

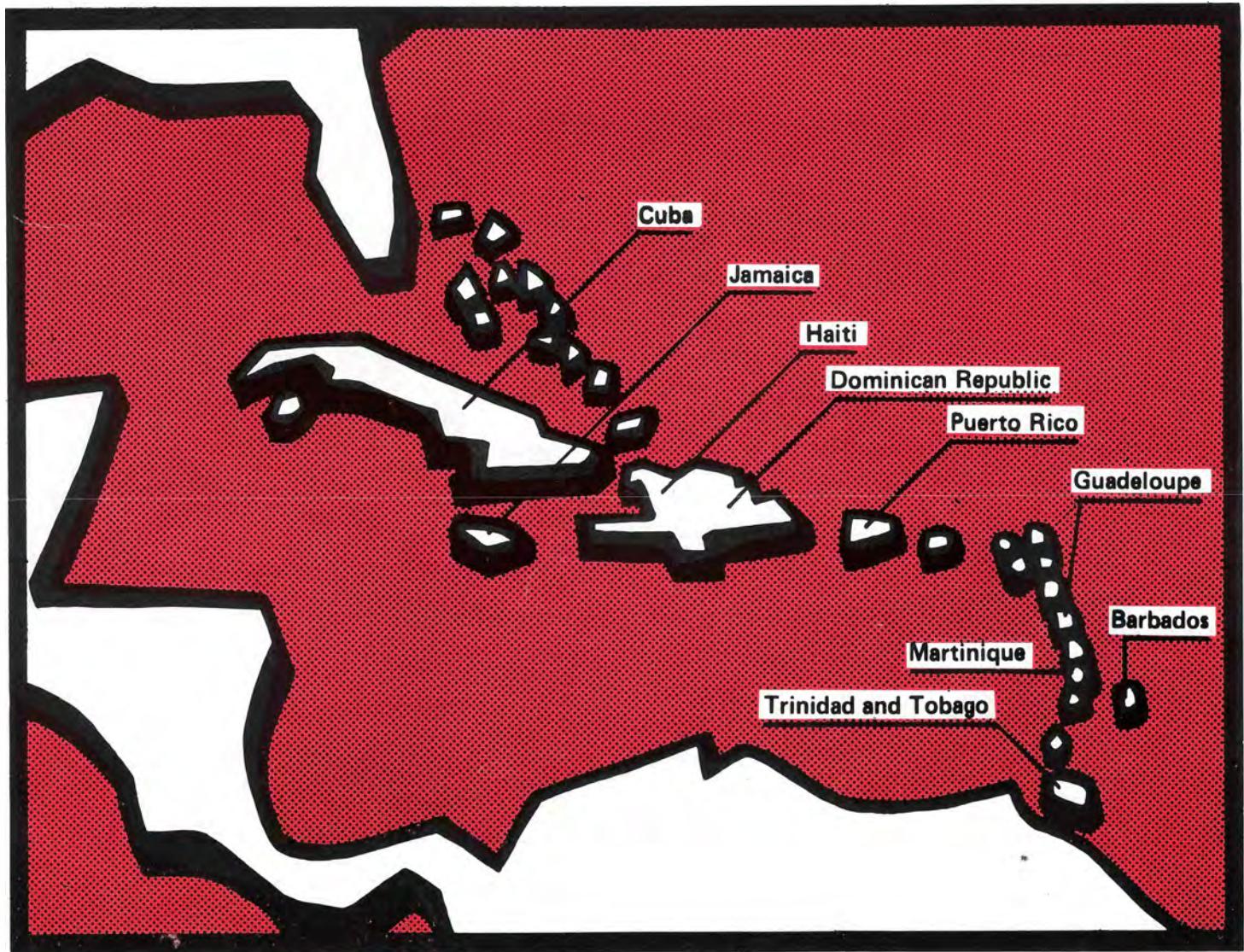


SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

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IS THE CARIBBEAN GOING CUBAN?

Karl-Ludolf Hübener



SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

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WORLDWIDE COMMITMENT

The Socialist International's list of activities so far this year has emphasized the increasingly worldwide interest of the organization. A regional conference to coordinate Socialist International activity in Latin America and the Caribbean was successfully held in Santo Domingo. The situation in Afghanistan was debated fully at the Party Leaders' Conference in Vienna. The Iranian Foreign Minister presented his views to the Bureau meeting held in Oslo. The Socialist International is analysing in depth the aspects of human rights in its working group led by Daniel Mayer, which has the task of drafting a new programme on that topic. European socialists are concerning themselves with new measures to combat the effects of the recession on developed economies. Soon after the Congress, to be held this year in Madrid, the Socialist International will be involved in a gathering in Washington which will aim to bring the message of socialism to the United States. Disarmament continues to be a prime concern for us. The job of the Madrid Congress will be to consolidate this work and set guidelines for new tasks at the beginning of the 1980s at a time when the reality of new international tensions, the arms race and world recession dominates.



SI BUREAU MEETING OSLO

'We live in a period in which the outlooks are more gloomy than they have been since the forties and the beginning of the fifties. As we stated in our conclusions of the Vienna meeting in February, a disposition for confrontation has displaced the will for peaceful cooperation in spheres of decisive importance.' With these words Reiulf Steen commented in the opening address to the SI Bureau Meeting in Oslo on 12 and 13 June on the dangerous escalation of tensions in the world. At the same time he made it clear that 'there is no rational alternative to detente'.

Obviously Iran is one of the centres of tension. And so it was not surprising that the visit of the Iranian foreign minister, Ghotbzadeh, to the Norwegian capital caused quite a stir not only in the international press. After the visit to Tehran by Bruno Kreisky, Felipe Gonzalez and Olaf Palme, the exchange of ideas was continued with Willy Brandt and the SI Vice Presidents. Ghotbzadeh was offered the opportunity to present his standpoint to the SI Bureau. Undoubtedly Willy Brandt's reply reflected the views of the Bureau members:

'(1) We identify ourselves with all those in the world who are struggling for their identity, integrity and dignity.'

(2) We express our solidarity with all those who have been or are the victims of oppression. We therefore condemn most strongly all the forms of injustice, terror and humiliation that have been inflicted on the Iranian people.

(3) The discussions have helped us to reach a better understanding. We remain open to a frank exchange of views on constructive cooperation and partnership to make peace more secure, close the gap between rich and poor, and understand the great movements in the Islamic world.

(4) We lend our support to the efforts of you and your colleagues to reach — in your words — 'a peaceful and honourable' solution to the problem of the hostages.

This I say in all modesty and with all respect, but also in the deep conviction that much good will be achieved by this for the persons involved and their families, for the attitudes of many in the world towards Iran, and for constructive cooperation, in which your country can play a major role.'

The press reports seemed to give the impression that Iran was the main issue under discussion at the Bureau meeting. That this was not the case is shown by the long agenda, in which the preparation of the Madrid Congress and the theme of 'the international situation' were central. The catalogue of topics was so wide-ranging that without a division of labour and ad hoc commissions the workload would surely have been unmanageable. Since future Bureau meetings and congresses will surely have no lack of topics and work, similar mechanisms will undoubtedly have to be resorted to more often. Already now there is a danger that many issues can only be discussed superficially or have to be postponed from meeting to meeting.

In his introductory statement Willy Brandt touched upon the major international issues. He pointed out that the agreement of the Vienna Leaders' Conference in February, namely to take up all possibilities and contacts open to SI parties to prevent the threatening confrontation between the superpowers, had been realized in a number of instances. 'At international meetings in recent weeks — for example in May in Belgrade and Vienna — leading socialists have made important contributions to get the dialogue between East and West under way again. The first tentative successes have been booked. Additional important impulses could come out of Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow towards the end of the month. And the work of our disarmament commission under Kalevi Sorsa has gained in importance.'

Besides Iran, Afghanistan is in the foreground of international relations. Exploratory talks have revealed, according to

Brandt, 'that the authorities in Moscow are increasingly beginning to realize how far-reaching the consequences of their action are, and that a political solution is required. In such a solution, which will recognize the rights of the Afghan people as well as the legitimate security interests of the neighbouring countries, the non-aligned countries could take on a special responsibility. This applies above all to India.'

Willy Brandt, Reiulf Steen, Bernt Carlsson



With regard to Cambodia, South Africa, the Middle East and Central America, the SI President stated that international crises should not be allowed to push regional conflicts into the background. In this context he stressed the importance of the SI Regional Conference for Latin America and the Caribbean held in late March in Santo Domingo. Brandt added that the Socialist International did not regard itself in competition with the Mexican initiatives within the framework of COPPAL: 'For both sides the existing and developing forms of cooperation are complementary and not competitive.'

Brandt expressed concern about the developments in many parts of Central America, in particular in El Salvador and Guatemala, and urged the government in Washington to use its great influence responsibly. In the discussion that followed Carlos Gallardo reported on behalf of his party, PSD, and the Frente Democrático contra la Represión (FDCR) on the situation in Guatemala today; and the chairman of the MNR in El Salvador, Guillermo Ungo, and the president of the newly founded Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), Enrique Alvarez, reported on the dramatic situation in their country — both concluded that a civil war is inevitable and that there is a danger of intervention.

The explosive situation in Central America should not obscure the special difficulties of Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. The SI President asked repeatedly for extensive aid to the hard-pressed government of Michael Manley in Jamaica. In this he was supported by many delegates, including the former president of Venezuela and the representative of the Acción Democrática, Carlos Andrés Pérez, who called for a firm opposition to the international destabilization campaign being carried out against Jamaica. At the same time he warned against the fateful role played by international Christian democracy in its co-

operation with the United States.

Among the welcome events Willy Brandt counted the independence of Zimbabwe, which should show the way for further development in southern Africa.

The relationship between North and South is a major topic at every meeting of the SI, so too in Oslo. Willy Brandt stressed in this context that Mexico and Austria, following up a suggestion from the North-South Commission, had declared their willingness to stage, at the beginning of next year, an international summit at which the groundwork could be laid for the subsequent 'global negotiations'. Olof Palme reported on the work of the Commission, which should now be translated into a concrete political programme. On the basis of the concept of mutual interest, he demanded a relatively broad strategy which should include progressives of all shades.

The following points were also on the agenda:

- the study of human rights, chaired by Daniel Mayer of the French Socialist Party, will be revised for the Madrid Congress;
- the revised report of the SI working group on employment policies will be submitted to the Congress;
- on behalf of the working group on a new declaration of basic principles Felipe González will present an interim report to the Congress;
- General Secretary Bernt Carlsson presented the report on the mission to Paraguay in November 1979, which had been organized at short notice after the failure of the mission to southern South America (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Paraguay), and was to express solidarity with the fraternal Febrerista party and gather information about the situation in the country;
- the Bureau took note of the report of the newly elected president of the Confederation of Socialist Parties in the

European Community, Joop den Uyl, which, among other things, affirmed the Confederation's desire to intensify contacts with European socialist parties outside the Community.

And lastly, the preparation of the Congress in Madrid in November took up much time. An ad hoc commission under Lionel Jospin was set up to study the issues of new membership and invitations to observers. Four parties will be recommended to the Congress as new full members: the Partido Revolucionario Febrero of Paraguay (a party with consultative status at present); the Parti Socialiste Progressiste of Lebanon; Izquierda Democrática of Ecuador and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada (the latter two had already been recommended at the Lisbon Bureau meeting).

The request for membership by the Movimiento Democrático Nicaragüense (MDN) of the former junta member Alfonso Robelo, who is now polemizing against the Sandinistas, was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Supported by Lionel Jospin, Hector Oqueli and Maarten van Traa, Hans-Eberhard Dingels had urged that the decision be taken as soon as possible, since only in this way would it be clear where the Socialist International stood with regard to Nicaragua.

The leadership of the Socialist International will probably be unchanged from previous years, for the Bureau accepted the proposals of the Presidium to nominate Willy Brandt for President and Bernt Carlsson for General Secretary.

The main theme of the Congress in Madrid will be 'Peace, Freedom and Solidarity'. Other themes accepted were:

- The International Situation
- Arms Control and Disarmament
- North-South Relations
- Principles and Goals
- Socialism and Human Rights
- Socialism and Economic Democracy
- Socialism and Equal Opportunities

Hilary Bernard, Jukka Oas



Sadegh Ghotbzadeh



Isang Yun, Willy Brandt



BUREAU MEETING OSLO

Resolution

1. The Socialist International reaffirms its determination to work for peace and solidarity in the face of an increasingly serious international situation. As confrontation between the superpowers rises, the danger to detente heightens. North-South relations are under great strain. No promising solutions in the Middle East are taking shape. The Soviet troops have not yet been withdrawn from Afghanistan. The SALT II Treaty still awaits ratification. In Europe chances of a new qualitative arms race in the field of theatre nuclear weapons are growing. No negotiations about these developments are under way.

After the Party Leaders' Conference in Vienna, the Socialist International agreed that member parties would use every contact to prevent the threatening confrontation between the superpowers. In recent international gatherings, democratic socialists have played a role in reopening the dialogue between East and West and there are some indications of improvement. The visit of the Federal German Chancellor to Moscow is a further step towards reducing tensions. 2. Helmut Schmidt's proposal for a moratorium on the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe must be seen as a significant opening to negotiations. The Socialist International will continue to work for a meaningful dialogue between East and West. It will examine with great care all proposals by the parties concerned in East and West which could prevent the threat of a growing confrontation between

the superpowers, especially if those proposals include practical steps to combat the arms race.

3. Recent reports of false nuclear alerts which were due to technological failures illustrate the need for intensified political action on arms control. Arms control and disarmament remain central to the activities of the Socialist International.

4. In the interest of peace we regard as essential:

4.1 that in the spirit of the declaration of the Socialist International Party Leaders' Conference in Vienna last February all opportunities for bilateral and multilateral dialogue be employed;

4.2 that new proposals be made and openings be found to prevent the menace of a build-up of the arms race in Europe;

4.3 that the preparations for the Madrid Congress on peace and security should be continued to make real progress in all 'baskets' and in particular in strengthening confidence-building measures;

4.4 that a political solution to the situation in Afghanistan be found including the withdrawal of USSR troops and taking into account the legitimate security needs of its neighbours;

4.5 that a greater sense of urgency be given to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations;

4.6 that SALT II be ratified by the US in order to get negotiations on SALT III under way.

5. It is not only in East-West

relations that dangers for peace arise; the rise of violence in the Middle East is also endangering peace. We again condemn terrorism from any quarter. Recent steps of escalation on both sides should be reversed.

6. The revolutionary process in Iran has been discussed by the Socialist International in meetings with the Foreign Minister of Iran, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh. Bruno Kreisky, Felipe Gonzalez and Olof Palme reported on the talks they had recently with President Bani Sadr and other Iranian authorities. The Bureau wishes to record its appreciation of the successful talks.

The Socialist International showed its understanding of the underlying motives of the Iranian revolution. It emphasised that the release of the hostages must be urgently brought about in a peaceful way.

7. The Socialist International Regional Conference for Latin America and the Caribbean held in the Dominican Republic at the invitation of the PRD at the end of March underlined our commitment to Latin America and the Caribbean which the Bureau fully confirms. Human rights and political freedom are violated in a number of Latin American countries. The Socialist International greets with satisfaction the efforts of Latin American democratic forces to unify in order to fight more effectively for democracy, real independence and social justice.

8. The Socialist International fully supports the struggle of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario for freedom and democracy in El Salvador. As it did in Santo Domingo, the Socialist International asks the United States government to consider that support for the present junta in El Salvador is not a viable solution and will not prevent further bloodshed. We call on the US to change its policies.

This is not a matter of anti-Americanism but an effort to achieve a constructive relationship between the US and the countries in Central America.

9. In Guatemala the danger of more bloodshed looms large and must be corrected. We support the Frente Democrático contra la Represión in its struggle against the military dictatorship and for human rights, social justice and democracy.

10. The regime in Uruguay is attempting to gain some respectability by institutionalising its dictatorship. This development has to be strongly opposed. We support the struggle of the Grupo de Convergencia Democrática for a free Uruguay and the liberation of thousands of political prisoners including the leader of the Frente Amplio, General Liber Seregni.

11. Our comrades from Jamaica face the enormous task of creating a more just social order

in a frequently hostile environment. We appeal again to the IMF to be more sensitive to this in setting its conditions for assistance to Jamaica, where a food shortage could turn into a catastrophe in the near future. Our solidarity with Jamaica must be concrete. Member parties in and out of government will press for more help to Jamaica.

12. The Socialist International strongly warns again any attempt of a military coup aimed at preventing elections in Bolivia.

13. Repression in Korea has grown to unprecedented proportions. The Socialist International expresses its deep concern at the brutality used against students and peaceful protesters. It presses for the release of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung and supports the opposition movement of exiled Koreans, the Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification. Suppression of democracy in the name of anti-communism can never be acceptable to the member parties of the Socialist International.

14. The coming to power of the new government in Zimbabwe headed by Robert Mugabe is a hopeful sign for change in Namibia and South Africa. The obvious needs of the new state of Zimbabwe, in terms of practical aid and assistance, should receive the most sympathetic response.

Once again the Socialist International wants to state its absolute condemnation of South African apartheid. Economic sanctions, including an extension of the oil embargo, should be given serious consideration. The Socialist International strongly calls upon the Republic of South Africa immediately to release Nelson Mandela and Toivo Ja Toivo.

