would sneak in through the back door if statesmen spoke about friendship and peace.

From the point of view of social democracy, the swing that has occurred towards a policy of peace has represented an historic breakthrough to unprecedented political influence. We socialists have nothing to fear from allowing ideas to test each other's strength instead of judging political superiority by the number of divisions.

I am fully convinced that the ideals of socialism and democracy that we represent will influence developments all over the world. In conditions of détente they will have an impetus of their own. There is no need to set out on ideological crusades; the example will be the power, the ability to provide an answer to the questions of today's world.

The dialogue between democrats and communists has been developing favourably in recent years. The Finnish Social Democratic Party has held discussions concerning, especially, peace policy with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the leading parties of other Eastern European countries. We can summarize our report of these discussions by saying that they have been of benefit and have vindicated the initial advances that we made ten years ago.

At the meeting of communist parties held in Berlin in June, great emphasis was placed on consolidating the achievements of the CSCE and on efforts to continue the policy of peace. In this respect, the meeting made a positive contribution to the process of détente.

Within the Socialist International, we should continue to discuss questions of European security and co-operation and to produce initiatives towards these ends. The initiative taken towards this objective by the Dutch Labour Party is to be noted with great satisfaction. One means of activating the International's European security and co-operation group, that one could consider, would be that the European member-parties would take turns to host the working party's meetings to the extent their means permit. One topical task would be — as the Dutch Labour Party proposes — to examine the problems of the Belgrade meeting.

The point of departure of the Finnish Social Democratic Party in participating in this discussion will naturally be our country's foreign policy, a peace-oriented policy of neutrality. It is on the basis of this policy that Finland will continue her efforts to make a constructive contribution to reinforcing peace and co-operation in Europe.

Towards Middle East security & co-operation

Yitzhak Rabin Prime Minister of Israel

My response to the question — "Helsinki: What Next?" — is necessarily non-European. I bring to the discussion the perspective of one who is deeply interested in the motivations, the mechanics and the message of Helsinki as an operative model. I speak of it as an example to be perhaps emulated in other parts of the world, not least in my own region.

A Crucial Lesson

Helsinki did not produce a European order which all parties could consider as eternally legitimate. Its imperfections and limitations were perceived even before the conference assembled. And yet, in an important way, this was its significance and strength.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe carried a crucial lesson in basic diplomatic common sense.

It taught all Governments that international relations have to project the synthesis between the hope of the world as we would like it and the world as it really is; that in this last quarter of the twentieth century wars solve nothing; that talking is better than killing; that history cannot be reversed; and that, therefore, de facto situations require responsible, reasonable and realistic solutions.

This, I see to be, the achievement of

Helsinki. It tackled the reality of an imperfect situation and attempted to build upon it a new structure of European stability and peaceful co-existence. And because it achieved some measure of success, we are now able to ask ourselves the question: "What next?". What, indeed?

I would like, today, to suggest one answer. I address it to my colleagues of the Socialist International in the spirit of the principles and purposes for which our great movement stands.

I put it to the Socialist International that the time has come to advocate the example of Helsinki as a model for peace-making in the Middle East. Let a renewed Geneva peace conference become the Helsinki of the Arab-Israeli dispute. I speak of a Geneva conference on security and co-operation in the Middle East.

I believe it is opportune. I am convinced that the Helsinki experience is invaluable. Its purpose, pattern, composition, agenda and principles all have application, in their spirit if not exactly in their letter.

I have no doubt that such a conference — like Helsinki — will have its disadvantages and limitations. For like Europe, the problems to be solved in the Middle East are sometimes complex and deeply rooted. But I am also equally convinced that they cannot be resolved by war.

I would wish that this be the view of others in our region. We have recently



(left to right) Yoram Peri, Yitzhak Rabin, Bruno Kreisky

heard some voices in the Middle East — communicated through the media and by visitors to a certain Arab capital — that seem to suggest that it might. However, I speak with no measure of certainty. I say this because none of the talk on a desire for a peaceful solution has been addressed to Israel.

I believe, therefore, that if the intentions are, indeed, serious, the place to examine them is in the kind of the conference I propose. Its decisive imperative must be, as in Helsinki, dialogue — not the threat of war.

The conference must not attempt the impossible through a futile illusion that history can be put back. Its theme has to be détente and co-existence. Its goal should be the creation of a new regional structure of stability, security and peace founded upon Middle East realities.

The Helsinki Parallel

Allow me to draw the Helsinki parallel still further. I do so because it has impressively important political ramifications for our situation.

What made the European conference possible was not only the two great powers. It was, in the first instance, the European powers themselves. They were the ones who created the building blocks of regional détente as a basis for a broader East-West dialogue. The principal characters of creative peace-making were the parties located in the geography of Europe itself. There could be no imported solution. This was given dram-

atic and symbolic recognition in the richly-deserved Nobel Peace Prize awarded to our eminent colleague now our President, Willy Brandt.

May I say that I would be more than willing to share in such a prize with my neighbours, were it but offered and were they but ready to join in its pursuit. For Helsinki teaches us that the détente of our region is our own responsibility — Arabs and Israelis together. It is we who must create the building blocks of regional understanding. Only when we fulfil our part can the outside powers possibly fulfil theirs in helping to cement the structure we prepare.

I see a vivid reflection of this principle in the very composition of the Helsinki conference. Who attended, and who participated in its Final Act? Present was everyone concerned with the peace of Europe — the heads of the sovereign governments of the region, in addition to the two major powers — and only them.

We in the Middle East must learn this principle well, both for its regional lessons and its big power lessons. The readiness to talk regionally is the condition for understanding globally. The latter can never begin without the former.

It is only then — when we begin — that we will weave Middle East baskets of our own. And here again, Helsinki has much to tell us. Helsinki did not deal only with borders and territory. It mainly dealt with the relations between the

peoples. It addressed itself to mutual trade, technological exchange and the requirement to build human bridges of trust and understanding.

Allow me for a while to go back to Helsinki. One requirement speaks of cultural contacts and the obligation of positive and humanitarian spirit with the right of persons to reunite with their families in other countries. I make particular reference to this because freedom of emigration and cultural contact have a very special relevance to the Jewish people. The implementation of this right represents one of the tests of the Helsinki agreement.

Co-existence, security, trade, technology, cooperation and human bridges — these are the essence of an agenda for a Geneva conference on security and cooperation in the Middle East. For lasting peace is a matter of relations and exchange between peoples, not only Governments.

There is one important area where I must depart from the example of Helsinki as an example for us in the Middle East. In the European conference, momentous de facto post-war territorial changes did not become an issue. The map of thirty years ago was solidified if not legitimized.

Israel is asking for much less. We do not consider the existing lines as final de facto realities. Unlike the realities of Europe, we do not demand their perpetuation in peace.

In accordance with our declared policies, Israel is willing to negotiate with its neighbours peace boundaries that are different from the existing ones, short of squandering away again our vital security and defence.

Relevance to the Middle East

I submit to you the thought that "Helsinki — What Next?" is a question that has as much relevance for the lasting peace of the Middle East as it has for the lasting peace of Europe. Indeed, the two are almost inseparable.

It is our collective task and challenge to communicate the spirit of Helsinki across the Mediterranean to a region long in need of its message. For all its limitations and imperfections, Helsinki articulates an historic effort to break down walls of enmity between nations even while matters of borders and territory remain to be finally resolved. It transmits the understanding that wars solve nothing; that in their stead there has to be dialogue, first between the regional parties themselves, and backed up at the proper time by the great powers.

Given this, the stage will be set for a Middle East Helsinki, here, in Geneva. Given this, the Arab-Israel conflict will be well on the way to a permanent, peaceful solution.

Socialists and the Helsinki Agreement

Richard Muller
Vice-Chairman of the
Swiss Social Democratic Party

Helsinki was and remains a milestone on the road which American President John F. Kennedy called upon the peoples of the world to follow when he warned that mankind must put an end to armed conflicts before they put an end to mankind.

Helsinki was and is an important stage in the political progress towards this goal and paved the way for a continuing consolidation of détente between East and West by the practical implementation of multilateral agreements. What must now be done is to build upon the foundations thus laid and to use the means created in order to establish what we democratic socialists have long sought to achieve — a policy which seeks to secure world peace by social progress, democratic freedom and economic stability.

There is no alternative to this policy of democratic socialism which was initiated by the new President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, and which spread beyond the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany to the rest of Europe — or no alternative able to

withstand reason and the evidence of history. No nation has anything to gain from a return to the former situation of confrontation that existed in Europe. No nation can benefit by a resumption of the cold war. A new flare-up of the arms race could only impose new and insupportable burdens on the peoples of the West and East and at the same time put obstacles in the way of a peaceful future for our children.

No Alternative

It is against this background that we must assess any progress which has been made since Helsinki, and particularly in relations between the two Germanies. Anyone acquainted with the difficulties which have to be overcome in the process of political détente and who is thus in a position to assess, realistically and without false illusions, the progress that has been possible only since Helsinki, will not deny the importance of what has been attained. There simply is no alternative to a policy of détente.

It is not that people are wearying of this policy, but there are in Europe, as in the world at large, conservative, reactionary forces both social and political to whom such a policy of increasing détente is a thorn in the flesh. Tradi-

tionalists in the East and West prefer, in their egoism and short-sightedness, a policy of strength and these exponents of an out-dated epoch who do not represent their people but nonetheless enjoy influence and power, do everything they can to turn back the clock of history and to guide political events along the path which best suits their interests.

Just as at the time when Ulbricht and Adenauer together escalated the European political situation which was indissolubly linked with that of Germany, until no solution was possible, conservatives and traditionalists in the East and West provide each other, where they can, with opportunities to discredit the policy of détente. This kind of conservative "European" policy is grist to the mill of traditionalist thinkers in the East whose efforts to hinder détente and relations between East and West may be judged by the recent depriving of citizenship to Wolf Biermann by the authorities of the German Democratic Republic.

The people have not tired of détente but we, as democratic socialists, must do more than we are doing in order to bring the essence of this policy closer to our peoples. And then we shall also succeed in achieving a much more lasting support for democratic socialism as the most reliable guarantor of a policy of détente without false illusions, which is the way to secure peace.

In Switzerland we have heard from the right-wing bourgeoisie expressions of scepticism and criticism of Helsinki — scepticism regarding the value of certain signatures on the final conference documents and criticism to the effect that the status quo in Europe had been formalised. Fortunately, however, such people are also in the minority in Switzerland. Although it is occasionally stated that Switzerland does not have a foreign policy but at best a foreign trade policy, the position has changed since Social Democrats have been responsible for foreign policy. Our present Foreign Minister, Comrade Pierre Graber, was actively involved in the Helsinki conference even at the preparatory stage. Under his leadership Switzerland submitted a constructive proposal for the creation of a system for the peaceful settlement of disputes in Europe. Such a system would be the logical and necessary complement to the principles worked out by the conference and is also in line with the inaugural address of the First International in 1864 which Willy Brandt so appropriately quoted in his opening speech as President. "The simple laws of morality and right, which should regulate the relations between individuals, should also be applied as the supreme law of intercourse between nations". I hope that this proposal,

which is to be developed after Belgrade at a meeting of experts, will be given the utmost support of Social Democratic Governments and of European Social Democrats.

Caution and Realism

The nations of Europe do not wish to return to the cold war. They want peace — a peace they can only be safe to enjoy in freedom and prosperity if the policy of détente which will be enforced by us democratic socialists, regardless of opposition, can be consolidated. It would be completely false to assert that détente is merely a mirage and is not really progress, that there is no sense in it or that its only purpose is to camouflage the dark purposes of those in the other camp. It is also wrong to say that the Helsinki Agreement is simply a recognition of the status quo — on the contrary, adherence to the principle of the peaceful modification of all frontiers has brought in an element of greater flexibility.

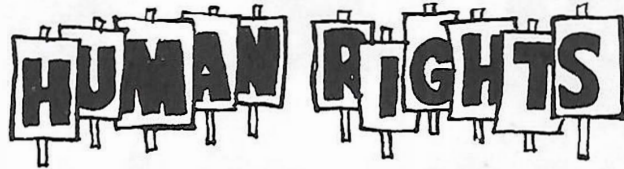
We regard the Helsinki documents with caution and the necessary realism but refuse to condemn them out of hand; this is both unreasonable and unjustified and puts in jeopardy the very thing we are trying to achieve.

Helsinki laid the foundations for détente but these foundations will only serve their purpose if practical steps, backed by multilateral agreements, take us beyond the mere proclamation of principles. The peoples of Europe do not wish merely to hear words. They want deeds — deeds which set a limit on the use of strategic weapons; deeds which halt the continuing arms race; deeds which give further proof that all the signatory states take the subject of détente seriously.

It is up to us as socialists to gain hearing and consideration for the longing of our peoples for peace, liberty and social security. It is up to us, by uniting all our efforts and by holding more firmly together and disregarding the individual matters on which we may occasionally differ, to mould Europe politically and economically to socialist principles. And it is up to us to measure the progress achieved with détente not merely by military and diplomatic standards but in terms of progress achieved in matters of humanitarianism, human rights and democracy.

We stand by Helsinki. We welcome Belgrade. But let us rely only on our own strength, on the strengthening of democratic socialism in Europe and throughout the world and on the fraternal solidarity of all workers regardless of frontiers. We greatly welcome the motion of our Dutch friends demanding greater activity by the Socialist International in helping to secure peace and reduce tension in Europe.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND



IN THE WORLD TODAY

Beyond liberal democracy

François Mitterrand First Secretary of the French Socialist Party

In this debate on democratic socialism and human rights in the world today, I will concentrate on four main themes, the first of which is the relationship between socialism and the achievement of political democracy.

