June 11, 1972

To the Finance Committee

FINANCIAL STATEMENT 1971

Additional information from General Secretary

1. Salaries & National Insurance: over-expenditure £793

The increase is due to the 12½% pay increase as from May 1971, as approved by the Bureau.

2. Secretarial assistance: over-expenditure £827.

The increase is due to

a) £298,-- for accountancy fee for June-November 1970 which was not included in the 1970 Financial Statement by the Auditors;

b) £380,-- for Charlotte Erdoes, to deal with growing subscription account of 'Socialist Affairs';

c) £50 paid to Alan Day for writing, in his spare time, General Secretary's speech to Annual Conference of Fabian Society.

d) £99,-- paid for replacement during prolongued period of sickness of despatch clerk.

3. Conference, meeting interpretation & Travel Expenses:

over-expenditure £2,32[illegible].

This item includes all expenses involved in holding conferences and meetings of the Socialist International in London as well as interpretation, hospitality and secretarial expenses involved in holding meetings abroad. It includes further hospitality extended by the Secretariat, local travel and car-hire as well as flowers and wreaths.

A total of £2,232 was spent on conference, interpretation and hospitality, £783 for local travel and car-hire and £380 for flowers and wreaths.

The increase in expenditure is largely due to the unusually great number of Socialist International meetings held in 1971:

excluding the Helsinki Council Conference and related meetings, a total of 13 meetings was held, 3 of which were two-day meetings and 10 of which were held abroad (Annex B).

Anticipated actual conference expenditure was increased, therefore, by approximately £1,550;

at the same time allowances and hospitality exceeded anticipated expenditure of £200 by £634;

and anticipated expenditure for car-hire of £100 rose by £355.

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To the Finance Committee

June 11, 1972

FINANCIAL STATEMENT 1971

Additional information from General Secretary

1. Salaries & National Insurance: over-expenditure £795

The increase is due to the 4% pay increase from May 1971, as approved by the Bureau.

2. Secretarial assistance: over-expenditure £827.

The increase is due to

a) £298 - for accountancy fee for June-November 1970 which was not included in the 1970 Financial Statement by the Auditors;

b) £380 - for Charlotte Brodee, to deal with growing subscription account of 'Socialist Affairs';

c) £50 paid to Alan Day for writing up his spare time, General Secretary's speech to Annual Conference of Labian Society;

d) £ - paid for retirement during prolonged period of sickness of Reuben Clark.

3. Conference, meeting interpretation & Travel Expenses: over-expenditure £2,[illegible]

This item includes all expenses involved in holding conferences and meetings of the Socialist International in London as well as interpreting, hospitality and secretarial expenses involved in holding meetings abroad. It includes further hospitality extended by the Secretariat, local travel and car-hire as well as flowers and wreaths.

A total of £2,232 was spent on conference, interpretation and hospitality, £795 for local travel and car-hire and £380 for flowers and wreaths.

The increase in expenditure is largely due to the unusually great number of Socialist International meetings held in 1971, excluding the Helsinki Council Conference, and related meetings. A total of 10 meetings was held, 7 of which were two-day meetings and 10 of which were held abroad (" - ").

Anticipated actual conference expenditure was increased, therefore, by approximately £1,550;

at the same time [illegible] hospitality exceeded anticipated expenditure of £200 by £634;

and anticipated expenditure for car-hire of £100 rose by £355.

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In addition £380 were spent on flowers and wreaths to celebrate birthdays or to mourn the deaths of comrades, an amount for which no provision had been made in the budget estimates.

4. Conferences and Delegations: over-expenditure £2.700.

All conferences (Socialist International meetings outside London) and delegations listed under this item (schedules D of the Financial Statement) had been properly authorised by the Bureau with the following exceptions:

a) Trip from Ottawa to New York by M.S. Hoda to assist Secretariat in preparing meeting of Socialist Group at United Nations: £39;

b) Visit to Denmark by General Secretary on invitation of Danish Social Democratic Party, on the occasion of Nordic Council meeting in Copenhagen: £82;

c) Attendance by General Secretary of Congress of Radical Party of Chile in Santiago, with air ticket provided by Party: £25;

d) Attendance by General Secretary of East European Study Group in Malmoe, with air ticket provided by SUCEE: £48.

e) Participation of Alan Day at Preparatory Meeting of Socialist International Research Council in Oslo (air ticket): £78.

5. Printing , paper and stationery: over-expenditure £700

This increase is due to

a) an estimated increase of paper consumption as a result of the unusually great number of meetings (see Conference, meeting interpretation and travel expenses) by £170;

b) an estimated increase of paper consumption by publication of SINEWS by £150;

c) cost of printed Christmas cards of £230 ;

d) general increase of cost of paper and other office supplies by approximately 10%: £150.

6. Socialist Affairs: over-expenditure £583.

Over-expenditure occurred on the following:

a) Printing and postage £5166 (budget figure £5000), due to an increase in printing costs (partially offset by reducing size of later issues);

b) Translations £296 (budget figure £200), due to greater use of translated material than originally planned;

c) Other expenses (Design, Conferences, Travel & Hospitality, Books,& Papers, Stationery, Bank, Telex and Secretarial Assist) £914 (budget figure £300), incurred mainly because the Publications account covered certain items not included in the original SOCIALIST AFFAIRS budget, principally, editor's Helsinki expenses, cost of Braunthal book exhibition in Hels., net deficit on S.I. lunches, expenses at Oslo Research Council preparatory meeting.

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In addition £290 were spent on flowers and wreaths to celebrate birthdays or to mourn the deaths of comrades, an amount for which no provision had been made in the budget estimates.

4. Conferences and Delegations: over-expenditure £2.700.

All conference (Socialist International meetings outside London) and delegations listed under this item (schedules D of the Financial Statement) had been properly authorised by the Bureau with the following exceptions:

a) Trip from Ottawa to New York by M.S. Hoda to assist Secretariat in preparing meeting of Socialist Group at United Nations: £35;

b) Visit to Denmark by General Secretary on invitation of Danish Social Democratic Party, on the occasion of Nordic Council meeting in Copenhagen: £82;

c) Attendance by General Secretary of Congress of Radical Party of Chile in Santiago, with air ticket provided by Party: £25;

d) Attendance by General Secretary of East European Study Group in Malmoe, with air ticket provided by SUCEE: £48.

e) Participation of Alan Day at Preparatory Meeting of Socialist International Research Council in Oslo (air ticket): £78.

5. Printing, paper and stationery: over-expenditure £700

This increase is due to

a) an estimated increase of paper consumption as a result of the unusually great number of meetings (see Conference, meeting.interpretation and travel expenses) by £170;

b) an estimated increase of paper consumption by publication of SIANEWS by £150;

c) cost of printed Christmas cards of £270 ;

d) general increase of cost of paper and other office supplies by approximately 10%: £150.

6. Socialist Affairs: over-expenditure £585.

Over-expenditure occurred on the following:

a) Printing and postage £516 (budget figure £5000), due to an increase in printing costs (partially offset by reducing size of later issues);

b) Translations £296 (budget figure £200), due to greater use of translated material than originally planned;

c) Other expenses (Design, Conference, Travel & Hospitality, Books & Papers, Stationery, Bank, Telex and Secretarial Assist) £914 (budget figure £500), incurred mainly because the Publications account covered certain items not included in the original SOCIALIST AFFAIRS budget, principally, editor's Helsinki expenses, cost of Brandtal book exhibition in Hels., not deficit on S.I. Lunches, expenses at Oslo Research Council preparatory meeting.

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Annex A

	Budget Estimates 1971	Expenditures 1971	Expenditures 1972	Expenditure over Budget Estimates
Salaries & National Insurance	14.600	15.473	14.251	+ 793
Secretarial [illegible]	900	1,727	1.651	+ 827
Conference Meeting Interpretation and Travel Expenses	1.100	3.423	1.136	+2.323
Conferences and Delegations	3.825	6.540	4.175	+2.715
Printing, Paper & Stationery	2.000	2.710	1.363	+ 710
Socialist Affairs	4.000	4.583	3.067	+ 583

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Annex B

Socialist International Meetings

	1971	1970
Bureau meetings	4	2
European Security Study Group	3	1
Monetary Experts Group	2	-
Socialist Strategy for the Third World	1	-
Middle East Study Group	2	-
Finance Committee	2	-
Greek Committee	1	1
Resolutions Committee	1	-
Council for World Development policies	1	-
Conference of Parties of Latin American Democratic Left	-	1
Party Leaders Conference	1	1
	18	7

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Annex B

Socialist International Meetings

	1971	1970
Bureau Meetings	4	2
European Security Study Group	3	1
Monetary Emergency Group	2	-
Socialist Strategy for the Third World	1	-
Middle East Study Group	2	-
Finance Committee	2	-
Peace Conference	1	1
Resolutions Committee	1	
Council for World Development	1	-
Conference on Security and Detente in Europe	-	1
Party Relations Conference	1	1
	19	7

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Staff memorandum to the General Secretary, to the Finance Committee and to the Bureau of the Socialist International

1. At a meeting on 7 June 1972 the staff of the Socialist International heard the proposals of the General Secretary for the future staff structure of the Secretariat. The General Secretary's proposals, which were made in view of the present financial crisis, envisaged that the present vacancy for a secretary to Mary Walker and the vacancy which will be created when Susan Felgate (secretary to Rodney Balcomb) leaves in September should both be filled internally. They also envisaged that the employment of Carmen Lippok, who was appointed German-language secretary as from 1 May 1972, should be terminated at the end of her three months' trial period. The General Secretary made it clear that the proposals in regard to Carmen Lippok did not stem from dissatisfaction with her work - on the contrary, he stressed that her work had been excellent - but from the present financial difficulties.