15. As far as North-South relations are concerned, the Socialist International strongly supports the recommendations in the North-South Report presented by Olof Palme on behalf of the Independent Commission. The Socialist International is committed to work for its wide distribution and acceptance. The Socialist International welcomes the call by Mexico and Austria for an international summit early next year on global negotiations within the framework of the UN. It is also important that the major issue of North-South relations should be given consideration at Western summit meetings.

16. The Socialist International has seen a period of growth and renewal and is now a strong significant voice in global politics. Our capabilities have never been greater. We dedicate them to the struggle for Peace, Freedom and Solidarity.

We prepare ourselves for the Socialist International Congress to be held in Madrid on 13-16 November 1980 with that dedication.

INVITATIONS TO THE 1980 CONGRESS

The 1980 Congress of the Socialist International in Madrid in November will be the biggest ever. Alongside the member parties and affiliated organizations the Socialist International is inviting 59 other organizations and political parties. The following is a list of those invited:

Afghanistan: Afghan Social Democratic Party
Algeria: Front de Liberation Nationale

Angola: MPLA

Argentina: Confederación Socialista Argentina

Bolivia: Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria

Bolivia: Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria de Izquierda

Bolivia: Partido Socialista

Botswana: Botswana Democratic Party

Brazil: Partido Democrático Trabalhista

Czechoslovakia: Charter 77

East Timor: Fretilin

Ecuador: Izquierda Democrática

Egypt: National Democratic Party

Egypt: Progressive National Unionist Party

Egypt: Socialist Labour Party

El Salvador: Frente Democrático Revolucionario

Eritrea: Eritrean People's Liberation Front

Eritrea: Eritrean Liberation Front

Ethiopia: All Ethiopia Socialist Movement (Me'isone)

Gambia: People's Progressive Party

Ghana: People's National Movement

Greece: PASOK

Grenada: New Jewel Movement

Guatemala: Frente Democrático Contra la Represión

Guatemala: Frente Unido de la Revolución

Guatemala: Partido Revolucionario Auténtico

Guinea-Bissau: PAIGC

Guyana: Working People's Alliance

Iran: a personality representing the movement supporting President Bani Sadr

Israel: United Workers' Party (MAPAM)

Korea, Republic of: Democratic Unification Party
Korea, Republic of: Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification

Lebanon: Parti Progressiste Socialiste

Mexico: Partido Revolucionario Institucional

Morocco: Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires

Mozambique: Frelimo

Namibia: SWAPO

Netherlands Antilles: Movimiento de Antiyas Nobo

Netherlands Antilles: Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo

Nicaragua: Frente Sandinista

Panama: Partido Revolucionario Democrático

Peru: APRA

Puerto Rico: Partido Independentista

Somalia: Revolutionary Socialist Party

South Africa: African National Congress

South Africa: Black Consciousness Movement

Tanzania: CCM

Tunisia: Mouvement d'Unité Populaire

Upper Volta: Front Progressiste Voltaire

Uruguay: Convergencia Uruguaya

Uruguay: Frente Amplio

Uruguay: Partido Socialista

USA: Socialist Party

Western Sahara: POLISARIO Front

Yugoslavia: Socialist Alliance

Zambia: United National Independence Party

Zimbabwe: ZANU (PF)

Zimbabwe: Patriotic Front (ZAPU)

COPPAL

Non-Aligned Movement

It should be stressed that these organizations are not members or, in most cases, candidates for Socialist International membership. They are invited as observers to the Congress, this does not signify any other kind of relationship.

And we will be inviting the following individual guests. Some of them will unfortunately not be able to attend but the invitations were issued in a spirit of solidarity to those living under dictatorships which refuse to allow democracy.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions: Otto Kersten

Argentina: Hipólito Solari Irigoyen

Argentina: a representative of the human rights movement

Brazil: Luis Silva (Lula)

Brazil: a representative of the Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro

Chile: Aniceto Rodriguez

Colombia: a personality yet to be nominated

Czechoslovakia: Zdenek Hejzlar

Ecuador: President Jaime Roldos

Great Britain: Philip Noel-Baker

Greece: Charalambos Protopapas, Ionnis Pesmazoglou

India: George Fernandes, Mohammed S. Hoda

Korea, Republic of: Kim Dae Jung

Malawi: Attati Mpakati

Namibia: Toivo Ja Toivo

Nepal: B. P. Koirala

South Africa: Nelson Mandela

United States: Edward L. Ice

certain members of the US Congress

members of certain progressive organizations

a representative of the aboriginal movement

(names to be submitted by the NDP, Canada)

Uruguay: Liber Seregni

USSR: Andrei Sakharov

NEW MEMBERS

Following the Oslo Bureau meeting the Parti Socialiste Progressiste of Lebanon joins the list of parties recommended for Socialist International membership by the Bureau. Other recommendations for membership to go before the Congress for approval in November are: the Izquierda Democrática of Ecuador and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada.

The PSP will be the Socialist International's first member party in the Arab world. It was founded by the veteran socialist Kamal Jumblat who was murdered during the Lebanese civil war. His son, Walid Jumblat, is now the party leader.

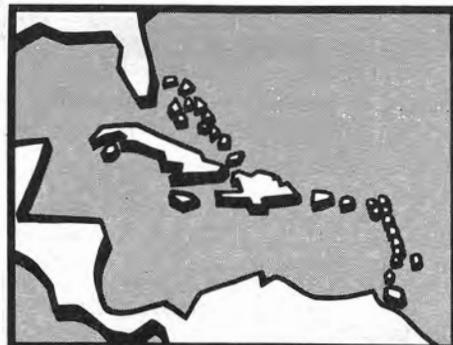
The Bureau also decided to recommend acceptance of the Paraguayan Partido Revolucionario Febrero's application for full membership. At present it is a consultative member.

Other parties whose application for membership is likely to come before the next Bureau meeting, after they were postponed pending clarification, are: Democratic Unification Party of Korea; the Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification; the Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo of the Netherlands Antilles and the Movimiento de Antiyas Nobo (consultative membership); and the Tunisian Mouvement d'Unité Populaire.

Applications from the National Democratic Party of Egypt and the Argentinian Confederación Socialista and Partido Intransigente were postponed for more detailed consideration.

The Bureau decided to reject applications from the following: Movimiento Democrático Nicaragüense; Frente Obreiro Y Liberacion 30 di Mei and Reformistan Uni Pa Bienestar di Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles.

A number of other parties have indicated an interest in applying for membership. A full report of progress on these applications will appear in the next issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.



IS THE CARIBBEAN GOING CUBAN?

Karl-Ludolf Hübener

As unrest and violence spread throughout the Caribbean the region is receiving more international attention than it has had for decades. Karl-Ludolf Huebener, editor of the magazine *Nueva Sociedad* and a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, explains the political tensions which underlie the present troubles.

The heightening of tensions in other parts of the world, the seed of a new cold war, has also reached the tropical regions of the English-speaking Caribbean. Conservatives and reactionaries of all shades see every attempt at social reform as a further indication of a Cubanization. The Caribbean has, at first unnoticed by world public opinion, indeed become a trouble spot of the first order, which, depending on one's political standpoint, raises either hope or fear. But the trend towards the left which is evident at the moment does not justify conjuring up the spectre of a Cubanization of the region. This would gloss over the internal causes of this development and the political differentiations between the various positions and programmes. A narrow-minded reds-under-the-beds phobia would inevitably lead to a repetition of mistakes made in the past regarding Cuba and from which some have until this day not learnt their lessons.

The white sand beaches of the Caribbean tourist resorts hide the fact that most of the islands are economically and socially among the poorest in the American hemisphere. For decades and centuries their economies — cut off from their neighbours' — were geared to the needs and interests of the 'mother' countries. Even today the five million people of the English-speaking Caribbean still depend largely on the export of agricultural raw materials — with the exception of Jamaica and Guyana (bauxite) and Trinidad (oil). The tourist industry has until now not provided any significant impulse to an improvement in the social situation of the people of the Caribbean. The profound problems — rural exodus, high unemployment and low wages, to name but a few — have not even begun to be solved.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the call for radical structural changes became

louder. To the same extent the old fear — largely stirred up artificially — of the 'communist enemy' Cuba abated. Today Cuba enjoys a growing stature not only in the English-speaking Caribbean — in particular because of its economic and social model of development and its quick and effective help to those in need, and not so much because of its political organization. This appreciation is not shaken by the exodus of thousands of dissatisfied Cubans, for this still compares favourably with the migration of millions and millions of Mexicans, Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans and others. Since 1950 one and a half million people of the West Indies have emigrated to Britain, Canada and the United States.

The fall from power of conservative governments and the growing support for progressive movements which unequivocally dissociate themselves from the rigid rejectionist attitude towards Cuba and in contrast establish friendly relations with the ostracized island would of course alarm the United States, which views the Caribbean as a natural sphere of influence, as a *mare nostrum*.

Apart from the obvious military importance of America's 'back yard', the region is crucial to the United States because it produces some strategically important raw materials: two-thirds of the bauxite used in the United States is imported from Jamaica and Guyana and two of the world's biggest oil refineries are in the Caribbean (these together refine a quarter of the African and Arab crude oil destined for the United States). The US government also fears that the increase of left-wing governments in the region could alter decisively the balance of votes in the Organization of American States (OAS) and tilt the balance in the United Nations even further. As the general secretary of the OAS, Alejandro Orfila, put it: 'The

entry of the new young states presents a danger to the balance of our organization'. When this is seen in conjunction with the explosive developments in neighbouring Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala), which has begun to cast off long-standing American domination, the fears of the US government become 'understandable'. Moreover, further strengthening of the progressive camp could endanger the semi-colonial status of Puerto Rico (or its possible incorporation as the fifty-first state of the United States) as well as increase the criticism of American military bases in the Caribbean.

But the North American superpower is not the only colonial power — the Virgin Islands are the other US colony — in the area: France has retained strict control over Guadeloupe, Martinique and Cayenne (French Guyana), which have the status of overseas departments; Britain has not yet granted independence to Belize, Antigua, Montserrat, Anguilla, St Kitts-Nevis; and Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba are still part of the Netherlands. While the latter two European states intend to dismantle these remnants of their colonial empires in the near future, France has shown itself in this respect an inflexible and intransigent imperial power.

Even until a few years ago the developments in the Caribbean presented few problems for the United States. With the exception of Cuba, political developments followed the desired course; political parties and trade unions offered little cause for interventionist considerations. In the English-speaking Caribbean, political parties developed in the 1930s at the same time as a trade union movement emerged. Both parties and unions championed (often indistinguishably from each other) the social, political and economic interests of the working people. The ties between parties and

unions were so strong because, on the whole, either trade unions founded political parties (Jamaica Labour Party, Grenada United Labour Party, Montserrat Labour Party) or parties founded unions to acquire a wider political base (People's National Party of Jamaica, People's Progressive Party of Guyana).

The limited organizational cohesion, the fixation on charismatic leaders, the inability to translate the wide-ranging postulates into practice and not least the corruption of leading party officials have led to a situation where parties which are programmatically perhaps still progressive have lost credibility and have slid into the conservative camp.

To take the 'Labour' in the party names as a guide in the search for progressive forces can therefore have disastrous results: the party of the former dictator of Grenada, Eric Gairy, called itself the Grenada United Labour Party, and Edward Seaga's conservative-reactionary opposition party is called the Jamaica Labour Party.

The resulting doubts about the traditional parties is also transferred to the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy inherited from colonial times. Progressives feel that it should be changed by a far-reaching democratization (Michael Manley) or replaced by another, a model more appropriate to a post-slave society and more basis-oriented (Maurice Bishop: participatory democracy).

In November and December of last year it seemed as if the political panorama would shift further in favour of democratic-socialist or similarly oriented governments and forces, and as if the United States would lose further support in the region and on the Latin American subcontinent (the last OAS conference in La Paz rejected the planned formation of a regional military security force to prevent any more 'Grenadas'); but in the first few months of this year the balance of power at government level seems to have shifted slightly to the right again.

While the coup in Grenada in March 1979 seemed to signal a major change, the defeat of the opposition in St Vincent by the conservative Labour Party of Prime Minister Milton Cato in December was a first setback. Here the Barbadian government under Tom Adams became active, when on the basis of an allegedly Grenada-inspired rebellion — which in fact turned out to be an a-political protest of a Rastafarian sect — it sent units to St Vincent. Barbados has adopted a strictly pro-American position, so that one can speak of a conservative axis (Trinidad, St Vincent, Barbados, Antigua) opposed to the governments of Jamaica, Guyana, St Lucia and Grenada.

The pro-American group of countries led by Barbados and Trinidad is supported by France, which sees its colonial territories in danger. Strikes and calls for independence are increasing in Martinique and Guadeloupe. For these French counter-propaganda has blamed Cuba. In order to create a kind of cordon sanitaire the French government has become actively involved in the English-speaking Caribbean and has tried to gain influence in the neighbouring islands by offering financial aid.

Even on the Latin American subcontinent the French government tries to secure its Caribbean interests. Thus the government of Venezuela, the country of Simón Bolívar,



The case of Jamaica shows that IMF policy (which the Brandt Commission has also criticised) is aimed against progressive policies and in the end aimed at maintaining economic and political dependence.

agreed on the occasion of President Luis Herrera Campins' visit to Paris to cooperate with the French colonial power in the Caribbean. There are increasing indications that the Christian Democratic government of Venezuela has indirectly joined the conservative axis and is trying to gain a political foothold via economic and financial offers of aid. Indeed, many people suspect that the Latin American Christian Democratic forces under the leadership of the Venezuelan party COPEI are seen by the United States as the civilian stabilizing alternative to the run-down military dictatorships — the most recent example of El Salvador has been cited in support of this theory. So-called 'moderate' social democrats are thought to be desirable coalition partners in a possible two-party system. But apart from some self-styled social democrats (Panama, Nicaragua, Jamaica Labour Party), which could affect adversely the newly won and largely positive reputation of the Socialist International, no group has taken up the invitation.

It is evident that the change of government in 1979 in Venezuela and the loss of power of the social-democratic Acción Democrática has had a negative effect on progressive developments in the region. Though not losing sight of Venezuelan self-interest, the government of Carlos Andrés Pérez had at least become actively involved in the solution of pressing problems (Nicaragua, Panama Canal, and economic and financial cooperation with Jamaica).

But the mainstay of the conservative counteroffensive is the United States, which by its naval presence, by the formation of a Special Task Force stationed in Florida (which carried out the recent manoeuvres in the Caribbean, Solid Shield '80) and by clear warnings from high-ranking military figures has left no doubt as to its willingness to intervene ruthlessly if deemed necessary. Admiral Train, chief of the US navy in the Atlantic and the Caribbean, did not just by coincidence declare in Santo Domingo (where the social-democratic government of Antonio Guzmán is coming under increasing pressure from its own more progressive party base) and in Haiti

(where after an initial liberalization masquerade the 'traditional' brutal repressive methods have been reintroduced) that in case of a call for help from a government threatened by revolution the possibility of intervention could not be excluded. It is also noticeable that the leading newspapers and magazines in the region and also in Latin America, supplied from the sources of the transnational press agencies, have begun more and more to take aim at the progressive governments and movements. The main targets of the media, which also operate with false reports, are Jamaica and Grenada — and recently also Nicaragua.

Against this the oil power Mexico could act as a positive factor. After a long period of de facto isolation in matters of foreign policy, following the principle of non-intervention, the Mexican state party PRI has relinquished its self-imposed 'exile'. Since the Oaxaca conference in October 1979, sponsored by the PRI, in which many political parties in Latin America and the Caribbean formed COPPAL (Permanent Conference of the Political Parties of Latin America) it has become clear that Mexico is eager to create its own sphere of influence in the region not only on an official level but also on the level of inter-party relations.

This strategy seems directed as much against the United States as against the strong European influence. The Mexican government has become active in Nicaragua and could relieve the Jamaican government, which is struggling with a serious economic and social crisis, by accepting a proposed agreement on the exchange of oil and bauxite.

When taking into account the political developments in some of the states peripheral to the Caribbean — for example Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama; and in a few as yet unmentioned smaller states in the Caribbean: in Belize the social reformist People's United Party under George Price scored a clear victory over its conservative rival, the United Democratic Party under Dean Lindo, in the elections in 1979; Curacao is governed by Don Martina, who considers himself a democratic socialist — then one could say that up to the beginning of this year several clear focal points of a more or less progressive orientation had emerged. It is at this time difficult to judge whether the most recent developments will lead to a stagnation or even to setbacks for the forces striving for profound changes. This depends largely on external factors as well as on the perspectives and developments in the major countries of the Caribbean. This will be discussed below.

Trinidad has in practice become one of the last bastions of conservatism in the Caribbean. The relative strength of the government of Eric Williams is based on its role as financier. Trinidad is in regional terms a major oil producer. The ruling People's National Movement (PNM), which began as a national independence movement challenging the white middle class, has itself become the guarantor of the class interests that Williams once attacked. The opposition organized in the United Labour Front is so divided within itself that it does not pose a serious threat to the PNM, as the local elections last April confirmed. The attitude of the Williams government to the revolutionary government in Grenada is one of open hostility. In a parliamentary debate a PNM member claimed proudly that Eric

of the tourism industry, to be achieved without building hotel ghettos, is pushed ahead — foreign participation is invited — in conjunction with the development of the agricultural sector, which in future is to a large extent to provide the foodstuffs for the hotels.

