

**Michael Harrington  
on the legacy of  
Karl Marx  
Page 121**



# **SOCIALIST AFFAIRS**

**Socialist International Congress 1983**

# **THE WORLD IN CRISIS** *The socialist response*





# THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

88a St John's Wood High Street,  
London NW8 7SJ, United Kingdom  
Telephone 01-586 1101  
Telex 261735  
Cables Intesocon London

**President**  
Willy Brandt

**Honorary Presidents**  
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Mario Soares  
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Anselmo Sule  
Reiulf Steen  
Guillermo Ungo  
Joop den Uyl

**General Secretary**  
Pentti Vaananen

## SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

8 Flowers Mews, Archway Close,  
London N19 3TB United Kingdom  
Tel 01-263 8506/7 Telex 261735  
Cables Intesocon London

**Editor** Bernt Carlsson  
**Deputy Editor** Robin V. Sears  
**Manager** Harry Drost  
**Design** Quivica Graphics  
**Published by the**  
**Socialist International**

**Rates per annum (six issues)**  
United Kingdom: £10  
United States: \$25  
Other countries: equivalent of  
25 US dollars

All signed articles in  
Socialist Affairs represent  
the views of the authors,  
and not necessarily those  
of the Socialist Inter-  
national or this magazine

ISSN 0049-0946



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Number 3/83

*The Socialist International held its largest ever congress in Albufeira, Portugal, on 7-10 April. Some 400 delegates and guests from 84 countries met to exchange ideas and formulate strategies on the theme 'The world in crisis: The socialist response'.*



*The Focus section includes*

- *The Manifesto of Albufeira, which outlines, in the words of Thorvald Stoltenberg, 'the basic socialist values and tactics which inspire each of us'*
- *Wide-ranging contributions from Willy Brandt, Mario Soares and Bernt Carlsson, who each give their perspective on the work of the International in these troubled times.*

*The Socialist International News section is devoted to the Congress and includes reports, the major resolutions passed and the full list of participants.*

*Is Karl Marx still relevant today? Michael Harrington answers with a firm yes. Page 121*

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# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS



## A Congress of 'great fear and great hope'

The sixteenth Congress of the Socialist International was one of the largest and, in the end, one of the most dramatic in our history.

The Manifesto of Albufeira produced by the Congress is already being recognised as one of the most significant statements of policy to emerge from a Socialist International Congress in some years. But the

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event which received international attention was the tragic and barbarous assassination of Dr Isam Sartawi. Dr Sartawi and an aide had participated in the Congress from its opening session and held extensive consultations with member parties from around the world. The murder of the PLO representative, who had been Yasser Arafat's liaison person with the Socialist International, came on Sunday morning, 10 April, during the final session of the Congress. Tributes paid to Dr Sartawi and his work made by the President and others are published later in this section of the magazine.

The Congress had originally been planned for Sydney, Australia, but had had to be moved due to the intervention of an election in that country. The Congress venue in Albufeira, Portugal, in the sunny tourist region of the Algarve, was prepared by the Socialist Party of Portugal and the secretariat of the Socialist International, with the assistance of comrades from

several countries, in little more than a month.

The Congress elected a new Presidium for the Socialist International, including a new general secretary, Pentti Vaananen. The Presidium and a biography of the new general secretary appear elsewhere in this issue. The Congress also admitted four new parties to the Socialist International. They are the working People's Alliance of Guyana, APRA of Peru, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and the Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia. Each party was granted consultative status.

In addition, two parties, MAPAM of Israel and Democratic Action, AD, of Venezuela, were elected to full member status, having previously been consultative members. One party, the Popular Socialist Party of Argentina, was suspended by the Congress.

Although the Manifesto of Albufeira, produced in draft form by Michael Harrington, chair of Democratic Socialists of America, and Thorvald Stoltenberg of the Norwegian Labour Party, the chairman of the Congress Resolutions Committee, covered the globe from the perspective of the Congress theme - 'The world in crisis: the socialist response' - several other texts received the support of the Congress on specific themes and issues. A general resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean was adopted, as was a specific condemnation of the invasion of Nicaragua. A new resolution on disarmament was adopted, as prepared by the Socialist

International Disarmament and Arms Control Advisory Council (SIDAC). The Congress also adopted an amendment to the SIDAC report to the 1980 Madrid Congress. A new statement of policy on the Middle East, proposed by the Middle East Working Group, chaired by, Mario Soares, Socialist Party leader and Portuguese prime minister, the product of months of deliberation and negotiation, was adopted by the Congress. It also reaffirmed a resolution proposed to the Basle Bureau by Mario Soares on the subject of East Timor. The Manifesto appears in the Focus section of this issue, the major resolutions later in this section.

Following the Cancun Working Group, led by Michael Manley, and the Vienna Economic Conference, chaired by Bruno Kreisky, the former Austrian chancellor, the Congress decided to establish a permanent economic committee. Known as the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, it will be chaired by Michael Manley, president of the PNP of Jamaica, and has as its secretary Oscar Debunne of the Socialist Party of Belgium. The Committee plans to launch its studies this summer and make a preliminary report to

the meeting of the Bureau later this year.

After some years of deliberation, the Working Group on a New Declaration of Principles delivered its draft of a new declaration to update those of Frankfurt and Oslo. The Working Group's report was delivered to the Congress by its chairman, the prime minister of Spain, Felipe Gonzalez. The draft document will be published by Socialist Affairs.

Among the long list of honoured guests to the Congress were Bulent Ecevit, the former prime minister of Turkey and leader of the Socialist International member party in that country, a representative of Lionel Brizola, the new governor of Rio de Janeiro, Thabo Mbeki, representing the African National Congress, and Zdenek Hejzlar, representing the Czechoslovakian Listy Group. A full list of participants is also published in this issue.

The number and length of the documents and speeches prepared for and delivered at this Congress do not permit their publication, in full, in this issue of the magazine. Issue 4/83 of Socialist Affairs will also feature the sixteenth Congress, with

### The SI's new general secretary

Pentti Vaananen was born in 1945, and went to school in Turku, in southwest Finland. He joined the Social Democratic Party in 1966.

He has been chairman of the National Union of Social Democratic Students, a member of the national executive

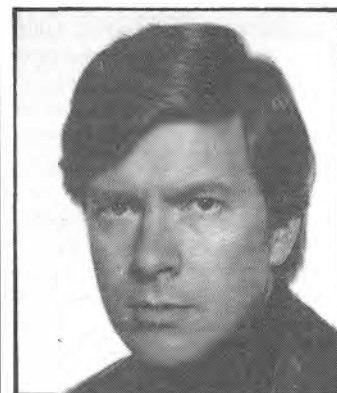
of the Social Democratic Youth, and a member of Turku city council.

After finishing his studies in the Faculty of Law at the University of Turku, Pentti was a member of the Finnish delegation to the UN 30th General Assembly. He then worked as a labour lawyer in Turku.

In 1976 he was appointed international secretary of his party. In the Socialist International he has been very much involved with disarmament activities.

Since 1981 Pentti has also worked in the prime minister's office, first as Mauno Koivisto's parliamentary secretary and then as Kalevi Sorsa's special assistant in foreign policy.

Pentti is married and has three children. In August the family plan to move to London, where they will have their home in the coming two years.



extracts from major speeches and descriptions of the work of some of the member parties and organisations of the Socialist International.

President Brandt and many other delegates paid special thanks to the Portuguese comrades for their major effort in the organisation of the Congress, particularly in the middle of their own election campaign. Tributes were also paid to Bernt Carlsson, who ended his work as the general secretary of the Socialist International following this Congress.

The Congress was marked by pain and sadness, but also by great success and solidarity in the consolidation of policy directions for the organisation and support for new comrades and old.

It was a Congress appropriate to the opening lines of the Manifesto of Albufeira: 'These are times of great fear and great hope. Fear, because the escalation of the nuclear arms race threatens the existence of the planet earth; hope because a growing consciousness of that ultimate horror has mobilised tens of millions, particularly the young, in the search for peace through disarmament.'

### **New secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean**

Luis Ayala, 35, has been appointed the Socialist International's secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean, working at the secretariat in London. He is a former president of IUSY and since 1979 has been the international secretary of the Radical Party of Chile.



#### **Correction**

In the report on the Central America mission published in SA1/83 (page 3), we inadvertently referred to US Congressman Steve Solarz by a different first name. Our apologies.

## **Major resolutions**

### **Resolution on security and disarmament issues**

**T**he Socialist International reaffirms its commitment to building a security which is not founded on an ever increasing number of ever more destructive weapons but on just cooperation and mutual trust between peoples. Our ultimate objective is general and complete disarmament, which can only be achieved through determined and persistent international action. The congress of the Socialist International calls upon all socialist and social democratic parties to play an active role in these efforts.

Concerned about the serious aggravation of the international situation, we demanded in our report on disarmament of 1980 that governments and international organisations work out an emergency programme for disarmament. Today the need of such a programme is even more pressing. Despite the growing popular concern all over the world against the arms race the disarmament negotiations have not led to any concrete results. Time is rapidly running out for the negotiators and the security of mankind is threatened by new rounds of the nuclear and conventional arms race.

Disarmament cannot be isolated from the overall political relationship. The potential framework for East-West detente needs to be rebuilt as one in which restraints on military competition seem worth accepting for both sides. Therefore it is to the advantage of the peoples of Europe and to security in general to find an early and verifiable agreement on reduction of nuclear forces.

While reaffirming the tasks and objectives put forward in the 1980 report on disarmament, the congress of the Socialist International strongly appeals to the Soviet Union and the United States to take immediate steps now, this year. These steps should include agreements on

the first practical measures in the START, INF and Vienna talks as well as an agreement in Madrid on convening a European disarmament conference. The two powers should also agree on a verifiable moratorium in nuclear weapon tests and the production, storage and use of chemical and biological weapons. Effective measures should be undertaken to restrict arms trade and transfers.

The INF talks in Geneva during the coming few months are of crucial importance to the whole international political and military development. Hence, if the time does not allow final results, the Soviet Union and the United States should speedily conclude an interim agreement consisting of balanced mutual commitments without destabilising actions.

The aim of this emergency step would be to stop the present trend on both the qualitative and quantitative arms race and to gain more time for negotiations on more substantive reductions in the existing arsenals of all armaments.

The negotiations of INF systems should be closely linked to the negotiations of the strategic systems (START).

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones is a useful means to strengthen stability and security on a regional level. The Socialist International welcomes the ongoing endeavours aiming at the creation of such zones, eg. in the North of Europe, in the Balkans, and in the Pacific area.

By showing mutual restraint in their bilateral relations as well as limiting their military involvement in various parts of the world the great powers should rebuild the political framework for East-West detente.

The nations of the world who want genuine peace and therefore genuine disarmament have grown tired of endless proposals and rejections, counterproposals and new rejections. We speak for the peoples of the world who want to see results, not mere negotiation tactics.

The Socialist International, representing 77 parties and

organisations with 20 million members and 210 million voters, appeals above all to the super-powers to stop the deadly arms race and to give true security to the world by replacing military competition with economic and political cooperation. This can save mankind from a threatening annihilation, this can help to overcome the misery of starving millions, this can at the same time set free the human and material resources to combat successfully the present economic crisis in the world.

### **Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean**

**T**he Socialist International reiterates its support for the fight for democracy, social justice and human rights in Latin America.

The Socialist International reaffirms its increasing preoccupation with the widespread and dangerous crisis in Central America and the Caribbean.

The policies of the Reagan administration have seriously aggravated an already difficult and dangerous situation. The Socialist International supports the forces in the United States, inside and outside the US Congress, who oppose the policies of massive military assistance to the repressive regimes and favour a negotiated and peaceful settlement in the area.

The Socialist International reaffirms its commitment to political and economic democracy, human rights and social justice. The Socialist International condemns all human rights violations, whatever the political complexion of the regime in question.

We support the struggle of the FDR and its leader, Guillermo Ungo, secretary-general of our member party MNR in El Salvador.

We fully support the FDR/FMLN call for a real, negotiated settlement, in order to bring about an end to the killings, and to achieve real peace and democracy.

We reiterate our support for the Nicaraguan revolution, because we support the democratic aims of that revolution,



# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

ALGARVE / PORTUGAL 7-10 APRIL 1983

# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS 1983 CONGRESS



*Bettino Craxi, Mario Soares*



*Janine Rubeiz, Walid Jumblatt*



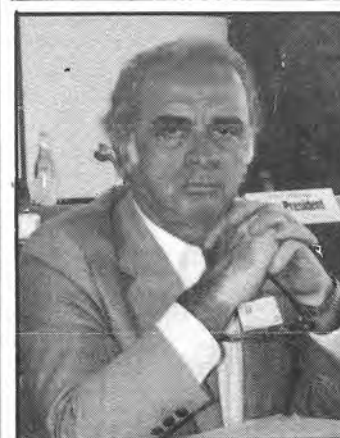
*Guillermo Ungo, Francisco Marroquin, Julieta Otera*



*Elena Flores, Felipe Gonzalez, Francisco Lopez Real*



*Egon Bahr, Hans-Eberhard Dingels,*



*Daniel Oduber*



*Rodrigo Borja*

ideological pluralism, non-alignment and a mixed economy. We hope that this country will be able to follow its own independent course.

Therefore, we firmly oppose and reject all the attempts to destabilise Nicaragua. We condemn the external aggression of which it is the victim today. We ask for direct negotiations between Honduras and Nicaragua to stop the incursions

from Honduran territory into Nicaragua, and we support the Contadora peace initiatives of Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Mexico, which could bring a genuine Latin American solution to the many different problems which are facing the area.

In the case of Grenada, the Socialist International again adheres to the principles of self-determination and therefore

opposes any attempts by the Reagan administration to destabilise the situation in the country. The International gives its full support to a democratic development based upon economic recovery and social justice as indicated by the New Jewel Movement.

The Congress reiterates the recommendation made at the Bureau meeting in Basle in November 1982 to hold a

Socialist International conference on non-intervention, stability and peace in Central America as soon as possible, and accepts with gratitude the offer made by the Socialist Party of France to host the conference.

Military and oligarchic regimes that exist in various Latin American and Caribbean countries such as in Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argen-



tina have assumed control over the whole life of their countries; this control includes military tribunals and martial courts, the use of summary procedures and arbitrary detention.

The Socialist International strongly condemns the dictatorships of Haiti's Duvalier, Paraguay's Stroessner and the military regime of Guatemala, and pledges to increase its political and solidarity measures for the democratic forces in those countries.

The Socialist International is preoccupied with the grave human rights violations in Surinam, and urges a return to a non-violent process of democratisation in that country.

As we approach the tenth anniversary of the brutal Pinochet regime, the Socialist International remains firmly committed to solidarity with the Chilean people, whose suffering has been further aggravated by the present economic crises in that country.

The Socialist International supports the struggle of all Latin American and Caribbean peoples subjected to oppressive regimes, and demands respect for the right of every citizen of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay to return to their homeland in liberty and with dignity. It is pleased to learn about the fighting spirit shown by the people of Uruguay during the recent so-called 'internal elections' of political parties. The Socialist International reiterates its solidarity with the people of Argentina and with the aims expressed by the 'Multi-partidaria' for the restoration of democracy in that country.

The Socialist International welcomes the democratisation process in Bolivia and hopes that the political 'abertura' in Brazil will lead to a full consolidation of democracy. It congratulates the PDT of Leonel Brizola and the massive victory of the party in the state of Rio de Janeiro, and sees the advances of the PMDB as a step forward in this process of democratisation.

However, it views with great concern and alarm the prospect that democratic processes in Latin America and the Caribbean will be reversed if the present economic situation

prevails, and denounces as anti-democratic the policies imposed by the IMF, which must be seen as an expression of economic oppression.

Massive devaluations have been imposed, thus further decreasing the standards of living of the peoples in the region. The cuts in public and social services by governments are not acceptable measures and must be repudiated as an economic aggression; the same applies to the decreases in export prices which are the main factors leading to ruin and misery in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Socialist International expresses its solidarity with its comrades in government, Luis Alberto Monge and Salvador Jorge Blanco, and its member parties, PLN and PRD, in their struggle to overcome the great financial difficulties they are facing, and therefore appeals that special attention is given by the developed world to both countries, in order not to endanger the democratic institutions and the welfare of the people.

The Socialist International is conscious that most Latin American and Caribbean countries have reached their borrowing limits and therefore supports the initiative aimed at devising a multilateral formula to overcome jointly the external debt of the region, which already exceeds 300,000 million US dollars.

The Socialist International is fully aware that in Latin America and the Caribbean, and in the Third World at large, there are discussions concerning strategies of confrontation – one of which could be a unilateral freeze of payments on external debts – which would produce a world economic catastrophe and which would have been provoked by sheer despair and dejection by the developing countries calling in vain for international justice.

Therefore, it fully supports the North-South dialogue leading to a new international economic order, which would not only promote justice and equality in the Third World but would also free the industrialised countries from the present

stagnant world economy.

The Socialist International also calls upon all its member parties, particularly those parties in government, to support and to promote efforts in favour of the economic integration of Latin American and Caribbean nations, as well as the recognition of the right of each nation in the area to have its own form of government and society, as chosen by its own people.

In the Malvinas/Falklands conflict, the Socialist International calls for a peaceful and negotiated settlement, and believes that the United Nations should be involved in finding a permanent solution. The Socialist International expresses its agreement with UN Resolution 2063, which calls for a peaceful and negotiated settlement and a permanent solution to the question of sovereignty of the islands.

Similarly, the Socialist International calls upon all other nations in Latin America and the Caribbean which have border or territorial disputes to resolve their conflicts through negotiations and peaceful settlement.

The Socialist International supports the independence of Puerto Rico – a Latin American nation.

Finally, the congress of the Socialist International welcomes the new member parties, the Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia, the Working People's Alliance of Guyana, the Partido Independentista of Puerto Rico and APRA of Peru, which will enlarge the democratic socialist family in the region.

## **Resolution on the Middle East**

(1) The Socialist International believes that courageous efforts must be made by all governments and parties of this region and by all peace-loving nations to encourage a process of political negotiations leading to a lasting peace.

As a consequence of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, condemned since the first day by President Willy Brandt, the Socialist International sent three missions to the Middle East, visiting Lebanon, Israel, Syria,

Jordan, Egypt and Tunisia.

Practically all the main political leaders of this region have been contacted, and the mission held wide conversations with the Socialist International member parties of the region: the Labour Party of Israel, the United Workers' Labour Party (MAPAM), and the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon.

(2) The Socialist International believes that the conflict in the Middle East is a threat to world peace and a source of permanent suffering to millions of human beings in this area.

(3) The Socialist International has verified during its missions that there are moderate forces in the Arab world and in Israel that effectively work towards peace. Therefore, the Socialist International considers that it is fundamental to encourage these forces, so that the two extremes do not reach a dominating position and, in fact, prevent peace negotiations. In this respect, the Socialist International sees with great concern the growth of the wave of various kinds of extremism in Islamic countries and in Israel, as well as the massive deployment of sophisticated weapons in the area.

(4) The Socialist International condemns the massacres perpetrated in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, notes with satisfaction the Labour Alignment's forceful demand for an enquiry on the massacres in Sabra and Chatila, and regrets that the recommendations of the Inquiry Commission have not been fully carried out by the government of Israel, a sign of this government's lack of political will to find a just solution in the Middle East, and suggests that in Lebanon itself a credible enquiry is set up for the establishment of all responsibilities for the crimes.

(5) The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the member parties in the region – the Labour Party and MAPAM of Israel and the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon – and urges them to continue developing efforts toward encouraging political negotiations between all the parties concerned (including the Palestinians), so that a



# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## 1983 CONGRESS



*Eiji Yasui*



*Gadi Yatziv, Dov Zakim*



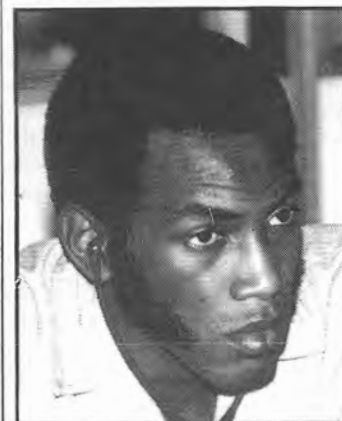
*Jacques Huntzinger, Lionel Jospin*



*Bulent Ecevit, Bengt Save Soderberg*



*Gro Harlem Brundtland, Torbjorn Jagland, Reulf Steen*



*Chris De Riggs*



*Shimon Peres*

lasting peace can be obtained in the region.

(6) The Socialist International considers that the recognition of the right of Lebanon to exist as a completely independent and sovereign state is a first step toward peace. To that effect, Israeli, armed Palestinian and Syrian troops in Lebanon must immediately begin a complete withdrawal from this country. If that does not happen, the forces

of occupation will create in Lebanon a zone of terrible instability, with negative consequences for peace in the area.

(7) The Socialist International recognises the positive role that has been played by the multinational and also the UN forces towards the progressive strengthening of peace and sovereignty in Lebanon. The presence of these forces is, at present, legitimate, because

there is agreement on the part of the government and Lebanese society in relation to their presence. The reunification of Lebanon, the formation of a national unity army, and the deactivation of party-religious militias are fundamental contributions to the transformation of Lebanon into a free, independent and sovereign state, respectful of the principles of democracy and freedom.

(8) All the countries in the area have the right to live in peace within secure and recognised borders. Therefore, the Socialist International condemns the expansionist policies of any government in the area. By the same token, it is essential to recognise the right of Israel to live in its own state in security and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their homeland.



(9) It is up to the Palestinian people alone to determine who are their legitimate representatives, while it is not the task of the Socialist International as an organisation to decide whether the PLO is the legitimate representation of the Palestinian people.

The Socialist International notes that many of its member parties and organisations recognise the PLO as this legitimate representation. Some Socialist International parties, while not expressly recognising the PLO, have regular political relations with it.

(10) The only way in which lasting peace and security can be achieved is through direct negotiations between all interested parties without using the force of terrorism or violence under any circumstances. The Socialist International expresses its concern about the fact that the Israeli government is intensifying its settlement policy on the West Bank. These settlements are contrary to international law and a major and growing obstacle to peace efforts.

(11) The Socialist International considers that legitimate representatives of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian people should open direct negotiations leading to a lasting coexistence between Israel and the Palestinian people on the basis of mutual recognition. In this sense, the Socialist International welcomes a new round of talks between Hussein and Arafat as a positive step forward.

## **Emergency resolution on Nicaragua**

**T**he Socialist International opposes outside intervention in the internal affairs of any state. It is particularly alarmed and concerned by the invasions of mercenary forces in recent weeks and days into Nicaragua from Honduras. It urges that these stop immediately and that all United States direct or indirect involvement related to this violation of the territorial integrity of Nicaragua cease. The Nicaraguan people must be left free to implement their commitment to non-alignment and a pluralist democracy.

# **Sartawi – advocate of moderation**

Dr Isam Sartawi, the PLO's representative at the Congress and Yasser Arafat's liaison person with the Socialist International, was murdered in Albufeira on 10 April. Below we reprint the full text of his letter to the president of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, read by Bernt Carlsson to the Congress.

Dear Chairman Brandt,

It gives me great pleasure to communicate to the Socialist International congress, through you, the greetings and best wishes of the people of Palestine and their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

It is indeed an historic occasion of particular importance and significance that the PLO was invited to the International's congress as an observer and that it has accepted to participate in the proceedings of the present congress in this capacity. This auspicious event crowns the dedicated multi-lateral efforts which unfolded patiently, persistently, but with great commitment and dedication over a period of several years. I will leave it to professional historians to chronicle the enormous overt and covert activity which paved the way to this evolution, but permit myself to acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation your great contributions, Mr Chairman, and those of the leadership of the Socialist International, and particularly Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

Under your gifted leadership, Mr Chairman, the Socialist International broke from its previous eurocentric confines, to the broad expanses of internationalism, Third World involvement, and North-South preoccupation. Its hallowed doors opened up, true to its historical vocation and philosophical commitments, to admit representatives of the suffering and needy peoples of the world, and to espouse their urgently pressing causes. The persecuted and underprivileged peoples of Africa, Central and South America, and even Asia, turned to the Socialist International for help, and found in it refuge and succour.

One needy and suffering people seemed to be forgotten

by the Socialist International, Mr Chairman, as they were forgotten by the rest of the world. Yes indeed, the Palestinians, my people, were forgotten. It may be claimed, in retroactive apology, that it is the manifest historical destiny of my people to suffer alone so that their tragic suffering might redeem the world and change it for the better.

Two millennia ago, a lone and gentle Palestinian, embodying the singular unfathomable beauty and mystique of my people, wreathed in thorns and carrying his cross on his back, climbed painfully the narrow steps of the Via Dolorosa in beloved eternal Jerusalem. At the end of that trajectory, he was strapped to his cross and crucified to death. Metaphysical wisdom persuades us that the excruciating martyrdom of that gentle Palestinian was necessary to expiate the sins of the world and redeem it, but conventional wisdom teaches us that our gentle martyred Palestinian started a historical revolution which gave birth to the occidental civilisation of our times and to the Socialist International, by the way, one of its nobler products.

The sins of mankind must have grown astronomically over the past two millennia, Mr Chairman. In these modern times, the redemption of the world and the expiation of its sins has necessitated the crucifixion of the whole Palestinian nation.

Our gentle predecessor on the cross, when he could bear the agony no more, screamed in anguish: 'Father why have you forsaken me'.

On behalf of my crucified people, in their name, and in the middle of our collective agony but with no less anguish, I cry: 'Why are we forsaken ...'

The Socialist International, Mr Chairman, is particularly

qualified to play a constructive role in bringing to an end the martyrdom of the Palestinian people, by contributing to the establishment of a just and honourable peace in the Middle East. Success in such an undertaking calls for a number of requirements: evenhandedness, courage and clear vision.

A constructive role cannot unfold without evenhandedness. Recognising one side to the conflict alone, or surrendering to one-sided pressure to exclude the other party is counter-productive. It even harms the long-range interests of the side exerting pressure. The International must dissociate itself from such attitudes and must deal with all parties to the conflict impartially.

Without a clear vision and the correct identification of the necessary ingredients of a just and honourable peace, no progress can be made. At the centre of the Middle Eastern conflict stand the Palestinian people with their legitimate claims to their inalienable right to self-determination, their right to establish a state of their own on part of their patrimony, their right to settle the Palestinian refugee problem through return or compensation in accordance with UN resolutions, and their uncontested right to choose freely their own legitimate representative, the PLO. Recognition of these inalienable rights is the first pressing task which faces the Socialist International and which for all the obvious moral and political reasons can be no further delayed.

The second task is the exertion of pressure to bring about the participation of the PLO in the search for peace in the Middle East. Without such participation no such peace is possible.

A negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict is the only civilised option facing all of us. In appreciation of this principle,



the PLO promulgated a series of historically important resolutions, which, Mr Chairman, I would like to bring to your attention, and through you, to the attention of all *concerned parties*.

As far back as 1977 the 13th Palestinian National Council passed a series of remarkable resolutions. First and foremost it promulgated a resolution unprecedented in the annals of human conflict by authorising dialogue with the progressive and democratic forces in Israel. The invitation was accepted by some forces like the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, Shelli Rakah among others. I salute these Israeli democratic and progressive forces and acknowledge their contribution to peace. It is unfortunate that other Israeli forces which define themselves as progressive and democratic, and participate under these labels in international progressive and democratic bodies, have refused so far to participate in this peaceful dialogue!

The 13th PNC redefined formally the Palestinian state in



*Isam Sartawi: in favour of a peaceful solution in the Middle East*

any part of Palestine from which Israeli forces withdraw, or which is liberated. The significance of such a resolution needs no comment.