Achievement of Political Democracy

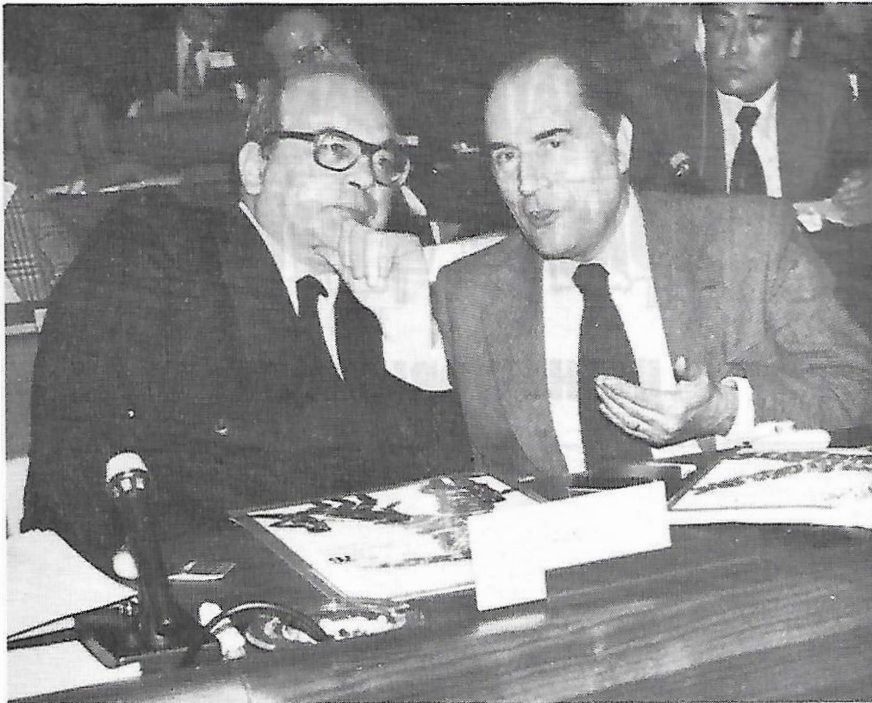
Socialism must take into account the rights and liberties won by 'liberal' revolutions. Examples of these are the principles promulgated by the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" in 1789, or originating from that Declaration, namely freedom of movement, the right to hold public meetings, to join associations, freedom of speech and freedom to write and to express opinions, the sovereignty of the people and the equality of all before the

law. Also of major importance was the proclamation of universal suffrage in 1848 in France.

Democratic socialism has inherited all of this plus the struggle for freedom which has taken place from the beginning of time. However, democratic socialism must provide a real answer in today's industrial society. The struggle for freedom will not succeed if we do not begin by abandoning and condemning all forms of exploitation of man by man and by ridding the world of economic oppression.

Socialism must restore real meaning to these political rights and liberties. This must be done in both a practical and a theoretical way. In many countries these rights have become meaningless in the hands of the ruling class or authoritarian regimes.

For example, in the context of freedom of information, what point is there in writing into constitutions that there



Bettino Craxi (left) and François Mitterrand

is freedom of speech and exchange of information when the major sources of today's technology have concentrated media power in a few centres which are tightly controlled.

Economic and Social Democracy

Socialism must preserve and expand the scope of the collective rights and liberties of economic and social democracy. Further rights and liberties should be created, and we should seek to achieve the preservation and expansion of collective rights and liberties.

These include the right to work and the guarantee of employment; the right to earn wages; the right to strike and to belong to a trade union; and education for workers. I also include here leisure activities, perhaps more aptly described as 'time for living'. This can be achieved by reducing working hours on a daily, weekly, monthly or yearly basis and by lowering the retirement age and improving retirement conditions; access to cultural activities is also vital. The right to decent housing, moreover, is a particularly pressing problem in the urban population densities of today's industrial centres.

But if socialists are going to preserve and expand the scope of collective rights and liberties at the very heart of economic and social democracy, we must at the same time define new rights and not be content to tread the same paths as in the 19th and early 20th centuries. 1976 is the time for new social and economic

achievements. Every generation has a job to do.

I now move on to the rights of national minorities, in other words, their right to their own identity; to the rights of migrant workers, who in certain socialist countries already participate to the full in civic life with complete citizenship. Working in a country should be in itself a principal reason for the granting of citizenship.

Women are really only now beginning to win their rights — in the family, rights of inheritance, social and personal rights, the right to education and development. We must also consider the rights of elderly people — how socialists can help people to feel that they are useful members of the community.

As for workers' control and power in the place of work, this is a major factor if we wish to transform capitalist society from the inside. And the relationship between the police and justice needs to be investigated and redefined.

Technology and Nature

Man is no longer in control of the workings of science and technology (particularly in respect of safety, health and freedom). By means of socialism mankind must control the instruments that he has created.

As examples of these fields, I would cite the development of audio-visual methods and of telecommunications and satellites; the development of data systems; and the increasing threat to

privacy through the use of bugging devices etc.

Man destroys nature's natural balance. The subjugation of the elements by man necessitates national and international laws and systems for collective security. Capitalist society does not and cannot offer a useful answer.

As instances of these trends we need only consider the atom and nuclear energy, toxic gases, the destruction of oxygen, defoliation, pollution of rivers and lakes, misuse of chemicals, destruction of forests, pollution of the sea and the ocean beds and the abuse of hunting and fishing.

Conclusions

The themes we have considered are embodied in the following general socialist principles: (a) people's right to self-determination and freedom from imperialism; (b) national institutions to ensure a diversity of opinion; (c) the setting-up or the promotion of genuine international institutions for arbitration, disarmament, work, health and safety; (d) the struggle against exploitation of man by man and thus support for the workers' struggles to end domination by the bourgeoisie and to end the economic power of the monopolies; (e) outright condemnation of oppressive regimes and those that rule by terror and consequently the refusal to aid and abet them.

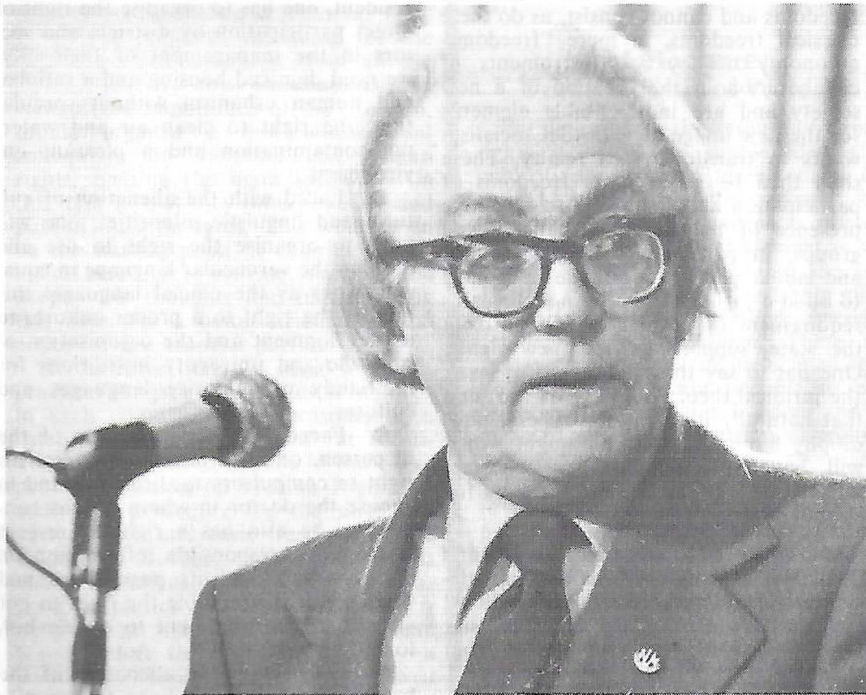
If these principles continue to be ignored or treated with contempt, it is due to a great extent to the absence of an international political and moral authority that is capable of making itself heard. The most powerful states have based their power on relations of force and maintain themselves by the use of terror.

The principal spiritual voices too often remain mute in the face of the worst oppression. Existing international bodies exercise only a fictitious authority. Democracy (and thus socialism) is retreating in the world even if those who proclaim it are becoming more numerous.

From now on the duty of the Socialist International is to proclaim a message for the future by first of all ensuring that it remains true to its own commitments. It can do this without becoming the victim of ideological complexities.

In 1920, in France, democratic socialism refused to recognise the claims of Marxism-Leninism. To this end, Léon Blum made clear his devotion to democracy. The evolution of communism in several countries in southern Europe shows that the desire for freedom remains man's primary motivation. We must take account of this and of the fact that, in the final analysis, the socialists' fundamental choice is justified as much by practical necessity as by idealistic considerations.

Human rights in Britain



Michael Foot
Deputy Leader of the
British Labour Party

The subject that we are discussing this morning is human rights and the relationship between human rights and socialism. Our Government, the Labour Government which came to power in March 1974, has had to deal with many pressing and urgent economic problems, and has had to do it with a most precarious majority. At times, indeed, we did not have a majority at all; but I do believe that we can claim that despite all those pressures and difficulties and anxieties which we have had to confront in Britain, we have sought at the same

time to expand human rights; and in many fields, over the past 2½ years, that expansion has taken place on a scale which people sometimes do not recognise.

First of all, we had to remove from the statute book in Britain the measures taking away from trade unionists rights which they had had for something like a hundred years; and we had to make sure that full democratic rights were restored to trade unions. We believe we have done that. We do not say that our legislation is perfect. We have sought to learn from many other countries, but we believe it is amongst the best trade union legislation that exists on any statute book throughout the world.

Sex Discrimination Banned

We have also carried into effect measures to forbid sex discrimination on a scale that we had never contemplated before and in a way that we believe can be of great benefit in protecting human rights for one half of the human race over these coming years. And we have also placed amongst our laws, after we had managed to overcome the obstacles of the House of Lords, the Race Relations Act. This is an Act forbidding racial discrimination stronger and firmer than anything we have had on the British statute book before, establishing a Commission with stronger powers than we have ever had before; and we believe that this can play a most notable part in ensuring that we enhance our democratic rights and our human rights and our civil rights in the future.

We wish also to ensure that we can carry out our obligations to other countries throughout the world. In particular, our determination is to maintain effective pressure on the military junta in Chile until human rights are again restored there. It may be a short time, it may be a longer time; but certainly there will be no departure from that principle by the British Labour Government. Then again, despite our economic difficulties, when we came to power in March 1974, even though we had no majority, one of the first acts that we took was to reimpose the arms embargo on South Africa. Here again there is strong pressure within our movement for the British Government to do more and to do it more speedily, and I am sure that that pressure will be sustained; but we have shown by the action that we have already taken our determination to do what we can to ensure the establishment of human rights in South Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe.

The negotiations that are now being conducted on Zimbabwe we believe can be brought to a successful conclusion. Certainly it is the intention of the British Government to do everything in its power to ensure that majority rule, genuine full majority rule, is established in Zimbabwe on an agreed date. The conference is taking place here in Geneva. There are no doubt many other obstacles to be overcome. It is not easy to dismantle the kind of dictatorship that has existed in Zimbabwe over these past years, but the British Government will do everything in its power to assist in that aim.

Portugal and Spain

And perhaps I could mention also two other countries. I know that we must keep our dedication to human rights universal and not pick and choose and be selective as to where we wish to sustain those rights. These are universal rights that we are seeking to maintain.

but it would be very difficult for the human spirit not to have its favourites when we look back over what has happened in Europe. It is impossible for us to look back to the 1930s and not pay some special regard to what is happening in the Iberian peninsula. Way back in 1934 Portugal was a fascist state, and ever since then Portuguese Socialists have been hunted and harried until recent times. Now we have a Socialist Prime Minister in Portugal and the possibility of human rights being established there, and certainly I believe that we in Britain will do everything we can to assist in that direction.

And in Spain too, because for all of us who are socialists all over the world surely Spain has a special significance. If British policy had been different, if other policies had been different in the rest of Europe, the whole catastrophe and horror of the Second World War might have been avoided on Spanish soil if the free Spanish Republic had been properly sustained at that time. And then came the long black night that Spain has endured. And yet in these last few months the prospects for a free Spain are opening again. We know we have far to go before that is achieved, but the pace of events may be much swifter than we have previously imagined. Certainly, considering what happened in the 1930s, it would be one of the greatest days that this International has experienced if we were able to celebrate the full establishment of democratic socialism in Spain, where they have endured so much during this period. Way back in the 19th century, when Italy was fighting for her freedom, Byron wrote a poem in which he said "A free Italy, it is the very poetry of politics". I believe that today we can say "A free Spain, it is the very poetry of politics"; and I trust that we in this International will live to see it in the not too distant future.

It would be impertinent of me, after following the speech from François Mitterrand, to go back to 1789. But I think it is quite proper that we should do so, because of a speech that I heard delivered in the British Parliament only a few days ago. The Leader of the Conservative Party in Britain spoke on these matters of human rights and tried to draw a sharp distinction between the search for liberty and for equality. Liberty, we are told, was something that Conservatives had always fought for — although we have not always noticed it in Britain and in other places. But the search for equality was something that she condemned. Well, there is a much older story than that. 1789 tells us the real truth. The ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity came into the world joined together and woe to those who would put them asunder.

New dimensions

Felipe Gonzalez General Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)

For the human rights prospect, one should not only try to improve what exists but rather to make it real in all its dimensions. Thus autonomy and individual freedoms require new basic rights in the search for the new society of democratic socialism.

The new dimensions of human rights are less developed than the traditional freedoms and cannot consist, as do these classical freedoms, in mere "freedom-autonomy". They are instruments of collaboration in the creation of a new society and are indispensable elements for the new image of man that socialism wants to transform into reality. These shall then be much more freedoms of participation and shall require an active presence of the state and other social groups, in particular the trade unions and labour parties. Often, we shall have to build a juridical theory, including this requirement of positive behaviour from the state, supporting these new rights. One has to say that at theoretical level, the juridical theory is still at its start and that naturally it will not be liberal philosophy but rather social thought which will have to formulate it. One can already set out the following points for consideration:

- The need to move from wishes and good will to a detailed juridical regulation of economic, social and cultural rights and to formulate them so that real subjective rights may derive from them.

- The need to differentiate the concrete man — the man who is placed in a determined circumstance — from the abstract man, the citizen, with individual rights. One will have to regularise the rights of the man as worker, consumer, citizen, member of a cultural or linguistic community, a sick or physically handicapped person etc.

- One should not forget that in the present world, alienation has several subtle facets that Marx could not have foreseen and which are the product of present society. As the opposite to these types of alienation, socialist human rights have to be one way to overcome them.

- Faced with alienation in the workplace, one will have to organise the right to self-management, security and hygiene

in work, social security, leisure-time rest and strikes.

- Faced with alienation of the consumer, we should organise (i) the right to control products, (ii) the participation of trade unions and consumers associations in the organisation and regulation of internal trade, (iii) the right to have honest information, preventing publicity which tends towards debasement and trickery, and (iv) the control by the consumers of publicity and advertising information.