Already its first year has shown that the government is serious about its aims: for 1980 it presented a budget with a slight surplus. This was possible partly because corruption has been much weeded out. Even the IMF had to acknowledge this achievement and has recently granted a loan without any of the usual IMF conditions attached.

In the political sphere the government would like gradually to build up its own model of democracy — participatory democracy, as it has been called. Although Bishop acknowledges that the Westminster model ('five seconds every five years') may be right for Europe, he rejects it for Grenada. It would be absurd to bring together a handful of constitutional lawyers to draft an artificial constitution for a population which has no experience of democracy and a high rate of illiteracy.

It is hoped that in the reconstruction of the country — by voluntary building of community centres, repairing roads and organizing work in the cooperatives, for instance — the people, who have at last been emancipated from a slave society, will learn to live together and organize their decisions. In this way and out of experience the conditions for a participation model suited to Grenadan conditions would develop from below. Like Nicaragua, Grenada could in the long term develop its own model of democratic decision-making — rejecting it out of hand could be interpreted as Euro-centric arrogance.

The Cuban presence is undeniable, even though it is grossly exaggerated. For the first time ever a dozen doctors are providing medical care in the countryside. The Cubans also sent personnel and machines for the construction of a new large airport, which is to end the dependence on the tourist charter flights from the hostile neighbours and competitors Trinidad and Barbados (at the moment Grenada can only be reached via these islands). They will also help with the expansion of Grenada's own fishing fleet. It is the quick and above all effective development aid which explains Maurice Bishop's unqualified praise for 'Comrade Fidel'. But despite his admiration for the Cuban revolution, he seems to orient himself more on to the Tanzanian model of Julius Nyerere.

The political cornerstone of the English-speaking Caribbean is still without a doubt Jamaica, with its charismatic leader Michael Manley, who is among the most important spokesmen of the Third World. Manley and his People's National Party (PNP), which first gained power in 1972, have played the role of a kind of ideological mentor for many democratic-socialist and similarly oriented parties in the English-speaking Caribbean. And on the basis of ideological pluralism, Jamaica's government has friendly relations with Cuba and Grenada. This explains the strategic importance of Jamaica for US Caribbean policy — as well as the continued attempts at destabilizing the Manley government by propagandist and economic means.

Jamaica is the second country in the

world (after Tanzania) which has broken with the International Monetary Fund dominated by the United States, Britain, France, Japan and Federal Germany. The conditions dictated by the IMF — regulation of wage rises, no price controls, devaluation, free flow of capital — had in recent years contributed to the economic crisis, accompanied by an international reduction in the mining of bauxite, the country's major source of income. (The mining industry is dominated by American-based multinationals.) Jamaica was refused the last promised instalment of the IMF loan because it had not passed certain IMF 'tests'. Acquiescence in the IMF dictat would have meant an almost 100 per cent cut in social benefits expenditure — and great suffering for the poorest sections of the population. This would be tantamount to casting aside the government's democratic-socialist principles. The case of Jamaica shows that IMF policy (which the Brandt Commission has also criticized) is aimed against progressive policies and in the end aimed at maintaining economic and political dependence. At the end of March the PNP executive voted by an overwhelming majority to break off the negotiations with the IMF, and the government concurred.

An alternative economic policy has now been worked out to stimulate the economy. It is questionable whether the PNP government will be able to realize this programme, which exists as yet only in outline, because forecasts for the elections next October point to a victory for the opposition Labour Party. The outcome will largely depend on whether the proposed rescheduling of Jamaica's international debts will be accepted; whether an emergency programme can be set up, with the help of credits from friendly countries, which will alleviate the problems of the poorest sections of the population; and whether during the election campaign the PNP will be able to restore lost confidence.

The economic decline is at the moment rapid. The situation is reminiscent of the last months of the Allende government: shortages of basic foodstuffs, fall in investment and production, erratic supplies of electricity, empty shelves in the shops, politically motivated violence, and so on.

The internal allies of the United States are the opposition Labour Party under Edward Seaga and most of the press. Their barrage of criticism at times has fascist traits. All this is evidently carried out to a clear plan. For instance, in an interview with a big American newspaper Seaga called himself a social democrat, which has a devastating effect on a mostly uninformed American public opinion (Manley is 'pro-Castro', a 'communist', a 'socialist'). Thus the impression is created in the United States that Seaga is on the side of European social democracy and that a possible defeat of Manley or even a coup would not be an attack on a member of the Socialist International.

Edward Seaga (also known as CIAga or SPYaga) supports the IMF demands in full (JLP slogan: IMF = It's Manley's Fault) and would when in power force on Jamaica the Puerto Rico model.

The destabilization policy at all levels will undoubtedly become more intense as the election day approaches. A defeat of the PNP government would have the follow-

ing consequences: it would bring the establishment of an authoritarian regime in Jamaica at least within the realm of possibility; it would be a serious setback for the progressive forces in the Caribbean and a defeat for democratic socialism; it would in turn lead to a radicalization of the PNP and related forces in the region, since democratic socialism would no longer be considered a viable alternative; it would encourage the United States to continue its policy of destabilizing other unwanted governments in the English-speaking Caribbean.

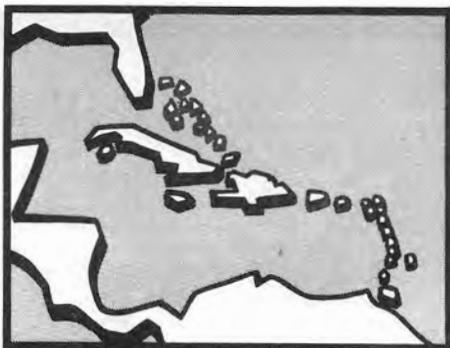
The ever louder cries of Cubanization, which have no basis in reality, and the corresponding labelling of disliked political opponents and processes are ultimately both part of a strategy of confrontation which is intended to isolate Cuba again, end the political thaw between the countries in the US' back yard, and weaken and divide the socially progressive forces in the Caribbean. The United States feels its traditional sphere of influence threatened. Behind this fear is hidden a modified form of the old John Foster Dulles formula, which in effect treated all countries remaining neutral in the last cold war as latent communists: if Cuba is not your enemy, then you are my enemy.

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SOCIALISM, DEVELOPMENT AND LIBERTY

François Mitterrand

At the Santo Domingo meeting of the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, talked on the basic principles of socialism, economic freedom and democracy.

I should like to make one comment to start with. In the conversations we have had with the leaders of the Dominican Republic and many parties and countries in Latin America and with journalists, too, we have noticed a confusion which leading politicians are fighting against, and I refer to Peña Gomez' speech at yesterday's meeting. It is the organized confusion around the term 'socialist', often confused, with malicious or perverse intent, with 'communism'. In the language which I shall adopt I shall use the word 'socialist' because my party calls itself a socialist party, because I am attached to it and because I know that within the Socialist International there are several families of thought, some of whom claim to be social democrats, some labour, some quite simply socialists, some democratic socialists, and finally, some who support revolution for national independence.

I shall therefore keep to the word socialist and you will understand straight away what I mean, for the convenience of the language, particularly as, militants as you are, you are aware that the confusion goes back a long way. Even in the nineteenth century, when the socialist idea was born, on the lips of our adversaries, anything that questioned the divine right of capital was the same and had to be denounced in the same way, whether it was the socialists who spoke of cooperatives or cooperation, like Owen, or those who talked of labour organizations and associations, like Louis Blanc, or those who developed the trade unions and the first international socialist movement, or those who, like Marx, defined capital gain and the need for the class struggle, or those who, like Proudhon, defined a certain type of decentralization which preceded the modern concepts of autogestion; for our common adversaries it was the same thing: socialism was ques-

tionsing the foundations of the capitalist society.

Besides, 'socialism' and 'communism' were the same words. In France, people also used to say 'reds', or, sarcastically, 'partageux', those who wanted to share, they were of course covered with shame.

Political literature or purely literary literature attacked the socialists who wanted to destroy society, whatever the path they chose. This hostility on the part of our opponents strengthened our solidarity. And today, when they mix up the concepts of socialism, communism and social democracy — represented in the regional conference in Santo Domingo — like some kind of substitute for international communism, it makes one first laugh and then perhaps irritated. But it demands on our part greater precision if not in our vocabulary at least in our ideas.

And I would like to point out that today, in 1980, what distinguishes socialists from communists is essentially the result of the 1917 revolution and the emergence of marxism-leninism. There are many of us who are marxists but who do not identify with marxism-leninism. I can speak even more freely of this since I am not myself a marxist.

But from 1917 to 1920, there developed what I would call a deviation from socialism through the system built up in the Soviet Union around a single party, a bureaucracy, the personality cult surrounding a supreme leader and a macro-economic concept which denied the differences at the base. The development of this system characterizes international communism but does not characterize socialism in all its forms as we would like to represent it here, quite the contrary. And finally I would just like to say, to stress the significance of the term that I am using, that it was in France in 1920, at the Congress of Tours, that the split

between socialists and communists occurred, that Léon Blum defined the essential distinction: firstly, by rejecting that the policies of French socialists should be determined by Moscow; and secondly, by stating that there was no socialism without democracy, and therefore the socialists in 1920 had to reject the twenty-one conditions laid down by Lenin.

Having said that, I would like to try to define in a few words what we do have in common. Of course this has often been repeated around this table, each of our parties in each of our countries determines its own path, and yet if we have nothing in common, what are we doing here? Why a Socialist International? Why a Regional Conference of the Socialist International? We must create a synthesis, establish the link between these two concepts: each one follows and determines his own path and yet we have in common a vast heritage and a vast undertaking which justifies our organization. Each follows his own path, it is so obvious it is pointless to insist. Not only are there significant differences in the approach to problems depending upon whether we are talking about Western Europe or Latin America, Africa or Asia; and there again, how many differences between the experience of the Federal Republic of Germany, Scandinavian socialism, the Labour movement in Britain, French socialism; how many more differences within the Anglo-Saxon world and what basic differences between those countries who are only beginning the advanced industrial period and those who fall within the category of developing countries, and, of the developed countries, those which possess raw materials which are in demand and those which are only consumers of these raw materials.

These differences in our political situations, whether we are more or less dependent on a colonial pact, or more or less

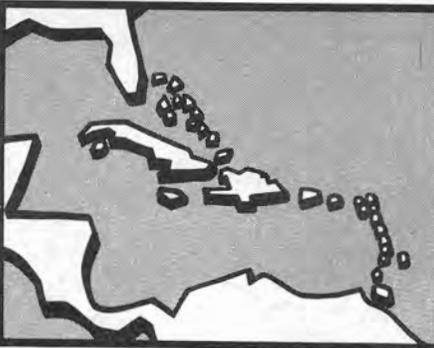
it is out of the abuses, the violence, the repression and the exploitation of capitalism that another revolution could develop, the communist revolution. Then, preferring anything rather than bear the violence of capitalism and considering there is no medium term, we might go to the end of the road at the risk of forming new societies in the name of socialism, inspired by marxism-leninism, which wish to build social and economic democracy by destroying political democracy. And so we find ourselves taken back towards the opposite, another form of imperialism which we must also reject. But in our scheme of thinking, our common path lies first of all in attacking the old and the new structures of national and above all international capitalism, which is the dominant form of exploitation of man by man. This would be our best way of cutting the growth of communism, which feeds off capitalist oppression, at the root.

I stress this point because once this development of communism has taken place, the duty of social democracy and of socialism will equally be to oppose the continuation of this type of society which destroys the harmony between political democracy and economic democracy, because certain forms of economic democracy will then become falsified and because the formidable concentration of power in the hands of the few gives rise to a new oligarchy, that of bureaucracy or technocracy. We come back to the eternal problem confronting every man face to face with himself: it is within ourselves that lies the source of power and of the abuse of power. A short time ago I suggested to several journalists that 'every man always goes to the limit of his power, every party always goes to the limit of its power, every religion and every philosophy always goes to the limit of its power': that is why socialism needs institutions to limit the abuse of power, to organize the relations between individuals and between social classes and between spiritual groups.

Socialism therefore needs institutions; indeed, it has an even greater need of institutions since today it has to confront that formidable mechanism called the multinationals which are the new landowners, the new lords. It is true that most of our everyday actions are controlled by the strategic decisions of powers of which we are too often only the executants.

That is why we need the national political will in each of our countries to check or reduce the power of the multinationals. I am going to make a comment in parenthesis: the multinational phenomenon is not peculiar to capitalism but peculiar to the development of an industrial society, and we should be very careful not to confuse these two phenomena. Though we may not be able to prevent the development of the multinational company, the main thing is to be able to control its operation. And to control its operation, we first need the national political will expressed by national governments and nations capable of self-determination in the face of imperialism. We therefore need national governments.

But we must go further. We, the Socialist International, must dispose of a force capable of taking the place of the international division of labour and production decided by multinational capitalism. It must be capable of developing an international division of labour in accordance with the views



Finally, there is no socialism unless we reverse the conditions of the exchange between, on the one hand, the capitalist powers and the industrial powers, and, on the other, the developing countries.

of international democratic socialism. Otherwise a system will increasingly develop whereby large companies continue to leave the countries in which they were set up — the old West and the United States of America — to seek profits anywhere in the world; this, by its concentration, will induce unemployment and inflation everywhere.

To maintain profit margins, companies will seek out the worker who is the least protected, the most oppressed by a political dictatorship, the worker who will not be paid and will not be protected by any social security system. This will certainly produce a better market but it will also be a new form of slavery. And as every individual in the developing countries should have the ability to compete in his work and to innovate when faced with the old industrialized countries, only an international socialist strategy, by developing social legislation and economic structures, can take the place of the lords of the modern world — the capitalist multinationals.

Of course, this strategy from the outside must be complemented by an internal strategy, by legislation within each of our countries which socialists and social democrats must pursue in many areas: in the tariff system, in taxation, by increasing workers' rights and worker control, by introducing agrarian reforms, by ending some of our systems of agrarian exploitation based on share-cropping, by farming rights, by increasing the number of medium-sized holdings or, where there is a tendency to develop mechanization in agriculture, by voluntary agreements between the producers themselves, with the investment of capital taking the place, where appropriate, of conventional capitalism. If we have no policy in the form of an international socialist strategy, our individual countries will become like a kind of sponge, soaking up multinational capitalism.

Finally, we must realize that the right of nations to self-determination is not a simple affirmation of international law with representation at the United Nations, flags, national anthems, ambassadors, ministers, governments, but also the right to take sovereign decisions within; this international law should not be simply an appearance, the

reality being the dominance of forms of imperialism, but let representation at the United Nations, flags, national anthems, ambassadors, ministers and governments be the true expression of the right of a nation to self-determination.

What I have said stresses the need to oppose the development of imperialist capitalism with the socialist front. In the same way socialism must reject the solicitations and the methods of international communism since it, too, in its own way and by a different path, destroys the basic freedoms of mankind. I know each one will say: but mine is the path to freedom, too. I am distrustful of grand objectives which are compelled or enlightened, which are compelled to go through subterranean passages or tunnels, I am distrustful of this description of the light which condemns generations and generations to live in the dark.

Taken in their entirety, these considerations must lead to a conception of what we socialists have in common, on the level of international society. For there is no socialism unless there is political democracy, unless there is economic and social democracy, unless there is a strategy on the international division of labour and of production; nor is socialism possible or durable without an international society. I mean by that that socialism is opposed to imperialism and to expansionism, imperialism being above all characteristic of multinational capitalism, often American in origin, expansionism being considered above all as a means of putting a stop to the development of international communism.

There will be no socialism without lawful societies. That is why socialists can do no other than to oppose the interventions, military or other, which tend to reinstate the colonial pact. That is why we condemn without the slightest moral difficulty Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, as we denounced with the same force American intervention in Vietnam or in Cambodia. All this is unacceptable. In the same way, we should reject this modern, hypocritical form of intervention which consists of assuming the right to bring down an intolerable dictatorship — which is only natural — in order to be able to settle permanently in a neighbouring country.

France did not escape this criticism when a bloody dictatorship was brought down in Central Africa to be replaced by an administration subject to the decisions of a foreign power, my own. I think that the Vietnamese argument was right when it was a question of putting a stop to the genocide of Pol Pot in Cambodia, but it becomes false when it takes the form of a permanent Vietnamese presence in Cambodia. I think that our Tanzanian friends should give thought to these considerations. They were right to contribute to the downfall of Idi Amin's dictatorship, they would be wrong to settle permanently in Uganda. Finally, I think that the Soviet argument which uses as a pretext the bloody dictatorship of Taraki and Amin, who were however the mouthpiece of communism in Afghanistan, is mistaken in thinking that, having brought down that dictatorship, it remains possible by means of military intervention by a foreign army. There was no difficulty for socialists in condemning both the Shah of Iran's regime, which we French socialists did continuously, and also the taking of hostages. No-one has a right to organize collective

responsibility at the risk of victimizing innocent individuals.

Similarly, international socialism cannot accept violations of rights — given of course that we approve the positive version of this negative description, which means that we approve the liberation of Nicaragua, that we lend our support to the combatants in El Salvador, that in spirit we fight alongside and would like to be still nearer to those who in Uruguay, in Argentina, in Chile and in all the other countries in this zone which would justify our intervention, are fighting for human rights and national rights. All this is easy for us because we believe in it.