The 14th PNC which convened in 1979 endorsed the Baghdad summit resolutions which defined the collective Arab target as a 'just and durable peace in the Middle East based upon the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in the war of 1967 and the implementation of Palestinian national rights as defined by UN resolutions'. By doing that, the Baghdad summit

revoked incidentally the three 'nos' of Khartoum. Again the significance of this resolution is self-evident.

Going even further in affirming its will to peace, the PLO endorsed in the 15th PNC the Brezhnev peace plan, which, significantly enough, contained an explicit paragraph guaranteeing the right of all the states in the area, including Israel, to live in security and sovereignty.

Capping all these resolutions, the last PNC of February this year reendorsed the Brezhnev plan and ratified the Fez summit resolutions.

This impressive legislative record demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the PLO is committed to a just, honourable and lasting peace in the Middle East, in word and deed.

It is now the moral duty of the world to recognise this impressive position and the duty of the other parties to reciprocate.

In this direction, Mr Chairman, lies the role of the Socialist International and its member parties.

*Isam Sartawi*

## Tributes

### Willy Brandt

**President of the Socialist International**

Dr Isam Sartawi, who was a guest at our congress, has died. He has been a victim of violence, of violence which has been poisoning the Middle East for decades. He died although, or perhaps because, he has been an advocate of moderation and understanding. He attracted fatal hatred because, or mainly because, he was in favour of a peaceful solution and he struggled for it.

Dr Sartawi had great expectations and great hopes in our organisation. Perhaps his hopes were too high. His death compels us and obliges us to continue in our efforts in order to avoid more people in the Middle East and from the Middle East being killed and dying from violence.

### Shimon Peres

**Leader of the Israel Labour Party**

We are all shocked by the criminal assassination of Dr Isam Sartawi. The culprit who put an end to his life was attacking the spirit of moderation, which Sartawi showed with personal courage. As a human being, as a Jew, as a socialist, I cannot but condemn any act of terror in any form, under any circumstances. It is against everything I stand for. I saw with my own eyes children, women, men – Jews and Arabs – being murdered for no good reason and it has made the lives of all of us dark and dangerous. This murder adds to the darkness and endless agony.

Dr Sartawi took his own position. He swam against the stream in the face of great objection and danger. He wanted to change a line, not submit to it. And while we cannot take the line of the organisation he belonged to, we were well aware of his personal courage. Unfortunately, we

have had to disagree and argue – but to argue; not to shoot; not to kill. We are looking for the civilised option, not the dark one. And I have to repeat what I have said already yesterday, that our enemy is not the people, not the Palestinian people. Our enemy is not religion, not Islam. Our enemy is terror, assassination, belligerence; and we feel today that it is our duty to do more than ever before in order to stop the violence and acts of terror and bring a promise, to all people concerned, of peace and hope.

### Walid Jumblatt

**Leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon**

I repeat what I have always said and which I shall never cease to say: the cause of the Palestinians is a just cause. This is not the moment to enter into accusations, that will not help anyone, because Isam Sartawi is dead. But if yesterday I had been tougher, I would probably have

used the term racist as regards some parties of northern Europe. I must point out that the Arab and Palestinian peoples cannot indefinitely continue in their lives to pay for the price of the holocaust that was carried out against the Jewish people. I think it is now up to the Jewish, the Palestinian and the Arab people to see that a just solution is brought about in the Middle East. Opportunities for peace seem very dim at this time and I would like to pay tribute to Sartawi. I hope he is the last victim, but I have my doubts on that.

### Bernt Carlsson

**General secretary of the Socialist International**

Isam Sartawi was a friend to many of us here. He was a man profoundly committed to peace. The pain which we share at his brutal murder must be matched by our determination to continue our efforts in the cause of peace, to which he gave his life.

# List of participants

## Congress of the Socialist International Albufeira, Portugal, 7-10 April 1983

**Socialist International**  
Willy Brandt  
Bernt Carlsson

**SI Secretariat**  
Robin Sears  
Luis Ayala

### Fraternal Organisations

**IFM/SEI**  
*International Falcon  
Movement/Socialist  
Educational International*  
Nic Nilsson  
Jacqui Cottyn  
Robert Bernard  
Even Rusten  
Saara-Maria Paakinen

**IUSY**  
*International Union of  
Socialist Youth*  
Milton Colindres  
Bengt Ohlsson  
Robert Kredig  
Walter Marossi  
Victor Rebollo

**SI Women**  
*Socialist International  
Women*  
Lydie Schmit  
Irmtraut Leirer  
Alicia Redel  
Elena Marinucci  
Monika Kramme

### Member Parties

**Australia**  
*Australian Labor Party, ALP*  
Joan Taggart  
Barbara Wiese

**Austria**  
*Socialist Party of Austria,  
SPO*  
Walter Hacker

**Barbados**  
*Barbados Labour Party*  
O'Brien Trotman

**Belgium**  
*Socialist Party, PS*  
Guy Spitaels  
Irene Petry  
Guy Sokay  
Etienne Godin  
Ernest Glinne

*Socialist Party, SP*  
Karel van Miert  
Willy Claes  
Oscar Debunne  
Jos van Eynde

**Canada**  
*New Democratic Party,  
NDP/NPD*  
Edward Broadbent  
Tony Penikett

Gerry Caplan  
John Brewin  
Hilda Thomas  
Eldon Richardson

**Chile**  
*Radical Party, PR*  
Anselmo Sule  
Olaf Liendo  
Nora Maluenda  
Carlos Morales  
Camilo Salvo  
Ricardo Navarrete

**Costa Rica**  
*National Liberation Party,  
PLN*  
Daniel Oduber  
Julio Jurado  
Edgar Ugalde  
Carlos Villalobos  
Alejandro Montesino  
Gaetano Matteucci  
Hernan Garron  
Victor Hugo Alfaro

**Denmark**  
*Social Democratic Party*  
Anker Joergensen  
Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen  
Inge Fischer Moeller  
Knud Heinesen  
Knud Christensen  
Lasse Budtz  
Lis Benfeldt  
Jan Petersen  
Peer Carlsen  
Steen Christensen

**Dominican Republic**  
*Dominican Revolutionary  
Party, PRD*  
Jose Francisco Pena Gomez  
Abraham Bautista Alcantara  
Tiburcio Perdomo  
Cotubanama Dipp  
Fulgencio Espinal

**Ecuador**  
*Democratic Left Party, PID*  
Rodrigo Borja  
Nicolas Isa  
Pablo Andrade

**El Salvador**  
*National Revolutionary  
Movement, MNR*  
Guillermo Ungo  
Hector Oqueli  
Francisco Marroquin  
Julieta Otera

**Finland**  
*Social Democratic Party of  
Finland*  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Erkki Liikanen  
Pentti Vaananen  
Jaakko Lensu

**France**  
*Socialist Party, PS*  
Lionel Jospin  
Jacques Huntzinger  
Jean-Bernard Curial  
Axel Queval  
Pierre Brana  
Martine Buron

**Federal Republic of  
Germany**  
*Social Democratic Party of  
Germany, SPD*  
Johannes Rau  
Hans-Juergen Wischnewski  
Friedrich Halstenberg  
Egon Bahr  
Inge Wettig-Danielmeier  
Karsten D. Voigt  
Hans-Eberhard Dingels  
Otto Georg  
Klaus Wettig  
Siegfried Bangert  
Peter Hengstenberg  
Helga Ernst

**Great Britain**  
*Labour Party*  
Michael Foot  
Alex Kitson  
Ian Mikardo  
Jenny Little

**Grenada**  
*New Jewel Movement*  
Fennis Augustine  
Chris De Riggs  
Merle Collins  
Vincent Noel  
Linwell Purcell Thomas

**Guatemala**  
*Democratic Socialist Party,  
PSD*  
Carlos Gallardo Flores  
Haroldo Rodas Melgar  
Juan Alberto Fuentes

**Ireland**  
*Labour Party*  
Dick Spring  
Tony Brown

**Israel**  
*Israel Labour Party*  
Shimon Peres  
Nava Arad  
Israel Gat  
Yossi Beilin  
Aaron Barnia

*United Workers' Party,  
MAPAM*  
Dov Zakin  
Gadi Yatziv  
Arieh Yaffe

**Italy**  
*Italian Democratic Socialist  
Party, PSDI*  
Pietro Longo  
Ivanka Corti  
R. Massari  
Carlo Vizzini  
G. Ciocia  
G. Manzolini  
Enzo Collio  
Guido Pavanello  
Fernanda Parrini

*Italian Socialist Party, PSI*  
Bettino Craxi  
Valdo Spini  
Margherita Boniver  
Giorgio Gangi  
Paolo Vittorelli  
Michele Achilli  
Francesco Forte  
Giorgio Benvenuto

Agostino Marianetti  
Giuseppe Attene  
Umberto Dragone  
Giuseppe Scanni  
Carlo Ripa di Meana  
Jiri Pelikan  
Mario Zagari  
Tiziana Gibelli  
Daniele Cantore

**Jamaica**  
*People's National Party,  
PNP*  
Michael Manley  
Paul Miller

**Japan**  
*Democratic Socialist Party,  
JDSP*  
Roo Watanabe  
Sachiko Taguchi

*Socialist Party of Japan,  
SPJ*  
Noboru Yagi  
Eiji Yasui

**Lebanon**  
*Progressive Socialist Party,  
PSP*  
Walid Jumblatt  
Janine Rubeiz  
Ghazi Andj  
Enna Walle

**Luxembourg**  
*Luxembourg Socialist  
Workers' Party, LSAP POSL*  
Lydie Schmit

**Malta**  
*Malta Labour Party*  
Leo Briccat  
Mike Borg

**Mauritius**  
*Mauritius Labour Party*  
Harry Booluck  
James Burty David

**Netherlands**  
*Labour Party, PvdA*  
Joop den Uyl  
Max van den Bergh  
Maarten van Traa  
Geke Werkman  
Ria Meijvogel  
Relus ter Beek  
Kees Stapper  
Liesbeth den Uyl

**New Zealand**  
*New Zealand Labour Party*  
Helen Clark

**Norway**  
*Norwegian Labour Party,  
DNA*  
Gro Harlem Brundtland  
Reiulf Steen  
Torbjorn Jagland  
Thorvald Stoltenberg

**Paraguay**  
*Febrerista Revolutionary  
Party, PFR*  
Alarico Quinones Cabral  
Juan G. Granada  
Oscar Britze

**Portugal**  
*Socialist Party, PS*  
Mario Soares  
Rui Mateus  
Luis Filipe Madeira  
Manuel Alegre  
Jaime Gama  
Torres Couto  
Walter Rosa  
Almeida Santos

Maria Barroso  
Bernardino Gomes  
Manuel Tito de Morais  
Henrique Coelho

**Senegal**  
*Socialist Party of Senegal*  
Leopold Sedar Senghor  
Moustapha Niasse  
Joseph Mathiam

**Spain**  
*Spanish Socialist Workers'  
Party, PSOE*  
Felipe Gonzalez  
Francisco Lopez Real  
Elena Flores  
Jose Maria Benegas  
Manuel Chaves  
Federico Manero  
Eneko Landaburu  
Carmen Rodriguez  
Emilio Menendez del Valle

**Sweden**  
*Swedish Social Democratic  
Party, SAP*  
Olof Palme  
Maij-Lis Loow  
Evert Svensson  
Gunnar Stenarv  
Bengt Save Soderberg  
Bo Toresson

**Switzerland**  
*Social Democratic Party*  
Heinrich Buchbinder  
Rudolf H. Strahm  
Jean Ziegler

**Turkey**  
*Republican People's Party,  
CHP*  
(party officially dissolved)  
Bulent Ecevit  
(privately invited guest)

**USA**  
*Democratic Socialists of  
America, DSA*  
Michael Harrington  
Barbara Ehrenreich  
Maxine Phillips  
Motl Zelmanowicz

*Social Democrats USA,  
SDUSA*  
Rita Freedman  
Joel Freedman  
Velma Hill  
Emmanuel Muravchik  
Don Slaiman  
Irwin Suall

**Venezuela**  
*Democratic Action, AD*  
Carlos Andres Perez  
Beatriz Rangel Mantilla

### Consultative Parties

**Curacao NA**  
*New Antilles Movement,  
MAN*  
Marco J. de Castro

**Cyprus**  
*EDEK Socialist Party of  
Cyprus*  
Vassos Lyssarides  
Takis Hadjidemetriou

**Guyana**  
*Working People's Alliance,  
WPA*  
Rupert Roopnaraine

**Peru**  
*Aprista Party of Peru, APRA*  
Armando Villanueva del  
Campo

**Puerto Rico**  
*Puerto Rican Independence  
Party, PIP*  
Ruben Berrios  
Fernando Martin  
David Noriega



**Bulgaria**  
*Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (SUCEE)*  
Stefan Tabakoff  
Stamenov Dobrin

**Czechoslovakia**  
*Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (SUCEE)*  
Vilem Bernard

**Estonia**  
*Estonian Socialist Party (SUCEE)*  
Johannes Mihkelson  
Heinz Raudsepp  
Ursula Wallberg

**Hungary**  
*Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SUCEE)*  
Andor Bolcsfoldi

**Latvia**  
*Social Democratic Party of Latvia (SUCEE)*  
Bruno Kalnins

**Poland**  
*Polish Socialist Party (SUCEE)*  
Tadeusz Prokopowicz  
Stefan Trzcinski  
Stanislaw Wasik

**Yugoslavia**  
*Yugoslavia Socialist Party (SUCEE)*  
Marko Milunovic  
Mirko Gjirkovecki

### Associated Organisations

**APSO**  
*Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation*  
Roo Watanabe

**CSIT**  
*Labour Sports International*  
Maurice Deveen

**CSPEC**  
*Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community*  
Mauro Giallombardi

**IFSDP**  
*International Federation of Social Democratic Press*  
Umberto Giovine  
H.G. Schmidt  
Peter Graf  
Gian Paolo Segala  
Christine Fontana King  
Enrique Gomariz

**JLB**  
*Jewish Labor Bund*  
Cecile Steingart  
Abraham Finesilver

**WLZM**  
*World Labour Zionist Movement*  
Roger Ascot  
Gideon Kuts

### Observers

**ETUC**  
*European Trade Union Confederation*  
Bjorn Pettersson

**FIET**  
*International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees*  
Heribert Maier

**ICEF**  
*International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers' Unions*  
Alfredo Morgado  
Matilde Fernandez

**ICFTU**  
*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*  
John Vanderveken

**IUF**  
*International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations*  
Nelson Guedes

**ALDHU**  
*Latin America Human Rights Association*  
Cesar Verduga Velez

**European Parliament Socialist Group**  
Ernest Glinne  
Paolo Falcone

**IAH**  
*International Labour Welfare Organisation*  
Kurt Partzsch

**IAS**  
*Socialist InterAfrica*  
M. Moncef Labi

**IFN**  
*International Friends of Nature*  
Werner Werder

**Afghanistan**  
*Afghan Social Democratic Party*  
Amin Wakman

**National United Front of Afghanistan**  
Abdul Qayoum  
Sayed Hashem  
Same ullah Safi

**Algeria**  
*National Liberation Front*  
Tefridj Abdelkrim  
Ahmed Attaf  
Sliman Hoffmann

**Angola**  
*MPLA/PT*  
Sebastian Isata  
Venancio Moura  
Fernando Vau-Dunem

**Argentina**  
*Mesa de Unidad Socialista*  
Guillermo Estevez Boero  
Oscar Anibal Lopez Blanco  
Stella Maris Nadal

**Popular Socialist Party**  
Oscar Borgonovo  
Beatriz Giri

**Bolivia**  
*Revolutionary Movement of the Left, MIR*  
Antonio Aranibar Quiroga  
Franz Barrios Villegas  
Susana Seleme  
Hector Chavez

**National Revolutionary Movement of the Left, MNIR**  
Ricardo Angel Cardona

**Botswana**  
*Botswana Democratic Party*  
A.M. Mogwe  
Benjamin T. Motthalamme

**Brazil**  
*Democratic Movement Party of Brazil, PMDB*  
Ruth Escobar

**Democratic Workers' Party, PDT**  
Sebastian Atarde  
Saturnino Braga  
Clemir Ramos

**Canada**  
*Parti Quebecois*  
Sylvain Simard  
Nadia Assimopoulos

**Cape Verde**  
*Parti Africain pour l'Independence du Cap Vert, PAICV*  
Jose Araujo  
Carlos Lopez Pereira

**Czechoslovakia**  
*Listy Group*  
Zdenek Hejzlar

**Dominica**  
*United Dominica Labour Party*  
Rosie Douglas

**East Timor**  
*FRETILIN*  
Roque Rodriguez  
Jose Luis Guterres

**Egypt**  
*National Democratic Party*  
Mohamed Abdella

**Progressive Nationalist Unionist Party, PNUP**  
Abduseis Youssef

**El Salvador**  
*Democratic Revolutionary Front, FDR*  
Salvador Samayoa

**Equatorial Guinea**  
*National Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy, ANRD*  
C.M. Eya Nchama  
Martin Nsono Okomo

**Eritrea**  
*Eritrean Liberation Front*  
Glaidos Idris  
Suleiman Oman

**Eritrean People's Liberation Front**  
Ermias Debessai  
Jibril Abdi

**Eritrean Liberation Front People's Liberation Forces**  
Zeggai Kahsai  
Taha M. Noor

**Guatemala**  
*National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala, URNG*  
Belisario Aldana  
Fernando Ortiz

**Guinea Bissau**  
*African Party of Independence, PAIGC*  
Leonel Vieira  
Filipe Barros

**Haiti**  
*Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Haiti, MODELH*  
Louis Eugene Athis

**Rassemblement Democrate National Progressistes Haitiens, RDNP**  
Jean-Claude Bajoux  
Leslie Manigat

**Union des Forces Patriotiques et Democratiques Haitiennes, IFOPADA**  
Serges Gilles  
Alberte Sorel  
Jacques Dorcean

**Iran**  
*National Council of Resistance*  
Kassem Rajavi  
Ahmad Salamatian

**Republic of Korea**  
*Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification, UOKDU*  
Bae Dong Ho  
Kwak Soo-Ho  
Chung Sung Beh  
Choi Ki-Hwan  
Yun Isang  
Lim Min Shik

**Mexico**  
*PR/COPPPAL*  
Alfonso Zegbe

**Morocco**  
*Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP*  
Abderrahim Bouabid  
Mehdi Alaoui

**Mozambique**  
*Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO*  
Pascoal Mocumbi  
Pedro Comissario  
Francisco Eria  
Manuel Cujar

**New Caledonia**  
*Independent Front*  
Yann Celene Uregei  
Jean-Marie Tjibaou

**Nicaragua**  
*Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN*  
Bayardo Arce Castano  
Julio Lopez  
Orlando Castillo  
Jose Pasos Marciaq  
Antonio Jarquin

**PLO**  
*Palestine Liberation Organisation*  
Isam Sartawi  
Anwar Abu Eishah

**Peru**  
*Revolutionary Socialist Party*  
Fernando Sanchez Albavera

**Philippines**  
*Pilipino Democratic Socialist Party*  
Alberto Cruz  
Raul Daza

**Somalia**  
*Revolutionary Socialist Party*  
Aden Mohamed Ali  
Mohamed Abdi Salam

**South Africa**  
*African National Congress, ANC*  
Thabo Mbeki  
Tony Seedat

**Tanzania**  
*Chama Cha Mapinduzi*  
E. Weidi N. Mwasafyuka

**Tunisia**  
*Destourien Socialist Party, PSD*  
Sadok Ben Jomaa  
Ridha Hejri  
Kamel Sassi

**Popular Unity Movement, MUP**  
Hassen Mansouri  
Abdelkader Zouari

**Social Democratic Movement, MDS**  
Ahmed Mestiri  
Dali Jazi

**Uruguay**  
*Democratic Convergence, CDU*  
Juan Raul Ferreira  
Marta Vilaro

**Socialist Party of Uruguay, PSU**  
Jose Enrique Diaz  
Artigas Melgares O.

**USA**  
*American Political Foundation*  
Joseph Crowley

**Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies**  
Ronald G. Hellman

**Democratic Party**  
John P. Loiello

**Western Sahara**  
*Polisario*  
Suleiman Tayeb  
Fadel Ismail  
Ahmed Boujari

**Zambia**  
*United National Independent Party, UNIP*  
Daniel M. Lisulo  
Geoffrey S. Akafekwa  
Alick T. Mpengula

### Individual guests

**Argentina**  
Juan Carlos Rubinstein

**Austria**  
Hans Janitschek

**Canada**  
Paul Willox

**Guatemala**  
Ana Colom Argueta

**Indonesia**  
Iman Yudotomo

**Sao Tome and Principe**  
Miguel Trovoala

**Tunisia**  
Ahmed Ben Salah

**UNCTAD**  
Jan Pronk



*Focus in this and the next issue of Socialist Affairs will include many of the contributions made at the 1983 Congress. We reprint in full the Manifesto of Albufeira; the opening speeches by Willy Brandt, president of the International, and Mario Soares,*

*leader of the host Portuguese Socialist Party; and Bernt Carlsson's address on the general secretary's report, which reviews the extensive activities of the International since the Madrid congress in 1980.*

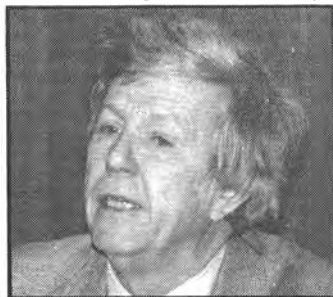
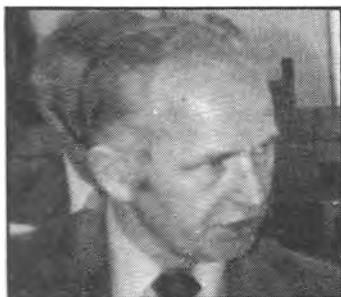
## ***The Manifesto of Albufeira***

The main resolution or, as it has been called, the Manifesto of Albufeira, is a declaration of this congress of the Socialist International on the broad outlines of its strategy for a solution of the world economic crisis, for disarmament and peace, and linked to both of these efforts for the creation of a new economic order.

I would like to say a few words in order to emphasise some basic aspects of the manifesto, first, concerning the innovation in the way the manifesto is presented, and second, about some of the fundamental ideas for dealing with the economic crisis in the North and the South, and finally on how arms control in both East and West could also contribute to the re-structuring of the relations between the North and the South to the benefit of the peoples of both.

This manifesto, in the way it is presented and in the way it is written, is a new departure in the Socialist International. At the meeting of the Congress Resolutions Committee in Madrid in February we unanimously agreed to write not an exhaustive survey of every area of the world and every problem. We felt that such an approach could devalue the political effect of this congress, and the questions concerned. On the other hand we agreed that a conceptual document which would be of political effect, generally and also for the individual and specific problems we have dealt with. The Resolutions Committee during its work here in Albufeira was largely supportive of the decision taken in Madrid. I would like to thank all the participants in the Committee for their very hard work and their valuable contributions to the document we now have before us. I would like to direct a special word of thanks to the secretary of the Committee, Michael

*Thorvald Stoltenberg (left), chair of the Congress Resolutions Committee, and Michael Harrington, secretary*



Harrington, who wrote the first draft of the manifesto.

The first section of the manifesto analyses how the current crisis strikes more violently in the Third World, where it brings death and famine, not only unemployment and lower living standards. At the same time in the industrialised countries there is the greatest economic and social drift since the second world war, as reactionaries try to use eighteenth-century and monetarist dogmas to undermine and destroy the twentieth-century welfare state. The basic issue, we insist, is not whether sweeping transformations are going to take place. They are already underway as the world is reshaped. Capital is internationalising itself in unprecedented fashions. Truly, transnational corporations and technological revolution are redefining the very nature of work.

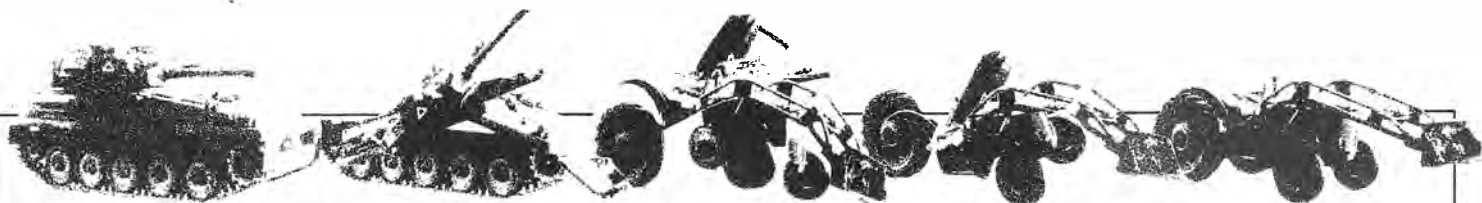
These problems, we emphasise, are not simply economic. It is a question of who decides and who controls development – a question of democracy, in other words. There are social, yes, even individual tragedies, as young people, racial and national minorities and women are threatened by marginalisation. What then is the way out for the world? Neo-capitalism is not the answer, as the 4 million workers in the United States who have lost their jobs since Ronald Reagan took office can testify. Communism with its self-denying and undemocratic bureaucracy offers no solution and in a good many cases is already mortgaged to capitalist banks.

We socialists do not pretend to have *the* answer – there is no such thing – but we know the path which must be taken to achieve the complex answers to the crisis. There must be a further democratisation of economic structures, both national and international, and new applications of the basic principle that people must democratically control the economic and social decisions which shape their lives.

We propose to link North and South and to make international justice a growth industry for recovery. We need to plan openly and with a maximum of decentralisation and participation of people at the grassroots. There must be an end to the present scandal of capitalist waste, by channelling resources into social uses such as health and housing and away from ruinous speculation.

The funds are there; the question is how and who





*Swords into ploughshares, tanks into tractors: the overriding theme of the Manifesto of Albufeira*

shall decide how to use them to create a new international monetary and financial order and to curb the speculative interest rates which have been a scourge to North and South. There is a need to redistribute common wealth within and between nations, not simply as a means of justice but also as a model for worldwide economic recovery. Achieving social justice for marginal groups, and redefining the boundaries of work and leisure as a means of controlling the effect of technological revolution, rather than being controlled by it, are also priorities.

These are the broad categories of a strategy, not the details of a programme. The latter must be worked out in each member party in accordance with its own needs. In this manifesto we have simply but emphatically underlined the basic socialist values and tactics which inspire each of us, rather than specific initiatives.

We call upon the Soviet Union and the United States to take immediate steps to halt any further escalation of the arms race. In addition, we call for a reduction in and ultimately the elimination of nuclear weapons. We also insist that conventional weapons are now, with their electronic and murderous intelligence, anything but conventional. Controlling them is a priority second only to nuclear disarmament. We also consider the inhuman conditions of the majority of the world's population not only a moral question but an aspect of security.

The situation, for instance, in parts of Africa is not only of interest to the population in that area, but also to world peace. First steps in disarmament could aid in the creation of a new international economic order which again would open up possibilities in the North

as well as in the South. Indeed our strategy might be summarised by the title of the 1983 report of the Brandt Commission: *Common Crisis: North-South Cooperation for World Recovery*.

Finally, comrades, a word about the Socialist International, as an organisation, in this development. Since the Geneva congress in 1976, the leadership of Willy Brandt and Bernt Carlsson as general secretary has created an effective international political organisation. It may now even be the most effective such organisation in the world. The Socialist International has taken important steps towards being multinational and multiracial. Therefore we believe that we have a unique opportunity to coordinate the work of seventy-seven member parties and organisations from every continent on the globe. We are not a command staff, we are a political and moral community based upon shared values of democratic socialism and willing to listen to proposals and cooperate in projects which transcend national borders. Our solidarity work has extended to Spain and Poland; to Southern Africa, to the Middle East; and East Timor.