2. Having received these proposals, the staff recalled that at its previous meeting (25 May 1972) it had unanimously expressed itself 'totally opposed' to the introduction of staff cuts to solve the present crisis. On that occasion the staff had declared its opinion that the International's commitment in this respect extended to: Alan Day, Charlotte Erdos (12 hours weekly), Susan Felgate (until her departure), Bob Fernee, Francoise Geier, Carmen Lippok, Vera Matthias, Caroline Soper, Joan Stack and Victoria Walters.

3. The staff also recalled that in their memorandum to the General Secretary resulting from that meeting they had made a number of concrete proposals for reducing the expenditure of the Secretariat and had offered full cooperation in implementing them.

4. Following from this position, the staff at its meeting on 7 June 1972 expressed its strong opposition to the proposal to terminate the employment of Carmen Lippok. The staff recalled that the Finance Committee, meeting on 29 October 1971, had noted 'with regret the absence of a German-speaking member of the clerical staff as of 1972'. The staff also recalled that the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the International had expedited the obtaining of a work permit for her from the Home Office.

5. The staff were prepared to accept that provided the work of the Secretariat is rationalised, both the present and the forthcoming vacancies could be filled internally.

6. They further pointed out that if these two posts were filled internally the staff complement would in fact be slightly lower than at the end of 1971.

7. In these circumstances and in consultation with its trade union, the staff is bringing the whole matter to the attention of the Finance Committee and the Bureau. The staff find it unacceptable that capitalist practices of 'hiring and firing' should be envisaged within the Socialist International. The staff therefore requests the Finance Committee and the Bureau to clarify the matter by confirming that the staff complement as specified above will be maintained. The staff give notice that in the event of the proposal for the termination of Carmen Lippok's employment being pursued, it will place the matter with its trade union and be prepared to take whatever industrial action is thought necessary.

Signed by: Alan Day, Charlotte Erdos, Susan Felgate, Bob Fernee, Carmen Lippok, Vera Matthias, Caroline Soper, Joan Stack, Vicki Walters, Francoise Geier

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22 October 1974

The Financial State of the Socialist International

1 Contrary to general belief the Socialist International is a very poor organisation, and its assets amount to not more than approximately £40,000 in investments (short-term loans to local councils in UK) £39,000 in the Reserve Fund and £7000 in the Chile Solidarity Fund - earmarked for exclusive use inside Chile. There is also an obscure fund to establish a socialist library, its origins going back to the times when technical assistance of the Socialist International to parties in the Third World consisted in donations of outdated books on European social democratic theory. Apart from these sums the Socialist International owns:

2	duplicating machines
1	addressing machine
1	shredder
1	accounting machine
1	scanner
approx.12	typewriters
8	filing cabinets
1	doz. shelves
14	desks
approx. 2	doz. chairs
10	table lamps
7	dictaphones
1	tape-recorder
1	broken-down telephone answering machine
and 2	ash trays

The total value of this equipment is described in the yearly accounts as 'Fixed Assets' at a nominal value of £1.

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2 Annual expenditure of, at present, £80,000 (when the present General Secretary took over in 1969 it was less than half) is covered by income from affiliation fees to the amount of approximately £78,000 together with income from investment of approximately £2000 (after tax). Occasionally, the organisation receives donations, the most recent being in 1973 from the then Honorary Treasurer - a multimillionnaire - of £500. There is also income from sales of the six-yearly publication of the Socialist International "Socialist Affairs", of approximately £1800 per annum which is, of course, set against total expenditure for this publication of approximately £4000 per annum.

3 A little less than one-third, almost £30,000 in 1974, of total expenditure is for salaries of the General Secretary (approximately £4800 per annum) and his eight colleagues in the Secretariat; 2 further persons on the payroll are the Secretary of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and her assistant (the ICSDW being an associated organisation). The second largest figure in the budget, approximately £8000, is for conferences and meetings organised by the Secretariat. Then comes the already-mentioned "Socialist Affairs", a contribution of £4000 to the ICSDW, £3000 for paper and printing materials and other printing materials, £2500 for postage, £2600 for pensions to the previous General Secretary of £1600 per annum (in appreciation of twelve years of loyal service) and £1000 to the widow of Julius

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Braunthal, both Secretaries having reached retirement age whilst on duty. £2000 are provided for telephone, telex, and cable, £1000 each for translations and travel by the General Secretary authorised by the Bureau. Amongst the smaller items are £600 for cleaning of office premises (nine tiny rooms on top of a Real Estate Agency in the main street of fashionable St. John's Wood) owned by a well-known property company which generously waived the annual rent of £1250 when their Managing Director became Honorary Treasurer of the International. £500 for covering expenses in connection with the secretariat and seminars of the Socialist International Research Council, and donations of £500 to the rather inactive East European Socialist Democratic Parties in Exile and £250 to the very active International Union of Socialist Youth.

4 The present General Secretary of the organisation has twice succeeded in having affiliation fees increased (by one-third each in 1970 and 1972) although this was accepted with extreme reluctance by some member parties and combined with heavy criticism by others of his 'flamboyant way' of spending. He succeeded also in obtaining a 10% annual increase in dues as from 1972 in order to meet part of the dramatic cost inreases caused by inflation in the UK of up to 20% per annum

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5 The present scope of activities of the Socialist International focus largely on Western Europe - with occasionally an excursion into the outside world - cannot be maintained with the present income. Should the organisation, however, wish to extend into those regions where its main task should be, i.e. Latin America, Africa and Asia, another £50,000 would have to be found either by increasing affiliation fees or by mobilising the Honorary Treasurer as a fund-raiser.

6 The present system of assessing the contributions of member parties to the organisation is without any foundation; it isbased neither on the financial strength nor on the membership figures of individual parties but on their generosity and goodwill (which is not always forthcoming). Top of the league are the British Labour Party with £12,700 per annum, the German Social Democratic Party with £10,600 per annum, the Austrian Socialist Party with £9,900 per annum, and the Swedish Social Democratic Party with £6,400 per annum - with the rest of the 37 fee-paying members contributing between £3700 per annum (such as Belgium, the Italian Socialists and the Italian Social Democrats) and £104 per annum (such as Argentina, Iceland, Jamaica and San Marino), the average contribution at present being £2109 per annum.

7 The additional £50,000 needed would be spent on maintaining regional Secretariats in Latin America and Africa and on the Indian sub-continent, where the organisation is at present not represented at all. (This is on the assumption that the regional organisation

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for Asia and the Pacific, which never got much further than being an expensive opening spectacle may eventually live up to expectations). In order to emphasise the international character of the organisation, and in view of the fact that the Headquarters are likely to remain in Europe one should, of course, also consider establishing a regional secretariat for Europe with its headquarters preferably outside the common market (where a regional organisation of member parties already exists). Dynamic incentives in the fields of publication and research are also needed, and the establishment of a press and publications' office of the International, as well as of a permanent Secretariat for the Socialist International Research Council, are essential requirements.

8 As this would require additional staff and facilities at headquarters a new office would be needed and the best solution would be, of course, the purchase of a proper and representative building, as the present General Secretary already proposed back in 1971, when such properties could have been acquired in London for no more than £100,000. Such a venture would today involve approximately £200,000, and as the property market is at a new low at present, this is the time to consider the matter and to get wealthy party members to invest some of their own funds in a 'Socialist International House' in London - should the Socialist International choose to remain there.

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1 Estimated costs of additional activities of Socialist International

		£	p
(a)	Regional Secretariats in Europe, India, Africa, and Latin America:		
	one permanent representative, office, administrative, and travel expenses of £6000 for each	24,000	00
(b)	additional staff at Headquarters to maintain contact with regional Secretariats and to service SIRC:		
	one senior assistant and one clerical assistant	4,500	00
(c)	extension of "Socialist Affairs" into monthly publication of 48 pages and circulation of 10,000 copies:		
	printing costs, postage fees and expenses for subscription campaign	12,000	00
	one additional editorial assistant	2,500	00
	one clerical staff	2,000	00
		£45,000	00
(d)	Maintenance of enlarged headquarters, including salary of housekeeper . . .	6,500	00
		£51,500	00

2 Estimated cost of new representative Headquarters for Socialist International in London £200,000 00

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE WORKINGS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The Financial Situation

1 Contrary to general belief the Socialist International is a very poor organisation, and its assets amount to not more than approximately £33,000 in investments (short-term loans to local councils in UK) £36,000 in the Reserve Fund and £1817.95 in the Chile Solidarity Fund - earmarked for exclusive use inside Chile. There is also an obscure fund to establish a socialist library, its origins going back to the times when technical assistance of the Socialist International to parties in the Third World consisted in donations of outdated books on European social democratic theory. Apart from these sums the Socialist International owns:

2 duplicating machines
1 addressing machine
1 shredder
2 accounting machines
1 scanner
12 typewriters
8 filing cabinets
1 doz. shelves
14 desks
2 doz. chairs (approx.)
10 table lamps
7 dictaphones
1 tape-recorder
1 broken-down telephone answering machine
and 2 ash trays

2 The total value of this equipment is described in the yearly accounts as 'fixed Assets' at a nominal value of £1.

3 Annual expenditure of, at present, £98,000 (when the present General Secretary took over in 1969 it was less than half) is covered by income from affiliation fees to the amount of approximately £99,000 together with income from investment of approximately £2000 (after tax). Occasionally, the organisation receives donations, the most recent being £2280 from the Honorary Treasurer. There is also income from sales of the six-yearly publication of the Socialist International "Socialist Affairs", of approximately £1800 per annum which is, of course, set against total expenditure for this publication of approximately £5000 per annum.