Given that if there is no socialism without a lawful international society, we should examine most seriously the current development of United Nations institutions, find out to what extent their operation remains subject to the interests of the great powers, make sure that in any event international institutions are brought into play, like the Court of Justice, the International Labour Office and any other organizations which today are becoming less effective due to a lack of international political will. It is the duty of socialists today to say where international rights lie. Socialists must be wherever people talk, wherever they meet, wherever they discuss peace. Socialists, having said what they think, as I myself have done, of the dramatic development in the inter-

national situation, must support without faltering and without compromise all means of promoting discussion. We must be at the final SALT II talks and at the talks on security in Europe, in Madrid, just as we must be present at all debates on disarmament, and in particular nuclear disarmament. Socialists must be present wherever arbitration is taking place.

Finally, there is no socialism unless we reverse the conditions of the exchange between, on the one hand, the capitalist powers and the industrial powers, and, on the other, the developing countries. What use is it to have overthrown direct colonization if the colonial pact is perpetuated indirectly, with one half producing and selling raw materials and the other half getting rich by means of these raw materials for which they have the monopoly on the manufacture and the sale of the finished products? The conditions of the exchange must be changed. But this will not be possible unless socialists take initiatives to set up a new international monetary system, which has not been in existence since Bretton Woods. And of course Bretton Woods did not meet the demands of the Third World. Therefore another system is needed.

We cannot live only under the law of the dollar and of the link between the dollar and oil. The dollar rises, the dollar falls, oil rises, oil falls; depending upon currency

fluctuations, the price of raw materials changes. In short, we must break this infernal link between dollar and oil, between which there is nothing or everything. We must therefore intervene in order to set up an international system which takes into account the data supplied by special drawing rights, given that special drawing rights can no longer depend solely upon gold to the advantage of the ten major powers. It must define a series of criteria relating to raw materials without which the world today cannot function; this would be a powerful instrument in the hands of the Third World. Similarly, it should define more clearly what could be the role of gold which, as we can see, has by a roundabout route returned to the forefront.

Here, then, are a few points to consider. Each of the socialist parties and socialist countries, and those with socialist leanings, chooses its own path; but there is no socialism unless all have the clearest understanding of what they have in common, which is the relentless struggle against all forms of exploitation of man by man. Given that in our century the dominant form of exploitation is economic exploitation, our first task is in the economic field. But once we have overcome all forms of economic exploitation, our task will have only just begun, for as long as the most subtle form of exploitation persists, cultural exploitation, socialists will have a lot to say.

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MIXED THOUGHTS ON SANTO DOMINGO

**Rita Freedman,
Frances Grant,
Fanny Simon**

The Santo Domingo meeting of the new Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was seen as the beginning in an important new chapter in the growth of socialism in the western hemisphere. But not all those who attended were in complete agreement with the results. Here Rita Freedman, Frances Grant and Fanny Simon from the United States set out their reservations about the meeting.

In its statement of basic principles adopted in Oslo in 1962, the Socialist International stated that 'liberty and democratic self-government are precious rights which must not be surrendered... that freedom and equality and prosperity are not alternatives between which people must choose but ideals which can be achieved and enjoyed together'. The Declaration of Santo Domingo that came out of the SI Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean this past March reaffirmed that 'the holding of free elections and the respect of fundamental liberties are central principles of social-democratic ideology'.

Yet a number of resolutions adopted in the name of the Regional Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean dangerously threaten these guiding principles. In a rather unusual procedure, the resolutions were adopted by the Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean for the conference without debate by the delegates.

Since we therefore did not have the opportunity to comment on them before their adoption, we take the opportunity to do so now.

The resolution on Puerto Rico illustrates the concern we feel. The conference went on record to declare 'its firm support for the Puerto Rican independence struggle' and 'its rejection of any attempt whatsoever, through subterfuge, new tactics or names, to keep the Puerto Rican people under the current colonial status or turn it

into a state of the United States'. The latter section establishes a 'Catch-22' dilemma. Is overwhelming defeat for independence parties at the polls 'new tactics'? Would a 1980 referendum on the three options of independence, statehood or commonwealth, as promised by the currently ruling Statehood Party, be 'subterfuge'?

More troubling is the fact that the SI's support for Puerto Rican independence clearly goes against the expressed wishes of the Puerto Rican people. Since its colonization by Spain, Puerto Rico has been wrestling with what it calls the 'status question'.

The possible options, which have varied somewhat over the years, have included autonomy, commonwealth, independence, and, with the change from Spanish to US hands, statehood. Of these, the choice of independence is not the one favoured by the vast majority of those on the island.

From 1940 until the mid-1960s, the Popular Democratic Party (PRD) founded by Luis Muñoz Marin dominated island politics. After avoiding the issue, the PRD made the Estado Libre Asociado (the Associated Free State or Commonwealth as it is known in English*) its proposed solution to the status question in 1948. Partly because of this alternative it offered, the

PPD won the elections that year by an overwhelming majority.

In accordance with the wishes of the Puerto Rican populace, President Truman signed Public Law 600 which stated that Puerto Rico would become a commonwealth after its people wrote and ratified a new constitution and ratified the new status. Puerto Ricans did both by a convincing majority: the constitution by a vote of 374,000 to 82,000 and commonwealth status by 387,000 to 119,000. Official ceremonies celebrating the change took place in July 1952; in November of that year the PPD, which was responsible for bringing the new status into being, won a resounding 61 per cent of the vote in the gubernatorial elections.

The United Nations subsequently voted that since the relations embodied in the compact could not be unilaterally amended, Puerto Rico was no longer to be considered a non-self-governing territory and the United States therefore no longer had to submit annual reports as a colonial power.

Since that time, Puerto Ricans have consistently expressed their preference for either a continued, if evolving, commonwealth relation or, more recently, for statehood. The main independence party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), currently headed by Ruben Berrios, has steadily lost electoral support. In 1952 it was the second largest vote-getter. By the 1956 election it had lost that position to the Statehood Republican Party, garnering only

* The word 'state' is avoided in the English translation to appease those US citizens who did not want eventual statehood implied.

12.5 per cent of the vote. Its fortunes sank to 3 per cent or less in 1960, 1964, and 1968. In a plebiscite directly on the issue of status which was held in 1967, the vote outcome was as follows: 60.41 per cent for commonwealth, 38.98 per cent for statehood, and 0.6 per cent for independence.

In 1968, the New Progressive Party (PNP), which had replaced the Statehood Republican Party as the main advocate of statehood, won the governorship for the first time in the island's history. The PPD retained control of the legislature. The 1972 elections returned to the old pattern: 51 per cent voted for the PPD, 44 per cent for the PNP and 4 per cent for the PIP. Minor parties representing all three stripes made up the difference.

Because of a sharp economic downturn on the island, the PIP was expected significantly to enhance its position in the 1976 elections. When the votes were tallied, the PIP had polled 5 per cent. (The pro-independence Socialist Party, which despite its name is a communist party, received less than 1 per cent.) This time the PNP won control of both the governor's mansion and the legislature.

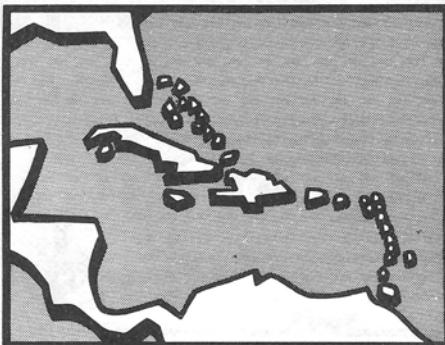
For the fifth straight quadrennial election, well over 90 percent of Puerto Rico's voters favoured a permanent union (either statehood or commonwealth) with the United States. This year Puerto Ricans voted for the first time in Democratic presidential primary elections and 80 percent of the electorate turned out in an apparent desire to participate in mainland politics. This despite the fact that they had to help pay for the elections themselves after the PIP successfully blocked island-government funding through the courts.

The mandate is clear. While other situations are not as straightforward and simple, Puerto Rico is a case where status should be determined by the will of the people as evidenced through the vote. Surely, if the Puerto Rican people indicated a desire for independence, the SI should support it. Likewise, if they vote overwhelmingly for statehood in the special referendum, the SI should support that against the likely opposition of the US Congress. Independence parties should, and in fact do, have equal access to the electorate. There have never been any indications that the elections have been fraudulent, but should that be a concern, observers from the SI and groups like the OAS should be sent to scrutinize the elections. All efforts should be made by the SI to ensure that the elections are 'free and fair'.

Such a solution is fair and reasonable. To reject it in favour of unequivocal support for a position clearly not the choice of the people is to repudiate the democratic process itself. If the free will of the people as expressed through democratic elections is not to be our criterion here, then we undercut the grounds on which we oppose dictators or totalitarians elsewhere.

Central America is an area that presents a different situation, but the same democratic criterion should be as relevant here as in Puerto Rico. Change is coming in the area; the question is whether the SI can help guide it along paths that respect human rights and the will of the people. Again, some of the resolutions adopted by the conference are not reassuring in this regard and point to a disturbing trend.

Nicaragua is a case in point. There are



We cannot expect countries emerging from authoritarian rule to adhere overnight as strictly to democratic procedure as do countries that have long histories in pluralism. Nonetheless, the guiding principle should be to nurture steps in that direction.

troubling signs in Nicaragua mixed with reassuring ones, some of which were evident before the SI conference, while others, though brewing, did not emerge until afterwards. Ignoring all the potential danger points, the SI conference warmly endorsed the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (FSLN) both through its resolution and through its reception of the FSLN representatives.

The movement which brought the hated Somoza dictatorship to an end was one that contained both democratic and non-democratic elements from all walks of life. The FSLN itself contains three distinct factions, only one of which, the Tercerista Tendency, has expressed more than a lip-service commitment to democratic forms of government. The ruling junta and the cabinet that emerged after the revolution reflected this broad coalition. Whether the Nicaraguan revolution will remain pluralistic is not certain, however.

At the time of the conference, the writ of habeas corpus had not yet been reinstated. Private citizens did not have the right to appeal government actions in the courts. The Sandinistas had formed a united central labour federation under their direction and were trying to bring all trade unions into it. Talk of elections was dismissed with the excuse that it would take years before an electorally ignorant Nicaraguan people were literate and educated enough in the ways of democracy to be able to hold a free election. The FSLN controlled the two television stations and all but two or three of the radio stations. The only independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, which had been in the forefront of the fight against Somoza, was being torn apart and about to be shut down for a month over an attempt by the owners to replace the pro-Sandinista editor.

One must keep in mind that the FSLN is not a political party. It will probably become one in the future, but splits within it are delaying the process. Before it does so, however, if it is to retain the support of moderates, the FSLN must first reconcile its military role as the de facto national army with that of a political party com-

peting fairly with other political parties. The business sector and others who called with the Sandinistas for the depoliticization of Somoza's National Guard are not likely to tolerate permanent control of the armed forces by a single party.

Despite the fact that it is not yet a party, the FSLN concluded a party-to-party economic and technical assistance accord with the Soviet communist party immediately before the SI conference on Latin America began. The non-FSLN members on the supposedly ruling five-member junta were not involved in this transaction.

The joint communique describing the meetings condemned the 'campaign of mounting international tension in connection with the events in Afghanistan, which has been launched by the imperialist and reactionary forces and is aimed at subverting the inalienable right of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and of other peoples of the world to follow a path of progressive transformation'. Nicaragua was one of the few nations that abstained on the United Nations condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Neither the abstention, nor the defence of the invasion cited above, reflected the wishes of the ruling junta. The junta, in fact, had voted to support the UN resolution. Sandinista Commander Daniel Ortega then asked for time to refer the question to the nine-member Sandinista directorate. That group is made up of FSLN members only, with three from each FSLN faction. Junta members were then told that Nicaragua's ambassador to the UN had abstained on the instructions of the directorate.

The local church-backed Permanent Human Rights Commission, which had monitored atrocities of the Somoza regime, has on its books a list of 600 people reported to have been taken away by the Sandinista security forces and who have since disappeared. The ministry of the interior has refused to investigate a possible Sandinista execution of sixty people whose bodies were found in a common grave.

The charismatic Comandante Zero, Eden Pastora, head of the FSLN Tercerista faction that did most of the fighting against Somoza, has been completely excluded from decision-making and is apparently very concerned with what he sees as the Cuban tilt of the revolution. Some 1,200 teachers and 200 medical workers along with 600 technicians and military advisers have arrived from Cuba. They are integrally involved in the \$20-million literacy campaign which heaps praise on the FSLN and which, while sorely needed, has a higher priority than rehousing those made homeless first by the earthquake and then by the civil war, than rebuilding the factories bombed by Somoza in his final days, or than fighting widespread malnutrition. The army the Cubans are helping to train contains 30,000 men, three times the number of Somoza's forces. The telephone and communications system is thought to be staffed largely by Cubans.

All of this was known before the SI conference voiced its uncritical support for the FSLN. Soon after the conference ended, two of the five junta members resigned along with twenty-five other members of the administration. Violeta Chamorro, widow of the slain *La Prensa* editor, resigned for reasons of health.

Alfonso Robelo resigned because of the direction the junta was taking. For him, the last straw was the change announced in the composition of the new Council of State, a body with advisory and legislative powers. The membership agreed to when the government took office last July entitled the Sandinistas to 13 out of 33 seats on the Council. Now the FSLN proposed to increase their number to a majority of 24 out of an expanded 47 seats. Robelo and Chamorro voted against the change, while two other junta members voted for it. The fifth member was in Africa and in a highly irregular procedure, three Sandinista leaders replaced him for a final vote of 5 to 2.

Despite these disturbing signs, the SI conference uncritically endorsed the FSLN and the new Council of State. It was left to the private Nicaraguan business community to extract concessions that strengthened the democratic forces. A series of demands, largely political, were made before the private sector agreed to rejoin the junta and the Council of State. Among them were an end to the state of emergency that gave the government sweeping powers and a law giving citizens the right to appeal government actions in the courts. Habeas corpus was restored. A new law guaranteeing freedom of the press, requested by the private sector, is expected to be one of the first acts taken by the Council of State. Pressure was placed to announce a specific date for municipal elections in 1981 and for the elections of national leaders to replace the junta in 1982 or 1983. Free trade unions will be protected.

In Nicaragua today, a struggle is going on both inside and outside the FSLN between democratic and undemocratic forces. There is the real possibility of a democratic society emerging in the aftermath of Somoza's authoritarian rule. While it is not the responsibility of the SI to direct the course of the Nicaraguan revolution, it is incumbent on it to encourage this by opposing, with what influence we have, the undemocratic forces and strengthening the democratic ones. It is for this reason an especially sad commentary that we socialists, when we could at the very least have done as much as the private Nicaraguan business sector to preserve and bolster democratic rights, chose instead uncritically to embrace the FSLN.

We cannot expect countries emerging from authoritarian rule to adhere overnight as strictly to democratic procedure as do countries that have long histories in pluralism. Nonetheless, the guiding principle should be to nurture steps in that direction. It appears that the SI failed to do so in Nicaragua. In neighbouring Honduras the SI exhibited a similar tendency. In a strongly worded resolution it deplored 'the fraudulent and discriminatory nature of the electoral process in Honduras, which is in the process of electing the National Constituent Assembly, because it is totally illegitimate in that it does not provide a realistic solution for the problems of Honduras'.

In Nicaragua the SI chose not to apply pressure toward the further return of liberties, while in Honduras it criticized a step taken toward re-establishing political rights. These two approaches came from different directions, but the end result in both was the same: a missed opportunity to encourage greater democratization.



While we agree with the SI that the people in this region should be allowed to fashion their own models of development suited to their own needs, we firmly believe that, from a socialist point of view, such models must include a commitment to democracy.

It is true that a year ago elections for the Honduran National Constitutional Assembly would have merely been a rubber stamp to legitimize the military regime. However, that was no longer the case by the time of the SI conference. In fact, the National Party, which worked with the military regime, lost to the opposition Liberals. This first step to return to democracy, while not sufficient, should have been encouraged, with pressure applied to ensure that further steps are taken before the country is torn apart by the twin scourges of right-wing repression and left-wing terrorism.

Unfortunately, El Salvador has not been able to escape that fate. And in its resolution on El Salvador the SI again chose a counterproductive course. In its rejection of 'the political program of "reforms and repression"' that is being carried out by the Salvadorian governmental Junta, the SI focuses on the wrong target. The real enemy is not the junta but both the ultra-right, which has ruled since the Spanish conquest, and the ultra-left, each with its own rigid and uncompromising ideology. The junta, which includes José Napoleón Duarte, the last civilian elected by Salvadorans before the military ousted him, and two reform-minded soldiers who deposed right-wing dictator General Carlos Humberto Romero last October, is the best hope El Salvador now has to keep either extreme from taking over and reinstituting a dictatorship.

In January, the civilians on the junta, including Guillermo Ungo of the SI member party National Revolutionary Movement resigned, feeling that the junta could not institute necessary reforms. Two Christian Democrats joined in their place after they extracted a commitment from the military that there would be concrete changes. Before the SI conference met, a sweeping land reform programme was begun and both the banking system and foreign trade were nationalized.

These actions, if they are given a chance to succeed, will go far in breaking the stranglehold of the oligarchy. There is also some slight indication that the junta is

beginning to control the right wing of the military. In early May an attempted coup, the second since October, led by Carlos Humberto Romero, was thwarted when Duarte and fellow junta member Colonel Arnaldo Majano toured a number of military garrisons and persuaded the soldiers not to join.