Marx once said that workers, having been forced to band together in trade unions to protect their interests, discovered that the unions themselves and the solidarity they evoked became an end not just a means; and so too for us. We are practical idealists and in our most pragmatic undertakings there is a vision, a vision of new possibilities for the human race. This, comrades, is what we have tried to say in the manifesto of Albufeira.

**Thorvald Stoltenberg**

**T**hese are times of great fear and great hope. Fear, because the escalation of the nuclear arms race threatens the existence of the planet earth; hope, because a growing consciousness of that ultimate horror has mobilised tens of millions, particularly the young, in the search for peace through disarmament.

Fear, because the worst economic crisis in half a century has widened the gap between the rich and poor nations and thrown more than forty million men and women out of work in Europe and North America; hope, because there is a growing understanding that a progressive resolution of this crisis demands, nationally and internationally, more democratic control by the people over the economic decisions that shape their lives.

Hope, finally, because we all now understand that the answers to both the arms race and the economic crisis can, and must, be linked together. Disarmament

could free resources for the development of the Third World societies and thereby free many of the jobless in the North to create the means of life, rather than the means of death, for the South.

Do we seriously propose such radical changes? Yes we do! But let there be no doubt about it: the world is going to be radically changed in what remains of the twentieth century whether or not we, or anyone else, propose it. The international economy, and every national economy within it, is already in the process of fundamental restructuring. The issue, then, is not whether sweeping transformations are going to take place. They are already underway. The issue is, who will control these transformations; in whose interest will they be organised and with what political and social consequences? Will transnational corporations dominate a transnational world? Will dictatorships preside over this change? Or could there be

a quantum leap in the democratic control of a technology capable of remaking the globe – and of blowing it up?

Democratic socialism, then, is not an empty dream of an impossible future. It is a will and a way to deal with a military and economic revolution that is in progress. Its challenge, as Willy Brandt stated at the 1976 Geneva congress, is to be a third force, an alternative to capitalism and one-party state communism.

That is not to say that there is some single, simple answer to these intersecting crises. Obviously, there is not. We know this quite well, for we practice the pluralism we preach and there are differences within, and between, our member parties about exactly what must be done. Moreover, we understand that the mere fact of an urgent challenge does not guarantee an adequate response to it. Our answer, then, will be worked out in international debate and achieved through political action over a long

**'A commitment to a new international economic order ... is more than a basic moral imperative for us. It is an economic necessity as well.'**

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and difficult period of time that will see defeats as well as victories.

Our movement is, and always has been, about freedom, about the liberation of humanity from the rule of any authoritarian structure, be it economic power as it corrupts and subverts political democracy, or outright dictatorship, no matter what the label. But how does one act upon that principle in a time when even the most optimistic scenarios envision higher unemployment and lower growth than during the past quarter of a century; when the most advanced of the developing nations face retrogression and the poor among them confront famine; above all, when the escalation of the nuclear arms race could put an end to humankind itself?

The conventional wisdom of the post-war period is in deep trouble, and not just the socialist conventional wisdom. There were euphoric illusions about a transformed capitalism, idylls of an endless growth that would provide increasing justice within, and between, nations without the inconvenience of requiring serious institutional change. That was the overgeneralisation of the experience of the fifties and sixties and it is a shambles now. On the right, the Thatchers and Reagans and worse, the Pinochets, react by trying to dismantle the social gains of half a century of popular struggle.

The communist economies are, in varying degrees, also in deep trouble. There are declining, and even negative growth rates, a chronic agricultural crisis, and shoddy consumer goods in stark contrast to sophisticated armaments. Although these difficulties can, in part, be attributed to the effects of the crisis in the advanced capitalist countries, we must emphasise that it is the communist economic and social system that is largely the cause of this deterioration. There is in the countries of the East a basic organisational crisis that manifests itself in a disquieting increase in internal tensions and a degradation of social relations.

In these times of capitalist and communist upheaval, the socialist ideology is the only one that can bring hope to the peoples of the Third World as well as to those of the industrialised nations. It is also the only approach that simultaneously takes into account the need for social justice, liberty, and respect for the rights of human beings. It is a set of beliefs that transcends barriers of age, sex and race, uniting diverse individuals. It is, finally, an ideology that can take up the problems of peace and security in the world without the least hesitation.

So it is, at this congress of the Socialist International, that we put forward, not a detailed map to a dimly glimpsed future, but some new directions for a present in turmoil. To a fearful and often bewildered world, we offer a socialist point of depar-

ture for a politics of hope. No more. And no less.

**T**he most important task of the present and near future is to develop coherent solutions for the problems posed by the world economic crisis.

In the advanced western economies there have been ten years of reduced growth, runaway inflation and growing unemployment, monetary instability and wasteful speculation.

Just a few illustrative statistics should evoke this menacing development. Between 1961 and 1970, the gross domestic product (GDP) of the OECD countries went up by 5.02 per cent and unemployment averaged 2.7 per cent. In the years 1971-1980, growth in GDP fell to 3.26 per cent and unemployment roughly doubled, to 5.1 per cent. But then the last three years were worse than the decade of the seventies, as GNP actually declined in the United States in 1982 by 1.8 per cent and only increased by 0.3 per cent in the entire European Community.

At the same time, there was a plague of unemployment in many of these countries: 12.7 per cent in the fourth quarter of 1982 in Canada, 10.7 per cent in the USA, 13 per cent in the third quarter of 1982 in the United Kingdom, 8.7 per cent in the same quarter in France, and 6.2 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The people of the communist countries, we have seen, are paying a terrible price for the errors of undemocratic planning.

But it is in the Third World that this crisis has struck with the greatest violence. The indices of living standards, mortality and literacy show that, despite some successes, the long-term battle against misery has not been won. Now these underlying trends are made even worse by the economic turmoil in the world economy. The reduction of growth in the industrialised countries has deprived the developing economies of important markets. Investments already made cease to be profitable. The increasing strength of the dollar and soaring interest rates put many Third World nations in the position of being unable to honour debts contracted to finance those investments. For the majority of these societies an impossible financial situation imperils whatever gains have been made in the past. The effects of the crisis, which are measured in the percentages of the standard of living in the advanced economies, are expressed by the growing number of the hungry in the Third World; there is unemployment in the North, famine and death in the South.

Finally, there is a political dimension to this process which could subvert many of the gains of decolonisation. A good number of the newly independent nations run the risk of being placed in a position of dependence in relation to the rich countries

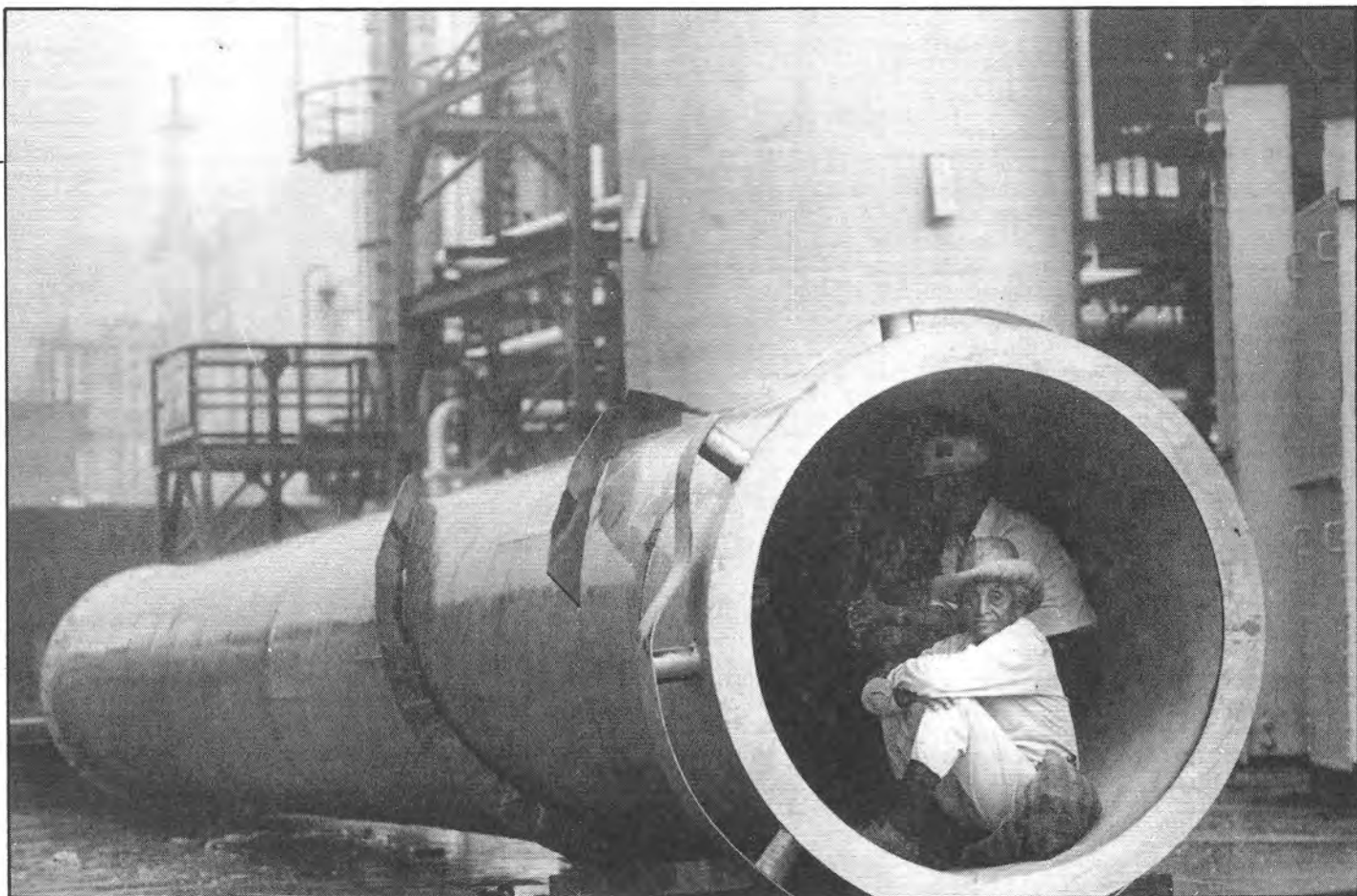
and various international organisations. In a matter of a few years, they could lose a freedom which they achieved over a number of decades.

In the western countries with conservative governments this has led not simply to the abandonment of the goal of full employment as a tactic in the fight against inflation, but also to an attack upon some of the most important achievements of the welfare state. At the same time, an increasing portion of the population – most notably the youth, women and racial and national minorities – are marginalised, cut off from the world of work. This has often been accompanied by xenophobic relations toward immigrant workers on the part of those who do not understand the profound structural sources of the crisis.

In a congress manifesto, it is impossible to make a detailed analysis of such complex developments, North, South, East and West. We can, however, point to a number of important themes and even integrate them in terms of an overall concept. That concept has to do with capitalism itself. For all of the positive changes in capitalist society over the past century or two – the welfare state, the acknowledgement of government's responsibility for economic and social planning, the increased political influence of constituencies, above all, the working people, who had previously been excluded from public life – the system continues to blunder into technological and economic revolutions without considering the consequences or the alternatives. That will not do. We are in a crisis analogous to the depression of the thirties or the transition to monopoly capitalism in the tumultuous last decades of the nineteenth century. In those earlier periods, it was precisely the democratic socialist movement which raised basic issues and demanded institutional change to an unprecedented new environment. We propose to do that again in the eighties when the sweeping transformations already underway include:

- a shift in the international division of labour so that South Korea and Brazil can produce steel more cheaply than Japan or the West, with profound consequences for the established steel industries, their workers, and the communities that depend upon them;
- an internationalisation of capital as transnational corporations build a 'global factory', disrupting the advanced countries, but by no means providing balanced, or even general, growth for the developing nations;
- a technological revolution – 'artificial intelligence', computerised and robotised production, etc. – which is likely to strike technical and clerical workers and middle management, as well as continuing to reduce the number of industrial workers in





*Among the South's lucky ones: workers taking a rest at the Coatzacoalcos oil refinery in Mexico*

the North and to make full employment even more difficult to achieve in the South; – the application of monetarist ideas in Third World dictatorships (Argentina and Chile) as well as in western democracies (the United States, the United Kingdom), an enormous increase in market loans to the developing countries, instead of loans on development aid terms, and during the past several years a vast diversion of resources from investment in wealth-producing assets to speculation in interest rates;

– structural shifts within the advanced capitalist economies, which radically re-define Keynesian 'trade-offs': ie., it took a decline in GDP and an increase in unemployment of approximately five million workers to control temporarily the inflation rates in the United States.

These are only some of the structural factors at work – they do not, for instance, include the three 'oil shocks' of 1973-74 and 1979-80 and the problems of OPEC in 1983 – and it is clear that socialists and others can differ on their relative importance or with regard to what has been omitted. But what cannot be doubted is that the world economy is in the throes of a transformation more profound than any in half a century.

Clearly, every member party of the Socialist International will have to work out its own national response to this crisis – and just as clearly, international coordination is more critical today than ever before. 'The world's economic interdependence', Helmut Schmidt wrote in a recent article, 'has never been greater than it is in this decade. It has never been so necessary to

make sure that economic policies complement each other and are internationally compatible'.

The Socialist International has a special role to play within this context.

In all parts of the world, socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions and other organisations are actively engaged in the search for a way out of the crisis. They have all called for *reflation*, the *redistribution* of employment, income and wealth, and the *restructuring* of Third World and advanced industrial economies and their interrelationships. In the next period, it is important that the Socialist International act to facilitate the exchange of programmes and to help coordinate the common actions of these progressive movements.

We believe that our regional groupings – the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, the Latin America and Caribbean parties, the forthcoming conference on Africa, the socialist parties of the European Community and of all Europe – have an important role to play in this process. And we will work with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the various international trade secretariats toward the goal of gaining some democratic and social control over transnational corporate power.

There is, of course, no magic blueprint of a mechanism to end the crisis. But there are some basic principles and some of them have already proved their worth in practice. For instance, we note that the Austrian socialists have, through careful input-

output analyses and cooperative democratic planning, coped remarkably well with the storm of change now sweeping across the world economy. On the basis of that, and other, experiences, we propose an eight-point programme as a framework for socialist action.

**First.** Economic recovery in the industrialised economies, with a reduction in both unemployment and inflation, is the point of departure for the socialist response. But the efforts of the developed nations will have no lasting effect if there is no real solidarity between North and South. A commitment to a new international economic order, as we will document in greater detail when we consider the contribution that disarmament could make to it, is more than a basic moral imperative for us. It is an economic necessity as well.

**Second.** The question is not whether there will be planning, but who will plan and how. Even a militantly free-enterprise government, like the Reagan administration, carefully designs tax and other policies to predetermine 'market' outcomes. Socialists stand for the most open and democratic forms of planning. Both the French and Swedish parties are, for instance, committed to decentralised forms of social ownership, which may well be one of the critical innovations of this period. We see economic democracy as a road to increased productivity as well as to a more just distribution of power.

**Third.** Socialists will take measures to channel resources into truly productive investments. In many capitalist countries in

recent years, there has been abundant capital for speculation and too little capital for generating new jobs and production. There are a variety of techniques – including social ownership – to staunch this capitalist wastefulness. For instance, funds allocated to the protection of the environment, the development of new energy sources, housing, urban renewal, health, education and transport will create useful work for millions of men and women, in South and North.

**Fourth.** As we have already seen, monetary instability has been even more destructive for the Third World than for the industrialised countries. The Socialist International therefore proposes a negotiation between all interested governments to stabilise currency relations and to gain some control over the fluctuations of the interest rate. We seek to construct a new international financial and monetary system.

Here and now, there is a debt crisis, particularly in the Third World, which requires emergency action. In agreement with the second report of the Brandt Commission, *Common Crisis*, we urge negotiations that will restructure, and in the case of the least developed countries, forgive, an intolerable interest burden that threatens to undo much of the modest progress made in the South since the second world war.

**Fifth.** We believe that equity and efficiency require redistribution of income and wealth as a means of coping with the current sweeping transformations within, and between, the world's economies. The equity case is obvious: enormous dislocations will take place, and if their cost is borne by the most vulnerable, ie. if steelworkers are forced to 'pay' with lost jobs and ruined communities for the restructuring of the global steel industry, that is a reactionary policy of transferring wealth from working people to the rich. In the name of a basic fairness recognised by all of the industrial democracies, a portion of the savings from technological advance must be utilised to create income and work for those who are displaced by progress – or else it will not be progress but a technologically induced misery.

Moreover, both within the developed countries and between the North and South, an increase in social and economic equality is a powerful engine for growth. By raising the income shares and effective buying power of those at the bottom and the middle of society, and between the nations themselves, one creates conditions that will benefit all.

**Sixth.** Social policy and economic policy can, and should, work together. Women, youth and national and racial minorities have not simply been subjected to systematic discrimination as a result of the crisis; their repression has acted as a drag upon the



*How to make the most of limited food resources: a class on malnutrition*

entire economy. Full economic, social and political citizenship for both genders and all races and nationalities has the potential to increase enormously the productivity of society.

**Seventh.** The struggle to reduce the working day, week, year and life has been going on for over a century. In this age of technological revolution, it is now time for society to revise once again its calculus of the relationship between free and working time.

These are only a few applications of our basic principle: that the economic crisis of the eighties cannot be resolved in elite boardrooms, but must be met by expanding the democratic principle to every level of society and to the world economy itself.

**Eighth.** The Socialist International can and must be a decisive forum for the democratic and voluntary coordination of these policies among its member parties and other progressive forces in the world.

Given that perspective, we turn now to the international dimension of socialism in the eighties in the related struggles for peace and justice in the world.

**T**he first aspect of our overview of the globe reaches far beyond the socialist movement. Nuclear disarmament concerns every man, woman and child on the face of the earth and we have, and will, work with

people of every persuasion and faith in this most basic of causes. The issue is human survival.

That focuses us, first of all, upon the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the superpowers that control about 95 percent of the world's nuclear weapons. The first important steps have to be taken in Washington and Moscow as a precondition for the possibility of an enlarged process of nuclear disarmament. They must agree to cease any further escalation of the arms race and to begin to dismantle the existing precarious balance of terror. Then, obviously, other countries, most notably powers with nuclear weapons – China, France and the United Kingdom – can participate in negotiations.

As long as these thermonuclear giants continue to refine and develop new, even more destructive and accurate, weapons systems, any crisis – the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or its indirect, but palpable, intervention in Poland, the American attempt to treat revolution in Central America as a Soviet, or Cuban, conspiracy, or any outbreak of tension in the Middle East – could become the starting point of a third world war. The 'Munich' analogy is often cited in the disarmament discussion. But what about the '1914' analogy – of a global conflagration none of the major powers really wanted ignited by an assassin-



## 'Funds allocated to ... health and education will create useful work for millions of men and women, South and North.'

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ation in Sarajevo? Could there be a nuclear '1914'? We think so, and that is why we see nuclear disarmament as the first step on the long journey to a truly peaceful world.

As we meet, tens of thousands of people march for peace, unfortunately only in the West, not in the East, and the issue of arms control is being discussed at the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) talks in Geneva. At the same time, there are profoundly disturbing signs of the possibility that there could be a new, and aggravated, phase in the arms race as it extends into the heavens and utilises more and more sophisticated weapons.

This congress calls upon the Soviet Union and the United States to take immediate steps, now, to halt any further escalation. These steps should include agreements on the first practical measures in the START, INF and Vienna talks as well as an agreement in Madrid on convening a European disarmament conference. The two superpowers should also agree on a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests and the production of chemical and biological weapons and should show restraint in arms trade and transfers.

We support a negotiated, general, verifiable, mutual freeze on nuclear weapons.

The INF talks in Geneva during the coming few months are of crucial importance to the whole international political and military development. Hence, if the time does not allow final results, the Soviet Union and the United States should speedily conclude an interim agreement consisting of balanced mutual commitments without destabilising actions.

The aim of this emergency step would be to stop the present trend of both the qualitative and quantitative arms race and to gain more time for negotiations on more substantive reductions of all armaments in existing arsenals.

By showing mutual restraint in their bilateral relations as well as limiting their military involvement in various parts of the world, the great powers should rebuild the political framework for East-West detente.

We also see the Geneva talks as a step toward an open, unambiguous Soviet-American rejection of all strategies for limited nuclear war.

The gruesome scenarios of that possibility – almost all of them designed to be played out in Europe – assume that the thermonuclear genie, once released, can be controlled by one side or the other and that the loser in a limited exchange will accept the outcome without resorting to escalation. We reject this assumption, but even if it were much more plausible than it is, it is wrong to wager on a tactic that could lead to the incineration of most of the world and its people.

Moreover, if Washington and Moscow

cannot agree on such a basic proposition, what is the moral and political basis of their opposition to nuclear proliferation? If superpowers can conceive of war as an instrument of political policy, why not lesser powers? Clearly, agreement on theatre nuclear weapons is a precondition of limiting their spread to the rest of the globe.

All this should be linked to the central issue: the reduction of intercontinental ballistic missile arsenals as a first step toward the total elimination of such weapons. There are no 'game theories' of annihilation.

In the past several years both superpowers have sometimes talked as if they had forgotten – or never learned – this basic truth. We believe that negotiations would be facilitated if they were to lead immediately to the confidence-building commitments on both sides already mentioned, such as a moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests and on the production of fissionable materials during the talks.

Two related principles should be recognised by the superpowers in their discussions: to curtail and dismantle all new military technologies that threaten further to destabilise the balance of terror, and to stop the transfer of nuclear-weapons technology; that each power maintain an undiminished security but at the lowest possible level of arms and military forces.

There are other measures that would help this disarmament process: a reiteration by both powers of their obligations under the 1972 treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile systems; American ratification of SALT II; an agreement on a permanent treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests; a ban on the production, stockpiling and use of chemical and biological weapons; the demilitarisation of the sea bed and outer space with a specific mutual pledge not to develop anti-satellite systems.

These are just a few of the areas in which the United States and the Soviet Union can take some first, achievable, steps toward disarmament. But other nations and regions can also play a role in this process. The treaty of Tlatelolco, prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America, is an example of an important Third World initiative in this area. We want to encourage the proposals put forward in the United Nations for nuclear-free zones in Asia, Africa, the South Pacific and the Middle East. We also endorse the notion of a zone free of both battlefield nuclear and chemical weapons put forward by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the leadership of Olof Palme. And we favour the creation of a Nordic nuclear-free zone in a broader European context as urged by the Nordic social democratic parties.

Indeed, Europe should be an artisan of detente, of security and peace or else the

aggravations of tensions, particularly in East-West relations, will be reflected on this continent with unfortunate results.

Finally, these specifics – and they are obviously illustrative, not exhaustive – are important in and of themselves but perhaps even more significant as part of a process that will change the basic attitudes of the superpowers. The United States and the Soviet Union will never succeed in these negotiations if each side sees them as another means of prosecuting the cold war. Reluctant concessions and the search for concealed advantages must give way to a process in which very different social systems agree that they will only challenge one another in peaceful ways. Each side must understand that arms control is in its interest.

If a genuine commitment to bilateral, verifiable arms control would emerge between the great powers, that would also set the stage for progress in conventional weapons disarmament.

'Conventional' weapons only deserve that name by comparison to nuclear missiles. In fact, the development of military technology has made non-nuclear weapons infinitely more destructive than during the second world war. There are now electronic, computerised, 'smart' systems which were merely the fantasies of science fiction only a generation ago. Dismantling these unprecedented, nominally 'conventional', technologies must be a priority second only to eliminating intercontinental and theatre nuclear weapons.

This point does not simply relate to the question of war and peace. It is also profoundly relevant to our solidarity with, and involvement in, the Third World.

Since 1945, all wars have been fought in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A world weapons market has come into being with 30 billion US dollars in transactions last year, more than three quarters of that total going to the developing countries and diverting precious resources from the work of life to buying the means of death. This tragedy reacts back upon the superpowers, since every war in the Third World has the potential of becoming a source of contention between them – or even the accidental point of departure for a third world war.

The Middle East, for instance, accounts for one third of the military expenditures of the entire Third World, with the United States supplying sophisticated arms to Israel and Saudi Arabia while the Soviets send their advanced technology to Syria, Libya, Iraq and Iran. In 1973 a Middle Eastern conflict led to a dangerous confrontation between Washington and Moscow. The ultimate showdown was avoided, but one can never know when the world's luck will run out.

Thus we are not simply for a negotiated political settlement in the Middle East in

**'Non-nuclear weapons [are] infinitely more destructive than during the second world war. Dismantling this nominally "conventional" technology must be a priority.'**

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order to end an agony which has afflicted all the peoples of that region for a generation, but also because we see such an agreement as a major contribution to world peace. Both the Israelis and the Palestinians have legitimate claims to national self-determination which neither will be able to assert in peace and security unless the other recognises its rights. Exactly how that principle should be implemented is a matter to be determined by direct negotiations between the representatives of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians. We assume that the outcome of such discussions will not fully satisfy any one participant – and that the necessary compromise is the only basis for a durable and peaceful coexistence of all the participants.

We are, of course, in solidarity with our member parties in the region: with the Labour Party and MAPAM of Israel, which courageously stood up for human rights and against the horror of Sabra and Chatila even in the midst of a war; and with the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon which, like every other formation in that tragic country, has suffered profoundly from this seemingly endless conflict.

As a corollary to our support to the principle of mutual and reciprocal self-determination in this area, we favour the withdrawal of all foreign troops – Israeli, PLO and Syrian – from Lebanon.

Central America is another area where civil war could have the most serious international repercussions. The Reagan administration has interpreted revolutionary movements with profound roots in popular struggles against oligarchic and terrorist oppression as agents of Soviet, or Cuban, conspiracy. We believe that this view radically distorts the reality of the area and impedes the political settlements which are the only hope for avoiding a widening, and perhaps the regionalisation or even internationalisation of national conflicts.

This was one of the reasons the Socialist International supported the Sandinistas in their struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, and it reiterates its solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution in its efforts to achieve full democracy within a framework of political pluralism, mixed economy and non-alignment. Indeed, it is precisely because we are committed to the search for those values in Nicaragua that we oppose all outside attempts to destabilise the government in Managua. Therefore, we believe that a negotiated agreement between the United States and Nicaragua is essential in order to guarantee the latter's rights to self-determination.

In El Salvador, where our member party, the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), plays a major role in the FDR/FMLN, led by Guillermo Ungo of the MNR, we back the MNR and FDR/FMLN in their demand for a negotiated political

settlement. Since a military solution is not foreseen in the near future, the war and its consequences will only be prolonged by increased foreign intervention. Under such circumstances, the political settlement and national reconciliation proposed by the FDR/FMLN is the only solution. The initiatives of France and Mexico in this area are extremely positive and provide a point of reference for negotiations.

At the same time, we reject the solution of 'democratic' elections in which the leaders and the rank and file of the FDR would have to trust their lives to the mercies of a regime that has tolerated, encouraged and condoned the murder of an archbishop, of women missionaries and trade-union leaders, as well as of thousands of people whose names will never be known to history. What is needed is a negotiated political process that will include all the major forces within the country and exclude – eliminate – the death squads and their mentors. Clearly, the United States of America must take a firm and unambiguous stand, not simply for a negotiated political settlement leading to genuine internal democracy, but against the terrorists and their patrons in San Salvador.