- Faced with the alienation of the resident, one has to organise the right of direct participation by districts and sectors in the management of their city; we need dignified housing and a rational and human urbanism without speculation, the right to clean air and water, non-contamination and a pleasant environment.

- Faced with the alienation of cultural and linguistic minorities, one will have to organise the right to use and develop the vernacular language in equal conditions as the official language; this implies the right to a proper culture, to its development and the organisation of scientific and university institutions for the study of minority languages and cultures.

- Faced with the alienation of the ill person, one will have to organise his right to compulsory medical care and to choose the doctor in whom he has confidence; he also has a right to respect and dignity, responsible information on his treatment and its possibilities and when death is inevitable the right to put an end to the treatment to enable him to die.

- Faced with the alienation of the handicapped, one will have to organise his right to social integration and work, to social security, etc.

We could go on giving examples of alienation which show that all our efforts are needed to establish new human rights having a socialist and democratic basis; but these few examples are enough to make us understand their importance in the new liberalising society.

The state should promote and show a special interest in public bodies, associations, parties and the trade unions in order to inform and organise the structures of these new basic rights; it has to be aware that these are one of the most important ways for the construction of the new society inspired by democratic socialism.

Influence of Democratic Socialism

What I have said puts emphasis on the decisive influence of democratic socialism in the progress and strengthening of individual freedoms and economic, social and cultural rights. This consciousness has to be the starting point of systematic action, as much intellectual as scientific, in order to continue and if possible to strengthen our socialist concept of human rights. This action programme has to be taken in hand by this International, at theoretical and doctrinal levels, and this body should approve a resolution recommending the active interests at both levels, theoretical and practical, of all member-parties. The launching of such a campaign on socialism and human rights would reaffirm our traditional ideological lines, emphasise the compatibility between socialism and freedom and differentiate us from other traditions who now lay claim to the slogan of socialism in freedom.

Without prejudice to asking for the biggest possible attention from all the member-parties, this International, in view of the importance of the problem, should organise a first international colloquium on socialism and human rights, inviting the main specialists on this item so that they think together and publish their thoughts. This would then be the starting point of a series of periodical meetings to activate, maintain and deepen the thoughts and initiatives on this item, for a better orientation and action of the member-parties.

At the same time, we could initiate a practical campaign for the establishment in each country, where possible, of a "statute on public freedoms" at constitutional level and to include in the European Convention on Human Rights an additional procedure for the safeguard of the rights and basic freedoms of the Council of Europe, enabling all parties and trade unions, international organisations of parties and trade union Internationals at European level, to initiate a trial before the European Court — a possibility which at present is reserved to the member-states and the European Commission of Human Rights. These two campaigns simultaneously carried out by the member-parties of the International, adapting them to the peculiarities of each country, would represent a defence of freedoms by the socialist parties, which is already an evident reality but which should be strengthened in case the communist parties try to mount the same type of campaign.

In any case, it seems to me that a real promotion, at the level of both thought and of positive juridical organisation, of human rights is today indispensable; and democratic socialism represented by the parties of the Socialist International has a special responsibility to assume it with all the means at its disposal.

Defending human rights

Mario Soares
Prime Minister of Portugal

For us socialists, the defence of human rights is neither a simple ideological publicity show, nor a mere tool of our political struggle. On the contrary, it is the reason for the existence of that struggle and an essential element in our political project. We feel that the true defence of human rights can only effectively be guaranteed through freedom, democracy and socialism. These are values which cannot be dissociated from each other. It is not possible to conceive socialism without freedom and we mean to achieve it by means of political democracy.

Due to their historical experiences and to their present coherent actions, the parties that we represent here are the clearest expression of the aspirations of many millions of human beings from many parts of the world. These aspirations to a freer, juster, more sympathetic and more humane society are substantiated within the same democratic socialist project, of socialism in freedom and of socialism with a human face.

We do not wish to confuse socialism with its totalitarian perversions. For us, socialism will never be the one-party system where the sole party holds the pseudo "historical truth" in a state-owned economy or one of state capitalism with a socialist appearance.

But we do not, either, give to the work socialism a vague and general meaning where its traces are confused with sentimental humanism or with a greater social justice. For us, socialism is a very concrete hope and not a simple illusion. Socialism implies the final separation from capitalism.

For us, the nuclear idea of socialism

is based on every human being's fundamental right to freely develop his or her personality with a responsible and committed participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the society.

We conceive socialism as a complex of very precise aspirations translated into the idea of making common to all men and women what is today still the privilege of a few.

We conceive socialism as the introduction to democracy in greater and more diversified sectors of our society, namely the participation of every citizen in the management of the city and of every worker in the management of the enterprise, within a perspective of socialization opposed to the system of capitalist accumulation and to the authoritarian systems which give all absolute powers to the state.

We also conceive socialism as the right of all oppressed human beings to their emancipation and to the defence of their own cultural identity, refusing any forms of political, social and economic domination or discrimination.

Socialism is the recognition of the creative power of the great popular movements and it cannot be confused with the artificial or ingenuous cult of "self-appointed representatives of the working class", nor confused with an alienating and hypocritical religion of "the party which incarnates the proletariat".

Socialism is also a permanent effort of critical analysis and of reflexion on our own ideas, programmes and policies without falling into the net of pre-concepts and dogmas imposed by those who always appeal to some supposed revolutionary authority.

In the kind of socialism that we believe in there is no place for any forms of organized oppression or repression. It



(Left to right) Harry van den Bergh, Mario Soares, Rui Mateus and Maria Baroso Soares

does not tolerate the sacrifice of democratic rights and civil liberties. It does not accept the violation of the most elementary human rights in search of benefits to preserve the interests of a leading class or to preserve the privileges of an all-powerful bureaucracy, especially in the name of the right of the state.

The Struggle in Portugal

During the 48 years of dictatorship and 13 years of colonial wars, the struggle to defend human rights has always been closely tied, in Portugal, to the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Once dictatorship was eliminated and the old colonies (today sovereign states) attained the right to their independence, the political and economic change in Portugal towards socialism was disturbed by the hegemonic pretension of a party which came to the wrong revolution. However, Lisbon in 1975 had nothing to do with the St. Petersburg of 1917.

Human rights were in danger and, with them, the future of freedom and democracy in my country. The history of this dramatic period of Portuguese life and the fundamental role played by the Socialist Party, with the support and solidarity of socialist and social-democratic parties of the Socialist International, is well-known by all of you.

An English philosopher stated once with much acuteness that certain Marxists "underestimate the possibilities of politics and what they call formal liberties", deliberately ignoring the most recent revival of Marxism which took place in all the open societies of the western world and almost exclusively in these.

In reality democracies are always open

to ideas and, especially, to ideas from the opposition. Contrary to what certain Marxists say, democracies are not always dictatorships in disguise and they have the experience of being ready to doubt themselves. They know that much is not what it should be. New ideas only have their chance in open societies and those who think that democracies are dictatorships in disguise forget that dictatorships are essentially alike whether they come from the left or from the right.

Freedom of expression and the confrontation of ideas as well as the possibility that this confrontation can influence the political life and the exercise of power has, obviously, a price: dictatorships are in principle more stable than open societies since the latter are exposed to discussion and criticism.

It is also not possible to doubt that democracy is the most appropriate form of state to the progress and defence of human rights and the most flexible form of human organisation as well as that which better can fight against the difficulties of our civilization.

Whether it is from the point of view of the freedom of opinion and expression, whether it is from the point of view of political and trade union rights, the one-party systems which call themselves socialist present all the democratically regressive characteristics in relation to open and free societies.

In the one-party systems one sees the absence of electoral competition to all power organs, no possibility of criticism, protest or claims. They lack respect for minorities and marginal groups and the possibilities of social circulation of the hierarchy are few.

These reflections do not imply that we should feel completely satisfied with the

results already reached in democratic societies. In reality, as Maurice Duverger once stated with great courage: "There is no political regime which is simultaneously socialist and democratic. All socialist regimes are dictatorships and all democracies are capitalist. That is, however, no proof that democratic socialism is impossible to achieve."

One of the fundamental questions which open and democratic societies try to answer today is exactly to find out — on the one hand — which are the needs and objectives of their institutions and — on the other — which means should be put into practice so that one is able to overtake the stage of traditional representative democracy and achieve a participating democracy, a rank and file democracy, not only limited to universal suffrage, to parliamentary activity and to the freedom to discuss and criticize, but one which becomes general and effective at all levels of society. Namely, in the economic, professional, cultural, political and trade unionist sectors and open to new forms of workers' participation and to self-management.

These new democratic dimensions have to become a very clear project in which we socialists become deeply engaged. The true and authentic defence of human rights is deeply tied to the realization of that project.

Social Justice for All

But the real defence of human rights is also, and especially, connected to the capacity that the richest nations show in converting their overflow reserved to the few into social justice to all.

The present state of the world continues to characterize itself by a deep crisis and by the constant aggravation of the conditions which separate a minority of rich countries from a majority of poor ones where hunger and misery is abundant. We assist simultaneously a dangerous degradation of our environment. The words, so full of humanism, of Willy Brandt at the beginning of this congress, have impressed us all with deep concern.

In more than two-thirds of the world the most elementary human rights are not respected. Such a situation cannot be tolerated. Ferocious dictators have often come forward under the pretext of fighting communism. It would be wise not to forget that more than two-thirds of all capitalist countries are hateful dictatorships where no human rights are respected.

We have to adopt urgently new forms of development, otherwise we may find that within a few years it may be too late to find humane and just solutions. Those new forms of development will necessarily require deep structural changes as a natural consequence of new political, economic and technolo-

gical strategies, as varied as the situations to be modified.

As someone clearly stated once, the law of the relations of force hesitates before the evidence of the law of reciprocity. It is indispensable to guarantee a fearless future and a type of life to mankind where at least basic needs are provided for.

These needs are real rights. The need of nutrition, housing, protection from disease are natural rights of all men and women. Their societies will have to guarantee these things.

However, as vital as the right to nutrition is every man and woman's right to education, freedom of expression and information and the right to own the produce of self labour, with participation in the management of production. As is the right to participate in the political life of the country and to defend one's beliefs.

This means that the discussion of any new forms of development cannot be restricted to the objective of simply finding the satisfaction of what we call basic needs.

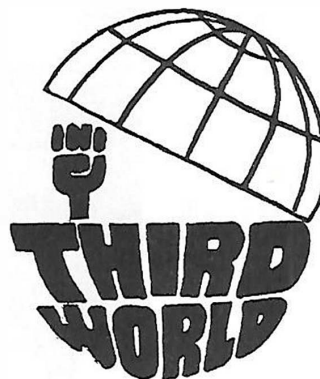
Any new development project which aspires to be fair and feasible cannot allow that rural or industrial workers are excluded from any responsibility in the production system, that scientific research is exclusively submitted to profit, that educational models are imposed to make students strangers to their own culture or mere tools of production, that any protests are reduced to silence by force and that political prisoners still abound and are tortured.

The world crisis and the international atmosphere of tension in which we live favour authoritarian formulas. It is thus urgent to find new forms of dialogue between states and governments. It is urgent to find new tools within the framework of international and supranational institutions capable of avoiding new conflicts and capable of increasing technical, cultural and economic co-operation.

In this perspective, Europe has a decisive role to play guaranteeing peace and security to all its states, increasing co-operation between East and West, assuming its part of the common responsibility in the dialogue between industrialised countries, oil-producing countries and developing countries so that the conflicts separating the rich north from the poor south are overcome.

Only that way will we reach peace in our time. For us, Portuguese Socialists engaged in the great task of national reconstruction in freedom, peace is the indispensable condition to construct socialism in respect for civil liberties, the one appropriate way to guarantee the effective and real defence of human rights.

THE SITUATION IN THE



Costa Rica's emphasis on the possible

Daniel Oduber President of Costa Rica

Costa Rica is a country which is little known in the developed world. Perhaps this relative lack of knowledge owes its origin to the fact that, in my country, there is an abundance of those very things which, nowadays, never hit the headlines — social peace, democracy, fully independent courts of law, a pluralist Parliament. Perhaps, too, Costa Rica fails to make news — and therefore remains unknown — because political prisoners and torture do not exist, and because we take no part in the ever-increasing disrespect for human rights which afflicts the world, nor in the arms race which so many states, both developed and developing, are engaging in.

We are, in fact, a state of two million inhabitants in which there has been no army since 1949, when the barracks were turned into schoolrooms and museums; in which universal suffrage is a way of

life; in which, in a word, the political and social disasters which usually typify the media image of Latin America in the developed world are simply not to be found.

Almost Unrivalled Stability

We have built up and strengthened a range of political institutions which have guaranteed to our people a level of stability almost unrivalled in other countries. Thus, for example, our judiciary not only enjoys real autonomy within its own sphere, but has the necessary financial resources to make its autonomy effective in practice, since the constitution itself provides for such resources. As far as voting is concerned, in 1948 we set up a Supreme Electoral Tribunal, which functions quite separately from the Executive and which is exclusively concerned with matters relating to the electoral process.

Costa Rica is among those nations

which devote most resources per inhabitant to the provision of education and health services. In fact our expenditure on education is now 120 times higher than it was 25 years ago: more than half of the total number of employees of the central government work in this field. As for health, it should be pointed out that at present over 70 per cent of the population is covered by our social security system.

The high educational level of the country, and the efforts which have been made to improve the provision of welfare and social security benefits, are clearly reflected in the fall of the rate of growth of the population, which until recently was one of the highest in the world.

The economic growth of the nation has been particularly noteworthy and has gradually moved towards two basic goals. On the one hand, we have aimed at allowing small and medium-sized producers a fairer share of the value of what they themselves produce, while on the other hand we have consolidated a mixed-economy system in which the Government and its institutions act as promoters and use their influence to ensure a fairer distribution of wealth. While the population has doubled in the last quarter of a century, per capita income has gone up from US\$300 in 1950, to \$700 in 1973 and to more than US\$1,000 in 1976.

We are particularly proud of how we handle public expenditure in Costa Rica. The resources of the state are to a considerable extent used to promote education and health. One third of the present national budget goes on education, which absorbs 7 per cent of the gross national product.

The devotion of Costa Ricans to the rule of law is a tradition which goes back to our very birth as an independent nation. It is a tradition which lies at the heart of the high level of respect for democratic institutions which characterizes our people, and also explains our strong defence of the institution of political asylum. Within the frontiers of our tiny country we are at present giving shelter to more than 4,000 political refugees from a variety of latitudes and ideologies.