The immediate problem in El Salvador is to stabilize the situation so that progress on political and economic reforms can continue. For the junta to succeed in this, it must have the support of the entire democratic left. In return for this support, those parties should insist that the power of the right-wing military and para-military organizations and the oligarchy be curbed, that the slaughter perpetrated on *both* sides be stopped, and that as soon as the situation is stabilized, steps are taken to democratize.

To do otherwise is to allow the drift to continue without trying to influence events in a constructive manner. El Salvador is not Nicaragua, where all groups were united in opposition to a hated dictator. To abandon the junta now in favour of its opponents is to condemn El Salvador to bloody civil war. The left and the so-called left are not yet strong enough to win in a pitched battle. The right is therefore hoping to draw them into open, direct conflict, the likely outcome of which is the right wing taking over unopposed. The civilian-military junta is an alternative that can be made stronger and therefore more able to resist the right if the democratic opposition is drawn back in and the formula of reform is allowed to work.

While it may not have been the intended purpose, in these cases there is a disturbing pattern in which anti-democratic factions are given support. A similar result is achieved in the failure of the conference to condemn the totalitarian government of Cuba.

A series of resolutions denounced right-wing dictatorships throughout Latin America and expressed solidarity with the struggle of the people living under these regimes. Yet the conference did not see fit to issue a resolution condemning the repression in Cuba or voicing support for the Cuban people. No Cuban opposition leaders or organizations attended. Cuban arms shipments and guerilla training throughout Central America and the Caribbean went unmentioned. The Frankfurt Declaration of the SI clearly states: 'Socialists express their solidarity with all peoples suffering under dictatorship, whether fascist or communist, in their efforts to win freedom'. The Regional Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean chose to address only one portion of this equation.

While we agree with the SI that the people in this region should be allowed to fashion their own models of development suited to their own needs, we firmly believe that, from a socialist point of view, such models must include a commitment to democracy. Political democracy is not a model but a principle. Without this principle as our touchstone, we undermine our opposition to the replacement of colonial rulers or right-wing dictators with so-called left-wing totalitarians. We must guard against appearing to condone totalitarians who, under the guise of an 'independent model', take from their people the human rights we hold so dear and would not abandon for ourselves.

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BRANDT AT OXFORD

Willy Brandt

In May the Socialist International President, Willy Brandt addressed a packed audience at St Antony's College Oxford, on the challenges that underdevelopment presents to the West. Here is the text of his remarks.

A few weeks ago, at the beginning of the month, we in the Federal Republic of Germany cast our minds back to the end of the Second World War thirty-five years ago.

In that May of 1945 most of my fellow countrymen regarded this as an ignominious defeat, although in fact many of them were so exhausted as to be past caring. Today, nearly two generations later, many of my compatriots commemorate those weeks in 1945 as a time of liberation: liberation from a barbarous dictatorship which pushed its own nation and the peoples of the neighbouring states to the verge of ruin; liberation from a war that destroyed everything in its path and caused unbelievable suffering.

The feeling in my country today is one of gratitude to those who possessed the wisdom to help Europe back onto its feet, and who were generous enough to give the Germans a fresh chance, too. It was George Marshall who proposed that remarkable enterprise. That is why I suggested the setting up of a German Marshall Fund in 1972 — twenty-five years after the Marshall Plan came into force. The Fund is completely independent, and I think it now plays a valuable role in the efforts to find joint answers to the joint problems facing the industrial societies of North America and Europe.

It thus affords me particular pleasure to have been invited to deliver the Marshall Plan Memorial Lecture today at this distinguished college, at a university I admire and to which I am even attached by an honorary link. I hope that it accords with the intentions of our American friends who are responsible for the German Marshall Fund if I choose as my theme this evening 'North-South — a Challenge to the West', since this involves to a considerable degree a joint responsibility for the Europeans and the North Americans.

Though admittedly in very different circumstances to those prevailing at the end of the Second World War, we again find ourselves in a situation marked by the need for a new international order to emerge. And without wishing to draw oversimplistic parallels between then and now, the need today is again one of promoting peaceful relations and creating the basic material conditions without which there cannot be a new well-functioning and stable system of states.

Let me turn to the challenge which forms the subject of this evening's address.

It has become customary to use the geographical terms North and South as synonyms for the industrialized states on the one hand and the developing states on the other. The expression 'North-South' has thus come to be a euphemism for the blatantly unequal level of development and the alarming lack of balance in the relations between industrial and developing states.

The significance of this problem can hardly be overestimated. I consider the issues implicit in the expression 'North-South' to be the social challenge of our time — a challenge to all responsible-minded persons in the North and South, in the West and East of the world.

If we wish to raise the relations between North and South to a level of fruitful co-operation and thus to create worldwide conditions for reducing the immense gap between rich and poor, that will call for nothing short of a fundamental consensus on global co-responsibility. In these months of serious crises and critical developments in international relations that may sound utopian. Some people might even claim that it is of secondary importance — given the dangerous trends towards disaster.

I do not share their view. Naturally, our foremost task is to bring acute conflicts under control and thus to avoid a universal conflagration. By the same token, however, we cannot afford simply to return to the sterile confrontation of the 1950s (as far as East-West relations were concerned) or to the 1960s (if we look at what was called North-South). A continued process of detente and of concrete cooperation between East and West must now embrace a wide measure of North-South policies. Otherwise, we would risk outbursts of violence in the Third World at ever shorter intervals and that would eventually drag us all into havoc.

That is why I believe we could hardly commit a greater error than to push aside North-South issues until relations between the world powers and their alliances have once more improved. It would be equally wrong to revert to the habit of considering our relations with the Third World first and foremost from a strategic standpoint.

We need detente to safeguard peace and to find the strength necessary to achieve a balance between industrial and developing countries.

We need a brake on armaments to pre-

vent the world from literally arming itself to death, and also to enable us to use the resources released in this way for development purposes.

We need a just and stable international order so that people in the North and in the South can feel confident about their future and their chances of survival.

The future is not merely about what the rich countries can do to help the poor countries. It is about what rich and poor can do together to make human survival more probable. There are mutual interests in peace, in justice and in jobs.

After all, it is not only the competition for power and exaggerated ideological conflicts that pose a threat to peace. There loom ahead of us potential threats to mankind in the form of mass hunger, economic collapse, or ecological catastrophes.

My sketch of living conditions in the Third World is not intended to conjure up apocalyptic visions. Its purpose is to depict real dangers which affect life in the North. There are dangers, moreover, which raise the question whether our capacities of anticipation and imagination will suffice to help us find peaceful solutions and strategies for the world.

The population of the world will probably have grown by another two thousand million people by the end of the present millennium. Even if the birth rate drops, a country like Bangladesh — one of the poorest nations in the world — could eventually reach as big a population as that of the United States of America.

One-fifth of all people in the southern hemisphere are already suffering from hunger and malnutrition. One of the many great services performed by the President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, is his constant reminder that even now as many as eight-hundred million people live in absolute poverty.

These people eke out a miserable existence without work or remunerative employment; they have to spend their lives in primitive housing with inadequate sanitary facilities and without electricity, without medical care and without opportunities of education.

The bulk of these poorest of the world's citizens live south of the Sahara and in South Asia. Most of the countries there have a gross national product of less than 250 dollars per person per year, and in many of them the growth in agricultural production is so inadequate that it cannot keep pace with the increase in population.

It is above all a duty for us to help our fellow humans by doing everything we can to overcome hunger and to ensure that

The current crises in the Middle East and elsewhere should have finally opened our eyes to the close inter-relationship between North-South conflicts on the one hand and East-West conflicts on the other, and to the highly explosive mixture.

supply of energy; thirdly, mass hunger must be overcome; fourthly, work must begin on structural reforms of international organizations and of institutions which influence the world's economic system. Let me explain what these four points mean.

The first objective must be to provide the poorest countries in the poverty belts of Africa and Asia, which are the hardest-hit countries in the present economic crisis, with a large-scale influx of resources. There the basic conditions must be created for these regions to develop an economic dynamism of their own and start sustained growth. Most industrial countries have already promised to contribute 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for official development aid. They should do so at least by the year 1985. That would make available an additional 30 billion dollars a year.

If the industrialized states in the East and the better-off developing countries also were to contribute to this transfer, an even greater effect would be possible. The Soviet Union and its allies should realize that by their persistent excuses and references to their non-colonial past they run the risk of losing additional prestige in the Third World.

I may mention at this point that initial Soviet reactions to our report show a cautious positive interest in what we have said; it still remains to be seen whether the Soviets will move towards the 'more active participation' in North-South co-operation which we call for. I may also add that there will be a Polish version of the report, in addition to thirteen others which up to now are ready or under preparation.

Back to my remarks on resources: an energetic aid programme should not count as a burden, but as a worthwhile investment in a healthier world community.

The massive transfer must also encompass the middle-income developing countries.

This could be done, for instance, by aiding the continued recycling of surpluses through the international banking system, by co-financing, by providing guarantees, using the International Monetary Fund's gold reserves or strengthening the investment opportunities for the World Bank and the regional development banks. The recent doubling of the World Bank's capital to 80 billion dollars marks a step in the right direction. If in the longer run the gearing ratio were to be changed to 1:2, that would permit a borrowing capacity of 160 billion dollars, that is four times as much as now.

The second objective refers to the energy

sector in general and oil in particular. Here the important thing is to combine in a rational manner the need for regular oil supplies at predictable prices with the demand for energy conservation and the development of alternative energy sources. That in turn presupposes a partnership between the oil-producing and the oil-consuming states.

This is all the more important in that we must now brace ourselves for a critical transition period away from oil. The waste of energy must come to an end. We must push ahead on a global scale to invest in alternative and, if possible, renewable sources of energy. Moreover, we must do so without paralysing our national economies by abrupt rises in the price of oil. Interestingly enough, the oil-producing countries themselves have recently displayed great interest in the promotion of research and activities of their own for producing alternative sources of energy.

Another point is the need for joint efforts to use such sources of energy in developing countries as have hitherto not been used or as have remained entirely undiscovered. Due consideration must also be given to the interest of the oil-importing developing states by providing guarantees on deliveries and financing aid. Otherwise, the oil bills will thwart their growth completely.

I would only like to add one other remark: even for those of us who are no experts on finance it is not difficult to understand that the outcome of the discussion on how to guarantee and recycle petro-dollars (or petro-pounds) might be of utmost importance.

The third objective is to a certain extent linked with the transfer of resources: the need to produce more food in all those countries which have become dependent on imports in recent years. This involves irrigation schemes and the production of fertilizers and many other measures designed to step up productivity.

But what we shall also need for some time to come is a greater volume of food aid and the conclusion of the International Grains Arrangement. Such measures would make it possible to check the inflationary trends in the international markets for food products.

Our fourth short-term objective is to start wholehearted moves towards reforming the structure of the world economy and certainly of international organizations too. This applies to the international monetary system, to the form and institutions of development financing with the goal of obtaining a greater right to a say and a fairer

sharing of power, and finally also to measures progressively to liberalize international trade and to stabilize commodity prices. A start must be made in all these spheres, and international reforms must be effectively materialized in the developing countries by means of appropriate national efforts.

We also must look at the existing UN machinery, including huge international conferences. One of my Third World friends thought the dialogue — if that is the right word — was becoming ritualistic, technocratic and indeterminate. No doubt, various international arrangements ought to be restructured so that they become more effective, with more balanced responsibilities and a greater capability to develop consensus.

This is by no means a complete list of everything we shall have to face up to in the years ahead. An emergency programme is not a substitute for, nor must it be in any way inconsistent with, the longer-term needs and reforms. But one thing is certain: if we achieve these four urgent objectives it would present a fair deal for the world and one capable of removing the North-South dialogue from the blind alley in which it has been sadly stuck in recent years.

At the beginning of this year the UNIDO Conference in New Delhi again revealed how few are the changes taking place, and we must ask ourselves how such a programme could be transformed into concrete political decisions. And what about the danger that the forthcoming Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, scheduled to start in New York at the end of August, will again end in frustration? In my opinion, we should no longer rely so much on mammoth conferences: as past experience has taught us, they result in immobile blocs with little scope for negotiation.

The Special Session will decide on the agenda for a round of negotiations on what is called global strategy. What we then need is an initiative at the highest possible level so as to overcome the rigid approach adopted by various sides. There must be a clear manifestation of the political will to place relations between North and South on a new basis if we are to prevent the continuous re-emergence of fresh bouts of dangerous frustration.

With this in mind I considered it to be helpful — and my Commission accepted the suggestion — that selective meetings of statesmen from various parts of the world should be introduced as an instrument to prepare decisions within the broad

I find it encouraging that leading representatives of the Third World repeatedly have stressed their interest not in separation from but in integration within a world economy based on a division of labour.

framework of the UN. There should be no misunderstanding: ultimate negotiations will have to be conducted within the United Nations systems, but a limited group of political leaders — some twenty to twenty-five — might make a major contribution by spelling out what joint interests may mean in real terms. These leaders would not be entitled to decide on behalf of the rest of the world. But they may well be in a position to interpret the interests of a region, in addition to those of their own country.

It is my impression that it might not be too difficult to make such an attempt early next year. The Mexican President — together with the Austrian Chancellor — is about to take an initiative, and major or very important leaders have already shown their interest. In the meantime, it is of

great importance that those participating in the Western summit in Venice next month make North-South one of their main subjects. It would be most gratifying if leaders of OPEC countries were to make similar preparations.

Nevertheless, crisis management in itself cannot assure the survival of the human race. We can only achieve that if we proceed from the basis of growing interdependence between states and regions and set up long-term structures designed to promote a 'world policy'. In our epoch there is little room in international affairs for national narrowmindedness or exclusively power-political categories of thought.

Since I am speaking in a university, may I express the hope that the younger generation will do better than my own in promoting a genuine internationalism.

To my way of thinking, to encourage this attitude and to strengthen the realization that Third World development transcends the mere economic dimension — of which I have spoken so much in the light of current events — represents one of the most important tasks facing the universities of today. The research and learning and education of the future will have to promote an understanding of international considerations to a much greater extent. And this again will be close to the spirit of a policy so much connected with the name of George Marshall.

In this way the universities will make a decisive contribution towards ensuring that a world society marked by a spirit of solidarity finally becomes a reality. Without this there is no certainty that mankind will survive.

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WHERE ISRAEL STANDS

Shimon Peres



With Israel's present right-wing government having lost all credibility, Shimon Peres, leader of the Labour opposition, looks set to take over as prime minister after next year's elections, if not before.

Here he outlines his programme for dealing with his country's many problems.

The Alignment believes that the general election scheduled for next year should be brought forward, because 1981 will be a more difficult year than 1980.

By 1981, the American presidential election will be over; Israel's external debt will have risen to more than 9,000 million pounds, the depressing results of emigration and the high drop-out rate will have become apparent; the Israeli economy will have slowed down, and the social gap will have widened. In the face of all this, the Begin government has no plan and will not be able to stand its ground.

We must explain to the public what we intend to do after the elections, in the hope that we shall be given a clear and specific mandate to pursue a consistent and considered policy free from coalition strife and ministerial wrangling. Israel must have a government with backbone and with an unequivocal plan.

We shall return to power with a record of past achievement, with a preparedness to correct past mistakes, with new lines of action. The new government will be made up of experienced as well as new members, so it will be at once seasoned and innovative.

It is my belief that during the thirty years in which it headed successive Israeli governments, the Alignment distinguished itself in many spheres: agriculture, security, immigration, settlement, education and industry. No other country in the twentieth century has done as much or waged so strong a struggle as the State of Israel during the first thirty years of its existence.

We made mistakes, too. The biggest, perhaps, was in administration. We created too large a civil service, which was too centralized, too expensive. The people came to feel that the civil service was becoming oppressive rather than helpful, and that it was growing steadily more bureaucratic and nepotistic.

We shall therefore have to carry out a fundamental reform of the country's public administration, first — and most importantly — reducing its size from 31 per cent of the country's labour force to 20 per cent, as in other enlightened countries. We shall have to freeze the engagement of new employees and gradually reduce the existing

establishment, eliminating those functions which are not essential for administering the country.

The government will have to initiate a process of decentralization, transferring some of its responsibilities to municipal, local and voluntary bodies, as well as eliminating the duplication that exists in housing, education, health, absorption and taxation.

Changing the occupational balance by 20 per cent — 10 per cent fewer people employed in administration, and 10 per cent more in production — would represent a substantial contribution towards a healthy economy, since we are short of industrial manpower. In order to facilitate such a structural change, tax concessions would have to be granted to the industrial sector at the expense of the administrative sector.

Our economic deficit can be reduced in one of two ways — either by lowering the standard of living we enjoy to the level of production, or by increasing our level of production to our present standard of living, or even a higher one. Our view is that we shall have to increase production among all sectors of the population and lower the standard of living of part of it, in accordance with a progressive outlook.

We know that the standard of living of some segments of the population has in any case reached rock bottom. Families with many children are living in overcrowded accommodation; young couples are unable to find a home of their own; pensioners are unable to last out until the end of the month; temporary workers, immigrants and young people have been hit by unemployment.

As against this, the top 20 per cent of the population have enriched themselves to an unprecedented extent. One-fifth of Israel's population consumes 53 per cent of what the country possesses. This top 20 per cent will have to be the first to cut down and exercise restraint.