In yet another area we are very concerned about continuing violations of human rights. We are very concerned by actions that run counter to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on 'the free circulation of the all people and ideas'. In particular we cite the continuing deprivation of the fundamental rights of the Polish workers and salute the courage demonstrated by the leaders of Solidarnosc. We are, of course, in solidarity with all democratic movements in Eastern Europe, like Solidarnosc, with the struggle for basic freedoms, including trade union rights, religious liberty, and the defence of the rights of national minorities, which have repercussions especially in the Soviet Union and Rumania. Indeed, we believe that our commitment to disarmament and detente will create a more favourable situation for these movements. And though we do not believe in 'linkage', we must note that, conversely, the absence of any real change in Poland has had its negative impact on the prevailing climate between East and West Europe.

There is another resistance movement in another part of the world which belongs to this brief survey: Afghanistan. Clearly the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 violated the right of national self-determination in that country, killing thousands and causing untold numbers of refugees. This must be opposed by all who struggle for a peaceful world. A political settlement must be reached between all parties concerned, including the true representatives of the Afghan people, the Afghan resistance, and it should involve the

withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Then there is South Africa, which constitutes a growing threat to world peace. The barbarous oppression of its own people continues and grows despite cosmetic changes. In recent years the racist regime has stepped up its subversion and destabilisation of independent neighbouring states. Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia have all become the objects of military and political subversion by South Africa, which desperately tries to uphold an illegal hegemony in all of Southern Africa. The South African aggression is a conscious attempt to stifle the efforts of social and economic development of states that have recently achieved their formal independence.

A continuation of this development creates another permanent regional war situation. Technological, military and economic cooperation with the industrialised world is an essential precondition for South Africa to persevere in its aggression against all the peoples of the region who strive for independence, social justice and peace.

This oppression and armed confrontation present the outside world with a crucial choice, to choose Africa or South Africa. To choose Africa is, in this case, not only a question of world peace, international law, and the right of all peoples and countries to choose their own destiny.

The road to peace, national sovereignty and social justice in Southern Africa requires concerned participation by the international community. In the view of the Socialist International, such efforts must include the following:

- increased economic assistance to the front-line states and for regional cooperation in order to reduce the dependence of these states on South Africa;
- political and material support to the liberation movements, to independent trade unions, and to the victims of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia; the Socialist International reaffirms that Namibia, a country illegally occupied by South Africa in violation of all international law, has the right to its independence and the Namibian people to their freedom;
- binding UN economic sanctions against South Africa; awaiting such a decision in the UN, each nation should apply policies to stop new investments, close all loopholes of the binding UN arms embargo, and reduce contacts with the apartheid regime in the areas of culture and sport; all efforts aimed at stimulating peaceful change;
- increased solidarity work with the people of Namibia and South Africa in our own countries.

In other parts of Africa there are economic and political crises. The area is indeed becoming 'the continent of refugees', a fact dramatised in the recent mass expulsions from Nigeria. Looking at





*Father, daughter and overkill: conventional air-defence missiles on a naval destroyer*

Steve Benbow / Network

the Horn of Africa, the Socialist International condemns the presence of Soviet, Cuban and East German troops in Ethiopia. The struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination, which has persisted for thirty years, must be settled by the principles upheld by the United Nations and the OAU.

The congress also reaffirms our support of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. We reiterate our support for the initiation of direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco to achieve a just, definitive solution to this conflict.

In many of these cases it is clear that we are seeking a balance — sometimes a difficult, delicate balance — of the factors making for freedom, democracy and peace. That should not be understood as a dilution of our basic and fundamental commitment to freedom and democracy. For us, freedom and democracy are of the essence of the socialist vision. Where the state directs the economy, the critical issue is, who owns the state? The people own the state only when they have the right to change its policies and personnel non-violently and

without fear of reprisal. Democracy is thus not a matter of 'superstructure' but the indispensable means of exercising the economic and social power of the people.

But how do we act upon that principle in a complex world of nuclear superpowers where 'conventional' subnuclear wars have killed millions since the second world war?

We are in solidarity with the democratic forces in Afghanistan, Poland, El Salvador, South Africa and Turkey *and* we must act upon that solidarity in ways that do not lead to a third world war which would end, not simply human rights, but most of humanity as well. *And* at the same time we must reject those rationalisations the superpowers use to justify their own wrongs in the name of opposing their adversary's wrongs, excusing, for instance, an ominous, if silent, intervention against the Polish workers movement but condemning an intervention in El Salvador, or vice versa.

We commit ourselves to the difficult political task of pursuing freedom and democracy and peace. And we believe that a reduction of conflict and tensions in these regional confrontations will facilitate the work of international disarmament.

We also link these questions to the necessity of economic development in the world.

Neither the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by Willy Brandt, nor the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the leadership of Olof Palme was specifically socialist. Both reached out to the entire range of democratic opinion in the West and the Third World and brought together leading spokespersons from throughout the world. That breadth is, we believe, a very great virtue precisely because the issue of survival — eliminating the scourges of nuclear war and absolute poverty — cannot be treated in an exclusively partisan manner and require cooperation across ideologies and frontiers.

It is for this reason that the Socialist International endorses the broad thrust of both commissions' reports. In particular, we stress our commitment to implementing the policy advocated by both, of utilising some of the funds no longer needed for the production of the means of annihilation in a disarmed world in the campaign against hunger and underdevelopment in the South and for full employment in the North.

The Brandt Commission made the basic point eloquently: 'It is a terrible irony that the most dynamic and rapid transfer of highly sophisticated equipment from rich to poor has been in the machinery of death'. By 1983, the Palme report tells us, the world was spending 650 billion dollars in a single year on weapons of destruction. That sum is more than thirteen times greater than the total current account deficit of the developing countries in 1980! In short, if as the Palme Commission has proposed, the major nations pledged 5 percent of the monies saved through genuine disarmament for international economic development, that would be a significant beginning in the only war we want, the war against famine and disease.

This should not, we emphasise in the spirit of the Brandt report, be taken as an act of northern charity. Compassion and human solidarity are basic reasons why the advanced countries should be concerned about the fate of those people suffering from an inferior place in a world economic structure they themselves did not create. But in addition, it must be understood that, were the funds to be available for the development of the Third World, this would put men and women to work in the developed societies, turning swords into ploughshares, or, to put that biblical thought in modern terms, making fertile fields and new industries out of thermonuclear bombs. The oneness of our world is no longer simply a lofty moral vision; it is now an economic fact.

The 1983 report of the Brandt Commission summarised the essence of our

## 'There should be a new agency to promote energy production in the Third World.'

Manifesto of Albufeira

view in its title: *Common Crisis, North-South: Cooperation for World Recovery*. We agree with that report and will cite but a few instances: that the IMF should make a substantial new allocation of special drawing rights to the southern economies and more fully obey its own 1979 guidelines to pay due regard to the domestic social and political objectives of member countries; that the emergency debt restructuring proceed at once; that the Common Fund be created as soon as possible; that there be a new agency to promote energy production in the Third World; that there be rapid movement towards the UN target of 0.7 percent of GNP as official development assistance on the part of the developed countries.

These measures are not, we repeat, charity, but means towards a world recovery that is in the common interest of all nations.

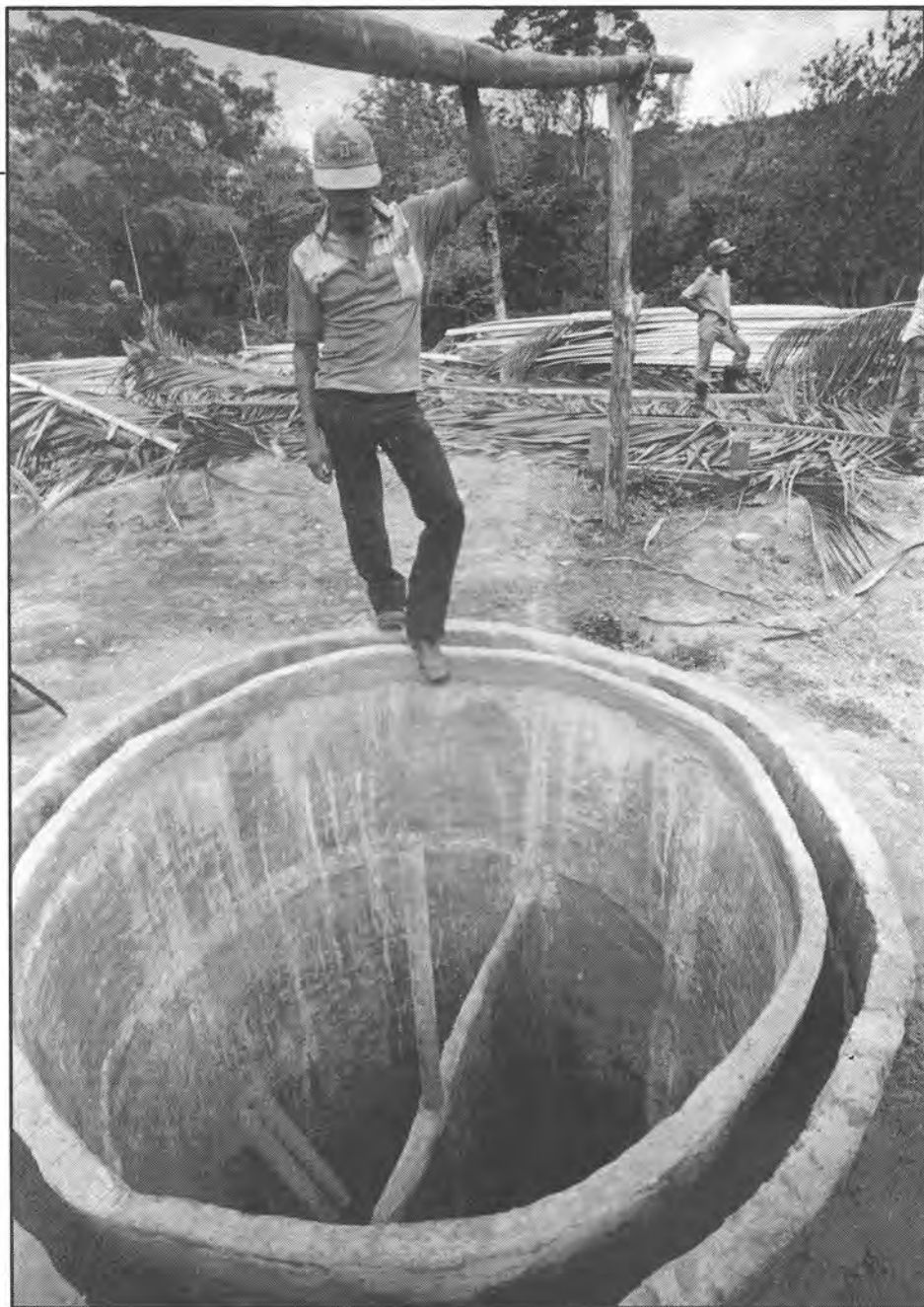
The Socialist International will implement its commitment to this strategy along the lines proposed by the working group headed by Michael Manley in 1982. We will seek to work with socialist governments and opposition parties to coordinate their policies along the lines outlined here. And we believe that movement toward a new international economic order need not wait for global negotiations. Intermediate initiatives could be extremely important. For instance, groups of countries like the Nordic countries and the Netherlands could give a coordinated impetus to the realisation of important elements of a new international economic order.

We are, of course, a consensus International, without any centralised power over member parties and their governments. But we are also an International of political, intellectual and moral solidarity and we must organise those commitments and turn them into a powerful instrument of persuasion of our member parties and friends.

**T**hese, then, are the outlines of a politics of hope for peace and economic and social justice.

We expect no millenium, no sudden leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. That dream arose at a time when the labour and socialist movements were weak, and capitalism uncontrolled and cruel. But there is more than a century of history since our predecessor organisation, the International Workingmen's Association, was founded in London in 1864. Over those years, socialists have learned truths which are no less important simply because they are sometimes bitter.

Within the advanced societies, the socialist struggle takes place on a terrain either dominated, or profoundly influenced, by private corporate power. The strike of capital – and of an infinitely



*Looking for new energy: experimental methane generation plant*

more mobile and international capital than previously – is always a threat to democratically elected progressive governments. Moreover, truly democratic social and economic change requires a cultural transformation which empowers those who had once been subordinate – whether the working men and women within these countries, or the people of their former colonies – to take charge of their own lives.

Within the communist countries, freedom movements which, in every case, have sought the 'human face of socialism', not a return to capitalism, are severely constrained, not simply by the repressive power in their own society, but by that of the Soviet Union as well.

And in the developing areas of the world, political independence has not destroyed the economic and social dependence built into a neocolonial world which now uses the terms of trade rather than naked military

force and subjugation to maintain its power.

In a sense, we are socialists precisely because we recognise these *structural* limitations upon individual and collective freedom. We are not simply opposed to this or that injustice; we are engaged in the long, arduous task of challenging the *structures* of injustice within, and between, the nations.

In the last two decades, the world has become much more international than ever before: militarily, technologically, economically, socially. Its peoples will either find a way, democratically and non-violently, to socialise the already social power of their ingenuity, or else they will be overwhelmed by the work of their own hands and brains, or even annihilated by it. The Socialist International – democratic, pluralist, an institution based upon the solidarity of shared values, rather than upon power – is both a means to that end and perhaps one of the first approximations of the end itself.



# The search for peace

**WILLY BRANDT**, president of the Socialist International and chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, reflects on recent successes and setbacks for democratic socialists. He reminds us that 'the safeguarding of peace forms the basic condition for everything else to which we aspire; without peace, everything else becomes an illusion'.

**T**he world certainly does not look any brighter since our last congress in Madrid two and a half years ago. And the forces of social democracy, democratic socialism, have truly not had an easy time. For that reason, we are all the more gratified about the encouraging successes attained by our parties: in France and Spain; in Sweden, Finland and Greece; in the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica; and, only a few weeks ago, in Australia.

Unfortunately, we have also suffered setbacks. Let us not be disheartened by this. Instead, let us examine and reexamine how we can best focus the strength of our ideas, our ethical concepts and our political will and creativeness in such a way as to fortify peace, freedom and solidarity.

Any starry-eyed optimism is far from our thoughts: it would only help our adversaries. As we all know, the map of the world is still peppered with dots and empty spaces indicating the regions where democratic socialism has so far not been given any chance.

Even today, in 1983, the world is still afflicted with a multitude of authoritarian regimes and bloody dictatorships, which thwart their citizens' quest for freedom and crush human dignity underfoot. Throughout the world, the liberation of people from distress and misery remains a mere demand: it is still far from becoming reality.

What we represent corresponds with the hope cherished by many men and women. With this in mind, let us seize the opportunity presented by our congress to redefine our goals and to reinforce the appeal of our International.

We had hoped to convene our meeting in Sydney this time. But I imagine we shall soon find another chance to reaffirm the close links with our friends in Australia and New Zealand as well as in the Pacific and Asian regions, including, not least, Japan.

Today, we come together in Portugal; and this beautiful country with so much history and tradition certainly offers us a



very appropriate setting. At the present time, Portugal again stands before a significant political crossroad. We would like to voice our thanks to the host party, headed by our friend Mario Soares, and wish them the greatest possible success.

We can best help each other by discussing with skill and dedication such problems as challenge and beset all of us — and thus, by the same token, bring us closer together.

**T**he motto chosen for our congress refers to the world in crisis and to the response which we can make to it. Let me express one thing with blunt frankness: I doubt whether, in fact, we possess the answer to the world crisis; and in particular, to that part of it inherent in the economy. Nevertheless, we obviously have partial answers to the crisis which are worth considering and which can lead us further. And let me add that I see our international

community as a place whose true mission lies in helping each other to cope with the challenges of this epoch.

That is the task. Let us face the challenges of the day, for nobody else will do it for us! Let us use this congress to pinpoint our position as closely as possible. That would serve to help all of us in our national responsibility and in our international endeavour.

The future prospects have continued to worsen drastically since the beginning of the eighties, even though this makes a much bigger impact upon some countries than upon others. This holds true of the world economy in general and, especially, of relations between industrialised and developing countries. It also holds true of the dramatic increase in the dangers attendant on the destruction of our environment and the reckless exploitation of scarce and precious resources. The outcome of this may be seen in a formerly unknown kind of pauperisation. Finally, it also holds true of the further impoverishment caused by the galloping arms race.

Never before in history has the very survival of mankind stood in doubt. Never before was the human race in a position to wipe itself out — not only as the conceivable outcome of a worldwide arms race, but also as the direct consequence of uncontrolled exploitation and destruction of the environment. That is unique in the annals of humanity. Indeed, we could arm ourselves to death without ever waging war, simply by strangling our economies and refusing to invest in the future.

Everyone knows — or ought to know — where the world economic crisis of the 1930s finally did lead to. Everyone ought to know of the immense dangers surrounding the present international crisis. And everyone ought to know that only a fundamental reform of world economic relations can help to conquer these dangers.

**I**n point of fact, we face an explosive mix of critical factors — national and international alike. It is not only in the developed industrial societies that we come across contradictions which incite our moral indignation and render political progress difficult; on the one hand, an army of people without work on a scale deemed impossible only a few years ago; on the other hand, a great deal of work that could and should be done; and on the one hand, a grotesque misallocation of resources into useless projects; on the other hand, a crushing lack of funds for future investments.

Resources are often wasted and biological treasures forfeited without further thought. The interests of future generations are grossly neglected. Social-minded decisions and the feelings of individuals play either a secondary role or



*For the human race, not the arms race: the banner held by the child reads 'I want to live'*

no role at all.

And as if that was not enough, a number of industrial states have been propagating in recent years a primitive early-capitalist economic ideology – in flagrant contradiction of the huge social and ecological challenges, and certain to aggravate these problems rather than to resolve them.

Meanwhile, many countries are increasingly setting aside the principle of competition in our economies. The process of concentration manifests itself everywhere. The interlinking between political and economic power has become abundantly clear. The miserable distribution of goods among people – whether in the national or the international context – testifies to the inefficiency of the available steering systems. A whole series of countries I have in mind are actively aggravating these dangers by dint of their pro-cyclical economic policy.

Even in prosperous countries, sheer indigence has again made its appearance; and this can easily become a hotbed for irrational reactions. Who among us older ones would ever have imagined that he

would again, during his lifetime, see pictures of wealthy societies with thousands of people queuing up for a bowl of soup?

I do not deem it any consolation to know that the steering mechanisms in the Warsaw Pact states are even less convincing; that their backwardness and ossification produce an even more paralysing effect; that some of these countries risk foundering in their external debts without finding a recipe for satisfying the legitimate needs of their populations; or that they have not contributed by appropriate means to tackle major system-bridging issues.

**L**ast but not least, we come to the Third World, where the worsening of the world economic situation magnifies thousandfold the acute threat to people's very existence. Not surprisingly, the – often fragile – political stability of numerous developing nations threatens to collapse in such circumstances. In effect, the hope of improving the position by reforming the current world economic system – hopes which had not been excessive anyway – have manifestly de-

clined, especially during the last few years. At the same time, growing disequilibria in the balance of payments signify a threat of a severe crisis in international financial and monetary relations. The existing set of instruments will not suffice to cope with these disequilibria or with global liquidity problems and debts. We cannot exclude the possibility of catastrophic collapses.

Although a first 'North-South summit' took place in Cancun, Mexico, in the autumn of 1981, that event by no means fulfilled the expectations placed in it. Nor indeed could it fulfil them! The Cancun conference provided neither any new guidelines nor any real impulses towards effective negotiations. No decisive measures for stimulating the world economy were taken.

In the meantime, the Independent Commission on International Development Issues has published an additional report arguing for a programme of immediate action in the field of finance, trade, food and energy. I recommend everyone to take a close look at this programme. Furthermore, I ask for every possible support in making UNCTAD VI to be held in



**'If the Geneva negotiations do not lead to success, many people in many countries will wonder whether arms control negotiations still make sense.'**

Willy Brandt

Belgrade in two months time a conference which goes beyond well formulated but useless speeches.

There is an urgent need to reform the Bretton Woods institutions, created as they were in a different world to today's – namely towards the end of the second world war.

The long-envisioned global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations should now finally begin. Clearly, a comprehensive agreement will not be possible from one day to the next. But because such wide-ranging negotiations take a number of years even in the most favourable case, all the more importance attaches to a programme of emergency measures.

**L**et me repeat: a patent recipe for resolving the immense difficulties with a single policy does not exist anywhere and we cannot provide one either. But we have no wish to avoid the real questions, whether old or new. It will require many concentrated efforts at various levels if we are finally to move away from the dangerous slope down which mankind is beginning to hurtle. In my firm conviction, it is not the merely 'technical' solutions which are lacking for meeting the challenges of the present crisis. In most cases, we have long since known what these solutions are.

What we lack is a clear and widely acceptable understanding of the situation and its dangers. There is an absence of the coordinated political will. Only in a new spirit of solidarity based on respect for the given national heritage and the welfare of the international community can we find the urgently needed answers. Promoting this spirit and creating the awareness of the needs of our age – that would constitute an outstanding goal for our community of parties and one in which it could again prove its value.

I see this as a chance for social democrats, for freedom-loving socialists all over the world – a chance which hardly arises for others. On the basis of our convictions and traditions, we can point out with assurance that everyone has to take his place and render his contribution. What we have to achieve is to overcome injustice and blatant inequality, both internationally and in individual states. A major part of the burden must undoubtedly fall on those who have greater wealth and stronger shoulders.

The global approach to policy must not confine itself to economic questions. Yet without a solution for the crushing economic problems it will prove an onerous task to master the other difficulties. Any world order designed to satisfy our criteria and fulfil the dictates of rationality must, at any rate, rest on respect for the individual and for his fundamental rights as defined in the universal declaration of human rights.

Peace and progress and justice cannot be separated from the struggle to promote elementary human rights.

**I**n 1982, when other tensions were compounding the already dangerous East-West conflict in dramatic fashion, military spending all over the world came to about 650 billion US dollars.

The arsenal of weapons, long since sufficient to destroy humanity several times over, is still expanding. I have no doubt whatsoever that this – in objective terms – gigantic waste of money and material, intellect and labour, forms an additional burden for the world economy and thus intensifies the international economic crisis. For economic reasons, too, the arms race must come to an end and the resources must flow into productive channels.

It has become an intolerable contradiction for many people to watch hundreds of billions of dollars being spent on armaments, whilst a fraction of this sum would suffice to prevent hundreds of millions from starving.

The interrelationship between arms and development, between the arms race and the world economy deserves a clearer definition. I hope that we shall be able to furnish a significant contribution to this. And I strongly advocate the concluding of an agreement whereby the states undertake to cut their military spending by 5 percent in a first instance and to earmark the funds released in this way for economic development.

In addition, steps should be taken as quickly as possible to help in bringing about an international 'employment pact' on the basis of which the industrial states can again jointly pursue a more expansive economic policy. A decisive impetus in this direction might come from the so-called world economic summit in Williamsburg, for which our French colleagues and friends suggest and elaborate a common platform together with other socialist governments.

I have given prominence, first and foremost, to international efforts. This accords with the dimension of the problems as well as with the character of our international community. But, of course, much will hinge on the adoption, particularly by the economically powerful industrial countries, of a policy which overcomes the narrowmindedness of recent years.

It is certainly an advantage when inflation declines in most industrial countries. It is equally beyond doubt that excessive budgetary deficits are simply unbearable in the long term. Nonetheless, we must not destroy an upsurge in the world economy by excessive savings. It makes better economic sense and ensures greater social justice to pay for work by providing loans than it does to raise funds for supporting unemployment. The combating of youth unemploy-

ment, the improving of professional qualifications for employees and especially for women, the channeling of public and private investment into environmental protection and energy supplies, and the building of more houses can achieve a considerable impact, particularly when one takes into account the cumulative consequences. To these must be added the service industries when the objective lies in creating fresh opportunities for employment. The course plotted for the 1980s could be recharted in a better direction.

As regards the more long-term approach, we must also bear in mind that the ever faster advances in research, science and technology carry the risk that mankind will lose control over the civilisation which it has created and that our liberation from the constraints of nature may bring on the destruction of the fundamental foundations underlying our existence.

As democratic socialists, it is our duty to promote such social and political developments as lead us out of the dilemma: the advance of society does not stem from the uncontrolled development of all kinds of productive activity. It clearly requires greater social and political shaping of technical progress.

In future, it will be more important than hitherto not only to safeguard the basic conditions governing social existence but also to fight for people's right to shape that existence, whenever the matter at stake is *how* we live, *how* we wish to work, *what* we want to have in the field of technology and what we do *not* want to have.

**I** have already referred to the significance of a realistic, unprejudiced understanding of the whole spectrum of challenges now facing us. That in turn implies not turning a blind eye to the hardening East-West relations in recent years.

From the start, the endeavours to lower tension between East and West were subject to manifold stresses and strains. But today, there blows an icy wind such as we have not felt for a long time. We must not simply put up with this. We must ask ourselves: how can we prevent the complete loss of the fruits of detente? What initiatives are possible, despite all the difficulties, for ensuring that tensions are not worsened but, in fact, reduced and overcome?

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, contrary to international law and not acceptable for any of us, provided influential circles in the USA with a welcome opportunity for translating fear of the Soviet Union into an accelerated arms buildup and the 'cultivation' of the cold war. But it is up to us to insist on realistic efforts towards a resumption of the process of detente.

I have already pointed out the dangerous

**'In future, it will be more important not only to safeguard the basic conditions governing social existence but also to fight for people's right to shape that existence.'**

Willy Brandt

economic consequences flowing from the worldwide arms race. To this may be added the old experience: an accumulation of weapons creates distrust.

And whenever distrust mounts, faulty reckoning can easily result in crises and in hostilities. At the same time, we are all fully aware that a third world war would place at risk the very existence of the human race.

Let me repeat then, here and now: the world *is* in danger of arming itself to death. We are hurtling towards the precipice with ever accelerating speed – or rather, some are running and pulling along the others. And so I direct an urgent appeal to the two strongest powers to adopt new avenues of approach and to create more security by concluding agreements on a serious and equal reduction in armaments.

A number of major steps designed to produce more stability are contained in the report issued by the commission under the chairmanship of our friend Olof Palme. I can only hope that the powerful men of this world do not wait too long before they earnestly examine the various proposals and firmly incorporate them into their practical policies.

At the same time, I have in mind these proposals aimed at strengthening the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. However, I shall not attempt to conceal my belief that a fundamental reform of almost the entire UN system is now due.

**O**ur greatest concern naturally relates to the danger of a nuclear confrontation. For that reason, special importance must be given to the negotiations currently in progress on nuclear weapons. Nobody can say whether this is perhaps the last chance of getting these dangerous weapon systems under control.

At any rate, one thing is certain: if the negotiations in Geneva fail, the outcome will be a new race between qualitatively new weapon systems and a mounting degree of instability. And another point: if the Geneva negotiations do not lead to success, many people in many countries will wonder whether arms control negotiations still make sense! And when they doubt this and start to ridicule the credibility of high-sounding proclamations, then the world will surely have nothing to laugh about.

Geneva appears to offer the last chance of preserving people's belief in the meaningfulness of such efforts towards ending the madness of the arms race by conducting negotiations. This applies to the intercontinental machines of destruction every bit as much as it does to the intermediate-range nuclear weapons.

Everyone knows of the vehement controversy surrounding this subject. Each of us in Europe recognises the additional threats caused by the deployment of sophisticated medium-range missiles in the

Soviet Union. The opinions about how we should react to this have not always harmonised with each other. Nevertheless, all of us are bound to fear with the worst scenario that Europe could become a battlefield for a nuclear encounter as a further consequence of uncurbed rivalry between the two world powers.