4 Not much less than half, almost £40000 in 1975, of total expenditure is for salaries of the General Secretary (provisionally fixed at approximately £4800 per annum) and his eight colleagues in the Secretariat; 2 further persons on the payroll are the Secretary of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and her assistant (the ICSDW being an associated organisation). The second largest figure in the budget,

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approximately £14,000, is for conferences and meetings organised by the Secretariat. Then comes the already-mentioned "Socialist Affairs", a contribution of £7000 to the ICSDW, £4500 for paper and printing materials and other printing materials, £3200 for postage, £2600 for pensions to the previous General Secretary of £1600 per annum and £1000 to the widow of Julius Braunthal, both Secretaries having reached retirement age whilst on duty. £4250 are provided for telephone, telex, and cables, £1500 for translations and £1200 for travel by the General Secretary, as authorised by the Bureau. Amongst the smaller items are £760 for cleaning of office premises (nine small rooms on top of a Real Estate Agency in the main street of fashionable St John's Wood)which are owned by a property company which waived the annual rent of £1250 when their Managing Director became Honorary Treasurer of the International; £755 for covering expenses in connection with the secretariat and seminars of the Socialist International Research Council, and donations of £500 each to the East European Socialist Democratic Parties in Exile and to the International Union of Socialist Youth.

5 The present General Secretary of the organisation has twice succeeded in having affiliation fees increased (by one-third each in 1970 and 1972) although this was accepted with extreme reluctance by some member parties and combined with heavy criticism by others. He succeeded also in obtaining a 10% annual increase in dues as from 1972 in order to meet part of the dramatic cost increases caused by inflation in the UK of up to 20% per annum.

6 The present scope of activities of the Socialist International focussing largely on Western Europe - with occasionally an excursion into the outside world - can be maintained with the present income. Should the organisation, however, wish to extend into those regions where its main task should be, ie. Latin America, Africa and Asia, another £55,000 per annum would have to be found either by increasing affiliation fees or by mobilising the Honorary Treasurer as a fund-raiser.

7 The present system of assessing the contributions of member parties to the organisation is without any foundation; it is based neither on the financial strength nor on the membership figures of individual parties but on their generosity and goodwill. Top of the league are the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party with £11,668 each per annum; the Austrian Socialist Party with £10,505 per annum, and the Swedish Social Democratic Party with £7001 per annum - with the rest of the 37 fee-paying members contributing between £4082 per annum (such as Belgium, the Italian Socialists and the Italian Social Democrats) and £115 per annum (such as Argentina, Iceland, Jamaica and San Marino), the average contribution at present being approximately £2400 per annum.

8 The additional £55,000 needed would be spent on maintaining regional Secretariats in Latin America and Africa and on the Indian sub-continent, where the organisation is at present not represented at all. (This is on the assumption that the regional organisation for Asia and the Pacific, which never got much further than an expensive opening spectacle, may eventually live up to expectations). In order to emphasise the international character of the organisation, and in view of the fact that the Headquarters are likely to remain in Europe one should, of course,

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also consider establishing a regional secretariat for Europe with its headquarters preferably outside the common market (where a regional organisation of member parties already exists). Dynamic incentives in the fields of publication and research are also needed, and the establishment of a press and publications' office of the International, as well as of a permanent Secretariat for the Socialist International Research Council, are essential requirements.

9 As this would require additional staff and facilities at headquarters a new office would be needed and the best solution would be, of course, the purchase of a proper and representative building, as the present General Secretary already proposed back in 1971, when such properties could have been acquired in London for no more than £50,000. Such a venture would today involve approximately £100,000, and as the property market is at a new low at present, this is the time to reconsider the matter and to get wealthy member parties to invest some of their own funds in a 'Socialist International House' in London - should the Socialist International choose to remain there.

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1 Estimated costs of additional activities of Socialist International (per annum)

	£	p
(a) Regional Secretariats in Europe, India, Africa, and Latin America:		
one permanent representative, office, administrative, and travel expenses of £6000 for each	24,000	00
(b) additional staff at Headquarters to maintain contact with regional Secretariats and to service SIRC:		
one senior assistant and one clerical assistant	4,500	00
(c) extension of "Socialist Affairs" into monthly publication of 48 pages and circulation of 10,000 copies:		
printing costs, postage fees and expenses for subscription campaign	12,000	00
one additional editorial assistant	2,500	00
one clerical staff	2,000	00
	£45,000	00
(d) Maintenance of enlarged headquarters, including salary of housekeeper	6,500	00
(e) adjustment of salary of General Secretary	3,200	00
	£54,700	00

2 Estimated cost of new representative Headquarters for Socialist International in London £100,000 00

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE WORKINGS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Dream and Reality

1 When Karl Marx founded the International Working Men's Association in 1864 in London the ultimate aim of this organization was a world revolution to replace capitalism by socialism. One hundred and ten years later the heir to the International Working Men's Association, the Socialist International, located in London, is basically committed to national evolution in the process of which the essential features of both capitalism and socialism are preserved. The system thus produced is described as 'social democracy ', guaranteeing individual liberties, competition, property and profit while at the same time guaranteeing equality of opportunity, social security and increasingly more equal distribution of wealth and public control of the economy.

2 The standard bearer of this philosophy, which over the last 22 years has brought 22 of its 58 affiliated social democratic, labour and socialist parties into power, is the 'Socialist International', run on an annual budget of approximately 240.000 US Dollars with a full-time General Secretary and nine assistants and secretaries, located in a small three-storey building in the main street of St. John's Wood, above an Estate Agent.

3 The organization, whose policies are based on two slightly contradictory declarations of principle adopted in Frankfurt and Oslo in 1951 and 1962, is presided over by a Chairman who is 'chosen' by the annual Council Conference and whose duties and rights have never been laid down. The Secretary (the expression, 'General Secretary' is not used in the Statute) is primarily regarded as an administrative officer who is to look after the archives, organize meetings and 'fix the complements of the staff'.

4 The Executive organ of the organization is called the Bureau and consists at present of 22 member parties and member organizations of the Socialist International in which the German, Austrian, Swedish, French and British member parties play a leading rôle, last but not least because they are members of the Finance and General Purposes Committee where practically all political decisions involving expenditure are being discussed.

5 The organization holds a Congress every three years to discuss the international political situation, to review its Statutes and to lay down its basic principles.

6 The organization also organizes at least every year a 'Party Leaders' Conference' which is not defined in the Statutes but which has developed into a most spectacular public relations exercise.

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The 1974 Party Leaders' Conference at Chequers was undoubtedly the most impressive event ever organized by the Socialist International which welcomed 11 Prime Ministers, 1 President, 5 Cabinet Ministers and one former Prime Minister. Of course, when an appeal for the restoration of human rights and the release of all political prisoners in Chile was put before the Conference, it found itself unable to support it as this could have been construed as an 'institutionalization' of the Conference. A similar situation occurred at the Party Leaders' Conference in Paris in January 1973 when it was not possible to adopt a statement condemning the bombing of North Vietnam by the United States.

7 The great dilemma of the organization is the discrepancy between principle and practice, between dream and reality.

8 Most of the constructive and creative work of the organization is therefore done in various committees and study groups to which most controversial matters are referred and very often remain.

9 A notable exception is the European Security Study Group which prepared a breakthrough in the Socialist International's attitude towards Eastern Europe. Its work led to a Resolution at the Helsinki Council Conference in 1971 in which the convening of a conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was demanded and the ratification of the treaties concluded in 1970 between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland were strongly welcomed.

10 Other study groups like the Study Group on International Terrorism never produced any result, while the Study Group for a Socialist Strategy in the Third World gave its members opportunities to meet representatives of socialist parties outside the Socialist International (including the Awami League, the Dominican Revolutionary Party and the Progressive Union of Senegal).

11 Other committees are the Greek Committee whose work mainly resulted in the conclusion that nothing or very little could be done by the Socialist International to assist active resistance against the junta; the East European Study Group which until recently was confined to representatives of social democratic parties of Eastern Europe in exile; the Middle East Study Group which in three years of its existence until this very day did not succeed as yet in reaching its first objective - completion of its analysis of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt. There is also the Portugal Committee which only came to life after democracy was restored in Portugal and the Spain Committee whose only achievement was a decision, after two years of deliberations, as to which group claiming leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party was to be recognized by the Socialist International. For almost eight years there was a special working party studying the situation of the Jews in the USSR, which did a lot of good for persecuted Jews in the Soviet Union but which, at the same time, created new problems in the relations between the Socialist International and the Arab world.

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12 One study group called the Monetary Experts Group did, in fact, complete its work within a reasonably short period of time, producing a very valuable document on the monetary crisis. But as one member party strongly objected to the contents of this paper, it was never published.

13 There is also the World Plan Council of the Socialist International headed by Nobel Prize winner, Jan Tinbergen, which held several meetings to define the Socialist International's attitude towards Development Cooperation, but in view of the lack of funds and above all personnel, the World Plan Council has not met for two years.

14 A very important innovation was the setting up of a Socialist International Research Council uniting for the first time various research institutes of member parties of the Socialist International in an attempt to coordinate the research work of these institutes on two or three subjects such as Industrial democracy, Multinational companies and Regional planning. As, however, the value of the work of research institutes and in particular of 'experts' is not universally recognized by the secretariats of member parties, the existence of the Research Council has been a source of friction and discomfort.

15 The most important committee of the organization is the Finance and General Purposes Committee composed of the major parties in the International, whose outgoing Chairman once stated that, 'who pays the piper calls the tune'.

16 This is the reality: what is the dream? Should the new Statutes be adopted by the next Congress, and this is very much in doubt, the International could emerge as a true and genuine force in International affairs, with an internationally recognized leadership and an effective secretariat. Initiative and imagination, but above all compassion and courage, are needed if the present attempt to get the organization off the ground and put the Socialist International on the map, is to succeed.

17 The fundamental problem is a certain lack of understanding among the majority of leading member parties of the essence of democratic socialism which is a total commitment towards the fundamental right of working people everywhere to define and determine their destiny free from foreign interference, free from economic, cultural and ideological imperialism and in the spirit of international solidarity.

18 In its present composition and with its present structure, allowing for the predominance of bigger parties over smaller ones, with the lack of authority and authorization given to the secretariat this is not possible.

19 An attempt is being made to bring about fundamental changes. The organization today is more open than ever before. It has developed from an instrument of the cold war into an independent body between East and West. It is now up to all member parties of the Socialist International to accept the challenge and to meet the expectations of the suppressed, persecuted and exploited people everywhere.