Those with capital will have to pay a realistic amount of tax. I believe that many of them will do so because they understand the necessity and not simply because they will be compelled to do so.

Just the same, we shall need to lay the main emphasis on raising output, increasing

productivity and improving economic efficiency. These are matters which require informational as well as administrative measures. We shall ask every worker in the country to increase output and reduce absenteeism.

At the same time, we shall also ensure that the workers will reap the benefit of higher productivity in pay and taxation, as well as having an actual feeling — not merely a psychological one — that they are really participating in Israel's growing productivity.

It would, however, be illusory to make increased output and productivity dependent solely on the workers. Without the creation of suitable conditions, it will be impossible for the country's labour force to achieve this goal. The necessary conditions must be created for enterprises and workers alike.

The prime objective must be to increase the amount of technology at their disposal and raise the standard of it. The American worker disposes of twice as much technology as his Israeli counterpart (some \$50,000 per job is invested in automation in America, compared with less than \$25,000 in Israel). It can be shown that productivity in certain sectors of the Israeli economy in which advanced technology is being utilized, such as agriculture and electronics, is no lower than in the United States.

Industry and agriculture will need to strengthen themselves to reach the highest degree of sophistication achieved anywhere in our generation. Because of her small geographical area, Israel will not be able to base her progress on mass production. Her special hope lies in creativity and sophistication, both hallmarks of the Israeli character. Our manufacturing economy must be creative from its very foundation.

Instead of uneconomical firms, new advanced and sophisticated enterprises will be built up. This will also change the face of our development towns, giving them a real feeling of progress, help and hope.

Emphasis will also have to be put on the level of specialization of management and workers alike. Today it is not enough to receive education only in the years of our youth and rely on it to see us through the rest of our lives. It would be better if young Israelis were to begin working at an earlier age, while those in the higher age

The Alignment is in a position to form a government from within its ranks which would include both experienced and new members. They would be faithful to a specific plan of operations designed to extricate Israel from her intense and continuing difficulties, part of which are the result of the defective policies pursued by the present government. They can all be changed by a different government and a new policy.

groups devoted part of their time to continuing their education.

We suggest, for example, that university students should spend only half of each day on their studies and work for the other half. In this way young men and women will be able to study, at the same time keeping themselves and contributing to the economy.

Side by side with this, higher education and technical education will become available to all workers, so that they will be able to improve their work and progress in their trade or profession.

A change of this kind in the economy is naturally bound up with very large investment, which will have to be mobilized in the world at large, in the Jewish world and, first and foremost, by internal saving within the economy, as well as by boosting its development and renewing its internal growth.

Before we can start on the path of mobilizing the resources required, we have to clear the chief obstacle standing in the way of renewing investment, growth and output — the crippling inflation brought upon us by the Likud government. Obviously, renewed growth will depend in no small measure on checking inflation.

The majority of economists are agreed that the first step, the *sine qua non*, for stamping out inflation is intimately connected with government expenditure. The well-known economist Paul A. Samuelson has likened an inflationary economy to a theatrical performance in which the people in the front row of the stalls (government expenditure) are all standing up, hiding from the rest of the audience what is happening on the stage. There is no point in trying to calm down the second and third rows (rising wages and buying mania) until the first row has been calmed and its occupants have resumed their seats.

How is it possible to reduce government expenditure in the light of today's reality? The present state budget is made up of three sections: public expenditure (education, health, housing, internal security, and so on), defence expenditure, and debt repayment and interest. There is no escape from the necessity to reduce expenditure on all three sections.

Cuts cannot be restricted only to housing, education and welfare, because, in order

to achieve a 7-8 per cent cut in the budget as a whole, this section would have to be slashed by between 20 and 25 per cent. This would simply mean the collapse of education, health and housing.

We shall certainly have to start by cutting public expenditure, beginning with the allocation for settlements (about 60 million pounds). We shall have to avoid awarding public works contracts to foreign companies and ensure that they go to Israeli companies.

We shall have to reduce the staffs of the government, the municipalities and the Jewish Agency throughout the new government's entire term of office. Duplication among these staffs will be eliminated without delay. The government will operate on a perennial budget, and no expenditure in excess of it will be permitted.

The defence budget will be examined anew, primarily in the field of use of manpower, not only in the reserves and the regular forces, but also in the ranks of civilian employees and in civil defence. The defence economy employs some 200,000 people, and we shall stand no chance of overcoming inflation unless we reduce this figure.

There may be an additional way of eliminating inflation — handing over such national and civilian responsibilities as energy and canal-building to the defence establishment. (Israel remains without a drop of oil of her own, and will have to build two nuclear power stations within the coming ten years. As a result, Jordan River water which would have flowed into the Dead Sea will have to be diverted. To make up for the shortfall, a canal will have to be dug to bring water to the Dead Sea from the Mediterranean.)

To safeguard Israel's good reputation for repaying her debts on time, we may have to devise financial arrangements dividing the payment of interest and the repayment of principal — both external and internal — so as to enable us to balance our debt repayments in a more convenient manner for a limited period. This, in turn, would enable us to renew investment in the economy. We would obviously also have to improve the tax system and achieve a realistic level of payment and collection.

Before we can get the 'front row' to sit down in the 'theatre of inflation' — in

other words, before we can achieve a reduction in government expenditure — the Histadrut (Labour Federation), industry and the government will have to conclude a social contract for phased wage and price restraint. Without agreement and full understanding between all three, we shall be unable to prime the economy. The workers will receive more Israeli pounds, but they will be worth less.

I believe that we shall achieve understanding between the three groups for a national and social arrangement of this kind. As a matter of fact, our economic plan today is based on such an agreement between the leaders of the Histadrut and the leaders of our party.

Imports and consumption must be reduced through taxation and an information campaign. Saving, investment in our own economy and exports must be increased in the same way and by the adoption of energetic measures.

The future government will need to declare a two-year 'period of emergency' for restoring the economy to health and will have to begin this two-year period by discussing with the Histadrut and industry the administrative measures required to reduce inflation and increase output.

Parallel with restoring the economy, the government will need to bridge the social gaps that exist in Israel. The sole purpose of the economy is to serve society and its aims. The Alignment is striving for a society without gaps, where labour is entitled to its reward, and mutual help and social justice represent the most correct way to elevate man.

Step by step with the restoration of the economy, we shall have to work to improve Israel's international standing. This is no less important than economic progress. No single political matter taken up by the Likud government has caused so much harm and brought such small benefit as its settlement policy.

A number of the government's settlement initiatives have been quite inexplicable. The government has still not explained to the nation why it decided to establish fifteen settlements in eastern Sinai, for example, after Mr Begin had agreed to vacate the whole peninsula.

Nor have any answers been forthcoming to such questions as: Why did the govern-

ment maintain that the settlement at Shiloh was an 'archaeological settlement'? Why were helicopters used to airlift equipment to Jebel Kebir? Why did it decide to settle Jews in the centre of Hebron following the murder of one of our soldiers there?

Furthermore, will Judea and Samaria be turned into Jewish areas simply by settling 10,000 or 20,000 Jews there — at a cost of billions of pounds? Is not the contrary the case — that annexing Judea and Samaria to Israel is liable to endanger the Jewish character of Israel?

Will the presence of fifty families near Nablus turn the area into part of the Jewish State or, seeing that a quarter of a million Arabs live there, will it disrupt Israel's future? After all, everyone is fully aware of the manifold difficulties we have been encountering in our attempts to preserve the demographic balance in Upper Galilee.

In Jerusalem, too, the position is far from reassuring, despite the tremendous efforts of the city's mayor.

Of what value are tiny Jewish settlements implanted in the heart of densely populated Arab areas, without any agricultural hinterland or industrial base? Do such settlements have any guarantees of a continuing existence?

Did not the Prime Minister himself pledge not to vacate the settlements in the Rafah area and Sharm el-Sheikh, and even announce that he intended to retire to Nahal Sinai? All we have done with the ringing — and damaging — statements about settlement is to range world and Jewish public opinion against us.

When the Alignment comes to power, it will return to its responsible settlements policy, not because we are afraid of the pressure of public opinion, but because we are convinced that it is a desirable policy. This change will have an external effect which should not be underestimated, especi-

ally at a time when it is in Israel's interest to highlight the fact that it is she who is conducting a practical peace-seeking policy.

We must strengthen the settlements in the Jordan Valley and on the Golan Heights. What is the point of harming ourselves by setting up showcase settlements in the heart of densely populated Arab areas and making empty declarations?

Simultaneously with the change in settlement policy, we shall declare our readiness to consider the implementation of autonomy in the Gaza Strip. Some 450,000 Arabs live in Gaza today. Their number will double in the next twenty years and they will constitute a crowded Palestinian Arab settlement of close on a million people — a Mediterranean Hong Kong.

What is the solution we have in mind for Gaza? And will we be able to find a better solution in a year's time?

Together with ensuring a military buffer between Gaza and Egypt and safeguarding Israel's defence needs in the Strip, and in the conditions created by the Camp David agreements, this is the practical possibility for a solution, that there does not necessarily have to be a Palestine State.

Consideration of the application of autonomy in Gaza would break the deadlock in the negotiations between ourselves and Egypt and might perhaps also generate some momentum in the Arab world. It is of interest to note that King Hassan of Morocco said on French television that he would regard the implementation of autonomy in Gaza as a great step forward towards peace.

We shall invite King Hussein of Jordan to join the negotiations on the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242. Hussein has already accepted the resolution. And the Jordanian option is the only alternative to the PLO option.

These three steps — a change in settle-

ment policy, the implementation of autonomy in Gaza, and an invitation to Jordan to continue the peace negotiations — would transform Israel's political and moral position in the eyes of the world and diaspora Jewry without harming our vital defence needs in any way.

A policy of this kind would generate new goodwill towards Israel. It would also neutralize negative political energy and enable us to return to building up Israel, developing her economy, advancing her society and absorbing immigration. It would enable us to return to the task of mobilizing the resources needed to renew economic growth not only in Israel, but in the Middle East as a whole.

Economic, social and political problems are closely interconnected. I am convinced that progress can be made in relation to all of them, even in the absence of a complete and immediate solution.

Once again, our international position is not dependent solely on informational measures in Washington, London, Paris or Bonn. Our position there will change as our position in the Middle East improves.

And there is a wide field of action in the Middle East, not only in Egypt and Jordan, but in other countries as well, including some we have not discussed very much. Israel would then be able to extend her activities in the region and be seen in a new and more positive light.

The Alignment, as we have said, is in a position to form a government from within its ranks which would include both experienced and new members. They would be faithful to a specific plan of operations designed to extricate Israel from her intense and continuing difficulties, part of which are the result of the defective policies pursued by the present government. They can all be changed by a different government and a new policy.

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**Editor
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CANADA: A MOVE TO THE LEFT

Robin V. Sears

Robin Sears, International Secretary of the New Democratic Party of Canada, assess the impact on the country of the results of the May general elections, in which his party received its best result ever, and the referendum on the status of Quebec.

'The ball is now in the federalist court.'
René Lévesque, Referendum Night
20 May 1980

There was little public celebration in Montreal on the night of the federalist victory. The country heaved a collective sigh of relief, that Canada had survived this latest challenge to its survival. But the joy is tempered by a deep sense of anxiety about our ability to make the changes which will convince young Quebecers of the value of confederation.

The federal election was a tremendous victory for the New Democratic Party, but a very difficult result for the country. The return of a Liberal government with virtually no representation in half of the country, the English-speaking western provinces, adds a new tension to the question of constitutional reform and Canada's future.

As you read this the people of Quebec may be in the midst of a provincial general election. The referendum results make it very difficult to predict who will win that campaign. It is clear though that Lévesque and his government have far greater popularity than the vote on 20 May would indicate.

The dilemmas facing Canada are not new. They reach back to the original settlement of this country, the conquest of New France by the British, the establishment of confederation, and the problems of creating a nation out of two peoples with very different cultures, language and history.

The Parti Québécois (PQ) proposals for a new structure of government on the northern half of this continent are very controversial, not only for what they propose, but because of the detail which has deliberately been left vague. Essentially, the Parti Québécois has, since its inception in the late 1960s, called for a sovereign Quebec with nation-state status. But, at the same time, it is to be associated with Canada through a series of joint bodies,

shared currency and monetary policies. They frequently refer to the Benelux and the European Community as the inspirations for this concept. But questions such as the division of shared assets and debts and Quebec's trading relationships with non-Canadian governments remain unanswered. There are those who argue this concept of association is a political pose designed to make absolute sovereignty more palatable to the Quebec electorate, but the PQ hotly denies this.

These built-in pressures have been added to in recent years by a constitutional stalemate, the growing power of the provinces in economic decision-making, and an increasing regional alienation in many parts of the country outside the central provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

While most Canadians were delighted that the people of Quebec rejected the Parti Québécois' 'sovereignty-association' proposals by a margin of three to two, the fact that more than forty per cent said yes is very sobering indeed.

Ed Broadbent said on the night of the fateful vote that Canada was at the beginning of a new chapter in its history and it was a time for conciliation and tolerance. In other times a cliché response perhaps, but absolutely accurate today. The tensions and anger of the referendum campaign need to be dissipated, and English Canadians must dedicate themselves to a new confederation in the most serious way since our country's founding in 1867.

Looking at those results more closely, most analysts say that a clear majority of those under forty supported 'sovereignty-association' and about 48 per cent of the Francophone Quebecers did as well. The English-speaking and ethnic communities in the province voted overwhelmingly no. The immediate backdrop for the referendum in a national sense was our two recent federal elections.

In 1979, the NDP fought its most successful campaign ever in terms of popular

vote, and elected 26 MPs. The Leader and the Party received the greatest support in surveys asking who had fought the best election. The Caucus elected was younger, and more western in orientation than before.

But Trudeau was defeated by the voters of Ontario and the west, in an expression of anger about the country's economic malaise and the appearance of a government racked by scandal, defections, and several abrupt swings in policy direction. Despite that national outcome, Trudeau and the Liberals received their second highest vote in history in Quebec.

Nine months of faltering and bewildered Conservative government under the leadership of Joe Clark ended dramatically on the night of 13 December 1980. The new government, clearly interpreting its mandate as being a commitment from Canadians to monetarism and free enterprise, introduced an inequitable and ill-considered budget. Despite Trudeau's announced retirement, the Liberals decided to support an NDP no-confidence motion. The government fell and the election of 18 February was on.

It was one of the more curious elections in Canadian history; one party led by a man who promised to quit if elected; the government led by the most unpopular prime minister in years — an unpopularity generated in just three short years of leadership; the NDP, traditionally the third party in federal politics, moving up quickly in popularity to the point where only five points separated it and the government in popularity — at one point Ed Broadbent, a virtual unknown five years before, was endorsed by nearly twice as many Canadians for prime minister than Prime Minister Joe Clark.

Despite the imminence of the referendum, national unity was barely mentioned. Even Trudeau, who had made the subject of constitutional reform his set-piece speech in 1979, avoided the subject like the plague. After years of moving to the right, the

Liberals moved to the left, at least in rhetoric. Worried about the NDP's erosion of left-wing Liberal support on issues such as energy policy, industrial strategy and economic nationalism, the Liberals stole NDP policy and rhetoric with a barely concealed smirk. One commentator remarked at the end of the campaign that one need not cover Trudeau's campaign but simply dig out Broadbent's speeches of the week before.

Most curious of all, the very same voters who had resoundingly thumped Trudeau only nine months before gave him his most resounding victory in a decade. The Conservative Party was decimated in the east and Ontario by the Liberals and in the west by the NDP.

The NDP once again moved up in votes and seats, establishing itself as the pre-eminent party in western Canada. Its popular vote increased in nearly every province and doubled in the province of Quebec. It was the first election in the Party's history where a Liberal triumph did not create an NDP disaster. Despite that, the Liberals defeated five NDP incumbents in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces as voters voted decisively against the Clark government. The party's 20% share of the popular vote and 32 MPs set another new record for the

NDP. Once again a survey taken following the election showed that most Canadians thought the NDP and its leader ran the best campaign.

The party's setback in the industrial heartland of Canada has been frustrating to New Democrats and is a focus of attention for the party and its friends in the Canadian trade union movement. This disappointment is perhaps balanced by the knowledge that the NDP government in Saskatchewan is more popular than at any time in the past ten years. Also, most pundits predict that the exceedingly unpopular neo-conservative regimes in Manitoba and British Columbia will be replaced by the NDP within a year or so.

The Liberal return to power was disorienting to many Canadians. It was as if 1979 had never happened. Less than a year later there were the same ministers saying the same things, led by the same prime minister. Clark's government disappeared like a twitch on the nation's consciousness.

Trudeau now leads a government including every Quebec MP save one and two MPs from the four western provinces. In part that is the result of the vagaries of the first-past-the-post method of elections but it is also a real manifestation of the

divisions in the country. Western Canada now feels it has no access to Ottawa, after nine months with a western prime minister. Ontario voted for Trudeau in large part, but remains wary about concessions to either the west on energy policy or Quebec on profound constitutional change. Quebec gave the Liberals the highest vote in their history, but their expectations will be difficult to meet.

It is clear that there will be some realignment of forces in Quebec in light of the elections and the referendum. Parties of the right have virtually disappeared at both the provincial and federal levels in the province. The Liberal one-party government at the federal level is unlikely to obtain for another election. It is for these reasons that the NDP is more optimistic about its prospects in that province and devoting more time and effort to building on the increased vote in 1980.