We Costa Ricans have come this far because, over several generations, we have applied the tenets and programmes of democratic socialism; our banking, insurance, railway, electricity and telephone industries are state-owned; the hospital system is state run, and in 1949 we abolished the army in the constitution. Ours is a good example of how a poor country can combine socialist change with democracy.

Future Talks

But, although we are proud of our achievements, we are still also fully



aware that we still have a long way to go and that many obstacles still remain to be overcome. We are not happy with income distribution, which should be fairer; nor with the efficiency of our ever-growing state bureaucracy: nor with the way in which our trade unions are developing, fundamentally as bargaining agents for sectional interests: nor, generally speaking, are we satisfied with the sort of society which development is creating in our country. Our desire to build a fairer Costa Rica comes up against major obstacles, mainly internal in origin, but also of external origin whose solution does not lie within our powers.

Some of the greatest difficulties of a small country like Costa Rica arise from international trade relations, which unfairly obstruct our development efforts. In fact, while financial and technical resources are made available to us to enable us to raise our export production, restrictions are placed on our ability to sell our goods to developed countries, and world markets impose on us prices which are far below anything that could be called fair or reasonable.

The vulnerability of our economy and our dependence on external factors in the economic field are, in themselves, serious obstacles to balanced and assured growth. But the same thing is true of the technology and the cultural patterns which we import from the industrialized nations. These patterns have stimulated in our population, and particularly among the middle and upper strata, patterns of consumption which are incompatible with our cultural values and with the productive capacity of the nation.

Internally, Costa Rica's experience has confirmed that, as in other countries, a high level of development can go hand-

in-hand with the increasing impoverishment of certain groups in society. In spite of the indirect redistributive measures which we have carried out by using public expenditure — in the fields of education, nutrition, health and social security, for example — or by direct means such as increasing real wages, there still remains a substantial sector of the population which has no prospect of socio-economic advancement.

We are convinced that we will have to redouble our efforts in this field and push for what we have called the "possible revolution". The "possible revolution" is always held back by the "impossible revolution". People who are ignorant of the history of a country and of its relations with countries which have already passed a number of stages in their development frequently confuse the possible and the impossible, or reality and ideals. To expound a revolutionary thesis which fails to take account of the stage of development which a country has reached is to doom that very thesis to failure. To expound a revolution which is an impossibility is to strengthen those very forces which are supposed to be destroyed by the revolution and, essentially, is to strengthen the conservative position.

Making the World a Better Place

As we look at Latin America and its relations with the developed world, we do so from the vantage-point of the Costa Rica whose main features I have just described. Our concerns in the world of today are the product of our way of life, of the values we respect and of the difficulties which we seek to overcome. So is the strength of our desire to contribute to making this world a better place.

We are, therefore, concerned about those governments which, while committed internally to seeking ever-increasing social justice, do not apply the same criteria to their actions on the world stage. The aim of international socialism is to prevent the exploitation of man by man or of one nation by another. While much has been achieved within various countries, no change has taken place in the economic relationship between rich nations and poor nations. The prices of the industrial products which you export from Europe to our countries enable your citizens to live well. The prices of certain primary products which we sell to your countries force us to live badly. These double standards work clearly to the disadvantage of poor countries and allow selfishness to triumph over solidarity. These practices should be set aside by all social democratic governments and this task is a task for all of us here to solve together, rich and poor.

We are particularly concerned that

many governments seem to think that for Latin America, and for the Third World in general, economic progress and maintenance of social progress are only possible under dictatorial governments. I cannot say whether these governments reach these conclusions through convenience or ignorance, but in either case they are mistaken. Who can say that the reason for the relative underdevelopment of Latin America is the failure of democracy? Only those who are unaware that most of Latin America's past and present has consisted of dictatorships. It is not true that dictatorships are more efficient and those of you who are from Europe know that.

The tendency to think that there are good dictatorships and bad dictatorships — or to think that, for some countries, dictatorships can be better than democracy — must be set aside by every social democratic government.

We are concerned that many people seem to assume that for Latin America this is a time of dictatorships. Victor Hugo said that nothing is more powerful than an idea whose time has come. I am convinced that the liberation of Latin America from poverty and underdevelopment must necessarily come with democracy. There is no doubt that today the outlook for our Latin American subcontinent is somewhat bleak. A majority of countries and of people live under dictatorships, but that does not mean that the majority of the people participate in the dictatorships or support them.

The greatest paradox is that the advocates of left-wing dictatorship think they are the only people struggling against right-wing dictatorships. They have succeeded in impressing many young people with this fallacy — particularly when they have not seen the democracies at their side. For such young people democracy remains a dirty word associated with money-making and old-time capitalism. Few know anything about the new, aggressive and fair democracy which you represent. This is another task for the Socialist International: don't leave our young people with a simple alternative — capitalist dictatorship or socialist dictatorship. For us here socialism and democracy must go together.

This is, precisely, the challenge for democratic socialism in Latin America today. Our Latin America needs freedom for its economic development. Our Latin America needs freedom to put an end to exploitation and dependence. Our Latin America needs ideas to arouse thousands of thousands of sleeping democrats. Our Latin America needs a movement to usher in the first day of real freedom. Our Latin America needs social democracy. Our challenge — that of all of us — is to build that social democracy.

The warp and woof of freedom

Carlos Andres Perez President of Venezuela

The Socialist International is holding this congress six months after the meeting which we organised at Caracas [see SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, July-October 1976], together with eminent social democrats from the parties that belong to the Socialist International, and outstanding figures in Latin American democracy including the Caribbean area. The host was the Democratic Action Party (*Partido Acción Democrática*), now ruling in Venezuela.

Europe and Latin America know little about one another. Trade relations are not the right way to link them up to increase their mutual knowledge and communication. We have found that the best prospects of bringing the two regions closer to one another, of exchanging experiences and establishing systematic contacts are offered by the ideological ties that bind together the social democratic and allied parties of Latin America and Europe.

This is why I attach such tremendous importance to the Caracas meeting, which represented the first direct encounter between the social democratic movements of Europe and Latin America, without any kind of intermediaries or red tape. It had no predetermined and specific objectives nor did it attempt to reach definite conclusions. It heralded the beginning of a dialogue, which should be institutionalized without setting up a new organization or duplicating existing aims and activities. The very informality of that meeting is likely to have a remarkable impact, as it brought together not only influential representatives of the social democratic parties but also individuals and members of related parties in North America, Latin America and other continents. We must take advantage of the valuable opportunities for mutual understanding

and solidarity which are afforded by an open dialogue of this kind between the leaders of the democratic political movements, who are in touch with the current thinking of social democracy.

Social Democracy's Obligations

Social democracy cannot be just an attitude of mind, that is diffused throughout the world; it must coalesce into a comprehensive, consistent and specific position on the basic questions that the new political and economic world order will have to solve, a position transcending blocs and alliances and encompassing both developed and developing countries. Ideological ties are one of the weapons of communism and other international political movements, and the major economic interests of the capitalist system also conspire together to impose their will. Social democracy, within its diverse and essentially democratic structure, untrammelled by ideological dogma and inspired by the basic principle of justice, offers unexampled opportunities for constructing a plan for world solidarity and peace founded on a new international economic order.

What we are all agreed upon is that neither capitalism nor communism is the lodestar by which mankind should steer its course in future. The conceptual force of social democracy has the flexibility and balance necessary for respecting the basic rights of human beings who are deprived of their freedom by the one side and exploited by the other. Social democracy is based on the principles of freedom and justice; it has a vital and universal message, which can give a new dimension to solidarity to raise it above private interests and national sentiments of lesser importance. Only in this way can mankind escape from the web of confusion and frustration in which rich and poor nations alike are caught.

Capitalism is in the midst of a crisis from which no amount of financial and



monetary manoeuvres can rescue it, still less gloss over the already intolerable gap between the industrialized countries and those of the Third World, to which we in Latin America belong. In the meantime, the so-called socialist countries are standing aloof or are being prevented from fulfilling their duty to the international community. While agreeing with and supporting the aspirations of the Third World, they seem to think it unnecessary to participate in decision-making, thereby compounding the prevailing state of confusion while vaunting the validity and justice of their own experiments.

Capitalism has been grafted upon democratic societies, disfiguring their true identity in the process. It has created a network of interdependent relations on the basis of inequality, and has instituted an international division of labour that inexorably divides people into exploiters and exploited. Latin America, and vast areas of Africa and Asia, are regarded as a source of depreciated raw materials which are exchanged for manufactures and technology at rising prices. Unless the system of interdependence is restructured on the basis of equivalence and equilibrium in order to establish true solidarity between people, as the very warp and woof of freedom and justice, the structure of western democracy is doomed to collapse.

The unity of the Third World has made it impossible for any group of countries, however powerful, to impose its will on others. The energy crisis and the action taken by OPEC has startled every country into the realization of its

vulnerability, and of the vulnerability of peace itself when founded on injustice as it is now.

Lack of Co-operation

I believe that clarity and frankness are essential if the discussions at this congress are to focus on the most important issues. It is imperative to co-ordinate the actions of the social democratic parties of Latin America, Europe and the other regions. We can no longer act in terms of local conditions alone. At the present time, there is no co-ordination even between countries where social democratic or allied movements are in power. This is how it seems to us in Latin America at least.

Moreover, we feel that the justice, equity and international co-operation proper to the social democratic governments of Europe are not extended to the developing countries. On the contrary, some intrinsic features of capitalism such as a well-developed competitive sense and self-seeking seem to have crept into the international conduct of the social democrats in power, who turn a blind eye to living conditions in the marginal countries that are producers of raw materials. The promotion of national economic interests is contradictory to the principles of socialist solidarity. It is imperative to analyse in depth the problem of international solidarity so that social democracy can point the way towards a new world of freedom and justice.

The Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and the third and fourth sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are inexcusable examples of this contradiction, which must be resolved through the extension of the universal and democratic spirit of our movement. The conflict will be dramatic but is unavoidable. The privileges that now exist in trade relations are not only irrational but also intolerable. We must become the leaders of the New International Economic Order, and follow the progressive path illuminated for us by the great principles of social democracy.

Indivisibility of International Community

Because of the lack of contact between Europe and Latin America, despite our traditional trade relations and the strong influence of European culture on our people, our points of view are not always in harmony. Europeans find it difficult to appreciate the true value of our experiences the other side of the Atlantic, but much can be done if the democratic political parties move closer together. Our duty to guide man to live in freedom and social justice, and the urgent need to proclaim and achieve the in-

divisibility of the international community, entail consistent thinking and action on the part of international social democracy. In our philosophy there is neither subordination nor hegemony; this is the only way to establish true and lasting peace on the basis of a New International Economic Order.

Among the distinguished persons at this congress there are leaders of industrial nations in Europe and prominent figures in the political life of those countries. Their responsibilities are heavy. They must often be deeply distressed by the continuing contradictions, and the apparent impossibility of settling the controversy over the international economic order, which professes the highest principles of social justice and solidarity while preserving dependence and injustice, in order to deal with international commitments and pressures that urgently require a solution.

What we must recognize in all sincerity in this forum of international social democracy is that we can no longer rely on short-term solutions. What is needed is a plan to meet the pressing demands of the world that is emerging before our eyes, a plan conceived by the social democratic movements. We must not delude ourselves into thinking that we can remedy the crisis and the vast differences between the industrial and the developing countries by exerting political pressure on spheres of influence or by economic manipulation, and still less by evading the commitment to create a new International Economic Order.

Nor can we shelve the problem by taking up an optimistic attitude. If we are to solve it by presenting social democracy to the international community as the best doctrine and the most effective system of government, we have to substantiate our claims by presenting a well-constructed body of solutions to the basic problems confronting international solidarity. The question is not whether the industrialized countries are ready to tackle the emergency. Vested interests have an irresistible force, and only the conviction that the world is rushing headlong to economic disaster with all its appalling consequences will give us the necessary strength to resist those interests. The solutions proposed must, of course, be compatible with the realities of the situation which cannot be changed in the short run. But unless we try to do something, political tension will increase to the point at which it will favour interests and aims that are completely alien to those of the democracy we are trying to establish throughout the world.

Social democracy in Europe has a tremendous responsibility to shoulder — that of rectifying basic errors of attitude towards the Third World.

The future challenge

Jean Ziegler

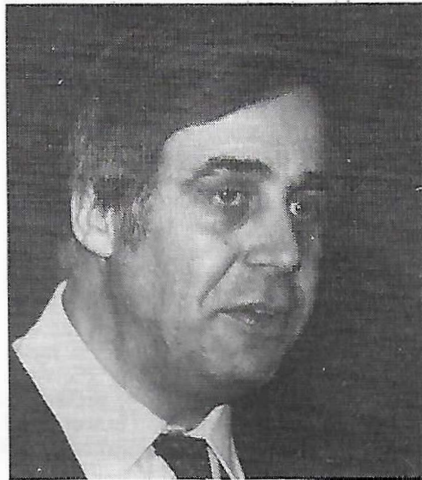
Swiss Social Democratic Party

The First International held its first main congress in Geneva. It was there that Marx confronted Bakunin, this was in 1866, in an old house situated on the other side of the lake. The delegates who were present were on the whole poor men. They were being put up by Geneva militants and, as Jules Humbert Droz reminds us, many of them could not even afford two meals a day. These men had neither money nor power but they were, as the Communards were to say later, "the ancestors of the future". Today delegates of the Socialist International meet in this hall, and here we find the leaders of the establishment — prime ministers, heads of state, ministers, members of parliament, senators — from about 40 countries of the world, including some of the most powerful ones. What has changed since 1866? My reply will be in the form of a paradox: both everything and nothing. Let me explain this.

In the debate between Marx and Feuerbach, I stand resolutely on the side of the latter. There is only one irreducible factor which is the very essence of man and at the same time is still unachieved, and that is the awareness of man's identity, the awareness of our species. Twelve thousand men and women starve to death each day on our planet. According to the figures of the FAO, 200 million people will die before the end of the century. The planet upon which we live is nothing but a boneyard and, as René Char said: "The pyramid of martyrs overbearingly haunts the earth". Humanity does not exist as yet, because for three-quarters of the four thousand million human beings on this earth, life is nothing but a martyrdom.