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WORLD FEDERATION
OF FREE LATVIANS

AMERICAN LATVIAN ASSOCIATION
LATVIAN FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
EUROPEAN COMMITTEE FOR LATVIAN FREEDOM
LATVIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION IN CANADA
LATVIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

MEMORANDUM OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE LATVIANS IN CONNECTION WITH THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION CONFERENCE.

Part II.
Humanitarian Aspects and Cultural Cooperation.

SUITE 913 SHOREHAM BUILDING, 806 15th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 U.S.A. Tel.202/347-8064

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Fondazione Alfred Lewin

MEMORANDUM OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE LATVIANS IN CONNECTION WITH THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION CONFERENCE.

Part II.
Humanitarian Aspects and Cultural Cooperation.

In acknowledgment of the tasks undertaken by the European Security and Cooperation Conference in order to promote free travel and the free exchange of ideas and information, the World Federation of Free Latvians wishes to draw your attention to certain humanitarian liberalizations which, if agreed to in principle and in practice by the Soviet Union, would facilitate the life of the individual in Latvia as well as in the other militarily occupied Baltic countries.

The changes suggested below would also serve détente and international understanding. Your delegation can contribute to these causes by favoring the following proposals in the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

Emigration. The right to free emigration and the emigrant's right to return to his own country should be recognized in principle and guaranteed in practice.

Travel. Permission to travel abroad should be granted to entire families and not to only one family member, as practiced today. Persons with no relatives abroad should also have the possibility of foreign travel. In group tours, the individual member should be allowed to leave the group in order to sightsee on his own.

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Scientists should be permitted to take part in international conferences at their own discretion.

Artists and writers should have the right to freely make appearances abroad, without the intermediacy of the so-called Cultural Relations Committee.

The enormous charge of 400 rubles for a foreign, i.e. travel passport should be abolished or, at the very least, radically reduced.

Foreigners should be permitted to travel freely in the U.S.S.R. and to associate with Soviet citizens without risking reprisals from the Soviet authorities.

The restrictions imposed on foreign journalists forbidding, among other things, free travel to the Baltic republics should be annulled.

Gift parcels. The high duty on gift packages from the West and from East European countries should be abolished or at least lowered. Those interned in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric institutions should also have the right to receive such packages. Postal restrictions of other kinds should be abolished, especially the ban on receiving medicines and medical aids and apparatus recognized in the West.

The free flow of literature. The free flow of books, newspapers and periodicals as well as records, tapes and microfilms, political or otherwise, should not be impeded. In particular, the prohibition to carry or send abroad publications dating from the period of the Baltic states' independence (1918 - 1940) should be abolished. The procurement and circulation of photocopies and microfilms of these publications should be legalized. The same is to be said for photocopies and microfilms of archive material solicited for scholastic purposes, as stipulated in the pertinent international regulations.

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Radio broadcasts. Interference with foreign radio broadcasts, including Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, should cease.

Copyrighting. Copyright laws should also pertain to persons living abroad. Royalties should be transferred to them abroad if they so desire, and the stipulation that, for example, an author must receive and spend his royalties only in the country of publication, should be abolished.

Political prisoners. Political prisoners should not have to serve their term outside the borders of their own country.

Geneva, December 3, 1973

Uldis Grava
President

Imants Freimanis
Vice-president

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

ELENCO DEI DELEGATI STRANIERI

L'Internazionale Socialista sarà rappresentato dal suo segretario ALBERT CARTHY.

Per il Partito Socialdemocratico Tedesco:		Dr. Hermann Veit.
		Dr. Fritz Wenzel
" " "	Socialista Austriaco :	Dr. Bruno Pittermann, Vice-cancelliere dell'Austria
" " "	Laburista Inglese:	On. James Griffith, leader parlamentare
" " "	Laburista Olandese:	On. Van der Goes van Naters
" " "	MAPAI , Israele,	Hugo Moratt, segretario internazionale
" " "	Partito Socialista Spagnolo in Esilio:	Rodolfo Llopis, segretario generale
" " "	Partito Socialista Prajax India	on. Nath Pai

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§a

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (MARCH 1982)

Full Member Parties

1. Argentine Popular Socialist Party: founded 1890s; joined SI 1951; membership 1,000; no recent elections; currently one of many strands of country's socialist movement - SI Bureau has recommended suspension of membership pending clarification of position.

2. Australian Labor Party: founded 1901; joined SI 1966; membership 50,000; 45.4% in October 1980 elections; in opposition since 1975; institutional trade union links.

3. Austrian Socialist Party: founded 1889; joined SI 1951; membership 750,000; 51% in May 1980 elections; sole ruling party since 1970, previously in coalition 1947-66.

4. Barbados Labour Party: founded 1938; joined SI 1978; membership 10,000; 52.2% in June 1981 elections; sole ruling party since 1976, previously in government 1954-61; moderate formation with trade union base.

5. Belgian Socialist Party (PS/SP): originally founded 1885, split into ~~with~~ French-speaking (PS) and Flemish (SP) parties 1978; joint SI 1951; membership 135,000 (PS), 130,000 (SP); PS 12.7%, SP 12.4% in November 1981 elections; both parties currently in opposition, having regularly participated in post-war centre-left governments; the two parties participate as joint member of SI.

6. Canadian New Democratic Party: founded 1961 (from former CCF est. 1933); membership 116,000; 20% in October 1980 elections; never in federal government; institutional trade union links.

joint SI (as CCF) 1951;

7. Chilean ~~National~~ Radical Party: founded early 1900s; joined SI 1969; membership 100,000 (1973); right-wing component of Allende's Popular Unity coalition 1970-73, now part of exile opposition.

8. Costa Rica National Liberation Party: founded 1951; joined SI 1966; membership 360,000; 58% in February 1982 elections; normally ruling party, moderate social democratic formation with strong union base.

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9. Danish Social Democratic Party: founded 1871; joined SI 1951; membership 125,000; 32.9% in December 1981 elections; country's dominant party, in many post-war governments, continuously since 1975.

10. Dominican Revolutionary Party: founded 1939; joined SI 1976; membership 400,000; 50.3% in May 1978 elections; ruling party since 1978; formerly revolutionary in outlook.

11. Ecuador Democratic Left: founded 1977; joined SI 1980; membership 60,000; 16.6% in April 1979 elections; part of winning coalition in 1979 elections but has maintained distance from government since then.

12. El Salvador National Revolutionary Movement: founded early 1970s; joined SI 1978; membership largely underground; has boycotted recent elections, currently a component of opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front.

13. Finnish Social Democratic Party: founded 1899; joined SI 1951; membership 100,000; 24% in March 1979 elections; in many post-war governments and currently leads centre-left coalition (including Communists).

14. French Socialist Party: founded 1905 (as SFIO); joined SI 1951; membership 200,000; 37% in first round of June 1981 parliamentary elections; returned to power in 1981 landslide at head of left-wing coalition (including Communists).

15. German Social Democratic Party: founded 1863; joined SI 1951; membership 1,000,000; 42.9% in October 1980 elections; has headed coalition with Free Democrats since 1969 after three years of coalition with Christian Democrats.

16. Great Britain-Labour Party: founded 1900; joined SI 1951; membership 300,000; 37% in May 1979 elections; in government 1945-51, 1964-70, 1974-79, currently in opposition; institutional links with trade unions.

17. Grenada New Jewel Movement: founded 1972; joined SI 1980;

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membership 2,000; seized power in March 1979 and currently forms People's Revolutionary Government.

18. Guatemala Democratic Socialist Party: founded 1979; joined SI 1980; membership 2,000; boycotted March 1982 elections; forms part of left-wing front seeking to overthrow military regime.

19. Icelandic Social Democratic Party: founded 1916; joined SI 1951; membership 15,000; 17.4% in December 1979 elections; has participated in several coalitions, currently in opposition.

20. Irish Labour Party: founded 1912; joined SI 1969; membership 6,000; 9.1% in February 1982 elections; Ireland's third party, has participated in several post-war coalitions, currently in opposition; close links with trade unions.

21. Israel Labour Party: founded (as Mapai) in 1930s, in present form 1968; joined SI 1951; membership 300,000; 36.6% in June 1981 elections (as part of Labour Alignment); ruling party 1948-77, in opposition since; close links with unions.

22. Italian Social Democratic Party: founded 1947; joined SI 1951; membership 200,000; 3.8% in June 1979 elections; has regularly participated in post-war coalitions, currently in five-party centre-left coalition.

23. Italian Socialist Party: founded 1892; joined SI 1969; membership 350,000; 9.8% in June 1979 elections; has participated in several centre-left coalitions since mid-1960s, most recently since April 1980.

24. Jamaica People's National Party: founded 1938; joined SI 1952; membership 100,000; 42.6% in October 1980 elections; in power 1955-62 and 1972-77, currently in opposition; institutional links with trade unions.

25. Japan Democratic Socialist Party: founded 1960; joined SI 1961; membership 40,000; 6.6% in June 1980 elections; moderate party never yet in government.

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26. Japan Socialist Party: founded 1946; joined SI 1951; membership 45,000; 19.3% in June 1980 elections; after brief post-war coalition, in opposition since 1948; strong links with trade unions.

27. Lebanon Progressive Socialist Party: founded 1948; joined SI XXXX 1980; membership 50,000; no recent electoral participation; currently part of Moslem leftist/Palestinian National Front; based in Druse community.

28. Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party: founded 1902; joined SI 1951; membership 6,000; 24.3% in June 1979 elections; has participated in several post-war coalitions, but in opposition since 1979.

29. Malaysian Democratic Action Party: founded 1966; joined SI 1969; membership 12,000; 19% in June 1978 elections; a predominantly Chinese opposition party.

30. Malta Labour Party: founded 1920; joined SI 1955; membership 20,000; 49.1% in December 1981 elections; sole ruling party since 1971; institutional links with trade unions.