All of us should urge the decision makers, as a matter of the utmost urgency, to create the preconditions for rendering the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles unnecessary. The proposals tabled by both sides up to now are not sufficient. And I add: all those affected and all participants must carefully consider what is possible and necessary in the way of compromises with the aim of achieving greater security for everyone.

In line with what we said in Madrid in November 1980, I would like once again – despite all the disappointments – to refer to the fundamental significance of the process resulting from the European Final Act of Helsinki (1975) – not least the envisaged European conference on disarmament – as well as to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe.

In Vienna, the Soviets have taken up an earlier Western proposal on troop reductions. The scale of what actually lies on the bargaining table is very modest: nevertheless, a start should now be made on these proposals instead of simply blaming the other side for what happens.

The deplorable events in Poland with the shocking oppression of a freedom movement have inspired our solidarity – in varying form, but undoubtedly in the same spirit. The CSCE process had engendered hope and sometimes provided safeguards. Those who attach importance to human and civil rights cannot seriously believe that these would be promoted by cold war.

Ideological contrasts between East and West must not blind us to one simple fact: nowadays, security rests on partnership. Speculations about the feasibility of atomic wars do not help out of the dilemma; they merely reveal – on whatever side they take place – the presence of diabolical inspiration.

If calculability and predictability are lacking, the well oiled war machine could easily start operating even if this were unintended. Every one of the numerous troublespots in the world might serve as the igniting spark. This explains our concern about the Middle East and Southern Africa, about Southeast Asia and Central America.

What we need to protect world peace is as much meaningful cooperation as possible, a reduction in tension, and experience of peaceful interrelations between states and peoples. In this context, the results of the conference of non-aligned nations held in Delhi a few weeks ago

deserve our special attention.

Today, there are more and more men and women – and particularly young people – who, in their despair, are asking where the insane arms race is leading the world. Must not we in particular recognise how much security itself suffers from the failure in many cases to understand official security policy? And the cause of this lies in the fear – with all possible consequences for the relationship between the state and its citizens – that everything would be destroyed that is supposed to be defended.

We do not regard as our opponents peace movements throughout the world, provided that they steer clear of one-sided group interests. To a large extent, I see them as our allies on the path leading to the same goal.

In view of the real looming dangers in this world, I am not alarmed by the catch-phrases put into abundant circulation about a neutralist or pacifist danger which is allegedly arising in Europe or elsewhere. I am not a neutralist but a conscious European. Under the impact of the Nazi danger, I could not become a pacifist but this I know: it was not peace policy but a loss of reality and the quest for superiority which led to war.

**T**he Socialist International would be abandoning its legacy if it stopped forming a united front against fatal trends. If we wish to do justice to our sense of self-determination, we must act as the great international party of peace – and, moreover, do so even more energetically than in the past. Let us then undertake together a special effort and, if possible, embark upon initiatives which embrace many countries and many millions of people: initiatives in canvassing and acting for peace, for understanding, for worldwide arms control.

That accords with our tradition and it accords with our duty. We know that peace is not everything; yet today without peace everything else is nothing.

We shall no doubt be taking a closer look at initiatives and activities such as have taken place within the framework of our community of parties since the Madrid congress.

Our cooperation, our exchange of ideas and experience, our decisions and appeals and statements – some of them not public – related to the many crises and problems which have beset and afflicted the world during this period. They related to Poland and the Persian Gulf, to the Middle East and the crisis regions of Africa, to the Falklands/Malvinas, South and Central America, and above all, of course, to the crisis in the world economy and to the safeguarding of world peace.

Needless to say, we have not always been able to meet the high expectations placed in





*Learning French begins at sixty: pensioners studying a foreign language at a day class*

us by many sides. Our strength was often overestimated. And yet, in my opinion, our work has proved worthwhile: we have made original contributions, which have helped things forward in more cases than one.

Inevitably, differences of opinion arose in regard to the assessment of individual events – different nuances in the appraisal of our opportunities for exercising influence. That is not a bad thing in itself. Our parties operate in different countries amid often non-comparable national conditions and also in different continents. Moreover, they are shaped by different traditions. Our parties work under specific conditions which can be quite different even in the immediately neighbouring country. Let us, then, stick to our old principle not to tar everything with the same brush.

Indeed, cultural diversity and intellectual variety constitute a valuable asset, which we do not wish to erode and which we should not erode. Nevertheless, we must not enter the lists as isolated weaklings against powers whose arms are strong enough to encircle the whole globe – and, if necessary, to crush it. Our own identity ought to

lead us to as much unity as possible. That will make us strong.

For that reason it is a good thing that we can rely on joint fundamental conviction. But there remains a necessity for us to respect every decision which is taken with regard to the special circumstances and requirements of a given country. And let us admit that everyone can pass better judgement on the future of his own country and region than any outsider, however well-meaning his advice may be. Hence, there exists a clear distinction for us between helpful solidarity and any form of intervention – even if the aims behind that intervention are good.

At the same time, we must not relax our endeavours to develop as much common ground as possible and to settle such differences as exist in a manner which does not thrust our common approach into the background.

**W**hat common ground am I referring to? Well, our foremost and closest ties must lie in the conviction that freedom, justice and solidarity must

form the yardstick for our policies, however important it then is to translate these concepts into practical realities.

We socialists are linked together by the conviction that doctrines of salvation of various kinds can provoke grave dangers, because they mislead people into neglecting the happiness of the living. That is why we resist any kind of ideological delusions. What unites us is the belief that real freedom is only guaranteed for the broad masses of our peoples when social and economic developments are not left to the more powerful but, instead, when we try to shape the policies governing such developments.

We are therefore linked by our belief in the strength of democracy construed as the structural principle underlying not only the state, but also society and the economy.

Furthermore, our unity consists in the conviction that everyone – wherever he or she may live – possesses the rights of freedom and civil rights whose removal or limitation cannot be justified.

Finally, we are united by the will to attain greater justice not only in our societies, but

**'Resources are often  
wasted and biological  
treasures forfeited without  
further thought.'**

Willy Brandt

also in the relationship between peoples and states.

**O**ne thing we must never forget, and I therefore repeat it once more: the safeguarding of peace forms the basic condition for everything else to which we aspire. Without peace, everything else becomes an illusion.

We must never lose sight of this fact. And the points of orientation to which I have just referred will no doubt play a role when the efforts begun several years ago to attain a redrafted declaration of principles lead to a concrete basis of consultation on which the foundations of our work could be more precisely defined and accentuated.

Reflection about our common ground would also help us to recognise the necessity and the fruitfulness of close trusting relations as being of prime importance and occasional differences as subordinate.

The outstanding issues are overcoming the world economic crisis and safeguarding world peace. Equal weight must be assigned to a further great effort towards furnishing more effective support for our friends and partners in the Third World.

**I** spoke of the need to adopt a programme of immediate action calculated to reduce the economic damage afflicting many developing nations. It holds no less importance to take immediate political measures wherever we can assert our influence — as has gratifyingly proved possible on more than one occasion during the last few years.

What does this mean in context of Central America? It means finally helping to create a secure future for El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua by means of a multilateral peace solution which abolishes imminent dangers of war there and also serves the security interests of the neighbouring countries, not least Costa Rica.

It also means not forgetting the great nations of South America because of our concern about Central America and the Caribbean. Instead, we must promote with all our strength any move towards serious democratisation such as appears to be taking shape in Brazil with, for example, the great success of our friends in Rio de Janeiro, and perhaps in Argentina, too.

It also means recognising the importance of the struggle against the remnants of colonialism in Southern Africa and actively assisting in a settlement of the Namibia problem and in the stabilisation of the front-line states now locked in such a grave struggle with the impudent regime in South Africa.

Furthermore, it means contributing in the Middle East towards a permanent and peaceful resolution of the conflict which has poisoned the whole region for decades.



*Compressing problems: cars on a scrapheap*

Last but not least, it means again developing more cooperation with those forces in Asia which feel close to us. The misery of many countries in that continent would be reduced if the dictatorships of various shades were not depriving our friends there of any opportunity for acting.

The question of what form this further development of our work should take — whether through ad hoc initiatives by individual parties or governments or by conferences, missions or other instruments — is something that we should discuss during the next few days and on future occasions.

We have no wish to keep anyone in tutelage. By the same token, however, we shall not leave anyone in any doubts as to our true orientation, that is to say what we can and what we cannot support.

This world suffers from a lack of political forces who discern how much we all depend

and rely on each other and who then act accordingly. That old virtue of the labour movement and of socialism, internationalism, is now more important than ever.

Let us gear ourselves to that old virtue. Let us do everything in our power to point the way forward to a more equitable world — a world as free as possible from dependence and oppression, from hunger and misery.

I hope we shall soon stand on the threshold of a new century which may bring us the chance of inaugurating a new civilisation. Could we not begin to lay the basis for that new community with reasonable relations among all people and nations, and to build a world in which sharing, justice, freedom and peace might prevail?

If we act together, we can attain a worthwhile goal. Let us then set forth once more. And let us neither overreach ourselves nor underestimate our true strength!



# Our hope for a better society

**MARIO SOARES**, leader of the Socialist Party of Portugal at the time of the Congress and now prime minister, affirms his belief that democratic socialism is the only force in the world today that can secure both freedom and justice.

In opening officially the work of the sixteenth congress of the Socialist International, permit me to greet the representatives of the member and guest parties, to greet individual guests, as well as representatives of the diplomatic corps and of media organisations present here. I greet you all and welcome you to Portugal.

It is an honour and a joy for my country and for the Socialist Party to be able to hold this important congress here on Portuguese soil, in the Algarve. Today this congress is beginning its work in seeking a 'socialist response to the world in crisis'. Although it will be a difficult and complex matter, I am sure such a response will be defined in the course of the next four days. In the number of parties it represents and by its world impact, the Socialist International plays a unique role in the search for democratic, progressive and common-sense solutions for the increasingly troubled world we live in. There is no doubt that the presence at this congress of personalities of such world renown and indisputable moral and political authority represents an additional guarantee for the success of our work.

The main themes of the congress are of the utmost topicality. The international economic crisis, spread from the developing countries to highly industrialised countries, from West to East, although manifesting different aspects; the unrestrained buildup of armaments; the worsening of international tensions between East and West and between North and South; the decline in the atmosphere of trust established at Helsinki but gradually losing credibility; the successive recourse to unilateral solutions and the use of force; Third World poverty and various regional conflicts – these are the most topical subjects that will be debated here by those who will speak with authority, total freedom and in a spirit of creativity, the prerogative of the open, free organisation which is the Socialist International.

As Willy Brandt stated at the Vancouver congress in November 1978, the Socialist International is neither a world party nor a simple club, 'but a whole community of independent parties whose representatives



believe they can learn together and that together they can do something useful'. We represent independent parties with differences we do not hide, even if they are differences of opinion, but we are interdependent and truly fraternal in the common struggle for the defence of the rights of man, for liberty and for democratic socialism. Our objective and our duty on domestic and international levels is the deepening of this common struggle and this fraternity, of the concept of democratic socialism in theory and practice – which is the world's newest hope and idea, as Francois Mitterrand has said.

It is in the context of the North-South dialogue and its intensification in practice, particularly in comprehending and accepting proposals of the commission over which Willy Brandt presides, that effective solutions to problems of underdevelopment such as hunger, disease and illiteracy might be found. These problems have not ceased to be scourges in our world of extraordinary technological progress, frustrations and hopes. But without a new dimension to a policy for world peace, it is not possible to achieve or even to formulate a future

solution to these terrible scourges that afflict humanity as a whole.

In a world where there will be a 6.5 billion human beings in the year 2000, without rational use of existing resources, without balanced solutions making it possible to end the growing armaments spiral, without a greater transfer of technology from rich to poor countries, without greater social justice and real solidarity between men, independent of their conditions, colour, religion and race, and without profound and radical changes in the international system, our world in crisis is condemned to self-destruction. This is the great challenge of the late twentieth century – a challenge for all people – of which we, as representatives of humanist socialism, are perfectly aware.

Relations between East and West, and their progressive deterioration, are obviously affecting the North-South dialogue. There is no doubt that East European countries cannot continue to avoid this dialogue, as they are developed countries. The destiny of those called the Third World depends fundamentally on the substantial reduction of the present tensions between East and West. In the past few years, the Socialist International has made considerable efforts towards a constructive approach to this basic problem and in the search for balanced solutions enabling the human race to remain hopeful.

I am convinced that in the course of this congress the proposals made will be analysed objectively and that new initiatives will emerge, in keeping with the realities of a world in constant change, refusing to give up the dialogue, however great its difficulties.

In a congress as important as ours, we must reaffirm our collective commitment to defending the rights of man, the point of honour and fundamental preoccupation of democratic socialists. This defence is implicit in the topics debated here, and is the *raison d'être* of our struggle and one of the essential components of our common policy project, in a world where human rights are constantly lacking or are held in contempt.

The parties we represent here, from the five continents, are the clearest and least equivocal expression of the aspiration of several million men and women to a freer, more just, more independent and more human society. This aspiration is reflected in a single project – that of democratic socialism – which we shall attain gradually and in different ways, starting from the realisation of the values of social justice, liberty, participation, division and decentralisation of powers. We do not attribute a vague sense of sentimental humanism to this aspiration, and we will not confuse it with the totalitarian perversion

***'The issue is not whether sweeping transformations are going to take place. They are already underway. The issue is who will control these transformations?'***

Manifesto of Albufera

represented by so-called 'real' socialism as practised in the East.

Open condemnation of all violations of human rights, wherever they take place, without distinction as to countries or social and political systems, forms part of the socialist response to our world in crisis. So permit me to greet from this platform some of our guests who could not be present, such as Nelson and Winnie Mandela and Toivo Ja Toivo from South Africa, General Seregni from Uruguay, Andrei Sakharov from the Soviet Union, and Lech Walesa from Poland, and also, as a symbolic expression of the struggle for freedom of all oppressed peoples, the peoples of Chile, El Salvador, Eritrea, Namibia and East Timor, amongst others. Permit me also to pay a special tribute to our dear friend Bulent Ecevit, representative of the only non-communist country in Europe to live under a military dictatorship, who was able to honour us with his presence today and to whom we reaffirm our solidarity and admiration.

**I**t is undeniable that the Middle East conflict is still one of the most serious threats to world peace. The Socialist International has always paid its greatest attention to this conflict and will continue to do so. From March 1974 to March 1976, the Socialist International carried out three important missions to Egypt, Syria, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates, all presided over by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. On 12 February 1978, Bruno Kreisky was the instigator of a significant meeting between Shimon Peres and President Sadat, and this meeting preceded the Egyptian president's visit to Israel. More recently, I had the honour of chairing the Socialist International Working Group on the Middle East, which has also carried out three missions to this region following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

And now there is a permanent dialogue with our comrades in the Israel Labour Party and MAPAM, as well as with the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon of Walid Jumblatt. We are endeavouring mainly to encourage dialogue between the Arab world and Israel. The Working Group was able to establish a common text, representing an agreement in principle, even if the parties represented have naturally differentiated positions. The text represents a modest contribution to dialogue and to peace in the region, opposing confrontation between extremists, the beginning of a socialist response to the Middle East crisis.

In this report, permit me to add some more comments I consider important. In the first place, I wish to reiterate the condemnation made by Willy Brandt, on

behalf of the Socialist International, of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the Sabra and Chatila massacres, which incited unanimous condemnation by the international community. Permit me also to praise the Commission of Inquiry's work and independence regarding these massacres, an independence possible only in a democratic country where free public opinion has an undeniable weight.

In the second place, I should like to alert you to the fact that the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Lebanon is one of the chief conditions for peace. Another consideration, which must go hand in hand with the first, is the formation of a proper Lebanese army, independent of the country's political and religious groups and militias. This is the only way that Lebanon can be able to find again its sovereignty and the international respect to which it is entitled.

Finally, I should like to appeal to all forces for moderation and democracy in the region, for them to find themselves the lucidity and courage necessary to the negotiated solution of the fundamental problem, mutual recognition between Israelis and Palestinians: recognition of the existence of the State of Israel and recognition of the right to self-determination and to a native land for the Palestinians. There will not be any solution to one of the most serious and complex problems of our day except by political negotiations undertaken with courage and an open mind. However, time is short, as the situation is deteriorating every day. Facts accomplish and forced impositions – eg. the formation of new settlements on the West Bank – make dialogue more difficult, although it is still possible, and I would go so far as to say that it is still essential and urgent. The Socialist International will spare no effort to encourage this dialogue, which could take place under the aegis of our own organisation.

**I**n the sixties, the Socialist International was barely considered and even viewed negatively in Latin America. Initiatives of European socialist parties in the Socialist International were regarded as a poor by-product of American interests. Since then, a long, very useful road has been covered. The Socialist International finally ceased to be a euro-centred organisation from the Geneva congress in 1976, when Willy Brandt took over the presidency of our organisation. He was recognised as independent, acting in the service of democracy, liberation of the oppressed and of liberty. Another highly significant fact, of decisive importance, was the democratisation of Portugal and Spain, which occurred in the mid-seventies, and the decisive role played in this process by the Socialist Party of Portugal and the Spanish Socialist Workers'

Party, members of the Socialist International even during the time of clandestinity.

From that time, we could be certain that it was possible to undertake and complete, by peaceful methods, a democratisation process in fascist countries or countries under odious military dictatorships. In this sense, the examples of the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil are important and conclusive in spite of their contradictions and difficulties. We must remain aware, however, of the fact that the overall situation in Latin America is far from simple. Many countries in that very promising subcontinent are still dominated by oppressive regimes which do not in any way respect human rights and citizens' liberty.

In September of this year, the Chilean regime of terror will have been in existence for ten years; and in Cuba – and we should have the courage to proclaim it, as it is almost twenty-five years since the revolution – the Castro regime is firmly installed, but it is incompatible with liberty and is incapable of solving the basic problems of the population. These are two dramatic examples that illustrate symbolically the Latin American panorama, where liberty, national independence and development seem to be difficult aims to achieve. Nevertheless, in spite of the intolerance of oppressive regimes, democracy is making its way in the face of the indifference or egoism of the major dominating powers.

The growing wave of violence in Central America is very disturbing and, as Pope John Paul II recently pointed out, this region has also been transformed into a centre of world tension. The appetites of certain foreign powers are mixed with the people's profound disillusion. Wherever they turn, the people meet only frustration of their legitimate aspirations towards greater liberty. Foreign intervention is always to be condemned, whatever the pretexts invoked.

For us as social democrats, believing in solidarity and convinced that it is for the people to choose their own destinies democratically and without foreign interference, it is quite unacceptable also for these people, after liberation from odious right-wing dictatorships and oligarchies supported by imperialism, to be immediately deprived of their legitimate claims by repressive regimes of opposing tendencies.

The gravity of the situation in Central America demands on the part of the international community – especially socialists – the political will to contribute to a global negotiated solution which might, on the one hand, include all Central American countries in a truly democratic process and, on the other hand, involve the international community in a concrete





*The way it will be: children discovering computers*

project to aid development of these countries.

All the parties in the Socialist International are involved in the struggle against apartheid, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; in Southern Africa these represent a permanent threat to peace and development. All the parties of the Socialist International condemn South Africa's racist policy and associate themselves with the struggle of the front-line states. These concerns and our solidarity with the peoples of the front line have always been shown in a coherent way, in various meetings of the Socialist International and in missions to that region, especially the most important mission, led by Olof Palme in September 1977, with the participation of the Portuguese Socialist Party and nine other parties of the Socialist International; and also through the important cooperation which almost all our member parties have always maintained with the liberation parties and movements of that region, from the time when they began to fight for the independence of their country.

Southern Africa has always been traditionally a zone of colonialist ambitions — Namibia is still today under South Africa's oppressive power — and has become a

platform of rivalries between economic interests and geostrategic disputes between the major powers. To put an end to this situation and give the front-line states their full sovereignty and enable them to dedicate themselves urgently to the task of their own development, the democratic countries and world public opinion must be made aware of the dangers to world peace arising from this situation. This should be done not in return for ideological declarations marked or aligned according to the interests of one of the major powers, but rather by putting forward concrete measures completely free of egotistical interest.

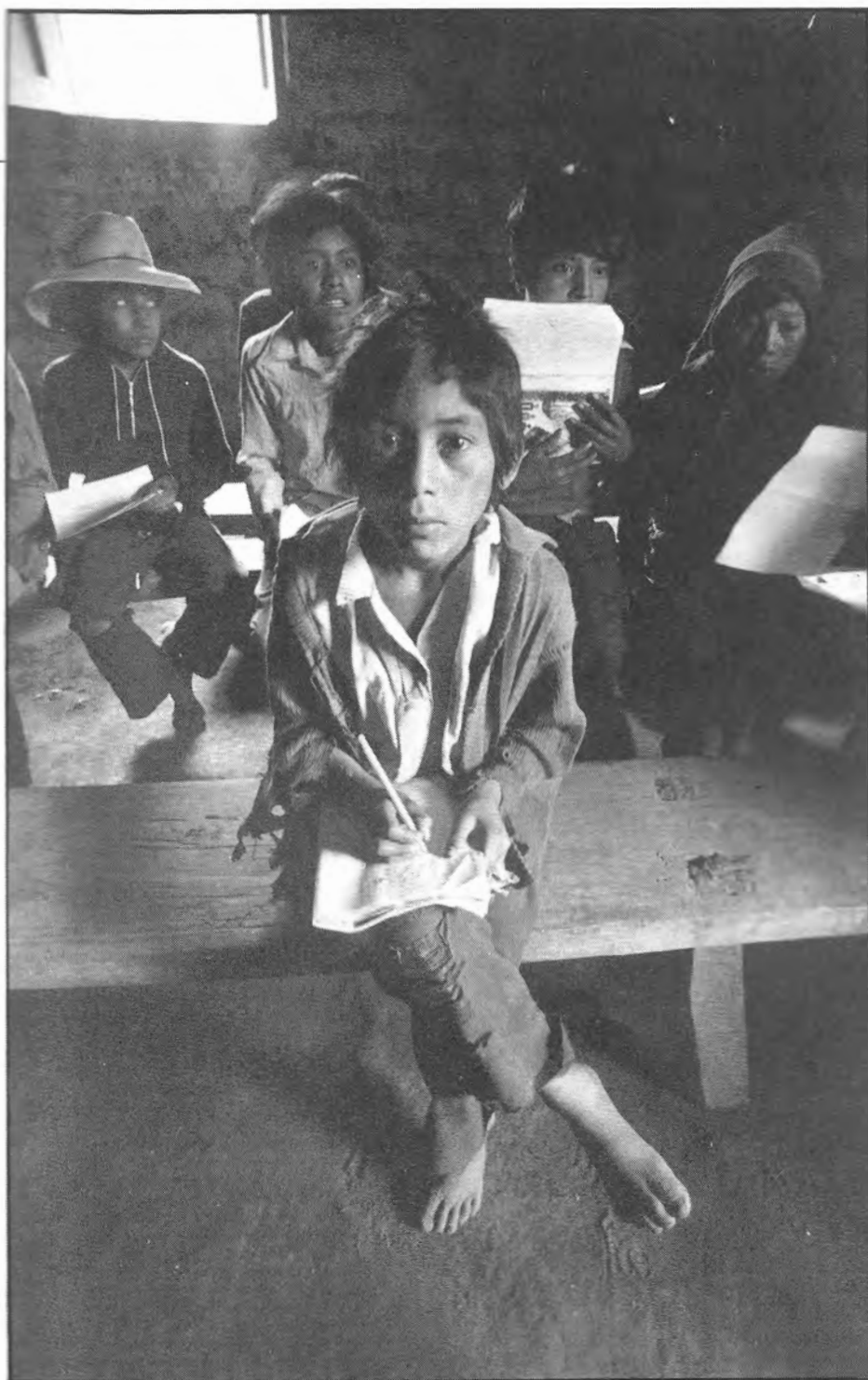
The Socialist International conference that is to take place on 17-18 June this year in Arusha, Tanzania, is thus of very great importance for the front-line states, and considerable hope is building up throughout the world. A clear and firm commitment by the 74 organisations associated with the Socialist International throughout the world should emerge from this conference. Our commitment against apartheid, racism, colonialism and aggressive policies in South Africa is total, because it relates to the basis of the values we defend. Nevertheless, consistency and efficiency are urgently needed, in concrete terms, to reinforce the true independence

of the front-line states and their economic, social and cultural development.

It would not be possible to speak of the world in crisis without mentioning the deplorable situation in many countries of Asia, where underdevelopment, hunger and uncontrollable population explosions are major factors. These factors alone cause permanent instability and tension, together with the dictatorial regimes of that region and the corruption that proliferates there almost as a general rule.

In speaking of Asia, we cannot forget the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, surprising in light of the official propaganda: an invasion in which a highly sophisticated war apparatus was used against a defenceless population, without any justification. I think it is necessary also to mention the war between Iran and Iraq, which has already caused many thousands of deaths. It is therefore urgent to bring this war to an immediate end, by means of negotiations. Nor can we forget the brutal occupations of East Timor by Indonesia, and the occupation of Kampuchea by the military forces of Vietnam, as well as the enormous use on that continent of inhuman chemical and bacteriological arms of great power.

So I am appealing to the parties of the Socialist International, and to our guests



*Discovering new opportunities: children at school near Quetzaltenango, Guatemala*

present here, immediately to make all possible efforts to alert world public opinion to the very serious situation in that continent, where two thirds of the world population lives and where the symptoms of moral, political and economic crisis that we are going through are felt more acutely and are therefore the source of enormous danger for the future of humanity as a whole.

**T**he parties of the Socialist International, independent but interdependent, are found today in all the continents. Our voice is listened to today and respected throughout the world, particularly when it expresses consensus positions, although it is

sometimes criticised by extremists with an opposing view.

The Socialist International has changed gradually into an organisation with indisputable political and moral weight, without comparison in the world, because it is recognised as a valuable interlocutor for the peaceful solution of the world's main conflicts. As it is not an organisation of governments, but rather of parties, its influence is exercised particularly through persuading public opinion. Nevertheless, we should not forget that many of the member parties today are from influential governments in Europe and other continents.

Moreover, we always take great pleasure

**'In the context of North-South dialogue... solutions to problems of hunger, disease and illiteracy might be found.'**

Mario Soares

in aiding the victors of democratic socialism. Victories as important as those we have had since the last congress in Madrid, in France, Greece, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Spain, Sweden and, more recently, in Finland and Australia. I am confident that other victories will be added, by the socialist parties in Austria and Portugal, on 24 and 25 April respectively.

In a disturbed and divided world, where exploitation of weaknesses is the rule, and solidarity the exception, the general ideals of socialist humanism, which defends human dignity and liberty, represent in their equilibrium the desired, possible reply to the widest human aspirations. Utopias have failed wherever they have begun by sacrificing liberty. Starting from a basic framework of democracy and liberty, gradual advancement can be made towards ever greater social and economic conquests, to ensure greater social justice and increased equality. But the opposite path, beginning with the sacrifice of liberty, practising what is called 'real' socialism, can only lead to Kafka's totalitarian universes, the origin of odious nomenclatures and new, undoubted alienation.

I will be told that these are values peculiar to countries that have a certain level of economic and cultural development, and that when hunger, disease, illiteracy, technological and cultural backwardness are the features of a people's life, all means are good when their objective is to eliminate these terrible scourges. Experience during the past decade proves the contrary. Democracy and liberty cannot be dissociated from the struggle against misery and cultural underdevelopment.

At the end of the twentieth century, our world is once again a single world. As mere human beings, independent of our nationalities, religions and ideologies, we are confronted with a great challenge, that of survival of the human race itself. Hence our struggle for disarmament and for peace. Nothing is more urgent and important. But our active involvement in the defence of peace, which since the beginnings of the socialist movement has always been with us, cannot be confused with any form whatever of capitulation or defection through connection with aggressive projects, whatever their origin.