Unshakeable Statements

The basic principles of the International are unshakeable statements embodying the most deep-seated hopes of man, the desire for freedom and happiness, the determination to form reciprocal and complementary relations with others, to conquer poverty, hunger, injustice, inequality and exploitation: in other words, the determination to build a socialist world.



At the same time, however, the actual concrete conditions for the making of a socialist world have undergone tremendous changes. The class struggle has been extended to the whole world and merges with the struggle against imperialism.

The victims today — be they struck physically in their health or life expectancy, or psychologically because of the impossibility of exerting any freedom of choice whatsoever — are no longer in the main the industrial workers, or office workers and intellectuals in the central capitalist countries: they are the anonymous masses, mainly of rural origin, in the oppressed peripheric countries.

These people, who are not represented in this hall, the absent shadows, the peoples of the night, are the damned of the earth, the proletarians of whom Marx spoke. It is for them in the first place that the International exists today. We, who are the involuntary accomplices of the capitalist system of the centre countries, therefore have first and foremost the responsibility gradually to dismantle monopoly capitalism and its train of humiliations in our centre countries, and furthermore to work as from now towards an alliance between the dominated classes of the industrial countries and the oppressed people of the third world. However, no government, even a socialist one, can organise this struggle. It eludes the rationality

of bilateral and multilateral relationships between states. It can only emerge from a patient, forceful movement at grass-roots. The International must breathe life into this movement in a return to its origins; and this implies the need for breaking with the past.

A Crucial Turning-Point

Here are some examples. Firstly: socialism, its theory and its practice, were born during the historical phase of the emergence, development and apotheosis of capitalism. Today they have come to a crucial turning-point.

Socialism fed and nourished the hopes of men in the now industrialized countries and later supplied the theoretical weapons for the liberation of the peoples of the Third World. Everything that the socialism of 1866 said about the people and their dreams and plans remain true. The peoples of the world, men everywhere, look today towards socialism and place their hopes in its contents where it has been brought up to date. We are at a crucial turning point. Socialism at present must absorb new practical terms, and the Socialist International would lose its meaning if it did not undertake this task as a matter of first priority.

The task is immense as it presupposes changes that we are not yet prepared to accept. The socialist struggle in Europe had to be founded on the rational economic circumstances that led to the formation of the industrialised countries. At this point of change, socialists coming to power in Europe are inheriting the trade structures, the culture and economic organisation of capitalism. This capitalist development is based on profit accumulation, productivity without limits. The burden of this past is enormous, because it fundamentally mortgages the life of the people in the Third World. This means that the socialists in Europe must have the courage to say to the workers whom they govern that the dismantling of imperialist trade structures will require real sacrifices on the part of wage-earners in certain sectors. As I said: the class struggle today merges with the struggle against imperialism.

The fact is that very large sections of wage-earners in Europe are living upon imperialistic profits. They will necessarily be called upon to make sacrifices during the period of transformation of the world trade structures now based on premises of inequality.

The texts of introductory speeches delivered by Egon Bahr (General Secretary of the German Social Democratic Party) on Helsinki — What Next? and Anselmo Sule (Chairman of the Chilean Radical Party) on Democratic Socialism and Human Rights will be published in a later issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENEVA CONGRESS

The following are the full texts of the resolutions adopted by the 13th Congress of the Socialist International.

The political situation

I. Introduction

Justice, democracy, peace and equality in international relations are the fundamental principles guiding the actions of socialists throughout the world.

The present crisis and international tensions increase their obligation to seek a new militant, more open and more authentic internationalism wherein socialism may freely express itself.

The crisis in world capitalism, its consequences for the working class and the tensions resultant in international relations all clearly show that socialism, the harbinger of hope and justice for all peoples, is the only alternative to political systems that generate conflict, disorder and injustice.

In a world that continues to be dominated by the power politics of blocs that are both rivals and accomplices, the political forces gathered into the Socialist International and all those likely to rally to them must come forward with a different alternative.

More justice for mankind

We seek more justice within the confines of each country and in relations between peoples and, particularly, between the rich countries and the poor countries. Co-operation between socialist parties and the progressive harmon-

ization of their policies towards development on the basis of respect for sovereignty, independence and the dignity of nations constitute at the present time an important contribution to world peace and to establishing the universal nature of socialism.

More liberty and democracy

Without democracy there is no socialism and without socialism there is no democracy.

Since it rehabilitates man in the face of oppression and aggression by capitalism and by communism, socialism is the only possible meeting place for all oppressed peoples, for all those who fight for the respect of liberty and social progress and for full responsibility of the individual within society. Action by the international socialist community is therefore quite naturally directed towards exposing encroachments on liberty whenever and wherever they may appear; by solidarity in the struggle by all movements fighting for self-determination and social liberation and towards the adoption of policies that favour individual fulfilment in a society that will be more humane, more just and more free — in a word, socialist.

More peace

Finally, peace is indispensable for the achievement of the general aims of socialism. The chief object of international socialism is to substitute co-operation amongst peoples for confrontation between states. In this spirit, the socialist parties and the tens of millions of men and women gathered together beneath their flags can influence the course of events wherever in the world the destiny of mankind is being shaped.

II. International détente and co-operation

Peace is a continuous creation. Socialists who, throughout the world, have actively contributed to the progress of détente feel that it can and should be still further extended, strengthened and consolidated. Every effort will be directed towards this permanent goal. The Socialist International therefore calls on all member parties to give precedence to dialogue between all nations, on the basis of equality of rights and duties and of respect for the identity and sovereignty of the states.

Recognizing that the progress of détente has been achieved and maintained only through the effective participation of two super-powers, the Socialist International nevertheless refuses to acknowledge partition of the world between two immovable and opposing blocs that produce tension and run the risk of dangerous confrontation as a permanent fact of international relations.

It considers that the extension of détente must lead to greater co-operation between the nations, thus progressively reducing the sources of conflict and grounds for intervention by the great powers in fields that encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of states.

Détente is in fact a sustained advance which must make itself felt in both bilateral and multilateral negotiation. The present negotiations on the reduction of armed forces must be the first priority for this undertaking.

Agreements once achieved must be implemented and maintained by the gradual institution of an international system of crisis control.

III. The C.S.C.E.

The Socialist International Congress welcomes the outcome of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It considers that the Final Act acceded to by all 35 states represented at Helsinki formed an important stage in the development of East-West relations and in the prospects for a strengthening of European security.

The Socialist International Congress reaffirms its intention to contribute towards the implementation of the Final Act.

It invites all the states concerned to encourage real progress, before the Belgrade Conference in 1977, in the implementation of the following points:

- regular political consultations at bilateral and multilateral level;
- the improvement of economic relations between states;
- co-operation on joint projects, particularly with regard to the environment, health, energy, communications, culture and education;
- professional freedom of action for journalists and the distribution of cultural media throughout all countries; and
- wider facilities for the free circulation of ideas, persons and the reunion of families.

IV. International Disarmament and Security

Disarmament and controls on armaments and traffic in arms are of vital importance to the whole world in view of escalation of the arms race and deterioration in the economic situation of the majority of countries.

The Socialist International calls for an immediate halt to the proliferation of nuclear capability through the control of nuclear weaponry, controls on the export and import of fissile material and related technology, a ban on nuclear testing and the creation of de-nuclearized zones.

It considers, moreover, that substantial progress could be achieved in the process of armaments control by agreements to prohibit chemical and bacteriological warfare and weapons that destroy the environment.

For the Socialist International, the ultimate objective continues to be that of general disarmament. It invites all governments to take suitable steps to endow this great humanitarian undertaking with real content.

In the existing situation, lasting security for the world cannot be achieved merely through equilibrium between the power-blocs on the basis of shared spheres of influence.

Nor can it be brought about by a balance negotiated between the super-powers alone.

Nor, indeed, can it result from unilateral disarmament or disengagement. None of these formulae can adequately guarantee the security of nations: on the contrary, they are likely to occasion dangerous imbalance at the heart of the continent of Europe, creating intolerable pressures on the smaller European powers.

In this context, the Socialist International recognizes the desirability of the fastest possible conclusion of the SALT II negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, so that a reduction in both the quantity and quality of strategic armaments may be attained. Through such an agreement, progress in the eventual reduction of conventional arms would be feasible. As regards the particular question of European security, the Socialist International emphasizes the importance it attaches to the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces, which must be aimed at achieving true military détente, backed by effective, balanced and controlled arms-limitation agreements within the area of Central Europe.

The Socialist International feels that such reductions must initially be aimed essentially at forces and armaments of states who are strangers to the area, and eventually at the level of forces and armaments of states within the area, in an effective search for greater security for all the nations concerned.

V. The United Nations

The Socialist International reaffirms the spirit and the letter of the resolution adopted by its Vienna Congress in 1972, holding that the United Nations is a universal world organization in which all nations, great and small, can meet on an equal footing and in mutual understanding, and in which they can put their case without resorting to procedures that are contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

Faithful to the principle of the universality of the United Nations, encroachments on which it could never countenance, the Socialist International considers that the U.N. constitutes a forum which must remain privileged. It once again calls on its member parties to strengthen this international organization and, in particular, its specialist agencies such as UNESCO, the FAO, the UNCTAD, the ILO, etc., and the development and solidarity programmes that are their concern, so as to make them more efficient instruments for effective co-operation between all states, which, in the final analysis, is the essential condition of peace.

VI. A still threatened world

The continuation of the crisis in the

Middle East endangers the prospects for peace not only in that region but it also threatens the progress of détente between East and West. The Socialist International expresses its satisfaction over the disengagement agreements signed between Israel and Egypt and Syria, and most particularly the interim agreement concluded between Israel and Egypt on September 1, 1975.

The Socialist International emphasizes the importance of ensuring that a peace settlement between Israel and its neighbouring states be based on negotiations and agreement between the parties in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, and not be imposed upon them from outside. It calls, therefore, for the reconvening of the Geneva peace conference on the basis of the two aforementioned resolutions and the original letter of invitation.

The Socialist International acknowledges and respects the right of all peoples to self-determination and to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

The Socialist International, being concerned with the escalation of the arms race in the Middle East, calls upon the parties concerned to start immediate negotiations on arms reduction.

The threat to peace is manifest also in southern Africa. While great strides have been made, the battle for freedom and development in the continent has not been won. Africa's economies are at the mercy of the economic self-interest of the advanced nations. Millions of African people are still under colonial rule, and their struggle for freedom has become a battleground for great-power rivalry.

The Socialist International must work for a truly independent Africa, free from domination from any source. The peoples of Africa must not become the pawns of great-power confrontation. The economic help they receive must not enslave them to other countries' economic interests or political philosophies. The last remnants of colonial subjugation must be removed. Above all, there can be no peace in Africa until the evil doctrine of apartheid has been eradicated.

Neutrality towards the existing and coming struggles in southern Africa is impossible. Between the exploiters and the exploited there is no middle ground. Action must be taken designed to end a system which is both evil in itself and a threat to peace. The Socialist International supports those who are striving for an alternative structure. The main force against the status quo will be the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa themselves.

The key to the whole situation in southern Africa is South Africa itself. The Socialist International is totally op-

posed to the apartheid régime and is committed to the establishment of universal suffrage in South Africa. A major contribution to this end can be made by the international labour movement.

We call upon all governments to end their unhealthy involvement with apartheid. This disengagement must include: aid for liberation movements, an initiative at the United Nations for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, and the prohibiting of export to South Africa of any equipment which would enhance that country's military capacity.

The Socialist International is similarly committed to majority rule in an independent Namibia. Recognizing that the main force for achieving this will be the people of Namibia themselves, the first priority should be to give support to the liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO.

In Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), the Socialist International is firmly committed to the principle of majority rule based on universal and equal suffrage and hopes that this will be achieved in a very short time.

VII. Socialism and the Rights of Man

Devoted as a matter of principle to defending the fundamental rights of the individual, the Socialist International considers that only democratic socialism is capable of meeting the deepest aspirations of mankind.

Only democratic socialism can protect and guarantee the rights of man and mitigate the sequel to colonialism, the shame of apartheid and the survival of racism and of racial discrimination.

The international socialist movement therefore rejects as contrary to its nature and to its ideals, any form of discrimination whether based on sex, creed or race.

It repudiates, above all, the persistence of aspects of political and economic domination which, in too many countries, still affect the status of women and prevent their true emancipation.

The Socialist International, finally, condemns terrorism in all its forms as a means of political action, whether applied by governments or by political movements. Terrorism has never resolved social or economic conflict; it merely adds useless violence to injustice.

In today's world, capitalism and communism continue to express the major forms of oppression in modern society, both by sacrificing democratic rights and civil liberties in the search for profit and preservation of the interests of the ruling class, and by serving to maintain the privileges of an all-powerful bureaucracy.

For those peoples who seek to achieve

or consolidate their independence, for those men who are fighting for their liberty, respect for their fundamental rights, an end to inequality and an end to alienation of all kinds, the only alternative to capitalism and to communism is — socialism.

International economic solidarity

The capitalist unplanned free-market economic system which dominates most of the world has failed abjectly to provide harmonious economic solutions between the nations or an adequate standard of living for more than a minor part of mankind. It has resulted in a condition in which the machinery of exchange, distribution and consumption has developed far too slowly to keep pace with rapid progress in the instruments and technology of production. The consequence is that, between the nations as well as within each nation, there are gross and unacceptable disparities in living standards: on the global scene we witness the obscene spectacle of poverty in the midst of plenty, with millions of producers unable to find work to make the goods which hundreds of millions of consumers desperately want but have no hope of acquiring. Not only does this constitute a condition of economic anarchy and injustice: in addition, the envious eyes which the starvelings of the southern hemisphere cast upon the affluence of the northern hemisphere constitute an ever-present danger to the stability and peace of the world.

That manifest failure of international capitalism points to the need for an entirely new approach to international economic problems, and that entirely new approach, breaking away from the outdated and discredited modes of the past, can only be, and must be, a socialist approach.

(1) The purpose of development must be to secure the basic needs of all people. These basic needs comprise, inter alia, food, housing, clothing, health, education and work.

(2) A growth process which benefits only the wealthiest minorities and which increases, or even maintains, inequalities between and within countries cannot be accepted.

(3) It is recognized that the concept of development, in its broad sense, is not limited to the satisfaction of basic needs alone.

Development also includes the attainment of basic non-material goals, such as freedom of expression, freedom of be-

lief and freedom for each individual to contribute to the shaping of the future for himself and his children, within his own society.