31. Mauritius Labour Party: founded 1945; joined SI 1966; membership 30,000; as part of Independence Party won 28 of 70 seats in December 1976 elections; has led government since independence in 1968, currently in broad coalition with Social Democratic Party.

32. Netherlands Labour Party: founded 1946; joined SI 1951; membership 125,000; 28.3% in May 1981 elections; has participated in several post-war governments, most recently in centre-left coalition since September 1981.

33. New Zealand Labour Party: founded 1916; joined SI 1952; membership 240,000; 38.5% in November 1981 elections; in opposition since 1975; institutional ~~&~~ links with trade unions.

34. Northern Ireland Labour Party: founded 1920s; joined SI 1972; membership 2,000; 1.4% in May 1975 Convention elections;

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first and only non-Unionist party in a NI government (1971), predominantly Protestant; has theoretical links with NI trade unions.

35. Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party: founded 1970; joined SI 1972; membership 20,000; 23.7% in May 1975 Convention elections; predominantly Catholic, supports eventual unification of Ireland.

36. Norwegian Labour Party: founded 1887; joined SI 1951; membership 160,000; 37.1% in September 1981 elections; predominant Norwegian party since 1930s, currently in opposition; close links with trade unions.

37. Paraguay Revolutionary Febrerista Party: founded 1936; joined SI 1966; membership 3,000; has boycotted recent elections; in opposition to Stroessner regime.

38. Portuguese Socialist Party: founded 1964; joined SI 1972; membership 120,000; 28% in December 1979 elections; led several post-1974 Revolution governments, in opposition since 1979.

39. San Marino Unitary Socialist Party: founded 1975 by left-wing faction of Independent Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI); PSDI joined SI 1961; membership 800; won 7 of 60 seats in May 1978 elections; since 1978 in left-wing coalition government (including Communists).

40. Senegal Socialist Party: founded 1958; joined SI 1976; membership 1,300,000; 82.5% in February 1978 elections; ruling party since independence.

41. Spanish Socialist Workers' Party: founded 1879; joined SI 1951 (then in exile); membership 200,000; 29% in March 1979 elections; main opposition party in post-Franco era; close links with unions.

42. Swedish Social Democratic Party: founded 1889; joined SI 1951; membership 1,130,000; 43.3% in September 1979 elections; leading party since 1920s, in government 1932-76, in opposition since 1976.

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43. Swiss Social Democratic Party: founded 1870; joined SI 1951; membership 60,000; 24.9% in October 1979 elections; has participated in four-party coalition since 1959.

44. Turkish Republican People's Party: founded 1923 (by Kemal Atatürk); joined SI 1978; membership 450,000; 41.4% in June 1977 elections; continuously in power until 1950, in periodic coalitions therafter, currently in opposition to military regime which seized power September 1980.

45. Upper Volta Progressive Front: founded 1979; joined SI 1980; membership 5,000; no electoral participation as such; in opposition to military regime established November 1980.

46. USA Democratic Socialist Organising Committee: founded 1973; joined SI 1976; membership 3,500; works as left-wing pressure group within Democratic Party.

47. USA Social Democrats: founded 1901 (as Socialist Party); joined SI 1951; membership 3,000; social democratic pressure group within Democratic Party.

Consultative Parties

48. Netherlands Antilles (Aruba) People's Electoral Movement: founded 1971; joined SI 1980; membership 9,000; won five of 20 seats in central parliament in June 1979 elections; dominant party in Aruba, supports Aruban independence, left central goverment September 1981.

49. Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao) New Antilles Movement: founded 1979; joined SI 1980; membership 5,000; won seven of 20 seats in central parliament in June 1979; heads current central government, supports Antilles unity.

50. Cyprus Socialist Party (EDEK): founded 1969; joined SI 1976; membership 3,000; 8.2% in May 1981 elections; in opposition, supports independence of Cyprus.

51. Israel United Workers' Party (Mapam): founded 1948; joined SI 1980;

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membership 10,000; has contested recent elections jointly with Labour Party; left-wing component of Labour Alignment, currently in opposition.

52. Venezuela Democratic Action: founded 1941; joined SI 1966; membership 1,250,000; 43.3% in December 1978 elections; Venezuela's predominant party, in opposition since 1978; strong trade union base.

53. Venezuela People's Electoral Movement: founded 1967; joined SI 1969; membership 100,000; 1.1% in December 1978 elections; in opposition since formation by left-wing elements of Democratic Action.

Exiled Consultative Parties

54. Bulgarian Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1951.
55. Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1951.
56. Estonian Socialist Party: joined SI 1955.
57. Hungarian Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1951.
58. Latvian Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1955.
59. Lithuanian Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1955.
60. Polish Socialist Party: joined SI 1951.
61. Romanian Social Democratic Party: joined SI 1963.
62. Yugoslav Socialist Party: joined SI 1951.

Fraternal Organisations

International Union of Socialist Youth

Socialist International Women

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International

Associated Organisations

1. Asia - Pacific Socialist Organisation
2. Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community
3. International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press
4. International Jewish Labor Bund

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5. International Labour Zionist Movement
6. International Union of Social Democratic Teachers
7. Labour Sports International
8. Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe

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I N D E X

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M E M B E R P A R T I E S

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Deputy Leader : Lionel Bowen
Federal President : N.L.C. Batt
National Secretary : David Combe

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M E M B E R P A R T I E S

A U S T R I A

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Leader : J.M.G. Adams
Deputy Leader : H.B. St. John
Chairman : Victor Johnson
General Secretary : Hashim Degia
Treasurer : Randolph Field

B E L G I U M

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International Secretary : Oscar Debunne

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MEMBER PARTIES

CANADA

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Chairman : Alvin Hewitt
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International Secretary : Luis Ayala

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Leader/Chairman : Jose Figueres
General Secretary : Oscar Arias Sanchez

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General Secretary : Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen

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General Secretary : Jose Francisco Pena Gomez
International Secretary : Emilio Ludovinio Fernandez

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Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR)
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29 Av. Norte 1118
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Deputy Leader : Raul Valiente Argueta
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General Secretary : Ulf Sundqvist
Head of Planning Department : Paavo Lipponen
International Secretary : Pentti Vaeaenaenen

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Deputy Chairmen : Helmut Schmidt, Hans-Juergen Wischnewski
Treasurer : Friedrich Halstenberg
General Secretary : Egon Bahr
International Secretary : Hans-Eberhard Dingels

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MEMBER PARTIES

GREAT BRITAIN

The Labour Party
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Deputy Leader :	Michael Foot
General Secretary :	Ron Hayward
Chairman :	Lena Jeger
Vice-Chairman :	Alex Kitson
Treasurer :	Norman Atkinson
Chairman of International Committee :	Joan Lestor
International Secretary :	Jenny Little

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Vice-Chairman :	Kjartan Johannsson
Secretary :	Bjoern Jonsson

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Deputy Leader : Michael O'Leary
Chairman : Michael D. Higgins
Vice-Chairman : Pat Carroll
General Secretary : Brendan Halligan
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General Secretary : Haim Bar-Lev
Chairman of International Committee : Michael Harish
International Secretary : Israel Gat

ITALY

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Italian Social Democratic Party
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Secretary : Pietro Longo
Vice-Secretary : Michele di Giesi
International Secretary : Mauro Ferri

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MEMBER PARTIES

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Italian Socialist Party
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President : Michael Manley
Vice-Presidents : P.J. Patterson
Anthony Spaulding

Chairman :
Deputy Chairman : Dudley Thompson
General Secretary : D.K. Duncan

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Vice-Chairmen : Tadashi Kodaira, Masao Nakamura
General Secretary : Saburo Tsukamoto
Director of International Bureau : Roo Watanabe
Acting International Secretary : Koji Kimura

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MEMBER PARTIES

JAPAN

Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ)
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Leader : Kim Chul
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General Secretary and International Secretary : Park Chang Kyun

LUXEMBOURG

Letzeburger Sozialistesch Arbechter Partei (LSAP/POSL)
Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Luxembourgeois
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party
Casino Syndical
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Tel: 484420
Cables: POSL LUXEMBOURG

President : Lydie Schmit
Vice-Presidents : Robert Krieps, Aly Schroeder
General Secretary : Robert Goebbels
Treasurer : Ernest Hansen

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MEMBER PARTIES

MALAYSIA

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Chairman : Chen Man Hin
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Malta Labour Party
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Deputy Leader (government affairs): Joe Cassar
Deputy Leader (party affairs) : Joe Brincat
President : Leo Brincat
Vice-President : Renald Dalli
International Secretary : Alex Sceberras Trigona
Financial Secretary : Albert Busuttil
Propaganda Secretary : Joe Debono Grech
Secretary : Dominic Fenech

MAURITIUS

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Executive Secretary :	Hector Oqueli

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MEMBER PARTIES

NETHERLANDS

Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
Dutch Labour Party
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Tel: 125811
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Leader : Joop den Uyl
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NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand Labour Party
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Leader : Bill Rowling
President : Jim Anderton
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NORTHERN IRELAND

Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP)
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Belfast BT1 2ED
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Tel: 38991

Leader :
Chairman : Paddy Grimes
Vice-Chairman and International Secretary : Ciaran McAteer
Treasurer : William Copley
Secretary : Neil Faris

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MEMBER PARTIES

NORTHERN IRELAND

Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)
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Leader : John Hume
Chairman : Brid Rodgers
International Secretary : Denis Haughey
General Secretary : Dan McAreavy

NORWAY

Det Norske Arbeiderparti (DNA)
Norwegian Labour Party
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Chairman : Reiulf Steen
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Secretary of International Committee : Thorvald Stoltenberg
International Secretary : Leonard Larsen

PORTUGAL

Partido Socialista (PS)
Socialist Party
Rua da Emenda 46
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Tel: 326175
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Chairman : Antonio Macedo
General Secretary : Mario Soares
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SAN MARINO

Partito Socialista Unitario
Unitary Socialist Party
Via Cella Bella
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Secrétaire aux relations internationales du Parti socialiste
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General Secretary : Leopold S. Senghor
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MEMBER PARTIES