Peace implies vigilance and lucidity, but it cannot be dissociated from liberty, as it cannot be dissociated from the fight against economic and cultural underdevelopment, in favour of a new international behaviour by the industrialised countries in relation to poor countries or backward countries, in solidarity terms. Socialists are people of liberty. Dialogue, solidarity and good sense are our main arms in the fight against the international crisis affecting the world, towards the end of the twentieth century. ☪



# The role of the International

The Socialist International has changed almost beyond recognition since the reforming Geneva congress in 1976. **BERNT CARLSSON**, the International's general secretary since that time, notes that the growth in membership and activities has also created some problems – though they are by no means insurmountable.

This is the third congress of the International since the major reforms instituted at Geneva in 1976. It has been a period of growth and achievement. In the last inter-congress period, events have again vindicated the decision to make the International more truly international and to enhance the outward-looking character of our organisation.

You have already received the general secretary's report, which details the major activities of the International since the Madrid congress in 1980. In this address, I should like to highlight these activities, and to make some observations.

Let me begin by saying something about the character of the Socialist International. It is an organisation of freely associated members. It does not dictate the activities or policy of its members, and no one member dictates the activities or policy of the organisation.

Our strength lies in our diversity, and in the knowledge that our actions are based on the free will of the members choosing to cooperate. This might mean that sometimes we may not appear as forceful as some organisations which speak ominously with a single voice. At the same time, because we share a common ideology, we do not speak with the multitude of voices characteristic of international organisations without a common cause.

The International is the example of free association in a serious commitment to both democracy and socialism which has attracted so much recent interest in membership in the International, much of it coming from regions of the world that have shown little interest in the past in this form of political organisation.

During the last inter-congress period, the International carried out a wider range of activities than ever before, reflecting the fact that a majority of our membership is now non-European.

The major focus of our activities was peace and disarmament. During the inter-congress period, tensions between the superpowers were *greater* than at any time



since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. The Socialist International therefore attempted to act upon the words of President Brandt, that 'we are, above all, the worldwide party of peace'.

The Socialist International Disarmament and Arms Control Advisory Council, established at the Madrid congress, undertook missions to both superpowers and to the UN, under the directorship of Kalevi Sorsa and Walter Hacker.

And, in an activity undertaken outside the International but paralleling our work, Olof Palme chaired the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, which strove to find a path towards peace for the world.

The tension between the superpowers remains high, but both sides are at the negotiating table. It is clear that popular sentiment for peace is very high.

The International's support for arms control and peace has not been restricted to East-West relations. Three missions have been sent to the Middle East, each headed by Mario Soares, our host at this congress. The International has supported the efforts to find peaceful solutions to the Falklands/Malvinas dispute, and above all, to the conflicts in Central America.

The fact of the matter is that while the prospect of a nuclear holocaust horrifies us

all, the shocking reality of so-called conventional devastation has already been visited on the people of these regions, and other areas.

The greatest increase in our activity in this inter-congress period, as compared to previous years, came in the Latin American/Caribbean area.

The attempt to find a negotiated and just settlement in El Salvador has been an important focus of our activity. The International has also worked hard in supporting other parties suffering under dictatorship, such as those in Guatemala and Chile. Recent developments in Bolivia, and the victories of our member parties in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, have been very encouraging.

The International has also played an active role in support of the project of the Nicaraguan revolution – and actively resisted all attempts of foreign forces to interfere with the course of that revolution.

In all this work, our comrades from the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean have played a key role.

The International has devoted considerable energy to the questions of Southern Africa, and will continue to do so in the next inter-congress period.

The International decided at the Paris Bureau meeting in 1981 to hold a conference on Southern Africa in the region itself, at the initiative of the Swiss, French and Swedish parties. Joseph Ki-Zerbo headed a group which undertook two preparatory missions to the area in 1982. Preparations are now underway for the conference, to be held in Arusha, Tanzania, on 17-18 June this year.

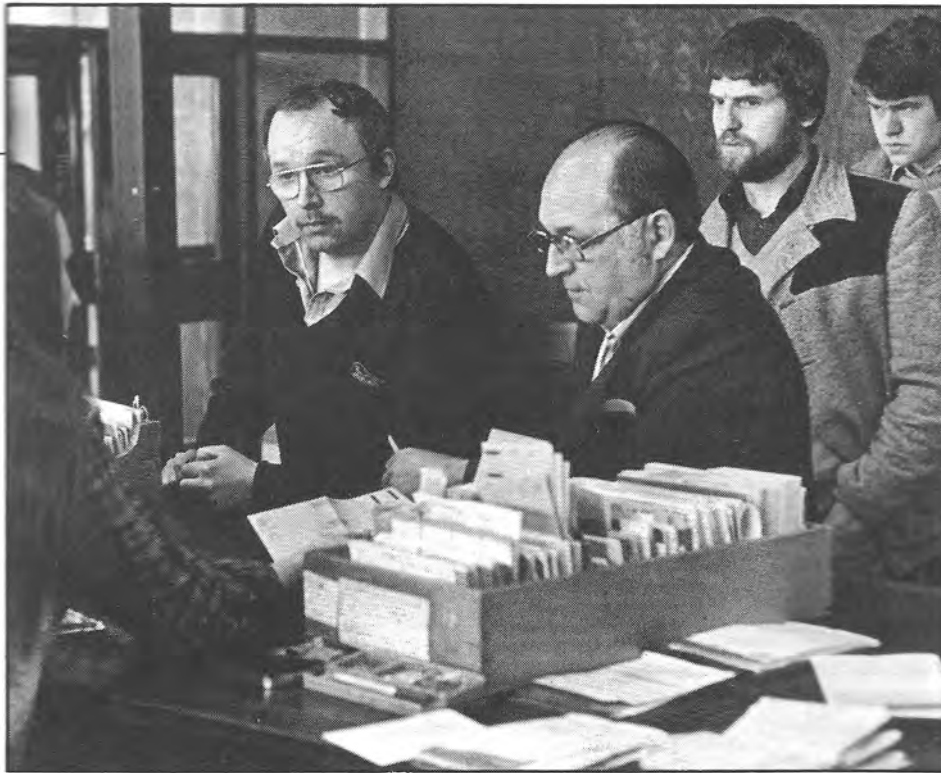
In South Africa, the policy of apartheid continues to take its toll – Nelson Mandela is still in jail, Neil Aggett died in jail, and the suppression of the majority of the population continues. We have continued to protest at these policies, and we have protested against South Africa's attacks on its neighbours. We have continued our support for SWAPO and the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement and for the front-line states, and have asked member parties to make every effort to reduce their nation's economic links with the minority regime in South Africa.

The Asia-Pacific region is increasingly figuring in the attention of the International. The Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation held a major conference in Sydney early in 1981. We all welcomed the great victory of our Australian comrades in the recent elections.

Last year we had our first contacts with China.

The International needs to do much more in the region of Asia, where, after all, more than half the world's population lives.





*The faces of the 1980s: workers claiming unemployment benefit*

**'Socialist internationalism is becoming a real necessity.'**

Bernt Carlsson

As technology has developed, it has created new forms of wealth and destroyed old forms at an even greater pace. The great factories of industrial Europe and North America start becoming a rust bowl, while the software for use on a computer becomes a source of wealth. Technology, so far, has acted to increase the power and mobility of international capital.

As a result of these changes, so-called international matters are now to be found at the heart of domestic policy. Traditionally, many of the parties have kept their international departments in a compartment separate from the domestic sections, which are somehow supposed to be more serious. This separation makes increasingly less sense. The scope for independent political action at a purely domestic level has greatly narrowed in recent years. Socialist internationalism is becoming a real necessity, given the problems we face.

Since 1976, the membership of the International has increased by a third. It now stands at 63 member parties and, no doubt, will be even more after this congress.

Not surprisingly, we now face the problems of success. It is obvious that the organisational structures that were appropriate for a smaller organisation are not necessarily appropriate for one which has grown and is still expanding. As suggested by Paul Miller of the People's National Party of Jamaica, we must review our organisational setup very carefully.

The International has become larger and more diverse, hence more difficult to keep together. By the same token, agreements, however painfully reached, mean more because they represent the views of a larger part of the human community than before.

The International is not a mini-United Nations, but it is obvious that nations and groups with a wide variety of points of view see us as an important group and want to influence our point of view. The challenges we have endured in recent years have been formidable, and the pressure from those not enthused at the growth and strength of the Socialist International, considerable. Yet our organisation has grown and continues to grow in influence, members and capacity.

The International is serviced by a small and dedicated staff in London and I am sure that you all would join me in conveying our thanks for their work. We also owe our sincere thanks to our Portuguese comrades for their efforts in organising this congress at very short notice.

Finally, as President Brandt observed at the Bonn Presidium meeting a year ago, the family of socialism has achieved its greatest successes in unity, and suffered its worst defeats in its absence. To expand with unity will be the major task of the Socialist International.

In Europe there was the spectacular victory for Francois Mitterrand and his fellow socialists in 1981, and then last year for PSOE in Spain. And, we hope, shortly here in Portugal.

The International praised the victory of PASOK in Greece, protested at the continuing deterioration of the situation in Turkey, and sent a mission to Cyprus to promote a solution of the problem for that divided and often forgotten island.

The Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community has continued to expand its activities.

Much of our work has transcended a regional framework. Many of the activities were concerned with the great questions of development, North-South relations and the world economy.

The International took very seriously the Cancun conference, which was itself inspired in large part by the work of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by our president, Willy Brandt. A Cancun follow-up group, established by the International and headed by Michael Manley, will report to this congress.

A major project of the coming period which will require clear thinking and the assistance of many of our member parties is the rewriting of the declaration of principles, to be undertaken by a committee chaired by Felipe Gonzalez and with Francisco Lopez Real as secretary.

Faced with growing unemployment and with an erosion of the basis for welfare-state economics and with the ideological and political challenge of neo-conservatism and of a doctrinaire application of the theories of monetarism and supply-side economics, the International has begun to undertake in an organised fashion some

ideological rethinking. Notable in this process was the Conference on Democratic Socialist Alternatives in Economic Policy held in Vienna at the invitation of Bruno Kreisky in September 1982. More such enterprise will be required in coming years.

A striking development of the recent period has been that the economies of all nations are faced with similar troubles. If the advanced western nations are labouring under difficulties, then the economies of the less developed nations are facing disaster. At the same time, the centralised state-socialist economies of the Eastern bloc are in a state of difficulty of which Poland is only the most striking example.

Historically, the path of democratic socialism has sometimes been called a third way between the communist East and the capitalist West. In the future, democratic socialism must be more than that. The options of the twenty-first century will be, one hopes, far greater than the restricted choice between bureaucratic state socialism and laissez-faire capitalism.

Conservative economists have sometimes criticised socialists for being locked into the formulas of 1930s Keynesianism or even nineteenth-century marxism, but then relied in their turn on eighteenth-century economists.

The world economy and those who thrive in it – the multinational corporations – are too powerful for a party or even a state to deal with. The mobility of capital has greatly increased as industrialism has unfolded. The chosen socialist instrument of popular control – the democratic state – can be subjected to control by international capital. This phenomenon not only affects such developing nations as Chile and Jamaica, but also the industrialised nation states of Europe.



## The legacy of Karl Marx

The failures and inadequacies of avowed marxists should not detract from the work of Karl Marx himself, argues **MICHAEL HARRINGTON**. The 'fallible but gigantic' Marx, who died a hundred years ago, has still much to offer us in the late twentieth century.

**K**arl Marx died one hundred years ago, in March 1883. That much is clear and beyond dispute.

But Karl Marx has lived now for a century after his death and we must ask, which Karl Marx do we commemorate in 1983? I propose to look at just a few of the most important Karl Marxes of the past one hundred years in attempting to answer that question. But with that done, the central issue still remains. Are any of these Marxes relevant to the world of the late twentieth century? Is our memorial an act of intellectual and political piety without any consequences for the way we act? Is there a Marx who matters, who will grow throughout the second century after his death and have some practical meaning for the world of 2083?

**F**irst, let us look at a few of the incarnations of Karl Marx in the twentieth century. There was Karl Marx the ideologist of the Second International. He was created by Friedrich Engels – a lesser genius when compared to a friend who was one of the greatest thinkers in human history, and, it seems to me, a nicer man – and Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding, Georgi Plekhanov and others. He was the integrating spirit of the European, and particularly Central European, workers' movement and as such made an enormous contribution to freedom and democracy. This Marx inspired one of the most serious intellectual publications of the time (or of any time), *Neue Zeit*, and thinkers like Mehring, Hilferding (*Finanzkapital* is a marvellous illustration of how marxists can face problems not dealt with by Marx himself in a creative and undogmatic way) as well as Kautsky himself, a man of truly catholic erudition.

But the Marx of the Second International was a man of his time and place. He believed in scientism – the notion that the methods of the natural sciences apply to society and, indeed, to all truth – and was a sort of revolutionary darwinian, a prophet of inevitable progress and gradual socialist triumph who, on ceremonial occasions

mainly, occasionally spoke of dialectical leaps. This Marx died on 4 August 1914, when the workers of Europe marched out to slaughter one another and all idylls of automatic progress, whether proletarian or bourgeois, were among the casualties.

There was a first cousin, perhaps a half-brother, to Kautsky's Marx: the austro-marxist Marx. Intellectually this Marx was quite subtle, for Max Adler understood quite rightly that Hegel and Kant were very much present in Marx, a fact which the latter acknowledged quite openly in the first of the *Theses on Feuerbach*, where he credited the idealists with having understood the active and creative side of humanity much better than the materialists. This seemingly abstruse point about the ideological sources of marxism has a very important consequence: it lays enormous stress upon the role of freedom in the dialectic of freedom and necessity defined by Marx. It was thus not an accident that the austro-marxists were among the first to develop a marxist theory of stalinism.

The austro-marxists were also forced by the reality of the Austro-Hungarian empire to deal with the national question more seriously than any of their socialist con-

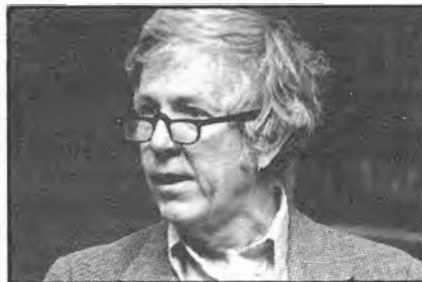
temporaries. Indeed, they were the first to make an analysis of the relationship between 'centre' and 'periphery', a notion central to Third World marxism for the past twenty or so years. But if the Socialist Party of Austria today has a greater concern for theory than most – perhaps any – other European socialist parties, austro-marxism as an ideology of revolutionary social democracy is no longer a distinctive philosophical or political current. It has, like many of the other marxisms, become part of the common heritage of democratic socialists all over the world.

**S**omething that is not true of Lenin's Karl Marx. In one or another version he is the best known Karl Marx in the world today and his memory is kept green by nationalised industries in more than a few countries. The problem here is that there are almost as many Lenins as there are Marxes.

In part this is because Lenin was such a complex man. With two exceptions, both connected with periods of political despair, his reading of Marx, even when dealing with questions of epistemology, was utterly political. When he had a bloc with Bogdanov within the Bolshevik party, he dismissed their philosophic differences as irrelevant; when he broke with Bogdanov he showed that the same differences were reflections of counterposed class interests. In 1905-6, Lenin brilliantly demonstrated from marxist texts that marxism demanded a united front with democratic, but non-socialist, forces; in 1917 he demonstrated with equal brilliance that marxism required the 'smashing' of the bourgeois state and an independent socialist politics. He wrote a book of dogmatic orthodoxy on marxist philosophy, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, and yet his philosophic notebook on Hegel's *Logic* is filled with subtle, undogmatic insights. Not so incidentally, the first volume was written as part of a faction fight in the party, the second was a product of the period right after the outbreak of the first world war, when Lenin all but abandoned hope for a revolution in his lifetime.

He unquestionably created precedents which would be used by Stalin in establishing a dictatorship over the proletariat; and he said, as against Trotsky, that workers needed independent trade unions to defend them against the bureaucratic excesses of 'their' state. His analysis of imperialism was borrowed from Hilferding and Hobson, an English liberal, and has long since been outmoded, but it is probably one of the most widely read pamphlets in human history. At the very end of his life he was near despair again, and there is a genuine pathos, an impolitic candour, in his last writings where, in effect, he argued desperately against one of the few among

### About the author



**Michael Harrington** is chair of Democratic Socialists of America. A long-standing democratic socialist activist in US politics, he has written a number of influential books, including *The Other America* and *The Accidental Century*.



his opponents whom he respected, the socialist Martov.

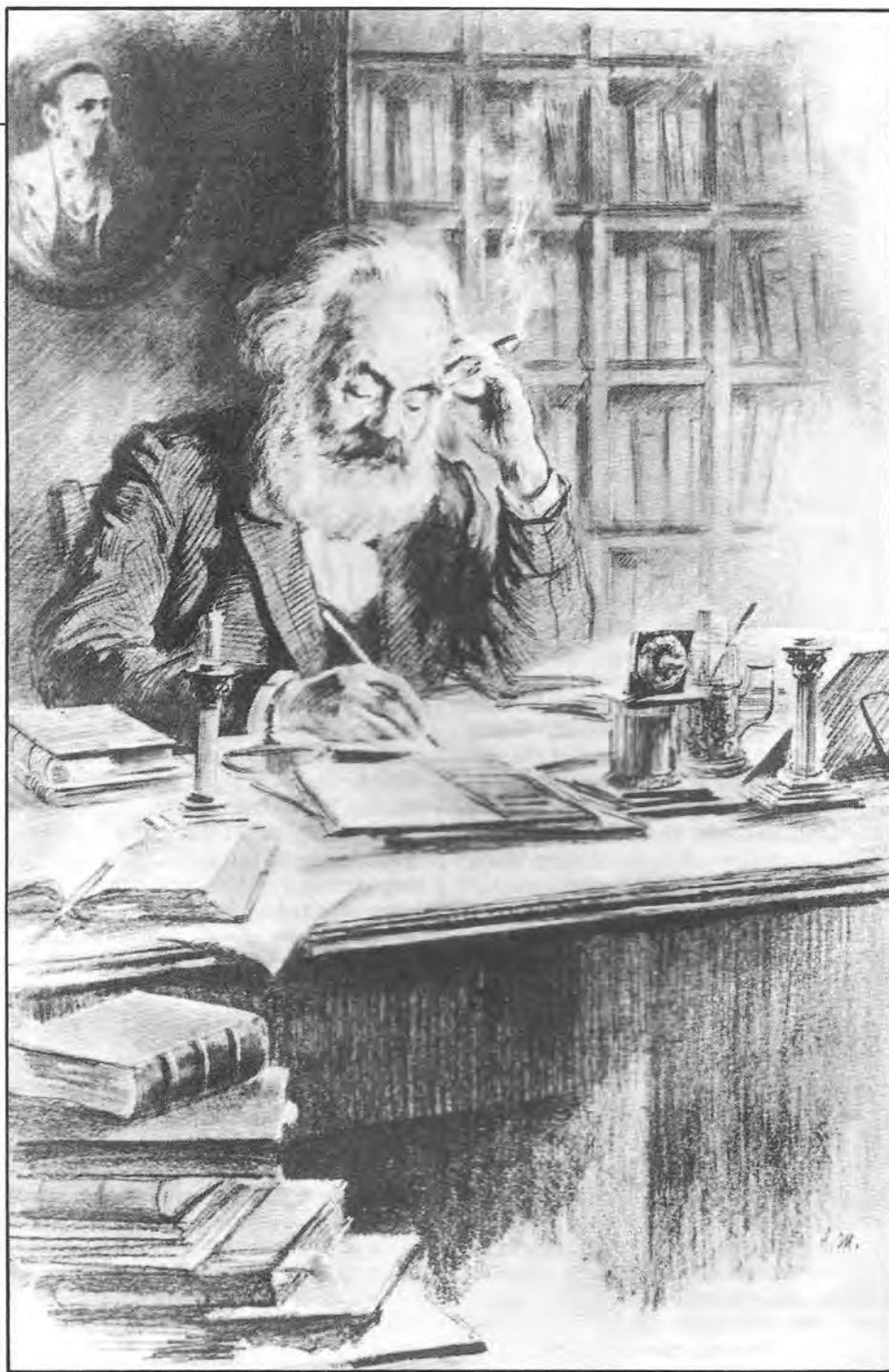
Lenin's leninism was, then, somewhat ambiguous, vulgar and subtle, proto-totalitarian and, particularly in the last year of his life, concerned with freedom. Stalin's leninism, in contrast, was neither ambiguous nor subtle.

**T**he classic statement of Stalin's 'marxism' was made in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, a volume written under the direct supervision of the Soviet dictator himself. The *History* argues that Lenin and his party never made a single mistake! This is not an accident due to excessive boasting but the ineluctable consequence of a certain version of 'marxism'. Kautsky's Marx (and Engels' and Plekhanov's) had, we have seen, scientific aspects — but only aspects. Indeed, at the end of his life Engels was at pains to admit that he and Marx had over-emphasised the way in which the political and cultural can be derived from the economic and understated the degree to which the political and cultural are cause, as well as effect, of the economic (see his letter to Mehring in July 1893 and the letter to W. Borgius in January 1894).

But none of these subtleties were of interest to Stalin. He further vulgarised the most simplistic passages in Marx and (mainly) Engels and turned them into a universal 'scientific' theory, 'dialectical materialism', which applies to all reality. That was not simply an act of consummate intellectual vulgarity. It was politically quite functional. If marxism was a 'science', like physics and chemistry, and Stalin was the supreme marxist, ie. scientist, then, by analogy to a rather simple-minded idea of science, the Soviet leader was error-free. If he decreed the forced collectivisation of the peasantry, that was in the objective interest of the peasants, even if the latter did not know it and even took to slaughtering their livestock in protest against it.

But are these developments not the inevitable result of Marx's own theory of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'? Does such a concept not lead inexorably to the dictatorship of the party over the proletariat, and finally to the dictatorship of the leader over the party?

If by 'dictatorship of the proletariat' Marx had indeed meant the forcible suppression of minority opinion, he would indeed bear moral responsibility for at least some of the actions of Stalin. But on the handful of occasions on which he used the phrase — about ten times, primarily in 1850 when he made a brief alliance with the Blanquists after the failure of the German revolution of 1848, and then during the Paris Commune — it was clear that 'dictatorship' in his language did not mean



*Helping to answer some of today's questions?: Karl Marx in London in 1849*

dictatorship. For Marx, the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie' was best exercised through a constitutional democracy. The capitalists 'dictated' in the sense that any democratically elected assembly would have to either maintain the conditions of profitability or revolutionise the mode of production. Where, he argued, a system was based on private, capitalist ownership, that imposed despotic limits on the actions which the most democratically elected assembly could take.

A far-fetched interpretation? Then look at the one place where Marx actually defined 'the dictatorship of the proletariat', in his writings on the Paris Commune. And remember, not so incidentally, that the

marxists were a tiny minority within the Commune. This 'dictatorship', Marx said, was characterised by the fact that all officials were paid workers' wages and subject to immediate recall by the voters who had elected them. When Marx said 'dictatorship' he did not mean dictatorship. To which it should be added: it would have been infinitely preferable that he never used the phrase, and the ordinary citizen can hardly be blamed for thinking 'dictatorship' meant dictatorship. This enormously facilitated Stalin's work.

And yet the marxist fact of the matter is that, precisely under conditions of collective ownership, democracy becomes more important, not less so. Where the



state owns – or directs or controls – the means of production, the critical question is, who owns the state? The workers and the people can ‘own’ the state in only one way: through the fullest and freest right to change its policies and personnel at will. Therefore, democracy is not an after-thought for socialism, something to be added after the hard work is done; rather it is the essential precondition for the social and economic power of the people.

The young Marx knew this. In the fourth thesis on Ludwig Feuerbach, he criticises Robert Owen because that most gentle and decent of English socialists believed in a top-down, philanthropic transformation of the masses. No, said Marx. The people cannot be changed from on high, not even by kindly utopians; they must change themselves. That insight of the youthful Marx remained with him all his life. So it was that he wrote in 1864 in the statutes of the International Workingmen’s Association that the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class alone.

Stalin’s Marx ignored all of this. Instead he was a source of quotations to justify any twist and turn in Soviet policy. If social democrats were social fascists in 1933, there was an appropriate text to prove the charge – and an equally appropriate text to show in 1935 that social democrats were desirable allies. In Eastern Europe I suspect that no one, including the communists, take this ‘marxism’ seriously. When I was in Poland in 1963, Leszek Kolakowski, then very much a marxist, was still a member of the Communist Party. Why, I asked one official, does Gomulka allow him to remain in the party? Because, I was told, Gomulka does not want to expel the only marxist in Poland from the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union perhaps the cynicism is not quite so widespread but it must occur to people that the social reality of their daily lives is at odds with the official explanations of it.

In any case, Stalin’s marxism was a product of the history of power, not of thought, and did not produce a single book worth remembering. There was, however, at the same time a kind of underground marxism which existed within the communist movement and in exile from it. It included brilliant theorists like George Lukacs, Karl Korsch, the early Frankfurt School (Fromm and Marcuse as well as Horkheimer and Adorno) and others. Lukacs, of course, remained a communist all his life, playing a role in the Hungarian revolution of 1956; Korsch left the party. What links them, and the others, together is an understanding of the role of consciousness and creativity in the Marxist account of history.

That attitude is also to be found in one of the most fascinating marxists of the century

### Some key dates in the life and work of Karl Marx

- 1818** Karl Marx born in Trier, Germany, on 5 May
- 1836** Study of Hegel in Berlin
- 1841** Attainment of doctorate in Jena
- 1843** Move to Paris
- 1844** Start of friendship with Friedrich Engels
- 1845** Publication of *The German Ideology* and *Theses on Feuerbach*; expulsion from France, move to Brussels
- 1848** Publication of *Communist Manifesto*; founding of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne
- 1849** Exile to Paris, then London
- 1864** Founding of the International Workingmen’s Association; Marx secretary
- 1867** Publication of first volume of *Capital*
- 1871** Paris Commune
- 1883** Death in London on 14 March

– and one of the most difficult to categorise – Antonio Gramsci. One can argue whether Gramsci was a profound leninist (Christine Buci-Gluckmann’s reading in *Gramsci and the State*) or a thinker who profoundly revised Lenin (Kolakowski in *Main Currents of Marxism*). That dispute, quite significant in other respects, does not concern me here. What is critical is that Gramsci thought of the struggle for socialism as a ‘moral and intellectual reformation’, a secular analogue of the protestant reformation itself. The Renaissance, he argued, was the work of elite geniuses, the Reformation was a new morality for ordinary people. In this, whatever his personal and political relation to the communist movement, he was elaborating a ‘bottom-up’ vision of socialism profoundly at variance with the dictatorial Soviet practice.

This marxist ‘underground’ existed, as I noted earlier, within the orbit of communism though it was – sometimes quite explicitly, sometimes guardedly – anti-stalinist. There were also revolutionary marxist currents which organised against the communist movement, most notably, trotskyism.

Doubtless Trotsky was a man of enormous talent. His *History of the Russian Revolution* is a work of literary as well as analytic brilliance and his writings on art (some of them composed while he created and led the Red Army) are sensitive and insightful. And yet he suffered from a most un-marxist flaw, one which has be-deviled his followers to this day. In 1905 the young Trotsky audaciously sketched a scenario for the coming Russian revolution which placed him at odds with Lenin and the Bolsheviks as well as with the Mensheviks. In 1917, that Trotsky prediction was borne out by events, which was the basis of his reconciliation with Lenin. From that moment on he assumed that if one only worked out the ‘correct’ line, then history would eventually fulfil it.