(4) However, the satisfaction of basic material needs is a prerequisite which must be met first in order that man may be able to enjoy and benefit from freedom and values in the spiritual field. The satisfaction of basic material needs in all strata of mankind can be obtained only through radical and vigorous national and international action based on, and inspired by, a new sense of solidarity throughout human society.

(5) This sense of solidarity must also extend to future generations. Consequently policies of development must be shaped and pursued in such a manner that our planet's resources and the environment are not violated.

(6) The new urge towards economic solidarity must find practical expression in all fields of human enterprise and condition economic relations both between and within nations.

(7) Thus, countries which are in a privileged financial position should provide massive money transfers on concessionary terms to the less privileged nations. These transfers should be on a scale which will effectively diminish inequalities between the different parts of the world.

(8) It is realized that financial transfers alone will not bring about an elimination of existing disparities.

(9) They must therefore be supplemented by other measures in the economic, trade policy and monetary fields. It is recognized that the automatic operation of the market mechanism is not liable to create conditions of equality and justice. On the contrary, in most cases it tends to increase the power and wealth of the stronger to the detriment of the weaker. Consequently, nations must be willing, in appropriate ways, to take corrective measures to create a massive redistribution of wealth and income.

(10) Such measures should form part of the new international economic order on which a start was made at the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Efforts towards creating a new international economic order, based on principles of solidarity and comprising the whole of mankind, must be vigorously pursued.

(11) In order to be able to fulfil the various tasks which the new international economic order will impose on us, and in order to solve the existing economic problems created by unemployment, stagnation and rising price levels, the industrialized countries must be prepared to intervene directly and effectively in economic operations. The following measures will be required:

- full utilisation of productive resources, together with policies on investment, credits, profits, prices and incomes designed to curb inflation and to eliminate unjustifiable inequalities in wealth and income between different strata of society;
 - the disposal of economic power throughout the community and the development of democratic processes in the workplace;
 - improved methods of control of capital movements and of transactions carried out by multinational companies across frontiers;
 - extensive government intervention, through public ownership or control, in economic enterprises in order to secure, whilst maintaining full employment, better opportunities for increased imports of industrial products from the developing countries;
 - co-operation between countries to facilitate the flow of trade, to ensure sound economic development and to finance deficits on current account for countries experiencing special difficulties; and
 - the transfer of technology and know-how from developed to developing countries.
- (12) An important part of a policy of global solidarity must be the management of resources and of the environment. Thus, international regimes must be set up for the exploitation of common property resources which are outside national jurisdiction. This applies particularly to the massive resources of the ocean and the seabed. The principal aims underlying the common management of property resources must be a just and equitable distribution of these resources through a policy preserving the balance with nature and in solidarity with future generations.
- (13) In accordance with a policy of solidarity, no state should use its riches from various natural resources as a means of political or economic pressure directed against other states. All states should, on the contrary, strongly endeavour to reach international agreements which would ensure an equitable allocation of resources to the benefit of all mankind.
- (14) The principle of solidarity must extend to the fields of science and technology, which must also, to a greater extent, be directed towards satisfying the basic needs of all people.
- (15) However, given the magnitude and complexity of the task, international action towards more just and equitable relations throughout the world will not in itself be successful unless complemented by internal policies in every state. Only through the interplay of

national and international policies, geared towards the primary aim of development for all, based on a deep sense of solidarity, and in collaboration with nature and future generations, can peace and justice be secured and a future for mankind envisaged.

(16) Therefore, all governments and parties of the Socialist International should make it their primary aim to carry out the policies set out in this declaration.

Latin America

The Socialist International deplors the spread of military dictatorship in Latin America. These repressive regimes have destroyed political, cultural and trade union freedoms and the free press, and have imprisoned and murdered trade unionists and democrats.

These régimes have institutionalized the use of terrorism and torture. It is also of particular concern that people are simply disappearing in both Chile and the Argentine and in the latter case, this includes political refugees from all over Latin America. Persecution is commonplace.

The Junta in Chile has recently announced that it will release most of its political prisoners. However, the fact is that this refers only to those detained and not to those already condemned or awaiting trial. The Socialist International denounces this attempt to appease international public opinion for the sham it clearly is.

In the Argentine Republic tens of thousands have been detained without trial and more have disappeared into concentration camps. The names of most are unknown. Yet more have been murdered by death squads, later attributed to guerilla skirmishes. One case is that of Hipolito Solari Irigoyen who was kidnapped and later turned up in prison. The Socialist International demands his release.

Within Latin America, Brazil is one of the key elements and the Socialist International believes that human rights, the rule of law and effective democracy, which have been massively eroded in the last few years, must be re-established. For some years, too, the United States Government has armed, trained and supported the Brazilian military to play a major role in Latin America.

It is clear that pressure from the Socialist International and its member parties has had and can have a positive effect in the field of human rights. The Socialist International will make greater efforts to follow up past initiatives. This endeavour will be intensified and extended to regimes such as those in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay.

It should be remembered that the economies of those dictatorships are not strong. They are dependent on foreign trade and therefore sensitive to any measures taken against them by their trading partners. The Socialist International and its member parties must give deep and urgent consideration to possible economic sanctions against these régimes where they are deemed appropriate. This must include a reappraisal of aid programmes and banking and financial transactions.

Members of the Socialist International should understand and accept the reasons for Latin America joining in the call for a New International Economic Order. Venezuela and Mexico have been particularly active in promoting this concept which includes the nationalization and recovery of natural resources. The Socialist International particularly welcomes the creation of SELA (Latin American Economic System) and of the Caribbean Merchant Fleet.

The Socialist International must be concerned that attempts are being made to establish South Atlantic defence cooperation between, on the one hand, Brazil, the Argentine, Chile and Uruguay, and on the other, the racist régime in South Africa. The aim is twofold; to strengthen those régimes politically and to stifle by whatever means attempts to achieve freedom and democracy. The result would be a further threat to peace. The situation will be exacerbated too if the supply of arms and nuclear technology to this area is not curbed. Socialist governments have a particular responsibility in this respect.

The United States will play a decisive role in determining the future of Latin America. The member-parties of the Socialist International should therefore use their influence to persuade the new Administration to undertake a fundamental review of their policies towards military dictatorships in Latin America and the activities of multinational companies. It must be hoped that this review will include recognition of Panama's right to exercise sovereignty over the Canal Zone. In this direction, the Socialist International considers the lifting of sanctions by the Organization of American States against Cuba as a positive step.

The Socialist International reaffirms its support for all those struggling for freedom and democracy within Latin America. The Socialist International pledges itself to increase, by political and economic means, its assistance to the remaining constitutional governments.

The Socialist International will pursue policies designed to assist economic and social development in the region, aiming to effect a radical re-distribution of wealth and the recognition of basic human rights.

NEW STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL

New Statutes of the International adopted by 13th Congress of the Socialist International.

The Socialist International is an association of parties which seek to establish democratic socialism as formulated in the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951.

Purpose of the Socialist International

The purpose of the Socialist International is: to strengthen relations between the affiliated parties and to co-ordinate their political attitudes by consent; to this end, the Socialist International will seek to extend the relations between the Socialist International and other Socialist-orientated parties not in membership which desire cooperation.

Composition of the Socialist International

The Socialist International consists of:

- (1) **Member parties,** which shall have the right to speak and to vote, and the obligation to pay affiliation fees to the Socialist International;
- (2) **Fraternal organizations,** namely the International Council of Social Democratic Women and the International Union of Socialist Youth, which shall have the right to speak and to vote;
- (3) **Consultative parties,** which will have the right to speak but shall not exercise a vote;

(4) **Associated organizations,** of an international or regional character recognized by the Socialist International, which shall have the right to speak, but shall not exercise a vote.

Organs of the Socialist International

The following organs of the Socialist International shall serve its purpose:

- the Congress of the Socialist International
- the Bureau of the Socialist International
- the Finance and Administration Committee of the Socialist International
- the Secretariat of the Socialist International

Organization of the Socialist International

(1) The Congress

The Congress is the supreme body of the Socialist International. It proclaims its principles, determines its Statutes and, on the recommendation of the Bureau of the Socialist International, decides by a two-thirds majority of all the members upon the admission and status of new members and of organizations in relation to the Socialist International. The Congress shall receive a report of activities for the period since the last Congress.

The Congress, to be convened by the Bureau, will meet regularly every second year. The Bureau will decide its time and place, and draw up its agenda.

Voting rights in the Congress

Member Parties shall have the right to vote and to speak. The Fraternal Organizations, International Council of Social Democratic Women and International Union of Socialist Youth, shall have the right to speak and to vote.

Consultative Parties and Associated Organizations shall have the right to speak but not to vote.

Representation at Congress

The delegations of Member Parties and Fraternal Organizations shall be limited to six members and of Consultative Parties and Associated Organizations to two.

Expulsion of parties

Decisions to expel parties and organizations from membership may be taken only by the Congress by a majority of two-thirds of parties voting.

(2) The Bureau

The Bureau of the Socialist International shall consist of all Member Parties and the IUSY and the ICSDW, each having one vote.

The Bureau shall establish its own rules of procedure.

The Bureau shall make all necessary decisions of policy and principle between meetings of the Congress, and make recommendations to the Congress concerning new members, suspensions and expulsions and amendments to the Statutes.

The Bureau shall propose to the Congress a candidate for General Secretary.

The Bureau convenes the Congress. In addition, the Bureau shall have the right

to convene special conferences, expert conferences, regional conferences, the Socialist International Research Council, as well as study groups, to appoint the chairmen and secretaries of these bodies, and to determine their terms of reference.

The Bureau shall convene at least once a year a conference of the party leaders. The convening of party leaders' conferences shall follow procedures laid down by the Bureau.

The Bureau approves the annual budget, presented by the Finance and Administration Committee.

The Bureau shall meet at least twice in each calendar year.

(3) The Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee shall consist of seven member parties and fraternal organizations elected by the Bureau from among the Bureau members. The Finance and Administration Committee will consider reports and recommendations from the Bureau, the General Secretary, and individual members of the Bureau. It will supervise the financial administration of the Socialist International and recommend to the Bureau the scale of dues to be levied by the International.

The Finance and Administration Committee shall, on behalf of the Bureau, approve the complement of the secretariat's staff and the terms of their engagement.

The quorum of the Finance and Administration Committee shall be four member parties. The Finance and Administration Committee shall meet at least twice in each calendar year. It shall prepare and recommend to the Bureau a budget for the following year.

Finance

The Secretariat's expenditure shall be covered by:

- affiliation fees from the Member Parties;
- contributions from fraternal and associated organizations and Consultative Parties;
- donations.

(1) Affiliation fees

The affiliation fees and contributions shall be fixed in relation to finances and membership of parties and organizations.

Parties and organizations are eligible to attend and to vote at meetings of the Socialist International provided they have fulfilled their financial obligations up to and including the present calendar year by June 30.

(2) Properties and Reserve Fund

The freehold and leasehold properties as well as the Reserve Fund of the Socialist International shall be vested in

three Trustees. The Trustees may act by a majority and may in emergencies allow any property to stand and to remain in the name of a nominee trust corporation.

The appointment of the Trustees shall be effected by a Resolution passed by a two-thirds majority vote at a meeting of the Bureau and the powers and duties of the Trustees shall be similarly determined. The term of office for the trustees shall be one year or as determined by the Bureau.

(3) Lay Auditors

Three lay auditors shall be appointed by the Bureau to inspect the accounts of the Socialist International on a quarterly basis.

Officers of the Socialist International

(1) The President,

who shall be elected by the Congress of the Socialist International. He shall be eligible for two two-year terms.

(2) The Vice-Presidents,

who shall be elected for a single two-year term by the Congress of the Socialist International. The number of Vice-Presidents shall be a minimum of two.

The President, or a Vice-President present, shall preside at all meetings of Congress and Bureau. The President and Vice-Presidents will have the right to attend all meetings of the Socialist International.

(3) The General Secretary,

shall be elected by Congress on the proposal of the Bureau. The General Sec-

retary shall supervise the administrative functions of the Secretariat and be responsible for the organization of meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist International. He will in addition be responsible for the archives and, subject to the endorsement of the Finance and Administration Committee, engage the Secretariat's staff and fix the terms of their engagement. He shall prepare financial statements and budget estimates for consideration by the Finance and Administration Committee. In consultation with the President and any two Vice-Presidents, he will take such decisions as are necessary in between meetings of the Bureau.

Officers of the Bureau

(1) The Chairman of the Finance and Administration Committee,

shall be elected by the Finance and Administration Committee. He shall preside over all meetings of the Finance and Administration Committee. He should be consulted by the General Secretary on urgent financial and administrative matters in between meetings of the Finance and Administration Committee.

(2) Honorary Treasurer

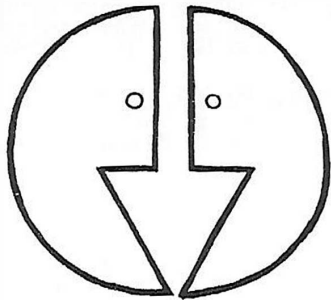
The Bureau will be empowered to appoint, at its discretion, an Honorary Treasurer. His powers and duties shall be similarly determined.

Change in the Statutes

Amendments to the Statutes can be made only by the Congress, on the recommendation of the Bureau, and by a majority of two-thirds of the parties and organizations voting.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS SUBSCRIPTION RATES

| | Ordinary Subscription | Party Members' Subscription | Price Single Copy |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Austria | Sch. 312.50 | 236.00 | 53.00 |
| Belgium | Frs. 594.00 | 443.75 | 100.00 |
| Denmark | Kr. 90.65 | 68.00 | 16.00 |
| France | Frs. 67.00 | 50.15 | 12.00 |
| Germany | DM 43.75 | 32.50 | 7.50 |
| Great Britain | £ 5.00 | 3.75 | 1.00 |
| Italy | Lit. 7,500 | 5,625 | 1,300 |
| Netherlands | Fls. 42.50 | 31.90 | 7.10 |
| Norway | Kr. 87.50 | 66.25 | 16.00 |
| Sweden | Kr. 65.00 | 49.50 | 11.50 |
| Switzerland | Frs. 49.25 | 37.00 | 8.50 |
| United States | \$ 15.00 | 10.00 | 3.00 |



CONFERENCES

Historic Congress of Spanish Socialists



PSOE Congress. (left to right) Willy Brandt, François Mitterrand and Felipe Gonzalez

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) held its 27th congress in Madrid on Dec. 5-8 — the first time the party had been allowed to meet legally on Spanish soil since the Civil War. Celebrating this historic return to open political activity after more than 40 years of clandestine existence were about 1,000 delegates from all parts of Spain and from PSOE overseas federations, together with some 200 guests from the PSOE's fraternal parties of the Socialist International as well as from other parties and movements.