SPAIN

Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
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Swedish Social Democratic Party
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Parti Socialiste Suisse
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TURKEY

Republican People's Party (CHP)
Genel Merkezi
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Tel: 28 31 20

Chairman : Bulent Ecevit
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USA

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)
853 Broadway, Room 617
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Cables: SOCIALISTS NEWYORK

National Chairman : Michael Harrington
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Social Democrats USA (SDUSA)
275 7th Avenue
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National Chairman : Bayard Rustin
Executive Director : Carl Gershman

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C O N S U L T A T I V E P A R T I E S

C Y P R U S

EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
23 Constantine Paleologou Avenue
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Telex: 3182 EDEK
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General Secretary : Takis Hadjidemetriou
International Secretary : Barbara Lyssarides

P A R A G U A Y

Partido Revolucionario Febrerista
Febrerista Revolutionary Party

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First Vice-President : Euclides Acevedo
Second Vice-President : Oscar Acuna Torres
General Secretary : Ricardo Lugo Rodriguez
Treasurer : Ana Maria Scappini
Organisational Secretary : Brahen Haidar Lopez
International Secretary : Manuel Rivarola

V E N E Z U E L A

Acción Democrática (AD)
Democratic Action
Casa Nacional Accion Democratica
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Caracas
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Telex: 21345 AD VC

President : Gonzalo Barrios
General Secretary : Alejandro Izaguirre
International Secretary : Enrique Tejera Paris

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VENEZUELA

Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo (MEP)
People's Electoral Movement
Casa Nacional del MEP
El Paraiso
Calle Bolivar
Quinta la Trinidad
Caracas
Venezuela

Chairman :	Luis Beltran Prieto Figueroa
General Secretary :	Jesus Paz Galarraga
International Secretary :	Orestes di Giacomo

Consultative parties in exile belonging to the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe (SUCEE) :

BULGARIA

Blgarska Sozialdemokraticheska Partia
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
Stephensongasse 1/3/17
A-1210 Vienna
Austria
Tel: 3843224

Chairman :	Stefan Tabakoff
Vice-Chairmen :	Milka Simeonova-Krauss
	Michail Ivanov
Treasurer :	Assen Drandarewsky
Administrative Secretary :	Franciska Nejtscheva

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C O N S U L T A T I V E P A R T I E S (SUCEE)

C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

Ceskoslovenska Socialni Demokracie v Exilu
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
c/o Miroslav Tucek
Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv
Neumarkt 28
8001 Zurich
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Tel: (051) 327644

Chairman : Vilem Bernard
Vice-Chairman : Karel Hruby
Secretary : Miroslav Tucek

E S T O N I A

Eesti Sotsialistliku Partei
Estonian Socialist Party
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Chairman : Johannes Mihkelson
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C O N S U L T A T I V E P A R T I E S (SUCEE)

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Latvijas Socialdemokratiska Stradnieku Partija
Social Democratic Party of Latvia
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L I T H U A N I A

Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partijos Uzsienio Delegatura
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P O L A N D

Polska Partia Socjalistyczna
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Chairman : Arthur Szewczyk
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Socijalisticka Stranka Jugoslavije
Yugoslav Socialist Party
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722 25 Vaesteras
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General Secretary : Marko Milunovic
International Secretary : Jovan Vuletic

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F R A T E R N A L O R G A N I S A T I O N S

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Vice-Chairmen : Nava Arad, Anna Demuth, Caroline Diop, Enrica Lucarelli, Helvi Saarinen, Sofia Sanchez-Baret de Polanco

Secretary : Vera Matthias

I U S Y

International Union of Socialist Youth
Neustiftgasse 3
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Tel: 93 12 67
Telex: 74198 SPZENT
Cables: IUSY WIEN

President : Hilary Barnard
Vice-Presidents : Winston Arnaud, Enrico Boselli, Josef Cap, Goeran Faerm, Federico Manero

General Secretary : Jukka Oas

* * * *

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APSO

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation
C.P.O. Box 2045
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CSIT

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Labour Sports International
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President : Joop Meijer
General Secretary : Maurice Deveen

CSPEC

Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community
22 Place de la Justice
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Belgium Tel: 512 5121

President : Robert Pontillon
Vice-Presidents : Karen Dahlerup, Bruno Friedrich, Sicco Mansholt, Karel van Miert

General Secretary : Manfred Michel
Deputy General Secretary : Dick Toornstra

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Karel van Miert

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I F M / S E I

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International
Place du Samedi 13
B-1000 Brussels
Belgium — Tel: 217 9786

President : Nic Nilsson

Vice-Presidents : Hildegard Fuhrmann, Katia Hadjidimetriou, Denise Iket, Even Rusten

General Secretary : Jacqui Cottyn

I F S D P

International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press
Godesberger Allee 108-112
D-5300 Bonn 2 — Tel: 37 66 11 / 37 45 90
Federal Republic of Germany — Telex: 885603 NVV D

Secretary :

I U S D T

International Union of Social Democratic Teachers
Les Garennes
62170 Montreuil-sur-Mer
France — Tel: (21) 06 08 27

President : Claude Wilquin
Vice-President: Goete Rudvall
Secretary : Ruth Zschokke
Treasurer : Kurt Panka

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ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

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International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International
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Vice-President :
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International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press
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I U S D T

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A S S O C I A T E D O R G A N I S A T I O N S

J L B

Jewish Labor Bund
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USA

Tel: (212) 535 0850

Secretary : Jacob S. Hertz

L Z M

Labour Zionist Movement
5 Diskin Street
Jerusalem
Israel

Tel: 30830
Cables: LABOURZION

General Secretary :

S U C E E

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe
1 Norfolk Place
London W2 1QN
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Chairman : Bruno Kalnins
Secretary : Vilem Bernard

* * * *

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NEC EUROPE SUB-COMMITTEE
THE LABOUR PARTY

INTERNATIONAL DEPT.
FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE LEFT IN FINLAND

by Fred Singleton.

The complexities of Left wing politics in Finland today can only be properly understood in the context of Finland's relations with her giant eastern neighbour, including the circumstances surrounding Finland's declaration of independence in 1917, the bitter civil war which followed in 1918 and the record of Finnish-Soviet hostility which culminated in two Finnish Soviet wars (1939-40 and 1941-44).

Historical Background. Finland Under Tsarist Russia.

In 1809, after almost seven hundred years under the Swedish crown, Finland became a Grand Duchy of the Tsarist Empire, with Tsar Alexander I as Grand Duke. The constitution inherited from the Swedes was reaffirmed by the Tsar at a meeting of the Finnish Estates General held in the cathedral at Porvoo in 1809, although the Estates General did not meet again until 1863. The Swedish speaking element, although a minority, continued to occupy the highest social positions, and as industrialization began they became the nucleus of the new capitalist class. Today, when Swedish speaking Finns constitute only 6% of the population, they are still over represented in the upper strata. Finnish national consciousness, awakened at first by the discovery of a rich Finnish oral folk lore tradition, began to create political demands. Full equality between the Swedish and Finnish languages was finally accepted in 1902. Already, before the end of the century, the Grand Duchy had gained a large degree of internal autonomy, with its own currency and banking system and defence force. However, during the reign of the last of the Romanovs, Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917), systematic attempts were made to destroy Finland's autonomy. This provoked strong resistance from the Finns, and led in 1904 to the murder of Bobrikov, the Russian Governor-General. The 1905 revolt in St. Petersburgh stimulated the growth of political militancy amongst Finnish workers. In 1906, the Tsar was forced to grant a new constitution, replacing the medieval Four Estates, with a single chamber, 200 member parliament (the Eduskunta), from which the present Finnish parliament is directly descended. The franchise was increased from 125,000 to 1,125,000 and Finland became the first ..

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European country to grant equal voting rights to men and women.

The Social Democratic Party, founded in 1899, seized its opportunity, and in the elections of 1907 became the largest single party in the Eduskunta, a position it maintained until the Civil War of 1918. In the elections of 1916 it even gained an overall majority. At first the Social Democrats supported both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and saw Finland as a self governing unit within a socialist Russia. This view was put forcibly by Konni Zilliacus (1), a Swedish speaking intellectual who had strong links with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In 1904 he founded a Finnish Active Resistance Party, the programme of which included the distribution of weapons to workers, and support of the Russian revolutionaries.

After the overthrow of the Tsar in March 1917, the inept handling of relations with Finland by Kerensky pushed both the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties into an acceptance of the fact that Finnish independence was the only realistic policy. One of the right wing politicians who, at this time, maintained that it was essential for Finland to remain on good terms with the Russians was J.K.Paasikivi (2). He continued to hold this view after the Russian Revolution, and emerged in 1944 as the only prominent Finnish politician who enjoyed the confidence of the Soviet government. As President of the Republic from 1946-1956 he was the author of the "Paasikivi line" of neutrality and of friendship with the Soviet Union.

A section of the Right favoured cultivating German support for Finland's struggle against Russia, whilst the Left looked to the Russian revolutionaries as their allies.

Finnish Independence, 1917

On 6th December 1917 Finnish independence was declared, and on 31st December this was accepted by Lenin. In January 1918 civil war broke out in Finland. The "red guards" received some support from

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1) He was the father of the late Konni Zilliacus, the British Left wing M.P.

2) [illegible] In 1918 Paasikivi briefly gave his support to the idea of a monarchy under a German king, but, as one of the Finnish negotiators at the Peace of Tartu in 1920, he reverted to his view that a modus vivendi with the Russians was essential to Finland's security.

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the Soviets and from Russian troops stationed in Finland, but the Right were more effective in organizing foreign aid. German troops and Finnish volunteers trained in Germany, came to the aid of Mannerheim's "White" forces and by May 1918 the Left had been defeated. The civil war involved appalling brutalities, including the massacre of hundreds of Red prisoners held on the island of Suomenlinna in the harbour of Helsinki.