Despite the outcome of the referendum, those realities made Lévesque's remark on the night of his defeat very apt — the ball is in the federalist court.

Part of the backdrop to this big change in Canadian history is the country's increasingly disturbing economic prospects. New Democrats have argued for years that for a country with such abundant resources,

Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque



energy sources, and talent, we have squandered our potential with abandonment. We own less of our industrial base than any other developed country, we ship more and more of our resources unrefined, and less and less as manufactured goods, and we permit our economy to grow according to the transnational dictates.

The NDP's success in recent years is a result of successfully pounding that message home and describing the alternatives to it from one coast to the other. The profound economic and cultural nationalism of Ed Broadbent seems to have reawakened a sense of pride and determination about Canada's future in younger voters in particular.

This overview of recent events in Canadian political life is necessarily cursory. The tapestry is far more complex and contradictory than a brief review can reveal. It is perhaps more pessimistic in appearance than is merited.

While all these dilemmas are real and serious, there is a deep commitment among Canadians to resolving these questions peacefully. There is less anxiety about who we are as a people than at any time since the Second World War.

The inexplicable system of Canadian checks and balances and the complex division of powers in the country has been able to translate Canadians' aspirations of their governments successfully in the past.

The question which hangs in the air as we go into the fall and winter of negotiations is, of course, 'whereto from here?'

The first priority is to launch serious negotiations on change in the constitution and working out an amending formula for that constitution. Tied to that process is an agreement to end the ludicrous anomaly of Canada's constitution remaining an act of the British Parliament.

Then comes the question of what is to be negotiated. Since most proposals to date call for some devolution of federal authority to the provinces, and given Trudeau's reluctance to contemplate this, the task is a difficult and delicate one. Powers concerning communications, culture, immigration, resources ownership and taxation will head all sides' lists of concerns.

The NDP has called for a commitment to a formula for change and the outlines of an agreement within two years, by the summer of 1982. It is a very tight deadline but the prospect of another federal election without serious change on these issues in advance makes it critical.

There is throughout this process the problem of attitude on the part of all Canadians. There is a sense of alienation not only in Quebec but also in the Atlantic provinces and western Canada. Ontarians will not easily cede their position as the pivot of English Canada's economic and political foundations.

The question of language rights, so taxing to bi-national states everywhere, remains unsolved. But of all the prescriptions for change it seems the one which has gained the most momentum in recent years.

Many Canadians were jolted the morning after the federal election to realize that the federal government effectively represented only those provinces from Ontario east. Following the sigh of relief on the night of the referendum, many more Canadians have realized the need to reshape and rebuild our country.

There is an ironic line, coined by one of Quebec's many successful comedians and

raconteurs, which sums up many Quebecers ambivalence about the future: 'What we want is a free and independent Quebec within a strong and united Canada.'

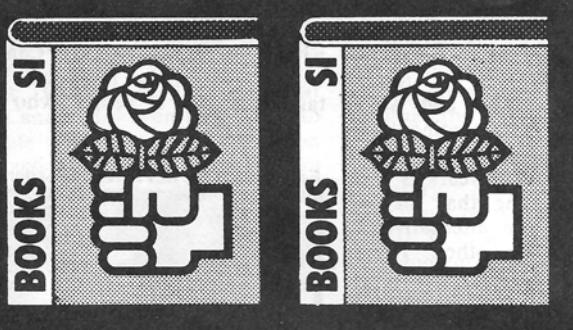
It's going to be a difficult and delicate task. But for a people who have defied

logic by building a country in a narrow strip east to west across the continent, despite the pressures from the south, and for a nation which has wrested an affluent and progressive culture out of a cold and isolated terrain . . . not impossible.

Ed Broadbent, M.P. (NDP Leader)



BOOKS



Después de la derrota. Federico Fasano Mertens. (Mexico, Nueva Imagen, 354pp.).

The 1970s in many ways brought a rude awakening for the left in Latin America. In Chile, the hopes of progressing peacefully towards genuine socialism under the democratically elected president Salvador Allende were first bled white and then crushed under the boot of the new gorillas. In Argentina a swell of popular support for the left and the seemingly solidly entrenched labour movement were sold a seventy-year-old dummy and then ferociously dealt with in the name of national security.

In Uruguay, a country of scarcely three million inhabitants, the crushing of left-wing hopes was even more absolute. In this book Federico Fasano Mertens, a prominent Uruguayan journalist and supporter of unified left-wing action before he was forced into exile in the mid-1970s, sets out to examine the reasons for this defeat. As he says, it is only by correctly analysing the past and weighing up the true strengths of the enemy that the future can be made to produce something different.

Uruguay came into being partly because of British desires to keep apart the Spanish in Argentina and the Portuguese in Brazil, and to give themselves a solid trading base. Ever since this forced birth it has had the problem of reaching real economic and political independence. Its reputation as one of the most stable liberal democracies on the South American subcontinent was easy to uphold, Mertens argues, as long as the central capitalist countries were at war with each other (thus allowing Uruguay to place its primary exports easily and to build up a national industry based on import substitution) or during the post Second World War boom years when the capitalist economies were expanding at a healthy rate.

Within Uruguay this opportunity was squandered, since most of the income won went to the traditionally rich or was used unproductively to create an absurdly large bureaucratic apparatus. Equally seriously, no transformation took place in the political system to accommodate the changing forces within Uruguayan society. With the faltering of the central economies at the end of the 1960s, things changed rapidly for the

worse in Uruguay. When the central economies sneeze, those on the periphery die of pneumonia. Or of torture.

The political system of Uruguay up to this point had been based on a power-sharing agreement between the two parties representing the land-owning bourgeoisie on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie representing industrial and financial interests on the other. Mertens is careful to distinguish between these two groups, as he does not discount the contribution which the latter might make in any future coalition of forces to take Uruguay along the path towards the 'generous socialism' he supports.

During the 1960s the left was mainly channelled into the Uruguayan communist party, which consistently backed the Soviet Union and therefore laid itself open to criticisms of being controlled from abroad, and the Tupamaro guerillas, who came to prominence at the end of the decade. They believed, Mertens says, that revolutions should be made, not discussed, and so carried out a series of spectacular actions which provoked the intervention of the military.

Mertens does not, as other commentators have done, blame the Tupamaros for hastening the military coup (which came in 1973), but does emphasize that both their willingness to combat the bourgeois state head on and the more patient effort of creating awareness within the working classes and the petty bourgeoisie are necessary for the successful destruction of the military dictatorship.

Mertens argues that, pushed to the limits by the guerrilla activity and the success of the left-wing organizations who formed the Frente Amplio alliance for the 1971 elections (in which they won at least 20 per cent of the vote), the traditional land-owning interests and those connected with the transnationals had no choice but to discard the mask of parliamentary democracy and assert their power directly through military rule. He further suggests that the military have now gone beyond this support stage and have reached a degree of autonomy which he sees as their greatest weakness.

This is the theme of the second half of the book: how to use exile constructively, and forge a triumphant return by seizing

on the enemy's weaknesses and contradictions. The dangers of exile are well known: the more remote power becomes, the more argument there is on how it is to be achieved and used; cut off from touch with their reality, exiles deal in myths of political possibilities, or retire in despair into their individual fantasies. Mertens is determined that this should not happen to the various forces which oppose the present murderous regime in Uruguay, and again hopes to achieve positive results by a patient and scrupulous examination of the current conditions and possibilities for return.

He begins by demonstrating that the present regime has no chance of turning the clock back and gradually easing the country into a semblance of parliamentary democracy again, as there is no significant sector of the population which gives them any support. They have not even got the charisma of fascism and have nothing to offer to anyone, except for a tiny group which itself is entirely dependent on the vagaries of the capitalist system internationally.

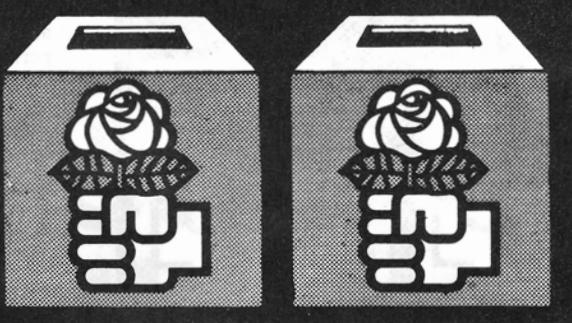
Mertens sees the opportunity this failure offers. Although he is clear that 'suffering in itself is not a revolutionary virtue,' he believes that there is now a chance to construct a Uruguayan socialism that will be both nationalist and genuinely democratic.

Mertens thinks that everyone has a contribution to make to the complete overthrow of the Uruguayan state as it is at present constituted, whatever the niceties of their ideological position. He stresses unity of action above all else, and sees the campaign for an amnesty of political prisoners of all tendencies as a good example of the way that the left can act together to achieve positive goals.

Uruguay has always had difficulty in asserting its independent existence. Now again pressures from its larger and more powerful neighbours Argentina and Brazil and the lack of any strategy on the part of its current leaders suggest that unless a thoroughgoing socialist programme such as the one outlined here by Mertens can be implemented, the country may just disappear from the map.

Nick Caistor

ELECTIONS



BOLIVIA

Siles Victory Thwarted

The Socialist International General Secretary, Bernt Carlsson, sent a message to Hernan Siles Zuazo congratulating him on his victory in the Bolivian presidential elections held on 29 June. Two weeks later, on 17 July, the army stepped in and carried out yet another coup to prevent the installation of a democratically elected government in Bolivia.

The SI message expressed the hope that the election process would 'culminate in the true and fair expression of the will of the Bolivian people and the election of the government they desire'. In fact, the substantial relative majority recorded by Siles Zuazo as the candidate of the Democratic and Popular Union — 38.7 per cent of the popular vote — was enough to scare the right-wing military into seizing power.

BRITAIN

Labour's Glasgow Victory

The Labour Party candidate easily retained the Glasgow Central House of Commons seat in a by-election held on 26 June. In contrast, the Conservative Party's share of the vote was almost halved as compared

with the May 1979 general election and the Tory candidate lost her deposit.

The by-election, in Britain's smallest constituency in terms of voters, was caused by the death on 30 April of Thomas McMillan, who had retained the seat in May 1979 with 72.5 per cent of the vote. Labour's by-election candidate was Robert McTaggart, a pipework planner at Govan shipyard, who took 61 per cent of the vote in a much reduced poll.

A feature of the by-election was the resurgence of the Scottish National Party (SNP), which had been decimated in Scotland in the general election. In the by-election the SNP took second place ahead of the Conservatives and received a creditable 26.3 per cent.

Apart from the third-placed Conservative, four other fringe candidates polled an aggregate of 4.1 per cent. These included a 'Social Democratic Party' candidate, who obtained 10 votes.

ITALY

Regional Gains for PSI

The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) made significant gains in the regional elections held on 8-9 June, thus strengthening the position of the three-party coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Repub-

licans which has governed the country since April 1980.

Compared with the previous regional elections in 1975, the results showed that with 36.8 per cent the Christian Democrats had gained 1.4 per cent and that with 12.7 per cent the PSI had advanced 0.7 per cent. In contrast, the Communists (PCI) won 31.5 per cent, a decline of 1.9 per cent.

But set against the 1979 general elections figures, the regional results showed that the PSI had advanced by 2.8 per cent, whereas the Christian Democrats had lost ground to the extent of 1.3 per cent.

JAPAN

Voters Eschew Change

Premature general elections held in Japan on 22 June resulted in the conservative Liberal Democratic Party being given a further mandate by the electorate, notwithstanding general expectations that its quarter century of political dominance was about to end. Although the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) maintained its parliamentary strength, the other main opposition parties all lost seats.

Results for the House of Representatives showed that the JSP had retained 107 seats (out of 511) but that the Komeito (Clean Government) party had surprisingly declined from 57 to 33 seats and the Democratic Socialists from 35 to 32. Moreover, the Japan Communist Party lost 10 of its 39 seats. The opposition was thus completely outdistanced by the LDP, which obtained a comfortable overall majority of 284 of the 511 seats.

The failure of the Japanese opposition yet again to shift the LDP from power, at a time widely regarded as propitious for political change in that country, can be put down to the innate conservatism of the electorate. A further important factor was that the person regarded as the LDP's greatest electoral liability, outgoing prime minister Masayoshi Ohira, died shortly before the election.



Socialist Affairs

Willy Brandt, Michael Manley, François Mitterrand, Mário Soares, Bruno Kreisky, Shimon Peres, Clodomiro Almeyda....

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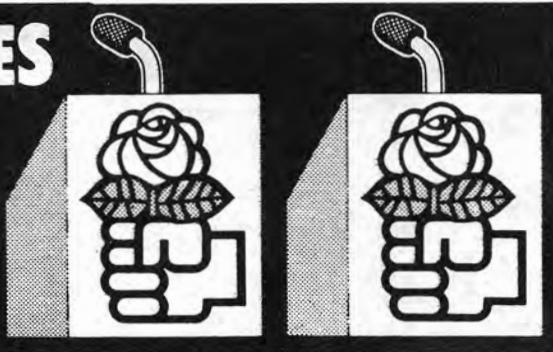
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CONFERENCES



URUGUAY

Democratic Convergence Conference

In one of the most important developments on the Uruguayan political scene since the 1973 military coup, a group has been formed which has the support of all major opposition elements. Called the Democratic Convergence, the grouping held its first official conference in June 1980, when strategies for mounting concerted opposition to the current Uruguayan regime were discussed.

The Democratic Convergence group is made up of a broad range of political parties and movements, including the National (Blanco) Party, the Colorado Party and the Frente Amplio (Broad Front) — which are the three strongest political forces in Uruguay at the present time. The membership consists of professionals, businessmen, trade union representatives, academics, intellectuals and clergymen. The group seeks to demonstrate to the outside world the extent of the commitment within Uruguay to the restoration of democratic rule.

The president of the Democratic Convergence is Juan Raul Ferrera, a human rights activist and a director of the Latin American Association for Human Rights. Its other members include Dr Carlos Martinez Moreno (secretary-general), Justino Zavala (executive secretary), Diego Achard, Luis Echave, Juan P. Eyherachar, Carlos Gurmendez, Dr José Korzernik and Atilio Scarpa.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Socialists on Venice Summit

The Bureau of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties met in Bochum, Federal Germany, on 30 June-1 July to discuss the political and economic problems confronting the Community in the context of a world situation characterized by deepening political crisis. In particular, the meeting considered the response to this critical situation demonstrated by the Venice summit of Community heads of government (i.e. the European Council) held earlier in the month. The following passages are extracted from a lengthy resolution adopted by the Bureau:

(1) The results of economic activity in 1979 and the forecasts for 1980 and 1981 in the European Community are extremely disturbing; there has been an increase in unemployment, a worsening of inflationary pressure and a growing balance of payments deficit. In the face of these trends the

performance of the German economy is a reflection of the positive policies of a government led by the SPD, which bases the fight against inflation on a strong social policy and the full involvement of trade unions.

(2) It is therefore greatly regretted, particularly in preparation for the summit meeting of the industrialized countries, that the European Council meeting in Venice confined itself to vague indications of the instruments to be used to respond to this situation. The Socialists denounce the fact that the European Council gave priority to the fight against inflation through short-term budgetary and monetary policies, that it remained deaf to the proposals put forward by the European Trade Union Confederation for concerted action by the European countries to improve employment and made no concrete proposals to remedy the imbalance of the international monetary system and reopen the North-South dialogue.

(3) We find it embarrassing that the European Council did not pronounce on the need to break the deadlock in the North-South dialogue at an early date. This is particularly important with a view to the special sitting of the UN General Assembly in August. Strong support from the European institutions is desirable for the initiative taken by Mexico and Austria, on the basis of the Brandt report, to convene a summit conference of leaders of the industrialized and developing countries. The member states which participate in this summit meeting must be able to work with the support of the Community. Only in this way can Europe give a new, practical political dimension to the North-South dialogue.

(4) The lack of initiative in the economic and social sectors is liable in the long run to exacerbate the existing economic divergencies between the member states and make a solution of Community problems still more difficult. Although the Brussels compromise enabled the Community to escape temporarily from a situation of deadlock, it definitely cannot serve as a precedent for the future.

(5) The Bureau reaffirms the position of the European Socialists in favour of the enlargement and their support for the process of negotiations of the membership of the candidate countries to the Community to proceed according to the modalities of the calendar fixed for each country so that the economic conditions and the phases of profitable enlargement are effectively examined for the benefit of all countries concerned.

(6) The Confederation attaches great importance to the contacts which the Socialist International has established with the authorities in Iran. The Confederation ex-

pressly recognizes in the Iranian revolution the struggle of the Iranian people to recover and gain an identity of their own after a period of repression under the regime of the Shah. At the same time it emphasizes that the liberation of the hostages held captive, contrary to international law, since November last year is not merely of great importance to the persons concerned and to their relatives; the interests of Iran itself and of world peace are also bound up with their release. The parties of the Confederation hope to see a continuation of the contacts opened between the Socialist International and the political forces in Iran and will contribute to that end to the best of their ability.

(7) The Confederation of Socialist Parties regrets that the declaration adopted by the nine governments at the European Council meeting of 12 and 13 June 1980 in Venice elicited predominantly negative responses both in Israel and in Palestinian circles.