Leading the fraternal delegations was the newly-elected President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, accompanied by a strong contingent from the German Social Democratic Party. Also present were François Mitterrand (First Secretary of the French Socialist Party),

Olof Palme (Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party), Anselmo Sule (Chairman of the Chilean Radical Party), Ina van der Heuvel (Chairman of the Dutch Labour Party), Michael Foot (Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party), Pietro Nenni (former leader of the Italian Socialist Party), Pier Luigi Romita (Secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party), Lydie Schmidt (Chairman of the Luxembourg Socialist Labour Party), Reulf Steen (Chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party), Edmond Leburton former leader of the Belgian Socialist Party), Hannes Androsch (Austrian Vice-Chancellor) and José Francisco Peña Gomez (General Secretary of the Dominican Revolutionary Party).

Other parties of the International represented included those of Argentina,

Denmark, the United States, Finland, Ireland, Israel, Portugal, Switzerland and Venezuela, as well as the International Council of Social Democratic Women, the International Union of Socialist Youth and the International Falcon Movement. The General Secretary of the Socialist International, Bernt Carlsson, was also present.

The strength of the representation from within the Socialist International testified to the general conviction, as expressed by Willy Brandt in his speech to the congress, that without a strong Socialist Party Spain would not achieve a durable social or political peace in its transition to representative democracy. That democracy had in fact already come to Spain was asserted by Olof Palme, who received great applause from the delegates when he explained that he was talking not about official Spain but about the real Spain of the people.

However, perhaps the most emotional moment came when octogenarian Pietro Nenni, a veteran of the Civil War and the Garibaldi Brigade, came to the rostrum to speak and was greeted by a rousing rendering of *The Internationale* in Spanish. Never was the special place which the Spanish struggle for democracy has in the hearts of socialists everywhere more perfectly illustrated.

In his opening address to the congress, Felipe Gonzalez (the PSOE general secretary) stated that the Socialists were willing to enter a pact with the other democratic opposition forces in Spain to provide the country with a democratic constitution after the general elections expected in 1977 and "to get rid of the last vestiges of the Franco regime". Such a pact, he said, would include a wide spectrum of parties ranging from the Christian Democrats to the Communists. He added that the Communists must be allowed to participate legally in the elections if the Government's pledges on the transition to democracy were to be taken in good faith by the opposition.

As regards future party policy, the PSOE general secretary said that his party stood for central planning, a strengthened public sector and the introduction of a progressive taxation system. Spain was an "incredibly unequal society" in the latter respect, he said, with direct taxation representing only 1.4 per cent of total fiscal revenues compared with 32 per cent in Britain.

Much of the proceedings of the well-organized and highly disciplined congress was concerned with elaborating the party's policy lines and ideological orientation for the coming crucial period of Spanish history.

A statement adopted by the congress reiterated the party's identity as a "class party, Marxist and democratic" and opposed the idea of reforming capitalism;

at the same time it stressed the PSOE's adherence to pluralist democracy and rejected the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It also affirmed that the "degree of pressure to be exercised in achieving a socialist society" would depend on "the resistance put up by the bourgeoisie in the face of the democratic rights of the people": moreover, the rights of the majority would have to be respected and achievements obtained by the workers would be made "irreversible" through workers' control.

On economic policy the congress adopted proposals for basic structural changes and for 650,000 million pesetas (\$10,000 million) of new taxation a year to finance expanded welfare plans and the creation of new jobs for Spain's one million unemployed. The congress drew up a charter of women's rights including legalization of divorce, free abortion and free contraception (all forbidden under the current regime). It also proposed that Spain's minority problems should be solved by the granting of a large measure of autonomy to the Basques, Catalans and other regional groups within a federal system.

In the sphere of foreign policy the congress condemned both the Warsaw

Pact and NATO as "politico-military blocs dividing the working class worldwide and delaying its liberation from all forms of economic, social and political exploitation". It also called for the scrapping of the military bases treaty with the United States, on the grounds that the treaty "mortgages the national territory and Spain's foreign policy, and was concluded without the free and explicit approval of the Spanish people".

The party also stressed its opposition to Spanish membership of the European Community until political freedom had been fully established in Spain, and called upon Socialist parties and governments in Western Europe to support this approach.

As regards the immediate political situation, a statement adopted by the congress said that "the participation of the PSOE in any type of elections will be decided by the party's national committee accompanied by an intensive campaign to inform party supporters". In the coming period, it was made clear, the opposition parties would seek to obtain guarantees from the Government concerning the legality of all parties, equal access to the news media and complete freedom of association and the dis-

mantling of the Falangist party apparatus throughout the country.

During the congress it was confirmed that Felipe Gonzalez would represent the PSOE on the joint opposition committee (including a Communist representative) which would negotiate with the Government on the modalities of Spain's transition to democracy.

The congress concluded on Dec. 8 with the election of a new executive committee headed by Ramon Rubial (a veteran Basque militant who had spent a total of 24 years in Franco's prisons) as honorary president of the party and Felipe Gonzalez confirmed as general secretary. The other members were elected as follows: Alfonso Guerra (organization), Luis Yañez (international relations), Javier Solana (press and information), Guillermo Galeote (propaganda), Luis Gomez Llorente (documentation), Enrique Mugica (political relations), Eduardo Lopez Albizu (trade union and social affairs), José Maria Benegas (youth), José Luis Albiñana (overseas federations), Carmen Garcia (administration), Nicolas Redondo, Manuel Cigarran, José Maria Triginer, Luis Fajardo, Miguel Boyer, Rafael Ballesteros and Antonio Garcia Miralles.

Portuguese Socialists take stock

Rui Mateus International Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party

The second congress in legality of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP), held in Lisbon between October 30 and November 1, was an historical event in Portuguese political life and in the life of the Socialist International. The PSP, one of the International's youngest members, was founded for the first time in 1875 by Antero de Quental but had to wait over one hundred years to come into government and become Portugal's largest mass movement with 93,000 individual members and over two million voters.

In fact, 910 delegates representing 410 sections and 240 enterprise groups scattered all over Portugal, some 300 other participants (members of the parliamentary group, government and party political officers) and nearly 140 foreign delegates came together into the party's

highest body to consolidate democracy in Portugal.

Among the foreign delegates who addressed the congress were important party leaders such as Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, Olof Palme, François Mitterrand, Felipe Gonzalez, Bettino Craxi, Kalevi Sorsa, Anselmo Sule, Willy Claes and André Cools. In total, 55 foreign parties and political organizations from 39 countries were represented.

One of the most important moments in the three days of fraternal gathering was the report of the party's General Secretary, Mario Soares. It gave a long retrospective view of the past two years in the country and in the life of the party. Two dramatic years of coups and counter-coups, of economic disruption, manipulation by extremist forces and of popular struggle for freedom and democracy. Three major elections had taken place and preparations were being

made for the coming local elections held last December. In spite of all problems and many uncertainties concerning the country's economic future, the party had done well and repeatedly proved itself to have become Portugal's leading political force and the party of socialism in freedom. It was also with immense pride that Portuguese socialists had seen their party's important victories transcend Portugal's national borders. With the Socialist Party, democratic socialism, of which international solidarity is a major component, had once again proven itself to be the real alternative to those forces which accept that poverty, oppression, obscurantism and exploitation are daily facts of life. With the fall of the fascist dictatorship and the end of the colonial empire Portugal was once again finding her place among Europe's democratic nations and the major task of the Socialist Party for the years ahead had thus become tied to the option expressed at the Oporto socialist summit: to lead Portugal into playing an integral part in Europe and to continue to develop a progressive policy towards the poor countries of the Third World.

After a lively discussion and consequent approval of this report, motions of support for the Government led by Mario Soares, against repression in Brazil and requesting the Government

to break diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta were also approved.

Reports on the party's organization, labour relations, youth and local authorities were read by Jaime Gama, Marcelo Curto, Arons de Carvalho and Jorge Campinos, who had respectively been in charge of these sectors in the past two years.

Speeches of foreign fraternal delegates followed and time ran out before discussion and approval of the party statutes could take place. The congress was then compelled to approve a proposal to hold an extra party congress in the city of Oporto on January 30 with the purpose of completing that part of the agenda.

The last two sessions were completely taken up with the secret vote election of the General Secretary, the national commission and the national disciplinary commission. Mario Soares was re-elected by a crushing majority of the votes, with nearly 100 per cent of all delegates. For the 151 members of the national commission two lists were introduced and this, plus the refusal of the then national

secretary and Minister for Agriculture, Lopes Cardoso, to be included in any of the lists created a certain emotional atmosphere among delegates. The previous congress, in 1974, was still vivid in everybody's mind, since Manuel Serra who then led the opposition list, was later to split the party to create the Popular Socialist Front — a small group that during 1975 proved to be a fellow traveller of the Communist Party.

The main reason for Cardoso's decision is still unknown, but it is often attributed to the fact that he was strongly criticized — even inside the party — as Minister of Agriculture, a post which he later resigned to take his seat as deputy in the Legislative Assembly.

Two weeks after the congress the new national commission met for the first time to elect Manuel Alegre, Sottomayor Cardia, Alfredo Carvalho, Arons de Carvalho, Marcelo Curto, Jaime Gama, Maldonado Gonelha, Antonio Guterres, Catanho de Menezes, Rui Mateus, Tito de Morais, Edmundo Pedro, Antonio Reis and Salgado Zenha as national secretaries for the coming two years.

Name change for Senegal party

An extraordinary congress of the ruling Union progressiste sénégalaise (UPS) held in Dakar on Dec. 27-29, which was attended by about 6,000 delegates, decided to change the party's name to Parti socialiste. This move followed the party's admission to full membership of the Socialist International at the Geneva congress in November (see this issue), when the party's secretary-general, President Léopold Sédar Senghor, was elected a Vice-President of the International.

In March 1976 constitutional changes and a new law had been adopted in Senegal providing for a pluralist political system in which two other parties would be permitted in addition to the ruling party.



Jamaica

General elections held in Jamaica on Dec. 15 resulted in a decisive victory for the People's National Party (PNP) led by Prime Minister Michael Manley. The PNP (which is a member party of the Socialist International) won 47 seats in the enlarged House of Representatives, roundly defeating the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), which obtained only 13 seats. The state of the parties at the dissolution of Parliament on Nov. 23 was

PNP 35, JLP 15, independents two, and one vacancy.

In an 85 per cent turn-out of the electorate, the PNP won a massive 56.8 per cent of the votes and the JLP 43.2 per cent. The size of the PNP victory was unprecedented in the island's electoral history.

The elections took place under the state of emergency declared in June 1976 in response to a rapid growth of violent

crime in the island and to the mounting by dissident elements of what the Government called a "terrorist plot". The JLP was said to be implicated in this attempt to undermine Jamaican society in general and the democratic socialist experiment of the PNP in particular.

Earlier in 1976, Michael Manley had published evidence to the effect that "external elements" were involved in a Chile-style destabilisation campaign against the PNP Government, citing as evidence the mounting urban violence in Kingston and consistently adverse reporting on Jamaica's internal situation in certain foreign newspapers. While the Prime Minister had said that it was impossible to identify the precise source of the external threat, he did attribute hostile American press treatment of his Government to Jamaica's support for Cuba's intervention in the Angolan civil war.

Apart from law and order, the main election issues were the interrelated areas of economic and foreign policy. In this context, the PNP defended its commitment, reaffirmed at its 1976 conference, to the democratic socialist economic strategy which it had followed since 1974 and which the opposition, backed by big business interests, sought to portray as "crypto-communism".

In its manifesto the PNP listed the Government's achievements in such fields as the extension of free education, the development of co-operatives, land redistribution to small farmers, public

sector housebuilding and the introduction of a statutory minimum wage. The manifesto also promised that if re-elected the PNP would continue to give priority to the redistribution of national resources in the interests of greater social justice. The "pillars of the economy" would be brought under state control (in the context of a mixed economy), a national development plan would be

instituted and the Government's existing import substitution programme would be intensified to achieve greater national self-reliance.

The PNP also pledged in its manifesto to introduce constitutional reforms to end Jamaica's "monarchical situation", which was described by Michael Manley as "no longer relevant" and as representing "a psychological barrier to true

independence".

After the election, Michael Manley said that "the people have rejected in a very, very decisive way the attempt to smear us with communism". He described the PNP victory as "very important in the whole evolution of the Third World" and pledged that his party would "show how a democracy can tackle fundamental change".

Japan

Shozo Sugiyama International Secretary of the Japan Socialist Party

The 34th Japanese general election was held in December with the people's attention focused on the question of whether or not a stop would be put to the one-party dictatorial conservative government which had continued for 30 years since the war's end and of whether or not the progressive forces would be able to establish a bridgehead for a progressive coalition government. As a result of the election, a historic change was effected, with the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) failing to maintain an overwhelming numerical superiority in the Lower House; thus a virtual reversal in the balance of forces between the conservative and the progressive camp has been realized.

This is because the people who were angered by corrupt, money politics such as was graphically illustrated by the Lockheed scandal and by the power struggles within the LDP (which completely deprived the LDP of its governing ability), and who were suffering from the increased difficulties of living under the current inflation and recession, strongly demanded a major change in politics.

But this critical attitude of the people to the LDP was not necessarily translated into increased support for the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), with the result that the JSP did not go beyond winning 123 seats (an increase of five seats). Meanwhile, the Komeito (Clean Government) Party won 55 seats (an increase of 26 seats), the Democratic Socialist Party 29 (an increase of 10), and the LDP breakaway faction, the New Liberal Club, 17 (an increase of 12). The Communist Party lost 21 seats, winning only 17 seats.

In view of this situation, the Socialist Party held a meeting of party leaders in Tokyo on Dec. 7 and decided to make

efforts for increased unity among the opposition parties to meet the expectations of the people. As part of the JSP's efforts in this direction, the meeting decided to propose a meeting of the secretaries-general of the opposition parties.

The recent general election is significant in that in it people were asked to pass judgment on the money politics and corruption of the LDP, as was typically exposed in the Lockheed scandal.