It was an understandable error for

Trotsky. And a disaster for the trotskyists after him. For more than four decades since Trotsky’s death the latter have elaborated intricate analyses – sometimes, as in the writing of Ernest Mandel, containing quite useful material – which have diverged more and more from political reality. In some countries they have made themselves an impossibilist left wing of socialist mass movements and, more often than not, driven workers and others away from them. But if trotskyism has been a political failure, it has inspired individuals, some of whom remained organised trotskyists, most of whom left the movement, who have done serious work. In addition to Mandel one thinks of Isaac Deutscher (his three-volume biography of Trotsky is a marxist classic), Castoriadis (who has since become an anti-marxist) and many of the writers associated with the magazine *New Left Review*. Indeed it is ironic that the trotskyist current has some intellectual substance precisely because it has so little political substance. Defeat has some compensations for the theorist – in the 1850s, when he did much of the preparatory work for *Capital*, Marx was an isolated intellectual.

That point extends beyond trotskyism itself. What has been called ‘western marxism’ is a current characterised by complexity in theory and impotence in practice. Perry Anderson’s *Considerations on Western Marxism* was one of the first books to deal with this phenomenon. For Anderson, thinkers like Lukacs, Korsch, Benjamin, Marcuse, Lefebvre, Goldmann and Colletti were the product of defeat: the stalinisation of the Soviet revolution, the triumph of fascism, the renewed vitality of the (capitalist) welfare state after the second world war. To which I would add that in the United States, where there has never been a marxist movement, marxism has flourished in many of the universities during the past two decades.

All of this is, of course, an ironic reversal of the eleventh thesis on Feuerbach where Marx looked toward the unity of theory and theory-based practice. But, to cite another



'Protagonists of closed marxisms': Trotsky and Lenin

brilliant, isolated intellectual of marxist culture, George Lichtheim, if marxism fails in that revolutionary synthesis of theory and practice dreamed in the eleventh thesis but still helps one to understand the world, that is no small accomplishment.

**F**inally, in the last twenty or thirty years there has been a Third World Karl Marx. That is ironic since Marx himself – with one notable exception – and almost all marxists, including Lenin, until after the second world war made a critical error with regard to imperialism. The latter, they said, would develop the Third World. British imperialism, which he abominated morally and opposed politically, would, Marx said, revolutionise India. What he, and half a century of his followers, did not understand was that the capitalism of the centre did indeed subvert the traditional societies of the periphery, but did not replace them with modern capitalist economies. Rather they created enclaves of advanced industrialisation, sources of cheap labour, soaring unemployment and underemployment and the alienation of men and women suspended between the modern and the traditional, neither one nor the other.

In one case, Marx did understand this point even though he did not develop the insight. Ireland, he realised, was meant to be a source of agricultural products and cheap labour for England, not a second England. But it was not until after the second world war and the wave of political decolonialisation that this point was generalised by marxists like Samir Amin. It also became a point of departure for a marxist-christian tendency which would have been unthinkable earlier in the century, the 'liberation theologians' of Latin America, like Jose Miranda. The looming, gigantic figure of Mao did not enter into this debate and, particularly at this moment, when his significance is being reinterpreted on all sides – not the least by

the Chinese communists – it would be unwise to try to characterise him in a phrase or two.

**S**o what remains of Karl Marx? of all those integralist, closed marxisms – cast, as Lenin put it, from a single piece of steel – nothing serious remains, or should remain. The scientist Marx in his democratic (Second International) or anti-marxist (communist) variant may be important to the political history of the past, and even of the present and future, but he has nothing to say to anyone trying to analyse social life seriously. Neither does Trotsky's Marx – even if some trotskyist (and ex-trotskyist) marxists do. Third World marxism has indeed done some useful and politically important work in developing theories of centre and periphery but often they end up – for example, in the case of Samir Amin – in counterposing the wretched of the earth in the poor countries to the workers in the advanced countries, a theory which can have no progressive practice. On that count, the Brandt Commission, which had no pretence of articulating a grand theory, is much more relevant. Still, there is a vitality and intellectual richness to be found in the Third World Marx, who is, not so incidentally, a radical revision of almost everything Marx said in his lifetime about the Third World.

That leads to a critically important aspect of the present significance of Karl Marx. Marx was a giant – a Himalaya of the intellect – and a fallible, human giant. In 1848, he mistook the rise of capitalism for its decline; throughout his life he radically underestimated the power of nationalism in the working class; his analysis of imperialism was, we have seen, quite faulty. Yet Marx developed a method – infinitely more subtle than all of those 'marxist' models in which the 'base' in neat, unilinear fashion 'determines' a 'superstructure' which is nothing more than the economic in a

cultural or political or juridical disguise – which can be used to understand Marx's errors. Hilferding's model of capitalism was not Marx's, but it was marxist; Third World marxists have usefully stood Marx almost on his head and are better marxists for that fact.

Lukacs said it dramatically in the early twenties: it is possible to be an 'orthodox' marxist and to revise any, or all, of Marx's particular judgments. This is not to say, as the Second International marxists sometimes suggested, that marxism is a value-free algebra of social development which can be made concrete simply by filling in the appropriate numerical values of each time and place. If there have been significant marxist intellectuals who did serious work in isolation from social movements, they did so only because they wrote *as if* they were part of such a movement, from the standpoint of a class even if that class rejected them.

**M**arx's relevance then? If the socialist ideology is now becoming more rich and polychromatic, acquiring insights from the actual experience of government, from various religions, from a variety of non- and even anti-marxist sources. Karl Marx, the champion of human freedom and self-determination, the anti-totalitarian, the complex man who preferred the novels of the reactionary Balzac to those of the socialist Zola, that Marx, the fallible but gigantic human, is still quite relevant even – indeed precisely – for the answering of questions he himself never asked. That Marx cannot do our thinking for us, which is what all the integralist marxisms, past, present and future assume; he can merely, but emphatically help us think and thereby help us act. If thesis eleven is not the seamless unity Marx dreamed, it has a certain existence, and we should honour it during his centenary.



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## ISRAEL

### Herzog elected president

Chaim Herzog, 64, the nominee of the opposition Israel Labour Party, was elected president of Israel in a secret ballot of Knesset deputies held on 22 March. He secured election by

61 votes to 57, defeating the nominee of the ruling Likud front, supreme court justice Menachem Elon. Herzog's election to the largely ceremonial position of head of state implied that some members of the ruling coalition parties had failed to vote for Elon, whose candidacy had been strongly backed by prime minister Begin.

Herzog is a former Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. At the time of his election he was a Labour member of the Knesset. He began his five-year term as president of Israel in May, succeeding Yitzhak Navon, also of the Israel Labour Party.

## MARXISM

### Brandt on Marx

The relevance of the theories of Karl Marx to the present-day tasks of democratic socialism was discussed by Willy Brandt in

an address given at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn on 3 February to mark the centenary of the philosopher's birth. The chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and president of the Socialist International came to the conclusion that although many of the arguments and predictions of Marx have been shown to be invalid, nevertheless he remained one of the most important nineteenth-century figures for democratic socialists in terms of his relevance to the continuing search for human freedom and wellbeing.

Brandt identified three aspects of the work of Karl Marx which were of significance for democratic socialists. Firstly, Marx developed in his early works a social philosophy dedicated to the freedom and wellbeing of the individual in the tradition of classical European humanist philosophy. Secondly, he was an innovatory social scientist in respect of both method and substance, notably in developing the dialectical approach to explain historical developments in terms not only of ideas but also of socio-economic structures. Thirdly, he played a key role in the first international organisation of the workers' movement.

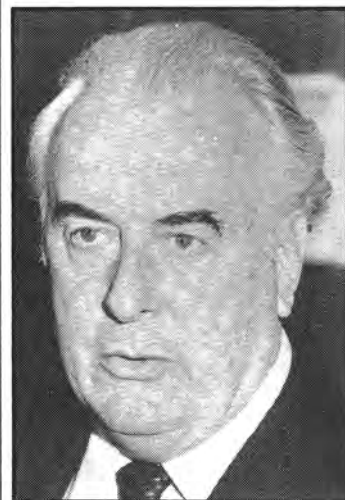
Historical developments have invalidated or cast doubt on a number of Marx's economic arguments and predictions, noted Brandt, and the workers' movement has seen from experience that its international organisations have been unable to prevent world wars, colonialism and other types of foreign and domestic oppression. Nevertheless, for the Socialist International Karl Marx remained a symbol of the necessity for democratic socialist parties and unions to cooperate both within their own societies and worldwide.

• At another function to celebrate the Karl Marx centenary, held in East Berlin in mid-April, a Swedish social democrat surprised many of those present by quoting Marx in support of a call for free elections and an end to press censorship. Addressing a conference of 132 communist parties, national liberation movements

and a few social democrats, Sven Ole Hansson said that Marx had never intended the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to be a monopoly of power by one group; political power, said Hansson citing Marx, could only derive from genuine pluralistic elections. Quoting from Marx's attack on Prussian censorship in one of his early writings, Hansson also said that censorship amounted to a declaration of belief in the 'permanent political immaturity of the human race'.

## AUSTRALIA

### Whitlam's appointed ambassador



Gough Whitlam

Former Labor prime minister of Australia Gough Whitlam has been appointed as Australia's ambassador to the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO, based in Paris. The appointment was announced in early May by the new Labor prime minister, Bob Hawke, following the party's return to power in the March elections.

Whitlam's new posting is not without its irony. The man who made the controversial decision to dismiss the Whitlam government in 1975, the then governor-general Sir John Kerr, was himself named as UNESCO ambassador in 1978 but was unable to take up the post because of the public outcry which his proposed appointment provoked.

Chaim Herzog, Israel's new president







Summer 1982: Israeli troops entering the suburbs of Beirut

## ISRAEL

### Abba Eban on Labour security doctrine

'It is evident that if Israel decides to maintain permanent control

over that foreign and dissident population [ie. the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza] in the name of the unity of Eretz Israel, it will be a totally different society from that which celebrated its independence in 1948 and won its claim to legitimacy

within the international system'. So writes the former Israeli foreign minister, Abba Eban, in an assessment of the Israel Labour Party's security doctrine published in a recent issue of the party's journal *Spectrum*.

The present Likud govern-

ment, continues Abba Eban, is seriously proposing that Israel 'should seek to exercise permanent jurisdiction by military force over a foreign people constituting some 35 percent of its own existing population. The injury to Israel's Jewish and democratic vocation, to its international position, to its social and economic structure, to its moral stature and to its security would be so drastic that the Labour movement will never abandon its struggle to avoid such a course'.

The former foreign minister stresses that 'Israeli Labour is very security minded' but has always followed the doctrine embodied in the Hebrew phrase 'ein brera', meaning that war should only be waged when there is no choice and when every other recourse has been exhausted. All of Israel's previous wars fell within this

## APPOINTMENTS

### FRANCE

#### New ministerial lineup

A major reorganisation of ministerial responsibilities in France in March involved the departure from the government of Jean-Pierre Chevènement, the left-wing minister of industry and research and a leader of the influential Ceres group within the Socialist Party. Chevènement was succeeded by Laurent Fabius, 35, hitherto budget minister, in what was seen as a move by President Mitterrand to steer towards a more pragmatic governmental course in the face of serious economic difficulties.

The new tighter cabinet lineup continues to be a coalition of the dominant Socialists with the Communists and Left Radicals. Portfolios are held as follows: Pierre Mauroy, prime minister; Jacques Delors, economy, finance and budget; Gaston Defferre, interior and decentralisation; Charles Fiterman, transport; Robert Badinter, justice; Claude Cheysson, foreign affairs; Charles Hernu,

defence; Michel Rocard, agriculture; Laurent Fabius, industry and research; Alain Savary, education; Edith Cresson, foreign trade and tourism; Roger Quilliot, urban affairs and housing; Michel Crepeau, internal trade and crafts; Marcel Rigout, training; Max Gallo, government spokesman.

The Communist members of the government are Charles Fiterman and Marcel Rigout; the Left Radicals are represented by Michel Crepeau.

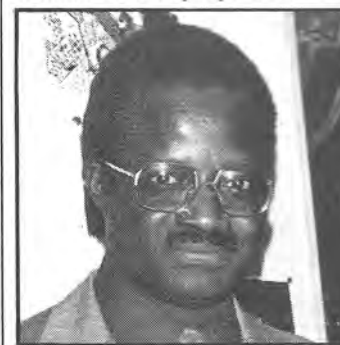
### SENEGAL

#### Diouf reshuffles team

Following his overwhelming victory in the presidential election in late February, President Abdou Diouf of the ruling Senegal Socialist Party carried out a major governmental reorganisation in early April. The main changes were the departure from the government of Habib Thiam, hitherto prime minister, and of two senior ministers, namely Assane Seck (supplies) and Alioune

Badara M'Bengue (justice). Thiam became president of the National Assembly, of which Seck and M'Bengue became first and second vice-president respectively.

In carrying out the reshuffle President Diouf announced that he would be submitting constitutional reform proposals to the



Habib Thiam, new president of Senegal's Assembly

Assembly designed to abolish the post of prime minister, created in 1970 under former president Leopold Senghor. The intention was, he said, to streamline the administration and to give more direct power to the presidency, while at the same time increasing the independence and role of the Assembly.

Under the reform proposals, government ministers will be barred from simultaneously being members of the Assembly or from holding any other elective office.

Pending approval of the constitutional changes Moustapha Niasse, the foreign affairs minister, was appointed interim prime minister. Other ministerial portfolios were allocated as follows: Medoune Fall, defence; Ibrahima Wone, interior; Mamadou Toure, finance and economic affairs; Robert Sagna, supplies; Abdel Kader Fall, culture; Ibrahima Fall, higher education; Iba der Thiam, education; Bator Diop, rural development; Serigne Lamine Diop, industrial development and handicrafts; Moussa Daffe, scientific and technical research; Hamidou Sakho, housing and urban affairs; Abdourahmane Toure, commerce; Cheikh Amidou Kane, planning and cooperation; Djibo Ka, information and telecommunications; Doudou Ndoye, justice; Andre Sonko, civil service, employment and labour; Mamadou Diop, public health; Maimouna Kane, social affairs; Samba

definition, argues Abba Eban; but this was not the case in early June 1982 'when the frontiers with Egypt, Syria and Jordan had been tranquil for many years and a ceasefire with the PLO in Lebanon had been effective for over a year'. It was 'certainly not the position after Israeli forces had cleared the area facing Galilee' in the first week of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Abba Eban recalls that after giving qualified backing to the 'legitimate objective' of clearing the PLO from the border areas of southern Lebanon, from 11 June 'the Labour Alignment opposed every extension of the war'. In the following months Likud spokesmen had linked the advance on Beirut with the West Bank and Gaza problem, assuming that 'once the PLO was defeated it would be possible to induce moderate Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to

accept the Camp David accords as interpreted by Mr Begin, namely as a prelude to permanent Israeli rule over 1,300,000 Palestinian Arabs'; these objectives, 'going far beyond the defence of Israeli lives in Galilee', explained why the government had prolonged and extended military operations in Lebanon. But in the Labour Party's view, 'most of these objectives are not attainable by military action and are not worth the sacrifice of hundreds of Israeli lives and of thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinian lives'.

'In these circumstances', concludes Abba Eban, 'the Labour movement will urge the Israeli nation to take stock of the events of 1982 and to draw their lessons. The principal lesson is the need for rapid disengagement from the Lebanese quicksand.'

Yella Diop, water resources; Francois Bob, youth and sports; Cheikh Cissokho, environment; Fambaye Fall Diop, emigration; and Momar Talla Cisse, tourism.

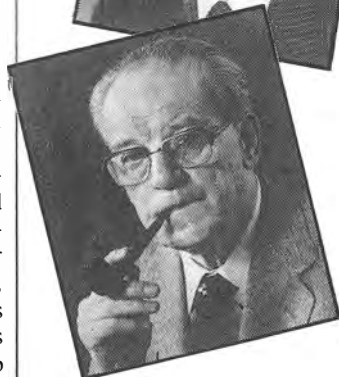
The new government also contains four secretaries of state as follows: Landing Sane, decentralisation; Marie Sarr Mbodj, technical and professional training; Bocar Diallo, rural development and fisheries; and Thierno Ba, employment.

## FEDERAL GERMANY

### SPD's new parliamentary leadership

Following its defeat in the March federal elections, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, has elected a new parliamentary leadership to spearhead opposition to the Kohl government. The SPD's candidate for chancellor in the elections, Hans-Jochen Vogel, 57, has become chairman of the party's 193-strong parliamentary group - the post held for many years up to the March elections by Herbert Wehner, 76.

Elected to vice-chairmanships of the SPD parliamentary group were Hans Apel, 56, Herta Daubler-Gmelin, 39, Horst Ehmke, 56, Alfred Emmerlich, 55, Anke Fuchs, 45, Volker Hauff, 42, Wolfgang Roth, 42, and Juergen Schmude, 46.



Hans-Jochen Vogel (top) and Herbert Wehner



## ISRAEL

### MAPAM urges renewal of peace momentum

The 29th council of the United Workers' Party, MAPAM, of Israel convened in Tel Aviv on 2-3 February with the participation of hundreds of delegates from branches throughout the country. Among the guests were the Labour Party chairman, Shimon Peres; the cultural attache of the Egyptian embassy; and Andre Azulai, chairman of the French movement for identification and dialogue. The session received a message of greeting from the delegation of the Socialist International which was visiting Israel.

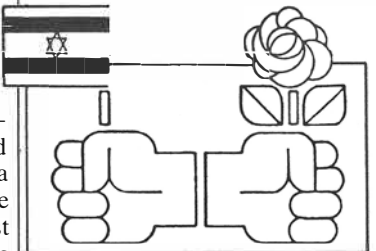
The participants at the MAPAM council included scores of Arab delegates from Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev. For the first time there were twelve Arab women delegates.

Devoted to the theme of a renewal of the Middle East peace process, the council was opened by party officer Benjamin Yassar, who called for the determination of a correct set of national priorities: to remove the Likud government from power and to bring the message of peace to Israel and the region.

MAPAM general secretary Victor Shemtov opened the general discussion by asking: 'what more must happen in Lebanon for the prime minister to admit his failure?' He continued that Begin should have the courage to order the Israeli defence forces to come

home and be satisfied with an artillery-free security zone in southern Lebanon. Shemtov then surveyed recent developments in the region and demonstrated that conditions were ripe for a peace treaty. Contrary to the hopes of those who initiated it, the Lebanon war had aggravated the Palestinian problem and had alerted the world to the urgency of finding a solution.

On the question of Palestinian rights, Shemtov said that MAPAM favoured simultaneous mutual recognition of both peoples' rights to self-determination and believed that Palestinian rights should be implemented within a Jordanian-Palestinian state. He argued that the bogeyman which the Likud was depicting - that a separate Palestinian state would be a catastrophe for Israel - was intended only to hide the fact that the true danger liable to lead to the 'levantinisation' of Israel was annexation of the occupied



territories. MAPAM, emphasised Shemtov, did not support the establishment of a separate Palestinian state because in its view the Jordanian-Palestinian solution was better from all standpoints.

A lengthy policy statement adopted by the council under the title 'To renew the peace process' began by asserting MAPAM's belief that 'the land of Israel is the mutual homeland of the Jews returning to their land and of the Palestinian Arabs living in it' and continued: 'The history of the encounter between the two peoples has created a situation in which only the partition of our country can extricate the region from the cycle of wars'.

'In the struggle for its welfare and security as a Jewish and democratic state', went on the statement, 'Israel should strive for a solution founded on the right of self-determination of all





**Israeli question: demonstrator at peace rally in Tel Aviv**

the peoples in the Land of Israel. MAPAM will strive for a solution based on two independent and sovereign states, Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian state. The majority of Jordan's inhabitants are Palestinians. They and their brothers on the West Bank share language, traditions and family ties. A Jordanian-Palestinian state would enable the Palestinian people to fulfill its right to self-determination, to retain its integrity, to absorb refugees and solve their problems, and to honour Israel's right to secure and recognised borders through security arrangements and demilitarisation. This would not be true of a third state between Israel and Jordan.

## NORWAY

### Labour endorses new missiles policy

The annual conference of the opposition Norwegian Labour

Party held in Oslo on 23-24 April unanimously endorsed an important resolution expressing opposition to the deployment of new nuclear missiles in western Europe while US-Soviet nego-

tiations continued in Geneva. The resolution stated that the Labour Party would continue to put pressure on the parties to the Geneva negotiations and in the meantime would not endorse any negotiations aimed at the deployment of new missiles.

The resolution reiterated the party's call for a reduction of missiles in eastern Europe and no deployment in the west; it also stated that if no result had been reached at Geneva by the end of 1983, negotiations should continue without any new deployment taking place. The parties concerned should enter into a temporary agreement based on a declaration in principle in favour of a freeze on all types of nuclear weaponry; the INF and the START negotiations should be combined so that medium-range weapons could be assessed in a broader strategic context.

The conference also considered the problem of unemployment and rejected the idea that full employment had become an impossible concept. It also expressed opposition to tax reductions and increasing income differentials, as well as calling for public-sector expansion as a means of achieving full employment, social security and a just distribution of wealth.

Gro Harlem Brundtland and Einar Foerde were reelected as chairman and deputy chairman

### Clear policy on missiles: DNA leaders (from left) Einar Foerde, Gro Harlem Brundtland and Ivar Leveraas



## Peace and jobs

of the party respectively, and Ivar Leveraas was reelected general secretary.

## UNITED STATES

### SDUSA tackle challenges

The biennial convention of Social Democrats USA, SDUSA, met on 3-5 December 1982 in Washington to tackle the difficult political challenges that confront the United States.

The keynote address was presented by Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO trade union federation. The presentation cogently criticised Ronald Reagan's foreign and domestic policies. Moreover, it pointed out how the two cannot be separated, as the president has attempted to do, without seriously eroding the national consensus for maintaining adequate military defences.

Shanker's presentation was followed by a panel discussion among three people deeply involved in the Democratic Party: Ben Wattenberg, president of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM), former aide to Senator Henry Jackson and syndicated columnist; SDUSA member Penn Kemble, who helped found CDM and who is currently president of the Foundation for Democratic Education; and Hendrik Hertzberg, *New Republic* editor and speech writer for former president Carter. The session was chaired by Sam Fishman, a



member of the Democratic National Committee's executive committee. The discussion will help focus the work of SDUSA in the coming presidential campaigns.

Other speakers included executive assistant to the president of the AFL-CIO, Kenneth Young, who addressed the convention on the prospects for a jobs programme; Ludmilla Alexeyeva, founder of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group; Jerzy Mohl, Cracow Solidarnosc official; and Yugoslav dissident Mihajlo Mihajlov. The convention delegates debated major resolutions on disarmament, the economy, civil rights, the mid-term elections, Poland, South Africa and Southeast Asia.



*The Irish dimension: party leaders (from left) John Hume, Garret Fitzgerald, Charles Haughey and Dick Spring, meeting in Dublin*

**IRELAND**

**SDLP's unity plan makes progress**

The Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party's proposal for a new all-Ireland political body which would draw up a plan for eventual unity make significant progress at high-level talks held in Dublin on 14 April. Attending the meeting were the leaders of the three main parties of the Republic, together with the SDLP leader, John Hume, who has taken the initiative in pressing the proposal.

The Irish prime minister, Garret FitzGerald, represented Fine Gael at the meeting, which was held in Leinster House, the Irish parliament building. Also present were deputy prime minister Dick Spring for the Irish Labour Party and Charles Haughey for the opposition Fianna Fail. Apart from the SDLP no other parties from the north were represented, the Unionists having rejected Hume's proposal as an attempt to bypass the wishes of the northern Protestant majority. The small middle-of-the-road Alliance Party of Northern Ireland also declined to send a representative, although the party indicated that it might make written submissions at a later date.

The Dublin meeting was understood to have made substantial progress towards setting up a 'forum on a new Ireland', the principal aim of which will be the elaboration of detailed proposals for all-Ireland political structures. The forum will have an independent chairman acceptable to all parties and is likely to meet in Dublin Castle, the former seat of British rule over Ireland and now a state residential and conference centre.

Speaking after the Dublin talks, John Hume said that he was very encouraged by their outcome and noted that the meeting had been the first time that he had been able to sit down at a conference table with the leaders of the main Irish parties all present at one time.

**BRITAIN**

**Labour's 'new hope for Britain'**

After Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called a general election for 9 June, the Labour Party unveiled its policy manifesto for the inspection of the British electorate. Entitled 'The New Hope for Britain', the 15,000-word document is the longest election manifesto ever produced by the party and represents the fruit of an

intensive policy formulation exercise carried out by Labour since its defeat in 1979.

In view of the length of the main document the party has produced a four-page leaflet summarising Labour's programme, which it is hoped to deliver to every household in the country. Contained in the summary are details of an 'emergency programme of action' which Labour will start to implement within days of taking office. This programme includes massive public investment in industry, import controls, a crash employment and training programme, establishment of a national investment bank,

repeal of the Conservative government's trade union legislation, a rent freeze, an increase in child benefit allowance, appointment of an 'equality minister', action on public transport, energy conservation measures, initiation of negotiations to take Britain out of the European Community and 'work to eliminate world poverty'.

On the important question of Britain's future defence posture, the manifesto includes both unilateral and multilateral approaches to nuclear disarmament, but commits a new government to cancel the Trident missile system on order from the US, to stop the installation of cruise missiles in Britain, and to close all US and UK nuclear bases in Britain.

**IFSDP**

**Proposal for data-bank of socialist news**

Meeting in Albufeira, Portugal, in April on the occasion of the Socialist International congress, the committee of the International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP, elaborated plans for future initiatives, including the establishment of a computerised data-bank. As envisaged by the Federation, the data-bank project will involve the selection

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Herausgegeben für die Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung von Johannes Rau Heinz O. Vetter Hans-Jochen Vogel Herbert Wehner

Verlag Neue Gesellschaft Godesberger Allee 143, 5300 Bonn 2 Postfach 2001 89 Telefon (02 28) 37 8021-25 Druck: Vorwärts Verlag, 5300 Bonn 2

Redaktion Peter Glotz (Chefredakteur) Rainer Diehl Hans Schumacher (verantwortlich) Anschrift der Redaktion Godesberger Allee 143 5300 Bonn 2 Tele'fon 37 80 21-25 Telex 8 85 479 a fest d

Die Neue Gesellschaft erscheint monatlich, Bezug durch den Buch- und Zeitschriftenhandel oder durch den Verlag Einzelheft 7,- DM, Jahresabonnement 48,- DM zuzüglich Versandkosten. Kündigung bis 30 Tage vor Jahresende.

Redaktionsbeirat Helmut Schmidt (Vst) Bruno Friedrich (st Vst) Iring Fetscher Martin Greiffenhagen Reimut Jochimsen Richard Löwenthal Susanne Miller Peter von Oertzen



and computerisation of news and information related to the socialist movement and will in particular help to strengthen contacts with journalists in eastern Europe.

In a communication to Socialist International President Willy Brandt and to the officers of the European Community's socialist organisations, the IFSDP committee proposed that the data-bank should be financed by the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC, and/or the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, with the aim of providing a permanent information service for parties and interested media. The committee also proposed that a conference should be held in Munich this autumn to elaborate and publicise the data-bank proposal.

In other initiatives the committee proposed that the CSPEC or the Socialist Group should finance a 'European-wide' paper for distribution by national parties immediately before the European Parliament elections due to be held in 1984.