Recently acts of escalation from both sides have taken place. The Socialist Parties of Europe understand the great anxiety created in Israel by the decisions of the recent El Fatah congress in Damascus. The settlement policy of the Begin Government and the expulsion of the mayors of the West Bank are endangering any peaceful solution in the Middle East. All the parties must realize that violence and terror only jeopardize the creation of new prospects for the attainment of a durable peace settlement in this area. In that context the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized borders and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination must be confirmed.

(8) The parties of the Confederation are gravely concerned by the most recent developments in South Africa and condemn the oppressive measures of the racist regime. The Western policies should take into account the impressive statement of the Organization for African Unity condemning apartheid policy and calling for effective economic sanctions against South Africa, including an oil embargo.

(9) The Socialists call for the immediate initiation of a process leading to far-reaching reform of the European Community. These reforms must involve:

- the balanced adaptation of the common agricultural policy based upon the fundamental principles of the Treaty of Rome;

- the development of other essential areas of common policy, especially regional, social and industrial policy; and

- the introduction of an effective energy policy ensuring greater autonomy and security of energy supplies for the Community; this policy should be founded on the complementarity of the energy sources of the member states especially with regard to coal, and solidarity in the area of research and industrial policy particularly with a view to the rational use of energy and the development of alternative renewable energy sources.

These policies will require an increase in and more rational use of Community resources together with the introduction of planning machinery. Far from accentuating the character of the present Community as a free trade area, these reforms should, on the contrary, strengthen the identity and independence of the Community, while respecting the specific economic situation and major concerns of each of its member countries.'

Socialist Notebook

FEDERAL GERMANY

Brandt on Schmidt Visit

At a session of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament held in Bochum on 2 July, Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and President of the Socialist International, said that the visit to Moscow by Helmut Schmidt, the Federal Chancellor, 'not only fitted in completely with the joint efforts of the European and Atlantic partners, but also complied equally with what the Socialist International has been trying to do since the beginning of the year'.

He continued: 'The Federal Republic has been shown to be true to its treaties all over the globe — in Europe and in the Alliance, but also with our East European partners. It is of some significance that the 1970 German-Soviet treaty and the results of Brezhnev's 1978 visit have once more been clearly reaffirmed. In this context the following points deserve to be noted:

— the 1978 long-term economic agreement has assumed tangible form, and the mutual interest in the political requirements for stable economic cooperation has become evident;

— in the energy field it has been established that bilateral cooperation should continue to develop, and this applies also to gas deliveries;

— both sides have reaffirmed that "questions of a humanitarian nature should be solved in a spirit of goodwill"; this is both in the interests of the people concerned and of efforts to make corresponding arrangements with other states in the Soviet sphere of influence;

— the four-power agreement on Berlin was unanimously agreed to be "an important element of détente" and once again "strict observation and full application" was promised.

On questions of European and international security, Willy Brandt continued:

'Proceeding from the mutual conviction that détente continues to be necessary and that there is no reasonable alternative to it, some individual questions were discussed in more detail.

'With reference to the second CSCE follow-up conference both sides reaffirmed their will to do their utmost to put into practice all the principles and decisions of the final act of Helsinki. On this, special importance was given to the elaboration of further confidence-building measures, which will be discussed in Madrid this autumn and which will perhaps be dealt with at a special conference.'

'There was a fundamental exchange of views on questions of arms limitation and disarmament. On middle-range nuclear weapons both sides put forward their respective points of view. On this, we should note the wording in the communique, which says: "Attention was given to the prospects

of negotiating an agreement on these questions." I am committing no indiscretion if I quote Helmut Schmidt as saying that he is proceeding on the assumption that it will come to talk, provided that no pre-conditions are set by the Soviet side. One must add though that Helmut Schmidt's proposal first of all to abandon the stationing of middle-range nuclear weapons for three years was rejected.'

The Federal Government goes on to say that ideas were put to it by the Soviet leadership which were "to be taken seriously". Genscher has informed the allies in Paris and Washington about these.

'I want to draw attention to the fact that there was generally no deadlock in Moscow, although this is not exemplified by the supplementary conversation with Defence Minister Ustinov. Tangible results were sought without wanting to spread optimism about the outcome of the talks being striven for.'

'Not only were the Vienna MBFR talks mentioned but both sides after discussing details reaffirmed their will to contribute to the success of the talks.'

On other international problems, the SI President said:

'I noted particularly that in his dinner speech in Moscow Helmut Schmidt deliberately brought up questions of the North-South relationship based on consultations at the Western summit in Venice. An attempt must now be made — without being able to count on swift solutions — to involve the industrial communist states in the North-South dialogue. The Soviet Union and the Federal Republic in any case wish to participate actively in the work of the special General Assembly of the United Nations this August, on the basis of which the timetable for worldwide talks in 1981 will be drawn up.'

EUROPEAN SECURITY

Five Years After Helsinki

To mark the fifth anniversary of the signature of the Final Act of the 1973 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, and the General Secretary, Bernt Carlsson, issued the following statement:

'(1) Five years have gone by since the heads of state and government of thirty-five nations signed in Helsinki the final document of the Conference on Security and



Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Since then there has been no lack of disappointments. Nonetheless the fact remains that August 1, 1975 is an important date in European post-war history.

'Thirty years after the end of the second world war success was reached in expressing mutual agreement on the principles of practical co-operation and balance of interests going beyond the limits of alliances and different social systems. The share of responsibility of the United States and Canada for the future of Europe gained a new and contractually secured quality. Further conditions for this important process were created by the policy of détente practised by the Federal Republic of Germany.'

'(2) If since then, during a period of dangerous confrontations in many parts of the world, Europe has remained an area of relatively great stability, this has been due, to a considerable extent, to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It created a framework which is indeed still too weak but which is however already workable for the practical settlement of conflicts, and can thus be considered as a so far unique model for the regional maintenance of peace. If it had been possible to create similar instruments in other parts of the world, some difficult crises that endanger the safety of all could have been avoided.'

'(3) The effectiveness of the process of security and co-operation in Europe depends essentially on no side trying to misuse the agreement as an instrument of propaganda. Acknowledgement of the different nature of the social systems in Europe was and remains one of the basic conditions for the Helsinki agreement.'

'The first meeting since the Helsinki Conference taking place in 1977 in Belgrade had only limited success. Too often polemic and confrontation prevailed over the will to make practical joint progress. This will have consequences for the second meeting to take place in Madrid in November.'

'It may be an encouraging sign in this connection that the governments of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany have stated on the occasion of the visit by Chancellor Schmidt to Moscow that "both sides reaffirmed their determination to continue the development which began with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to realise all the principles and resolutions of the agreement accepted in Helsinki . . . and the wish was expressed that all those taking part in the Madrid meeting should endeavour to contribute to this."

'(4) With this in mind the governments taking part should decide on whether it would not be rational to keep the Madrid meeting at least partially on the foreign minister level, and prepare a new conference of heads of state and government.'

'It should furthermore be decided what additional areas offer themselves for greater pan-European co-operation. This applies in particular to the field of energy and the environment. If it is decided that separate conferences dealing with these themes could result in progress, preparations should be started as soon as possible.'

'Particular attention should be paid to the suggestion of a special conference on what the experts call confidence-building measures. Here the French proposals could also play a role.'

'(5) European co-operation as an essential element in political détente will in the long term only result in real progress if finally military agreements are also reached between East and West.'

'To this extent there is a close essential relationship between further developments of SALT, the discussion about euro-strategic weapons and the talks in Vienna about the reduction in troops and weapons in Europe, and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Further turns in the arms spiral would further aggravate worldwide mistrust and could thus remove the very basis of political co-operation.'

'(6) The dramatic events of recent months have made it very clear that the balance between North and South, between industrial and developing nations, must become a second dimension of peace policy. Therefore there is everything to be said for including this range of problems in the Conference on European Security and Co-operation.'

'An extension of the co-operation between the industrial nations of East and West is an essential precondition for an effective balance between North and South. The elimination of the still ever widening gap between North and South is also a necessary condition for preserving peace between the great power centres and regions.'

visions relating to agrarian reform, nationalization and the principle of coexistence between the public, private and cooperative sectors of the economy.'

SPAIN

Socialists and NATO

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) on 18 June officially proposed that a national referendum should be held on the issue of whether or not Spain should join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This proposal followed renewed assertions by government ministers that NATO membership was a desirable objective which the country should seek to attain in 1981.

The question of Spanish accession to NATO is closely bound up with Spain's attempt to attain full membership of the European Community. While the PSOE has reservations on both scores, it feels that both momentous decisions should involve much greater popular participation in the decision-making process. In contrast, the government has stated that the issue of NATO membership should be decided by parliamentary vote.

FINLAND

Death of Keijo Liinamaa

Keijo Liinamaa, a prominent Finnish Social Democrat who held ministerial office in several governments in the 1970s and was mainly concerned with questions of economic policy, died on 28 June at the age of 51.

GRENADA

SI Message to Bishop

The Socialist International sent a message to the Grenada prime minister and New Jewel Movement leader, Maurice Bishop, congratulating him on escaping from an assassination attempt on 19 June. The message referred to the fact that two people had been killed by a bomb explosion at a political rally attended by Bishop and more than thirty injured, several critically. Bishop, who came to power in March 1979 following the overthrow of the Gairy regime, said later that 'American imperialism and its local agents' had been responsible for the attempt.

MALAYSIA

DAP Condemns Vietnam

The Malaysian Democratic Action Party (DAP) has condemned the recent Vietnamese incursion into the territory of Thailand and has called for an international conference on the Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea dating from late 1978. The DAP is Malaysia's largest opposition party and is a member of the Socialist International.

The party's International Secretary, Peter Dason, issued the following statement on the latest Vietnamese incursion:

'The DAP condemns the Vietnamese in-

cursion and violation of Thai territory. It is a demonstration of Vietnamese perfidy and is a threat to the peace, security and stability of South East Asia.

'ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) nations must react as one to the latest Vietnamese aggression, and give added resolve to ASEAN nations to redouble their efforts to harness international support for effective checks to Vietnamese expansionist designs.'

'In this connection, the DAP calls for an international conference, preferably UN sponsored, on the 18-month Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea, to secure maximum international agreement on an end to the Vietnamese violation of Kampuchean national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The DAP suggests that an international peace-keeping force be formed under the auspices of the United Nations to liberate Kampuchea from Vietnamese military occupation, and that ASEAN nations take joint initiative in the United Nations to get such an international peace-keeping force established.'

'Pressure at all international levels must also be applied on the Soviet Union for aiding and abetting its client-state, Vietnam, in its military expansionism in Kampuchea and Thailand.'

LONDON

Communist Appeal Transmitted to Socialist International

The text of the appeal for peace and disarmament approved by the conference of European communist parties held in Paris in April 1980 was formally transmitted to the Socialist International on 4 July by the Polish ambassador in London, Jan Bisztyga. Acting on behalf of the central committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (the joint sponsor of the Paris conference), Mr Bisztyga transmitted the document to the SI General Secretary, Bernt Carlsson, with a request that it be forwarded to the President of the International, Willy Brandt.

As reported in SOCIALIST AFFAIRS 4/1980, the Paris document appeals for cooperation between communists, socialists and other democratic forces in the struggle for peace and disarmament, to which end it makes various proposals for joint action.

JAMAICA

British Labour Supports PNP

On 28 May the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party adopted the following resolution on the situation in Jamaica:

'The NEC extends its solidarity and support to the democratic socialist government of Michael Manley in Jamaica in its decision to reject the doctrinaire and damaging demands of the International Monetary Fund. Jamaica's decision to set aside the impositions of the Fund which are being increasingly criticised by a broad spectrum of international opinion, conservative and socialist, is a brave one. As such it deserves the concrete financial backing of the developed countries. In this context the Labour Party associates itself fully with the support expressed for Jamaica at the recent meeting of the Socialist International

in Santo Domingo and calls on the British government to take a more positive attitude to the Jamaican government on its chosen course.'

SOUTH KOREA

Concern over Kim Dae Jung

The President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, has sent a telegram to the South Korean President expressing 'deep concern' over reports that opposition leader Kim Dae Jung had been taken to a military hospital after being tortured by the South Korean authorities. The message said that 'immediate examination and clarification of the reports are necessary in the interests of your country' and also requested information on Kim Dae Jung's present state of health.

AFRICA

Afro-Socialist Society

Two member parties of the Socialist International are taking a leading role in moves to create an 'Inter-African Socialist Society' as a vehicle for greater cohesion among African socialist parties. They are the Senegal Socialist Party and the Mauritius Labour Party, both of which were represented at a preparatory committee meeting held in Tunis in mid-July, when it was decided that the constituent congress of the Society would be held in February 1981, also in the Tunisian capital.

The final session of the preparatory committee will be held in Dakar in early December 1980. Meanwhile the Senegalese and Mauritian parties, together with the Destour Socialist Party of Tunisia and the Istiqlal party of Morocco, will contact other African left-wing parties to inform them about the initiative and then collect their reactions.

The origins of the decision to set up an Inter-African Socialist Society can be traced directly to the conference of thirty African parties held in Tunis in July 1975 to discuss development planning and African roads to socialism.

SALZBURG

Conservatives Discuss Left

Relations with the European socialist parties was one of the themes discussed at the party leaders' conference of the European Democratic Union (EDU) held in Salzburg, Austria, on 11-12 July 1980. The meeting was the third leaders' conference of the EDU since its formation in April 1978 as an umbrella organization for conservative, centre-right and Christian democratic parties, some twenty of which are currently affiliated as full members or permanent observers.

'Almost complete agreement' was understood to have been given by delegates at the meeting to a report drawn up by a sub-committee on 'The European Left' chaired by the British Conservative minister responsible for the disabled, Reginald Prentice, which postulated basic principles for co-operation with or opposition to socialist parties. According to Prentice, the sub-

committee found that the socialist parties of Europe varied in nature for historical reasons and took the view that there could be no cooperation with certain Marxist parties among them. He also asserted that the British Labour Party was becoming increasingly Marxist and that cooperation between the Conservatives and the Labour Party was now virtually unthinkable.

(Reginald Prentice is himself a former Labour minister who crossed the floor of the House of Commons in October 1977 after his London constituency had disowned him for his right-wing views. Re-elected to Parliament in May 1979 in a safe Conservative seat, he was rewarded by Mrs Thatcher by being given a junior post in her administration.)

The subcommittee's report recommended that there could be 'no co-operation, not even partial co-operation' with socialist parties which (i) 'advocate dogmatic Marxist views and pursue Marxist objectives and values', (ii) 'tolerate being undermined by Marxist radical groups', (iii) 'co-operate with non-democratic parties' or (iv) 'enter into coalitions with non-democratic parties in order to bring down otherwise democratic governments'.

On the other hand, 'parties of the Left which do not follow such totalitarian patterns should be considered as valid opponents and competitors' and 'in concrete cases where political objectives are shared between our parties and democratic socialist parties this identity of political objectives should make possible partial political co-operation'.

The report continued: 'Accordingly, Socialist and Social Democratic parties by their general policy and their ideology fix their relationship to our parties: competition and partial co-operation wherever they are genuinely democratic; competition for a better solution of social problems, and democratic opposition, where political objectives are not shared; tough opposition and rejection of all those parties which do not themselves reject totalitarian attitudes . . . The parties of the EDU therefore do not treat all Socialist and Social Democratic parties without distinction, but in accordance with the above standard define their relationship individually on the merits of each respective party's policy.'

The Salzburg meeting was chaired by the EDU president and chairman of the Austrian People's Party, Dr Alois Mock. Those present included Helmut Kohl and Franz-Josef Strauss (respectively leaders of the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union in the Federal Republic of Germany) and Lord Soames (leader of the British Conservatives in the House of Lords). Other subjects discussed were European security and cooperation, the enlargement of the European Community to include Greece, Spain and Portugal, the current economic position and family policy.

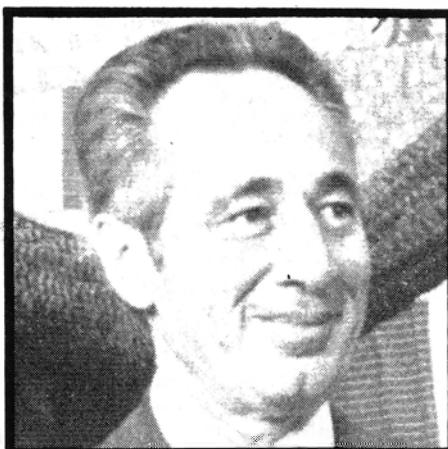
Notwithstanding its title, the EDU also has a number of non-European parties as associated members, notably the Australian Liberal, the Japanese Liberal Democrat and the New Zealand National parties. The organization's aspiration to become a truly worldwide 'Conservative International' was further demonstrated by the presence at the Salzburg conference of a delegation from the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada (which was defeated at the polls in February 1980 after less than a year in office).

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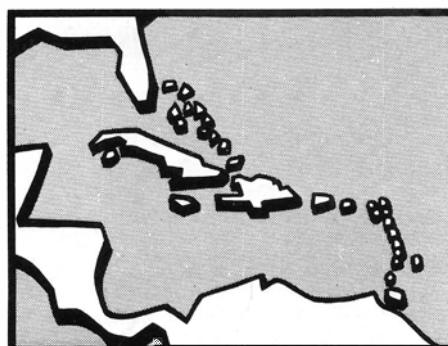
BRANDT AT OXFORD

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PERES ON ISRAEL

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MITTERRAND AT SANTO DOMINGO