Since the Lockheed scandal was a question affecting the very basis of Japan's post-war democratic government, the December general election was of historic significance posing a basic question regarding the very basis of Japan's parliamentary democracy.

At the same time, attention was also focused on what judgment people would make on the failures of the economic policies of the LDP, or the bankruptcy of its high-rate economic growth policy, which issued from the same root as the Lockheed scandal and which was responsible for the inflation and recession.

The recent general election was the first in four years since the general election of December 1972, and the first election that was held under the present constitution as a result of the expiry of the term of office of the Lower House members. In this respect, too, the general election differed from all the previous postwar elections. A large number of new eligible voters had been added, and it was easily imaginable that the voting public had changed their views and outlooks greatly in the four-year period, and attention was directed to the question of what judgment the voting public with more than 7 million new eligible voters would pass.

Furthermore, it differed from previous elections in that it was held in social conditions in which there was a remarkable tendency among the public to drift away from politics and in which, according to public opinion polls, the percentage of those who replied that

they had no party to support or were non-committal, was larger than the percentage of supporters for any political party.

But the election results showed that 73.45 per cent of the total eligible voters went to the polls, or 1.69 per cent more than the percentage for the December 1972 poll, and 4.91 per cent more than the 67.51 per cent who voted in the general election of December 1969. The percentage is nearly equal to that for the general election held in January 1967 after the "black mist" dissolution. This high percentage for the latest election indicated that the people's political consciousness and their interest in the general election were not at all low.

The election results also show the same tendency. Thus, the right-wing LDP suffered a shattering defeat, winning less than half the total of 511 seats of the Lower House. This shows nothing but a non-confidence vote of the people against the LDP. As a result, the LDP barely succeeded in maintaining a majority (of 257 seats) by belatedly recognizing as official LDP candidates eight of the 21 independents who were successful in the election. But this cannot conceal the fact that the number of officially recognized successful candidates of the LDP was less than half the Lower House seats.

After the start of the election campaign, JSP Secretary-General Tomomi Narita made a statement (in Tokushima) regarding the party's plan for a progressive coalition government as a concrete development of our party's plan for a progressive government, saying: "Our party is ready to accept any political forces if they are agreed in policy and objectives." Further, he elaborated (in Shizuloka) on the concrete economic policy to be followed by such a government.

These statements aroused widespread interest among the people and were favourably received by the other opposition parties, giving the people anew the impression that the JSP was playing its role as the central force of the opposition parties. With these statements, the JSP was able to take the lead in the general election campaign.

The results of the election, however,

show that the reverse suffered by the LDP was not directly translated into an increase in the seats for our party, but we can see there a major trend for change.

Firstly, the number of successful LDP candidates officially recognized by the party was less than half the total Lower House seats, as mentioned before. Secondly, the percentage of votes cast for the LDP fell 5 per cent from 46.8 per cent for the previous election to 41.8 per cent. Thirdly, the number of electoral districts in which the number of successful progressive candidates was larger than that of successful conservative candidates, increased from 29 in the previous election to 40. Fourthly, the number of electoral districts in which LDP candidates monopolized the seats fell from six to five. Fifthly, the number of electoral districts in which no LDP candidate was successful, increased from two (Aichi Prefecture, 1st and 2nd) to three (Aichi Prefecture, 6th; Kanagawa Prefecture 4th and 5th).

But of the six "black and grey officials" implicated in the Lockheed scandal, five (former Premier Kakuei Tanaka, and four others) were returned, with only one being defeated in the election.

This was a contradictory result, in that generally speaking, the LDP was sharply criticized by the voting public, whereas the individual candidates involved in the Lockheed scandal were "exculpated" by the electorate.

A remarkable feature of the last election was that the New Liberal Club, the Komeito (Clean Government) Party and the Democratic Socialist Party greatly increased their seats. We cannot but say that it is questionable to conclude that this indicated public preference for the middle-of-the-road parties, because it is possible that those who were critical of the LDP temporarily "marked time" around these parties. Further, the decline of the Communist Party in the number of seats won by it cannot be interpreted as a loss of public support, since it obtained more votes than the Democratic Socialist Party and won about the same number of votes as the Komeito Party, despite the decrease in the number of its seats.

It is necessary to analyze the results of the election further, because we must view the last election as a development in the transitional period of the political scene. Further, it is also necessary to analyze the election from the standpoint of election techniques.

The Socialist Party won 123 seats in the December election, or five seats more than 118 won in the 1972 election. However, as the total number of seats was increased by 29 according to a revision in the Public Election Law, there is hardly any change in the percentage

(24.1 per cent) of Socialist seats from the percentage (24.0 per cent) of seats won in the previous election.

Further, in terms of votes, the JSP won 11,700,000 votes, or 200,000 votes more than in the 1972 election. But the percentage of votes won by the JSP dipped 1.2 per cent from 21.9 per cent for the 1972 election and 0.7 per cent from 21.5 per cent for the 1969 election, to 20.7 per cent. This shows that in spite of an increase in the number of eligible voters, the JSP failed to increase its number of supporters accordingly.

Regionally speaking, there is an imbalance in the number of votes and in the percentages of votes won by the JSP. For instance, in Hokkaido where we succeeded in getting all our 10 candidates elected, the JSP was able to increase both the number and percentage of votes won by us, and succeeded in increasing our seats by acquiring votes from those who were critical of the corrupt money politics of the conservative party. Particularly, in the third electorate of Hokkaido, the JSP won three of the total five seats. As a result of the JSP's election struggles, the party succeeded in defeating one of the "grey" officials (Sato) in the third electorate of Hokkaido. He was the only "grey" official contesting the election to be defeated.

Further, the JSP won two seats each in the first and second electorates of Akita Prefecture, the first electorate of Tochigi Prefecture, the third electorate of Okayama Prefecture, in Shimane and Tottori Prefectures, the second electorate of Fukuoka Prefecture, and in the first electorate of Kagoshima Prefecture. In Akita and Tochigi prefectures, the JSP were able to step up the number and percentage of votes.

On the other hand, the JSP did not fare well in urban areas, particularly in Tokyo and Osaka.

Another important feature of the

election was that many new candidates were successful. Of the 123 successful JSP candidates, 28 were newly elected members. On the other hand, many leading JSP members, including the incumbent vice-chairmen and some former chairmen or secretaries-general, were defeated. This made clear again the importance of organized election campaigns spearheaded by workers and ordinary citizens and that the popularity of candidates or a general public mood is no longer an effective weapon in election campaigns in the present severe political situation.

The suggestion that in the December election the JSP did not conduct a well-organized election campaign is reflected in the fact that in spite of the mounting criticisms of the LDP, the Socialists were unable to win this critical voting public to the party. This is the main reason why these people voted for the middle-of-the-road progressive parties and the new conservative party (i.e. the NLC). The flow of votes to these parties was promoted by the mass communications media, which did everything they could to promote a mood for "middle-of-the-road" politics in order to lead the public to "moderate" parties.

Conversely speaking, this was due to the failure of the Socialist Party sufficiently and effectively to repulse these attacks. It is expected that the capitalist class will carry out sophisticated propaganda work more intensively to emasculate opposition parties. Under these circumstances, the JSP's advance can be guaranteed only by exposing the nature of capitalism as the cause of corruption in politics and also of the current economic crisis, by clearly showing the JSP message of social transformation to each individual and by strengthening organized movements and intensifying propaganda work for the solution of the present tasks of the people.

Mauritius

In general elections held in Mauritius on Dec. 20 — the first since 1967 — the Independence Party (comprising an alliance of the Labour Party led by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and the Muslim Action Committee) suffered considerable reverses but was subsequently able to form a new Government in coalition with the Mauritius Social Democratic Party (PMSD) led by Gaeton Duval. (The Mauritius Labour Party is a member party of the Socialist International.)

Substantial gains were registered by the Marxist-orientated Militant Mauritian Movement (MMM), which will have 34

seats in the new Parliament as against 28 for the Independence Party and eight for the Social Democrats. Thus the new Government, which is again led by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, will have a narrow two-seat majority. Among the Labour candidates, ten ministers were defeated, including Sir Harold Walter (External Affairs) and Kher Jagatsingh (Economic Planning and Development). Also defeated was the PMSD leader, Gaeton Duval, who has not taken a portfolio in the new Government. The Mauritius Social Democrats had previously been in coalition with the Independence Party from 1969 to 1973.

Socialist Notebook

Socialists in the European Commission

The new Commission of the European Communities which took office on Jan. 6 is headed by a socialist and contains five socialist members, two of them newly-appointed. The new President of the Commission is Roy Jenkins (56), the former British Labour Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer and former deputy leader of the Labour Party. The two socialist newcomers are Henk Vredeling (52) of the Dutch Labour Party and hitherto Defence Minister in Joop den Uyl's Cabinet, who will be responsible for social policy; and Antonio Giolitti (61) of the Italian Socialist Party, who will hold the portfolios of regional policy and co-ordination of Community funds. The three reappointed socialists are Wilhelm Haferkamp (Federal Republic of Germany), now given responsibility for external relations; Claude Cheysson (France), in charge of development co-operation policy; and Raymond Vouel (Luxembourg), who continues with the competition portfolio.

South African Campaign

January 17 marked the beginning of a week of international trade union protest against the South African regime organized under the auspices of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), following a South Africa Conference held by the ICFTU in Brussels in September 1976.

While the international labour movement has long fought against the apartheid system in South Africa, the immediate cause of the January campaign was the arrest of many leading African trade unionists by the South African authorities and the imposition on them of restrictions affecting their work and place of residence. It appeared that these measures were an attempt by the South African Government to destroy once and

for all the young black trade union movement which, despite repression and deliberate efforts to hamper its work, is constantly gaining in strength.

The ICFTU campaign was aimed primarily at the South African Government, but also at South African firms and subsidiaries or branches of foreign or multinational companies operating in South Africa. In particular, organized labour in the industrialized countries was called upon to demonstrate its concern over the fate of black trade unionists in South Africa and to give active support to their struggle for recognition and respect for human and trade union rights.

The ICFTU call elicited a strong response, with rallies and demonstrations being held in many countries. Industrial action as determined by national trade union federations was also taken in a number of cases.

New Party Secretaries



The federal executive of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) confirmed the appointment of **Egon Bahr** as party manager (i.e. general secretary) on Nov. 22, with effect from Dec. 15. Egon Bahr, who had been Minister for Economic Co-operation in the Schmidt

Government, succeeded Holger Börner, who had become Premier of Hesse after holding the SPD post since January 1972.

The central committee of the Italian Social Democratic Party on Oct. 1, 1976, elected **Pier Luigi Romita** (52) as Secretary of the party in succession to Mario Tanassi. Since the latter's resignation in March 1976 the post had been filled by the PSDI Chairman, Giuseppe Saragat. The new PSDI Secretary had most recently held ministerial office in 1972-73 when he was Minister for Scientific and Technological Research.

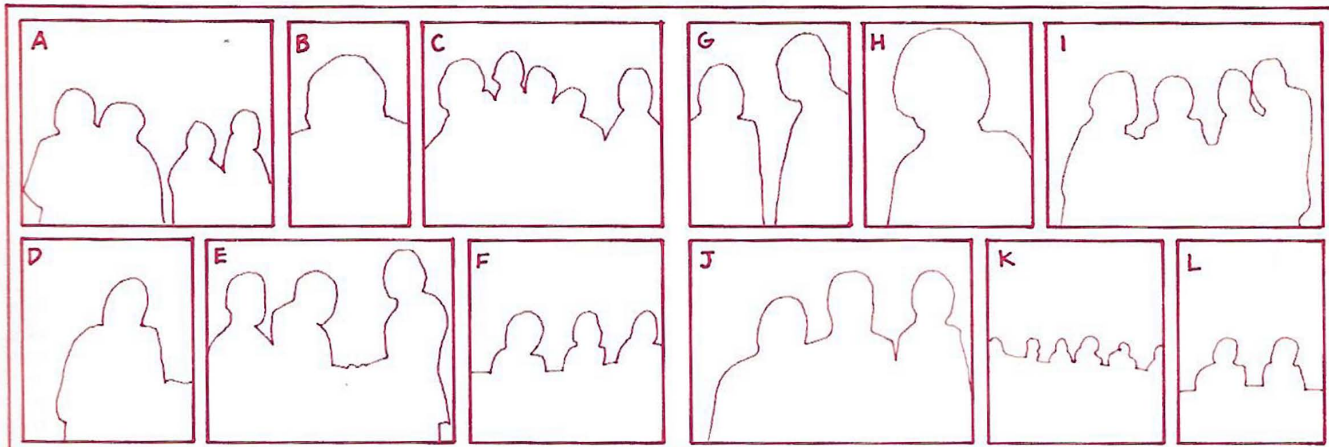
Earlier in 1976, the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) had also elected a new Secretary in the person of **Bettino Craxi** (42), who succeeded Francesco De Martino in July.

Socialist press anniversaries

The daily newspaper of the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, *Tageblatt*, celebrates its 50th anniversary of publication in 1977. The same year marks the 40th anniversary of the British independent Labour weekly journal *Tribune*. On behalf of democratic socialists everywhere **SOCIALIST AFFAIRS** sends greetings to both papers and wishes them continued strength and longevity in the difficult field of left-wing newspaper publishing.

Obituary

The President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, sent a message of condolence to the Socialist Party of Catalonia on the death on Jan. 10 of the party's general secretary, Josep Pallach. A veteran of the Spanish Civil War, Josep Pallach had been imprisoned several times by the Franco regime and had also spent many years in exile in France. He had been elected general secretary of the Catalan party only a week before his death at the age of 57.



A. Bernt Carlsson, François Mitterrand, Joop den Uyl, Willy Brandt
B. Shozo Sugiyama **C.** François Mitterrand, Willy Brandt, Bernt Carlsson, Bruno Kreisky, Anselmo Sule **D.** Kalevi Sorsa
E. Robert Pontillon, François Mitterrand, Carlos Andres Perez.
F. Irène Pétry, Vera Matthias, Victor Larock

G. Willy Brandt, Paavo Lipponen **H.** Annemarie Renger
I. Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky, Walter Hacker, Fritz Marsch
J. Antonio Guzman, José Francisco Peña Gomez, Lionel Jospin **K.** SOS Panel in session **L.** Willy Brandt, Bernt Carlsson