Many of the more radical Social Democrat leaders fled to Russia, where they founded the Finnish Communist Party, under the leadership of O.W.Kuusinen, later secretary of the Comintern and a member of the Soviet politburo. The party participated in Finnish politics under various names, e.g. Socialist Labour Party, Workers and Smallholders Party.

Anti-Communist hysteria - the Lapua Movement and the IKL.

In 1928 a Communist meeting in the town of Lapua was broken up by a mob of right wing extremists. The Lapua movement became a nationwide crusade against Communism, using violent, Fascist methods. In 1930 it forced the government to ban all Communist activity. It then turned on the Social Democrats, but overreached itself, and in 1932 the Lapua movement itself was banned. It reconstituted itself as the Patriotic Peoples Movement (IKL), and in 1933 gained 14 seats in the Eduskunta at the expense of the Conservatives. IKL supporters conducted a campaign of violence against the Left, but, like Moseley's BUF in Britain, they did not command mass working class support. Their followers were amongst the farmers, shopkeepers, smallbusiness men, nationalist minded clergy and the "lumpenproletariat".

The Social Democrats in the 1930s.

The Social Democrats became the largest party and in 1937 formed a coalition government with the Agrarians. (The so-called Red-Green Alliance) Under the leadership of Väinö Tanner the Social Democrats were strongly anti-communist, and modelled themselves on the Social Democrat parties of Scandinavia. During the 1920's and 1930's the main aim of the party was to win respectability as a national party, clearly separated from the red extremists who had fought in the Civil War and later fled to Russia. In 1926 Tanner was for a short time prime minister of a minority Labour government. Throughout the inter-war period they retained control of the co-operative and trade union movements and developed strong workers educational and youth organizations. The Communists, hampered by

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the legal proscription of their activities, failed to break the hold of the Social Democrats, despite attempts to take over certain trade unions and educational organizations.

Finland's Wars

In August 1939 the Nazi-Soviet Pact assigned Finland to the Soviet sphere of influence, and Finland was soon faced with Soviet demands for the cession of territory. The Mannerheim(3)defence line, running across the Karelian Isthmus, came to within 30 miles of Leningrad, and Soviet fears for the security of their main port are understandable. They could not at that time say that they feared the use of Finland as a Nazi springboard, as they were formally allies of the Germans.

Tanner, as Foreign Minister, went with Paasikivi to Moscow to negotiate with Stalin, but although the Finns were prepared to make territorial concessions, Stalin was not satisfied. On 30th November the Red Army attacked Finland, and so began the Winter War. The resistance of the Finns surprised the Russians, who were ill informed about the Finnish situation by the exiled Finnish communists in Moscow. The Soviet attack was ostensibly in the name of the People's Government of Finland, established in the village of Terijoki on the Finnish side of the border in Karelia. This was a group of communist exiles, of Finnish and Karelian origin, headed by O.W.Kuusinen. The pretence was soon dropped when it was apparent that it had no support inside Finland.

In March Finland sued for peace, despite pressure from Britain and France to remain fighting until the Allies could send troops and materials to help them. As some Finns have pointed out, had the Allies become involved in a war with the Soviet Union in the winter of 1939/40 the outcome of World War II might have been different. Under the Peace of Moscow, March 1940, Finland lost the Karelian Isthmus, the port of Viipuri and some territory in the north, and was forced to lease the port of Hanko to the USSR for 30 years.

3)Field Marshal Mannerheim, a former Tsarist officer and leader of the Whites in the Civil War, was a dominant figure in Finnish affairs until his retirement abroad in 1946. He was Regent in 1918-19, Commander in Chief before and during the Winter and Continuation Wars, and President 1944-46.

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Between March 1940 and June 1941 Finland drifted closer to Nazi Germany. The German attack on the Soviet Union occurred on22nd June, and four days later Finnish units joined the Germans in the reconquest of Karelia and the siege of Leningrad. This second outbreak of hostilities is known to the Finns as the Continuation War.

Tanner and the Social Democrats remained in the coalition governments of 1940 and 1941, even sharing office with members of the extreme right wing Peoples Patriotic League (IKL).

In the summer of 1944 it was clear to many Finns that their ally, Germany, was losing the war, and moves were started to negotiate a separate peace with the Soviet Union. A group of left Social Democrats and other socialists were prominent in these peace initiatives. The truce agreed in September required the Finns to disarm or expel the German troops on Finnish soil. Under the subsequent peace treaty the territorial losses of 1940 were confirmed, and in addition the Arctic port of Petsamo was ceded to the USSR. The 30 year lease on Hanko was exchanged for a 50 year lease on Porkkala, a small port 20 miles west of Helsinki. In addition, reparations worth $300 million were demanded. In the two wars with the Soviet Union Finland lost 12% of her former territory and suffered 90,000 military and civilian dead, 60,000 permanently disabled, and twice had to settle 400,000 refugees from the ceded territories. However, the constitution remained intact,and there was no Soviet occupation.

The Social Democrat leadership was in a difficult position at the end of the war. Tanner, still the party leader, was regarded in Moscow as an enemy. Under pressure the Finns put him on trial, along with several other "war responsibles", and he was sentenced to jail. After his release in 1949 he re-entered politics and was elected chairman of the party in 1957.

The formation of the Peoples Democratic League and the role of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party was legalized, and O.W.Kuusinen's daughter, Hertta, became its general secretary. A group of left socialists joined with the Communists to form an electoral association called the Finnish Peoples Democratic League (SKDL). The communists retained their separate identity as did the various other elements - youth and student socialist groups(4), women's organisations, etc-

4) The Academic Socialist Society, formed in 1931, was expelled from the Social Democratic Party in 1937. Their British counterpart was the Student Labour Federation.

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but all contested elections under the SKDL banner. A convention was established under which the chairman of SKDL was a non-communist, whilst the secretary belonged to the Communist Party.

The formation of SKDL weakened the SocialDemocrat party. In the elections of 1945 they lost 35 of their 85 seats, whilst SKDL picked up 49 seats, of which 40 were held by communists. The coalition government which was formed under the SKDL leader Mauno Pekkala, a former Social Democrat, included Social Democrats, Agrarian and SKDL members. It was this government which signed the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947 and the Finnish-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1948.

Finnish Soviet relations 1944-80. The evolution of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line.

The speed with which Finland was able to adjust to the realities of its post war geopolitical situation is one of the remarkable political phenomena of post-war Europe. The illusion of Finland as a Christian bulwark against the eastern hordes, and the dreams of a Greater Finland, incorporating Soviet Karelia, died in the flames of war. These illusions had been nurtured not only by the neo-Fascist Right, but even by some nationalistically minded Social Democrats. It is embarrassing to middle aged Finnish Social Democrats to remind them that in 1941 the Social Democrat Speaker of the Eduskunta, Väinö Hakkila, declared:

"That nation in Europe which is the most fit for battle and the most efficient, the German nation, is now crushing with its steel army our traditional, ever treacherous and ever deceitful enemy". The men who who guided Finland towards a realization of the truth of the dictum of Engels "Freedom is the recognition of necessity" were the Commander in Chief, Field Marshal Mannerheim, the old conservative leader, J.K.Paasikivi, and the young Agrarian Party leader, Urho Kekkonen. Mannerheim became President in 1944 and started negotiations for an armistice, thus ensuring a more lenient treatment at the final Peace Conference than was accorded to Germany's other allies against the USSR, Hungary and Romania. Kekkonen, who had voted against the 1940 peace settlement, signalled his change of attitude in a speech in Stockholm in 1943 which bore the title 'Good-neighbourliness with the "hereditary enemy"'. Paasikivi, continuing his pre-independence line that Finland must work out a reasonable modus vivendi with whichever authority controlled Russia, worked with Kekkonen to prepare a reconciliation with the Soviet Union. In 1946 Mannerheim went into retirement, and Paasikivi, who had been Prime Minister, becamePresident.

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He remained in office until 1956, when he was succeeded by Kekkonen, whose fifth term of office expires in 1984.

Paasikivi was largely responsible for Finland's adherence to the 1948 Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (known to the Finns as the Y.Y.A.Treaty), which has formed the basis for Finnish-Soviet relations ever since. It recognizes Finnish non-alignment, but provides for consultation and joint action "if Finland or the Soviet Union through Finnish territory" become objects of "armed attack by Germany or any state allied with the latter". All Finnish political parties accept the principle of the Y.Y.A.Treaty, although their interpretations of it differ.

Paasikivi adopted a cautious attitude to Finland's international role. He was prepared to recognize legitimate Soviet defence interests and to cultivate businesslike relationships which accepted mutually advantageous economic relations. There was always, however, a bedrock of resistance to any Soviet demands which he thought unreasonable. During his ten years in office he saw the ending of reparations payments, the return of Porkkala, and the admission of Finland to U.N.O.

Kekkonen has followed a more active policy, taking initiatives in many fields of international affairs - in U.N., the Nordic Council, in calling for a nuclear free zone in the Baltic, in advocating Scandinavian-Soviet cooperation in developing the Arctic regions of Europe (called Nord Cap), and above all, in the calling of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation. In 1961 Finland became an associate of Efta, and in 1973 signed treaties with both Comecon and EEC.

Finland's position in the world is grossly misrepresented by the concept of "Finlandization"- a word coined by Franz-Josef Strauss to attack Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik. and used extensively by American academics and the Telegraph newspapers, to describe an imaginary subservience to Soviet wishes. Recently Peregrine Worsthorne, in the "Sunday Telegraph" stated that, if Tony Benn became Prime Minister, Britain would be subjected to "Finlandization," and Mr Worsthorne would then be prepared to serve U.S. intelligence in order to subvert such a terrible situation.

It should be recognised by the Left in Britain that Finland's active policy of non-alignment is in the interests of European peace, and that the cooperation of the Finns and the other European neutral and non-aligned nations (the N+N group) acts as a moderating influence

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in the face of the polarization of the continent between the Warsaw Pact and NATO blocs. It might also be noted that Finland and her "N+N" friends seem to be doing rather better economically than do most of the bloc countries.