## CANADA

### NDP recognised as Alberta opposition

The two-member New Democratic Party, NDP, group in the Alberta provincial legislature has been recognised as the official opposition, and NDP provincial leader, Grant Notley, as official leader of the opposition. He and former party president Ray Martin will oppose the 75-strong Progressive Conservatives, who were returned for a fourth successive term of office in last November's Alberta elections. Two independents, both former Social Credit members, were also elected on that occasion.

It is the first time that the NDP has achieved the position of official opposition in the province. Under the first-past-the-post system of election, the party received only 2½ percent of the seats in the legislative, despite winning nearly 16 percent of the popular vote.



## TURKEY

### Junta claims easing of political ban

Turkey's military regime announced what it called a partial lifting of the ban on political activity on 24 April, thus opening the way to an eventual return to some sort of constitutional rule. It is anticipated that elections will be held in the autumn this year.

*Stop press: journalists at Turkey's oldest newspaper, Cumhuriyet, which has been closed down by the military government*



some three years after the coup which brought General Evren and his military associates to power in September 1980. Under the new decree political parties obtained clearance to apply for registration with the interior ministry and open political activity and association became permissible.

Many existing restrictions remain in force, however, notably the stipulation that about a hundred former political leaders are banned from politics for a period of ten years. These include Bulent Ecevit, the former leader of the Republican People's Party, a member of the Socialist International, and Suleyman Demirel, whose Justice Party government was the one deposed by the military in 1980. Demirel was subsequently rearrested by the government in late May, in its continuing clampdown on former political leaders. Moreover, Evren and his National Security Council will have the authority to veto and veto the founders of new politi-

cal parties, and no parties will be tolerated which are deemed to propagate communism, fascism or Islamic fundamentalism.

In any case, the holding of elections will not mean the end of military tutelage. Under the 'temporary articles' attached to the new constitution approved in last November's referendum, Evren will become president of the republic for a period of seven years and the other four members of the National Security Council will have leading positions on the presidential council. None of these military officers will have to submit themselves to the Turkish people for election.

## AUSTRALIA

### Hawke secures economic consensus

The new Labor prime minister of Australia, Bob Hawke, has secured a large measure of agreement with the unions and employers on the economic policies to be pursued by his government. The country's first 'national economic summit', convened by Hawke in Canberra on 11-14 April and attended by government, union and business representatives, ended with virtually unanimous agreement on the policy requirements for lifting Australia out of economic recession and curbing inflation.

The tripartite agreement commits the government to reflation of the economy; the employers to dividend restraint, price surveillance and a resumption of centralised wage bargaining; and the unions to accepting that there will be no immediate growth in real wages. A communique issued by the summit stated that 'an effective prices and incomes policy is essential if an expansionary fiscal policy is to be pursued without adverse consequences for inflation'.

In this last respect, it was agreed that wage indexation and centralised wage fixing would be reintroduced when the present six-month 'pay pause' ended in June. The union side stated that it did not expect future pay



increases to recover the loss in real wages suffered over the past year. In return, the employers accepted that the government has a mandate to establish a price surveillance mechanism and that corporate dividends should be curtailed in favour of new investment.

On the basis of the Canberra consensus, the government later in the month outlined a legislative programme incorporating wide-ranging measures to revitalise the economy and create thousands of new jobs. Specific measures promised include a boost to house building, formulation of a long-term development plan for the Australian steel industry and the establishment of an economic policy advisory council representing government, employers, unions and farmers.

New tax measures were also announced subsequent to the summit, to help combat unemployment and to reduce the new federal government's inherited deficit.

**UNITED STATES**

**Freeze resolution passed by House**

The US nuclear freeze movement scored a significant political victory on 5 May when the House of Representatives finally adopted a resolution calling for 'an immediate, mutual and verifiable freeze' on the nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers. The resolution, which had been hotly contested over the previous seven weeks, passed by 278 votes to 149, with about 60 Republican members defying the Reagan administration by voting in favour.

An important amendment inserted into the resolution just before the final vote stipulated that agreed arms reductions which should follow a freeze must be achieved 'within a reasonable specified period of time' as set by US and Soviet negotiators. This amendment enabled the resolution's opponents to claim that the final text was entirely symbolic because it contained no enjoiner for an open-ended freeze. On the other hand, the

resolution's supporters pointed to its clear assertion that a freeze should precede negotiated arms reductions, rather than the other way round as the Reagan administration is insisting.

Meanwhile, the US nuclear freeze movement has adopted an ambitious political agenda for its future activities, including a concerted attempt to bring about the election of congressmen and a president in 1984 who are committed to supporting the movement's proposals for ending the nuclear arms race. The movement will also seek to exert pressure to cut off public funds for the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons, while at the same time calling on the Soviet Union to do likewise.

**SWEDEN**

**Arafat meets Nordic leaders**

The chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, Yassir Arafat, paid a 24-hour visit to Stockholm on 13 April at the invitation of the ruling Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP. During his stay in the Swedish capital the PLO leader had talks with the leaders of three Nordic social democratic parties, namely Olof Palme, prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the SAP; Anker Joergensen, chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party and former prime minister; and Gro Harlem Brundtland, leader of the Norwegian Labour Party and former prime minister. Also present at the meeting was Erkki Liikanen, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Finland.

**ITALY**

**Socialists force early elections**

Italy's 43rd post-war government fell at the end of April after the Socialist Party, PSI, led by Bettino Craxi, withdrew from the four-party coalition led by Amintore Fanfani of the

Christian Democratic Party. It was subsequently announced by President Pertini that general elections would be held on 26 June - a year before the expiry of the existing parliament's five-year term. The Fanfani cabinet, which also included Social Democrats and Liberals, had been formed as recently as November 1982.

In announcing his party's withdrawal from the government, Craxi told a session of the PSI central committee on 22 April that Socialists had agreed to serve under Fanfani on the understanding that the coalition would last only until this spring. While praising the outgoing government for its achievements in certain areas, he maintained that it was now exhausted and that new elections were needed to prepare the way for more effective cooperation between the various political forces.

In the forthcoming elections the PSI will be seeking to make a major advance on the 9.8 percent of the vote which it obtained in 1979, as will the Social Democrats on their 3.8 percent. The 62 seats held by the PSI in the outgoing chamber gave the party a pivotal position in coalition forming over the past four years. Craxi believes that the forces of Italian democratic socialism now have a good opportunity of making a major political breakthrough.

**NETHERLANDS ANTILLES**

**Independence talks make progress**

The ruling People's Electoral Movement, MEP, of the Netherlands Antilles island of Aruba has made substantial progress towards its goal of independence for the island. Under an agreement reached at a round-table constitutional conference held in The Hague in mid-March, Aruba will achieve 'separate status' within a new Union of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba which will come into being on 1 January 1986. After a ten-year transitional period Aruba will obtain full independence in 1996,



*Bettino Craxi, leader of Aruba's MEP*

although the link with the other five Antilles islands will be maintained if found to be workable in the interim period.

During the transitional period a majority of both the Aruban and the Antillean delegations in the joint parliamentary system will be required to approve legislation. Aruba will continue to have close legal and economic ties with the other five islands, although it will no longer be an integral part of the Antilles as such.

The MEP leader and Aruban political head, Bettino Croes, said after the Hague conference that at independence Aruba would seek guarantees of its sovereignty from the United States, Venezuela and the Netherlands. He accepted the agreement as the best that could be achieved, despite having sought much looser ties with the other islands during the transitional period. Croes and the MEP have for many years been critical of the central government on Curacao for seeking to exercise political and economic domination over Aruba, notably in respect of the island's substantial oil reserves.

Both the MEP and the main government party in Curacao, the New Antilles Movement, MAN, are affiliated to the Socialist International.



Different words, same hope: 'Peace' poster displayed at a disarmament demonstration

Steve Benbow / Network

**DISARMAMENT**

**Follow-up ICDSI session in Lagos**

The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (ICDSI) chaired by Swedish prime minister Olof Palme held its first follow-up meeting in Lagos on 20-21 January at the invitation of the Nigerian government. The session discussed disarmament issues, ways to strengthen the UN security system and matters relating to African security, as

well as its own future work programme.

Established in 1980 with a distinguished membership drawn from a variety of countries, the Commission published its major report last year under the title *Common Security*. The Lagos session was intended to maintain the momentum of the Commission's role as a major pressure group seeking concrete international moves towards disarmament and international security.

In its 1982 report the ICDSI had stressed the need for a strong United Nations as a major international instrument of common security. Invited to the

Lagos meeting to discuss this with the Commission was Imre Hollai, president of the UN General Assembly. The Commission welcomed the positive response in the General Assembly to the UN secretary-general's call – in keeping with the ICDSI's own recommendations – for support to uphold the UN Charter on collective security.

On the basis of its discussions on developments in Africa, the Lagos session adopted a statement on regional security in that continent, making special reference to 'the insecurity which prevails in southern Africa as a direct result of the policies of South Africa, which continues to exploit its sustained illegal occupation of Namibia and to escalate its campaign of aggression and destabilisation directed against the independent majority-ruled states of the region'.

With regard to the current bilateral negotiations on nuclear weapons between the USA and the USSR, the Lagos meeting stressed the necessity to reach early agreement on major reductions and qualitative limitations, resulting in essential parity at substantially lower and more stable levels of forces. Particular emphasis should be accorded to reductions and qualitative limitations which would reduce fears of a first strike, an attempt to disarm the opposing side, or to forestall a possible attack by a preemptive surprise attack.

The participants in the meeting expressed their deep concern on the danger posed by all increases in the nuclear arsenals in Europe. The Commission noted that among the people of Europe there was a strong desire for a reversal of the trends and for substantial reductions of these arsenals; the outcome of the ongoing negotiations in Geneva was of crucial importance if the nuclear buildup in Europe was to be curbed.

The Commission also recalled its own proposal for a battlefield nuclear-weapon-free zone beginning in central Europe and eventually extending to the flanks of alliances. It was stressed that even the intention to negotiate such a zone would

be an important step to alleviate the fears of a nuclear confrontation in Europe.

On a wider area the Commission reiterated its concern over the arms buildup generally which effects all regions and all people. The Commission urged the USA, the USSR and all governments involved not to disappoint the hopes of the peoples of the world and finally to respond to the clear necessity to stop the arms race.

The Commission decided to hold its next meeting in September 1983 and is planning to organise it together with the Independent Commission on International Development Issues. This would provide an opportunity to study the relationship between the present economic crises, the arms race and international security.

**CHILE**

**ICFTU denounces military regime**

The absence of human and trade union rights in Chile was the theme of a conference organised in Madrid on 11-12 March by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The conference was aimed at rekindling world public opinion and reactivating union pressure with a view to restoring freedom, democracy and respect for basic rights in Chile, nearly ten years after the military coup which overthrew the left-wing government of Salvador Allende in September 1973.

In a final declaration the Madrid conference deplored the fact that during a decade of military dictatorship a large number of political and trade union leaders had been 'detained, tortured, assassinated or expelled from the country'. During the same period, added the declaration, the country's external debt had risen to some 18,000 million US dollars and the unemployment level to 25-30 percent. The Chilean armed forces, asserted the ICFTU, had become 'an army of occupation at war with the people'.

In conjunction with the AFL-CIO trade union federation, a



mission from the Madrid conference subsequently visited Washington to put to US government authorities, the Senate and the House of Representatives the point of view of the international free trade union movement concerning the Chilean tragedy.

**NEPAL**

**Nepali Congress holds open conference**

The opposition Nepali Congress held a conference in Kathmandu in early December – the party's first open gathering for more than two decades. The government took no action to stop the conference, despite the official ban on party politics which has been in force since the 1960 royal coup.

Attended by over one thousand delegates from 75 districts of the kingdom, the conference decided that the party should continue to pursue the national reconciliation policy followed in recent years by the late B.P. Koirala as party leader, despite restlessness among some younger activists over the lack of tangible results. The conference also decided that Krishna Prasad Bhattarai should continue as the Congress working president until elections could be held to party posts at the various levels.

Bhattarai said after the conference that the party's political resolution called for an understanding between the king and the people to avert 'the crisis of the country's existence'; he also emphasised that 'the ultimate aim of the Nepali Congress is to establish complete democracy through peaceful means'. The party's economic resolution proposed an eleven-point programme including land reform, incentives to increase small farm output, price stabilisation and measures to tackle unemployment.

The Nepali Congress Party has close links with the Socialist International and its member parties. A delegation from the party took a very active part in the Asia-Pacific Socialist regional conference held in Sydney in 1981.



**ON Elections Wa**

**PORTUGAL**

**Soares leads Socialists to victory**

The Portuguese Socialist Party, PSP, led by Mario Soares made substantial gains in general elections held on 25 April. Increasing its voting share from 28 to over 36 percent, the PSP won 101 of the 250 Assembly seats and thus became once again

substantially the largest parliamentary formation. The party will thus return to power, probably in coalition with the Social Democrats, after being in opposition since the December 1979 elections. The result confirms the swing to the left shown in the Spanish elections last October and means that for the first time in history both Iberian countries will have socialist prime ministers.

The elections were precipitated by the collapse of the previous centre-right Democratic Alliance government led by Francisco Balsemao, amid internal wranglings within its constituent parties. All of the latter lost ground in the elections, the Social Democrats led by Mota Pinto slipping from 82 seats to 75 and the Democratic Social Centre from 46 to 30, while the small Popular Monarchist Party disappeared from parliament altogether.

On the left of the PSP the Communist Party and its allies registered a modest gain of three seats, to win 44.

<i>Results of the Portuguese elections 1983 (1980)</i>		
	seats	percentage
Socialist Party	101 (74)	36.2 (27.4)
Social Democratic Party	75	26.9
Democratic and Social Centre	30 (134)	12.3 (47.1)
Popular Monarchist Party	0	0.5
Communist Party	44 (41)	18.5 (16.9)
others	(1)	5.6 (8.6)



*Back in government: Mario Soares and supporters*

**FINLAND**

**Social Democrats gain five seats**



*Kalevi Sorsa*

The ruling Finnish Social Democrats led by Kalevi Sorsa made significant gains in general elections held on 20 March, increasing their seat total from 52 to 57 out of 200 and consolidating their position as the country's strongest political party. In terms of popular support, the Social Democrats increased their vote to 26.7 percent as compared with 23.9 percent in the previous elections in 1979.

Of the other two formations in the current centre-left coalition, the Centre Party lost 2 of its 40 seats, while the small Swedish People's Party went up from 10 to 11. The three governmental parties thus retained a narrow aggregate majority of 102 seats, although the continuation of their coalition is rendered problematical by the fact that their combined share of the vote was less than 50 percent.

The biggest loser of the elections was the Communist-led People's Democratic League (SKDL), whose seat total slumped from 35 to 27. The SKDL thus paid the political price for the continuing chronic divisions within the Finnish Communist Party and for having effectively withdrawn from the previous four-party coalition in December 1982 when its deputies voted against the government's defence expenditure programme.

## Results of the Finnish general elections 1983 (1979)

	seats	percentage
Social Democrats	57 (52)	26.7 (23.9)
Conservatives	44 (46)	22.2 (21.7)
Centre Party	38 (40)	17.7 (21.0)
People's Democratic League	27 (35)	14.0 (17.9)
Rural Party	17 (7)	9.7 (4.0)
Swedish People's Party	11 (10)	4.6 (4.5)
Christian League	3 (9)	3.0 (4.6)
Green List	2 —	1.5 —
Constitutional Party	1 (0)	0.4 (1.2)
others	(1)	0.2 (1.2)

In political terms, the real loser was probably the Conservative party. They were expecting to become the biggest party in the country and, in the end, lost 2 seats.

One election winner was the populist Rural Party, which climbed from 7 to 17 seats on the strength of a forceful campaign.

A feature of the elections results was the success of a new Green List in securing representation with 1.5 percent of the vote, enough to give it two deputies. Of the smaller formations, the Finnish Christian League saw its seat total fall from 9 to 3, although this was not an accurate reflection of its actual share of the vote.

The chairman of the Social Democratic Party and the prime minister of the previous government, Kalevi Sorsa, formed a new coalition government following negotiations which were, this time, easier than is normal in Finnish politics. Eight cabinet positions went to the Social Democrats, five to the Centre Party, two to the Swedish People's Party and two to the Rural Party. Indeed, the only change from the former coalition, and a surprise to many, was the Rural Party participation in the new Sorsa government. It

remains to be seen whether the party, formerly opposed to a role in government, under new leadership, and with a parliamentary group of mainly newcomers, can become a serious political force.

## AUSTRIA

### Socialists retain power but Kreisky goes

The Austrian Socialist Party (SPOe) remained comfortably the largest single party in general elections held on 24 April but narrowly lost the absolute parliamentary majority which it had enjoyed since 1971. Carrying out his pre-election pledge that he would not lead the party into a coalition, SPOe leader Bruno Kreisky (72) immediately resigned as federal chancellor after holding the top job since 1970, a feat of political longevity which had made him western Europe's longest-serving head of government.

The election results showed that the Socialists had lost just over 3 percent of the popular vote, whereas the conservative People's Party, OeVP, put on about 1.3 percent. Although the SPOe remained well ahead of the OeVP, the fall in its seat total

from 95 to 90 (out of 183) was sufficient to give the balance of power to the small liberal Freedom Party, FPÖe, which gained one seat despite losing a significant proportion of its popular vote. The elections were also contested by the Communist Party and by a United Green List and an Alternative List — two new formations whose only impact was to divert some marginal votes from the Socialists.

Following Kreisky's resignation the political leadership of the Austrian Socialists devolved upon Fred Sinowatz, 54, hitherto vice-chancellor and long-serving education minister.

After lengthy inter-party negotiations an agreement was eventually reached in mid-May under which Sinowatz will head a coalition government of the Socialists and the small Freedom Party, with an aggregate voting strength in the federal parliament of 102. Led by 39-year-old Norbert Steger, the junior

coalition partner will have three cabinet portfolios as well as the vice-chancellorship.

The compromise governmental programme agreed by the two parties incorporates some concessions by the Socialists on planned increases in personal taxation. But according to an SPOe spokesman it ensures that the Socialist policy of full employment will remain the new government's key objective in the field of economic policy. Nor will there be any change in Austria's established foreign policy of 'active neutrality'.

## ICELAND

### Social Democrats lose ground

Iceland's Social Democratic Party, SDP, fared badly in early general elections held on 23 April, principally because of the intervention of the New Social

Fred Sinowatz (left), Austria's new chancellor, talking to Bruno Kreisky



## Results of the Austrian elections 1983 (1979)

	seats	percentage
Socialist Party	90 (95)	47.8 (51.0)
People's Party	81 (77)	43.2 (41.9)
Freedom Party	12 (11)	5.0 (6.1)
Green List	0 —	1.9 —
Alternative List	0 —	1.3 —
Communists	0 (0)	0.7 (1.0)



**Results of the Icelandic elections 1983 (1979)**

	seats	percentage
Independence Party	23 (22)	38.7 (37.9)
Progressive Party	14 (17)	19.0 (24.9)
People's Alliance	10 (11)	17.3 (19.7)
Social Democrats	6 (10)	11.7 (17.4)
New SD Alliance	4 -	7.3 -
Feminist List	3 -	5.5 -
others		0.5 (0.1)

Democratic Alliance formed by dissident party elements in January. Despite having mounted concerted opposition to the incumbent government and having played a major role in forcing early elections, the SDP saw its share of the vote fall by 5.7 percent and its seat total in the 60-member parliament from 10 to 6. In contrast, the new Alliance led by former SDP deputy Vilmundur Gylfason made substantial inroads into younger Social Democratic electoral support, winning 7.3 percent of the vote and 4 seats.

The two main governmental parties also lost ground in the elections, which thus produced no clear victor nor any obvious combination of potential governing parties. The heavier loser of the two was the centrist Progressive Party, down 3 seats to 14, while the Communist-dominated People's Alliance slipped from 11 seats to 10. Accordingly, incumbent prime minister Gunnar Thoroddsen, 71, who had broken with the Independence Party to form a government in February 1980, quickly submitted his resignation to President Vigdis Finnbogadottir.

As for the conservative Independence Party itself, its share of the vote rose only marginally and its new tally of seats is well short of the required majority. Nevertheless, party leader Geir Hallgrímsson appears to have the best chance of forming a new majority coalition.

A feature of the elections was the success of a new Feminist List. This formation is thought to be the first exclusively female political party ever to present candidates in a European general election.

**SPAIN**

**Left advances locally**

In country-wide local elections held in Spain on 8 May the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, confirmed its status



as the country's dominant political formation. Although the overall PSOE vote was slightly down on the 47 percent obtained in last October's general elections, the party won control of 10 out of 13 regional assemblies and of virtually all the major town councils, notably that of Madrid.

The Communist vote, as compared with October, increased from below 4 to above 8 percent.

**BRITAIN**

**Labour wins Darlington and gains locally**

Putting the previous byelection

disaster at Bermondsey behind it, the British Labour Party easily retained the Darlington parliamentary seat in northeast England in a byelection held on 24 March. The Labour candidate, Ossie O'Brien, secured 39.5 percent of the valid vote, against 34.9 percent for the Conservative and 24.5 percent for the Social Democratic candidate (who was backed by the Liberal Party).

In local council elections held in England and Wales on 5 May, the Labour Party also did reasonably well, registering substantially more seat gains than losses. The Conservatives and Liberals also gained ground, principally at the expense of independents, whereas the Social Democratic Party experienced an erosion of its small bridgehead in local government. The biggest Labour success came in Liverpool, where the minority Liberal administration was comprehensively ousted. Other towns which fell to Labour included Redditch, Slough, Blackburn and Durham.

**JAPAN**

**Left wins two key governorships**

The ruling Liberal Democrats, LDP, suffered a rebuff in elections for two key provincial governorships held on 10 April in the context of nationwide local elections. In the large northern island of Hokkaido a Socialist Party candidate backed by other opposition parties defeated the nominee of the LDP, who had held the post for the two previous terms. Moreover, in the heavily industrialised prefecture of Fukuoka on Kyushu island a Communist candidate backed by the Socialist Party defeated the LDP incumbent, who was seeking a fifth consecutive four-year term.

The LDP increased its share of local assembly seats in the country as a whole. Yet the unexpected defeats in Hokkaido and Fukuoka represented a setback for the four-month-old Nakasone government and raised expectations among the opposition formations of major

advances in the national elections scheduled to be held within the next twelve months.

**GREENLAND**

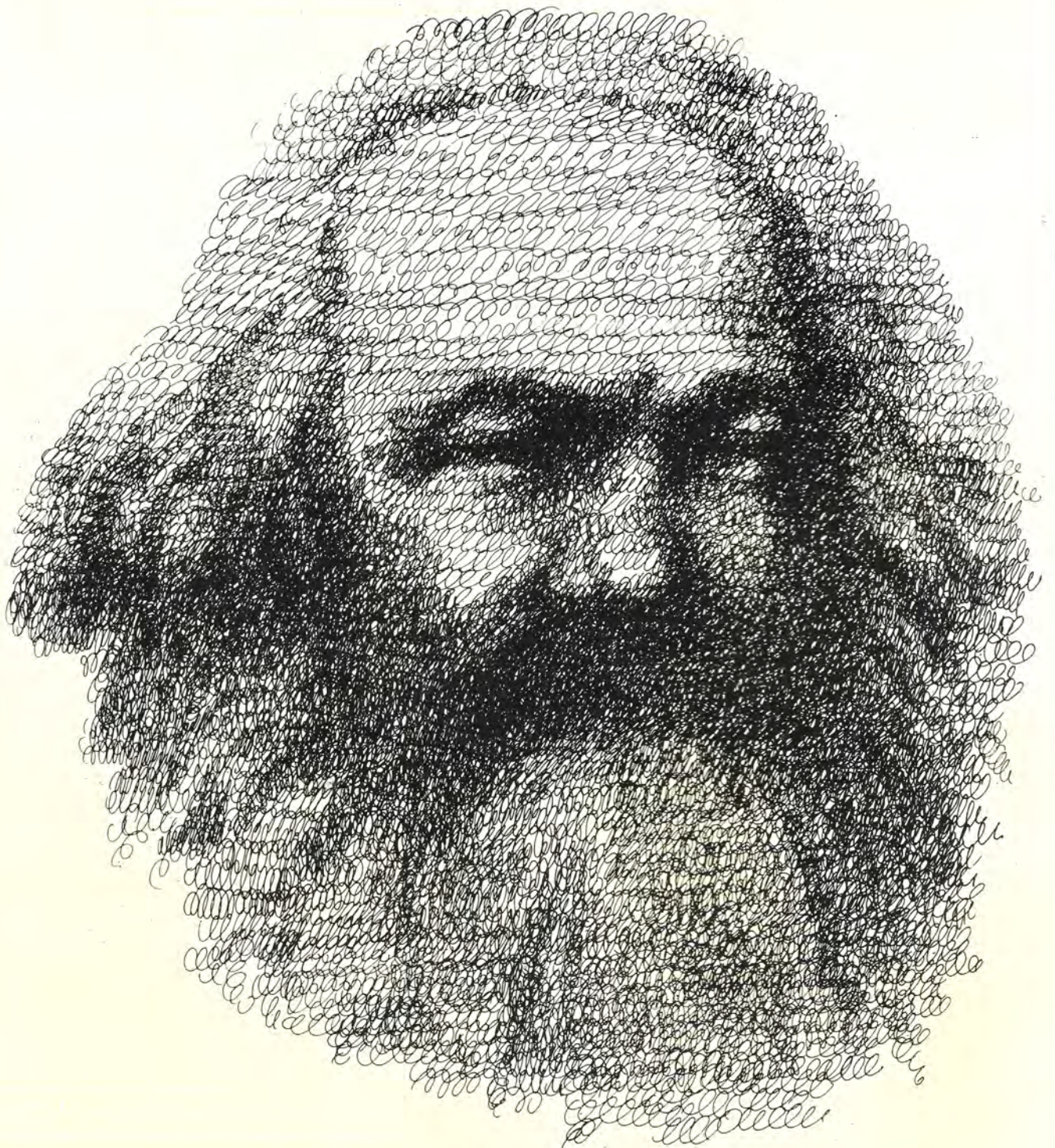
**Siumut slips**

The ruling Siumut (Forward) socialist party led by Jonathan Motzfeldt lost ground in general elections held on 12 April in Greenland, which has enjoyed internal autonomy under the Danish crown since May 1979. In a closely fought contest Siumut won 12 seats in an assembly enlarged to 26 members, thus deadheading with the moderate opposition Atassut formation, which also took 12 seats. In the 21-member assembly elected in April 1979 Siumut had achieved a clear majority of 13 to Atassut's 8 and had formed the first home rule government of Denmark's arctic dependency.

In the new assembly the two-seat balance of power will be held by the marxist-leninist Inuit Ataqatigiit nationalist federation, which recorded a substantial 10 percent of the popular vote. The Inuit federation is demanding greater local control over Greenland's extensive mineral resources (at present shared with metropolitan Denmark) and closer ties with Inuit communities in neighbouring North America. It also seeks a total break with the European Community, of which Greenland became a member in 1973 by virtue of Denmark's accession, and the closure of US military bases in Greenland.

Although Atassut obtained 46 percent of the vote against Siumut's 42 percent, Jonathan Motzfeldt has declared his intention to continue as head of the island's administration. In seeking to maintain a parliamentary majority he will have the option of attracting support from the Ataqatigiit federation or of cooperating more closely with Atassut. In either event Siumut is committed to negotiating Greenland's exit from the European Community by next year, in accordance with the majority decision of the territory's electorate in the 1982 referendum.





T. Lindmark

'Marx and old woman', by Tor Lindmark