Finland's trade relations with the USSR - which, pre war, were virtually non-existent- include a growing sector of "project exports", which involve Finnish-Soviet cooperation in the construction of factories and in the development of mineral resources on the Soviet side of the border. Finlands main trading partners are still EEC and Efta, but about 20% of trade is with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union does not dominate the Finnish economy, nor does it control Finnish political life. Any attempt by the Soviet Union to push Finland into a satellite position would undermine the delicate Northern Balance and bring the Baltic into the Cold War. This is a development which could not serve the interests of the Soviet Union, which prefers to see a neutralized Baltic region.

In the early summer of 1948, following the Czechoslovak crisis and the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, it seemed possible that Finland would be drawn closer into the Soviet orbit. A crisis, allegedly engineered by the communists, with Soviet support - although this has not been proved- led to President Paasikivi dissolving parliament and calling for new elections. The elements in the crisis included a strike called by the communist-led trade unions in industries working for reparations, which might have given the Soviets an excuse for intervention, and allegations that the Minister of the Interior, Yrjö Leino, husband of Hertta Kuusinen, was packing the police with communists and had handed Finnish citizens over to the Soviet security forces. In the elections of 1948 SKDL lost 11 seats, and were excluded from government for the next 18 years.

The Social Democrats gained 5 seats, and formed a minority government under K.A.Fagerholm. The SKDL, having refused Fagerholm's offer to join a coalition of the Big Three (SKDL, Social Democrat and Agrarian) went into opposition. Despite Soviet hostility and internal opposition, Fagerholm's government survived for 17 months -which in Finnish politics is a long time.

During the 1950s and early 1960s the Social Democrats faced many problems, the roots of which went back to Soviet mistrust of their intentions. This mistrust was deepened by the behavour of some Social Democrat leaders. Tanner was elected to parliament in 1951 and successfully challenged Fagerholm for the chairmanship in 1957. The Tannerites divided the party, and a group of 13 left-wing

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M.P.s broke away to form an independent parliamentary group, favouring cooperation with SKDL.

Within the trade union and workers' education movements the SKDL made headway at the expense of the Social Democrats. By participating in governments with bourgeois parties at a time of economic difficulty, the Social Democrats became associated with attacks on the living standards of workers, whilst the SKDL was able to take advantage of its exclusion from government to press the workers' demands.

Fagerholm headed two short lived administrations in 1956 and 1958. In 1957, President Kekkonen had invited Tanner to form a government, but was dissuaded by the angry Soviet response. For the next five years, until Tanner retired in 1963, a bitter campaign was waged against the Social Democrats by both the Soviet and the Finnish communist press. During this period there were two crises in Finnish-Soviet relations. The first, known as the Nightfrosts of 1958 was the Soviet reaction to Kekkonen's invitation to Tanner Soviet hostility -which manifested itself in economic sanctions, the withdrawal of the Soviet Ambassador and a number of diplomatic insults- eventually forced Fagerholm out of office.

The second, known as the "Note Crisis", in 1961-2, was not directly connected with the Social Democrats, but related to the Soviet request for discussions with the Finns on the implementation of the friendship treaty in face of the threat of German rearmament. NATO manoeuvres in the Baltic, in which German units were involved, provided the occasion for the Soviet note. Khrushchev's speech in Novosibirsk, in which he attacked the "Tannerites" and "right wingers" gave a clue to Soviet fears. Presidential elections were due, and the Social Democrats had allied with four right wing parties to put forward a candidate in opposition to Kekkonen. The so-called "Honka Front" collapsed, and Kekkonen was re-elected for a second term, to the obvious satisfaction of Mr Khrushchev.

The revival of the Social Democratic Party began with the replacement of Tanner by Rafael Paasio in 1963. Talks were started with SKDL which led in 1966 to the formation of a coalition government under Paasio's premiership. The Social Democrats had won a landslide victory in the 1966 general election, when they increased their seats from 38 to 55, gaining 27% of the popular vote - the largest recorded for any party in post war Finland. The Paasio government included also a representative of the breakaway left Social Democrats and the Agrarians, now renamed the Centre Party.

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The Social Democrats completed their conversion from Tannerism by campaigning for President Kekkonen's third term election in 1968, thus accepting the President's interpretation of Finland's relations with the Soviet Union. Since then they have participated in most governments, several in coalition with SKDL and the Centre Party (formerly the Agrarian Party, of which Kekkonen was the leader).

Meanwhile SKDL was being subjected to strains arising from the division within the Communist Party. The split began with the Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and was intensified by the growth of "Eurocommunism". A minority group within the Communist Party takes a tough, pro-Soviet line, whilst the majority group adopt a position similar to that of the Italian C.P., although they refuse to acknowledge the title "Eurocommunist". The minority group are known as "Taistoists", after their leader, Taisto Sinisalo, a dock worker from Kotka, who lost his parliamentary seat in the 1979 election and was replaced by a Christian Socialist member of SKDL. The Taistoists publish their own newspaper, "Uudistaja", which uses much of its space in attacking the party chairman, Aarne Saarinen, and the former chairman of SKDL, the non-communist Ele Alenius. After a period during which the parallel organization of Taistoists all but split with the main party, an uneasy truce was arranged, apparently with the Soviet party acting as mediator.

One of the points at issue between the two wings of the Communist Party concerns participation in coalition governments. Although Taisto claims not to be opposed in principle, he has never found an occasion on which he felt he could recommend it in practice to his supporters. Thus the SKDL members who participate in government always belong either to the Saarinen group or to the handful of non-communist SKDL members.

The Communist split has given an opportunity to the non-communists in SKDL - at present four in the SKDL parliamentary group of 35 - to enjoy a greater influence than might otherwise have been the case. The chairman of SKDL from 1965 until 1979 was Ele Alenius, former secretary of the Academic Socialists. He was a minister in several governments and is now a governor of the Bank of Finland, whilst at the same time remaining active as a socialist theoretician.

The uneasy balance within SKDL has inhibited free discussion of political issues within the Left, as all questions are overshadowed by the Taisto-Saarinen polemics and by the bitter personal wrangling in the left wing press. It must be said that most of the venom comes from Taisto's side, and there are often hints of intervention from the Soviet party.

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The revitalized Social Democrat Party has been able to take advantage of the divisions on its left, and is once again the largest single party in the Eduskunta, with 52 seats, despite a general swing to the right in the 1979 elections. It has been much more open than others members of the Socialist International, in advocating a dialogue with the Communist Parties. Kalevi Sorsa, four times Prime Minister between 1972 and 1979, is one of those who has incurred the displeasure of the more right wing parties in the International by his willingness to cooperate with communists.

The present Social Democrat Prime Minister, Mauno Koivisto, is a strong contender for the Presidency when the 80 year old Kekkonen finally stands down.

Future prospects and recommendations

It seems likely that throughout the remaining four years of President Kekkonen's present term - and it is unlikely that there will be a sixth term -the present balance of political forces will remain. The Social Democrats and SKDL together command between 15% and 20%. The main opposition party, the conservative National Coalition Party (Kansallinen Kokoomus), which has steadily improved its position since 1966, managed to win 21.7% of the vote in 1979 and increased its parliamentary representation from 35 to 47 seats. The Social Democrat and SKDL votes are to some extent interchangeable. The SKDL has suffered because of its internal dissensions, and since 1966, with its swing to the left, the Social Democrats have benifitted.

The present Prime Minister, Mauno Koivisto, is a national figure somewhat above party politics, and is regarded as a possible successor to Kekkonen. The party Chairman, Kalevi Sorsa, has been active at the international level in promoting discussions on disarmament, neutrality and east-west cooperation. In 1978 he persuaded the Socialist International to hold a conference in Helsinki on disarmament, to which Boris Ponomarev and a U.S. government representative came as observers.

The SKDL is in some ways an anachronism. Its greatest post-war strength was in 1958, when there were many defections from the right wing, Tannerite Social Democrats. With the Social Democrat shift to the Left, these defectors returned to their former allegiance. The greatest value of the SKDL is that it brings the Communist Party into the mainstream of national politics and makes possible its participation in government. In the event of the break away or expulsion of the Taistoists - who now have 11 of the 35 members in the parliamentary group - there would be even greater

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possibilities for cooperation with the Social Democrats. It seems, however, that whenever Taisto comes to the brink, the Soviet party helps to persuade him to stay on and attack from within.

Links between the British and Finnish Labour movements have never been as close as with the other Scandinavian countries, although there is great respect in Finland for the traditions of the British Movement. Sir Walter Citrine's mission in 1939, with his srtong anti-Soviet stand and his support for Finland's struggle in the Winter War, helped to strengthen links with the Tannerites. Tanner was himself an anglophile. Since the war there have been a number of exchanges between the Workers Educational Association and Trade Union Colleges and the Cooperatives.(there are two national cooperative organizations, one linked to the Social Democrats and the other "non-political" but with links with the Centre Party, and two workers educational bodies, one linked to the Social Democrats and the other to the CommunistvParty).

The British Labour Party has much to learn about cooperation with communists and about non-bloc international cooperation from our Finnish comrades, both in the Social Democratic Party and the SKDL.

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APPENDIX

General Elections 1975 and 1979

	Seats		Percentage		Votes	
	1979	1975	1979	1975	1979	1975
Social Democrats	52	54	24	24.9	691,256	695,394
SKDL	35*	40	17.9	18.9	516,276	528,026
Centre Party	36	39	17.4	17.5	501,012	513,213
Nat. Coalition (Conservatives)	47	35	21.7	18.4	626,108	513,213

Other parties:
(Liberal) (Swedish Peoples (10)
(Finnish Liberals (4)
(Right Wing) (Christian League (9)
(Finnish Rural Party (7)

Present Government (formed May,1979)
Prime Minister - Mauno Koivisto (Soc.Dem.)
Composition of Cabinet: Social Democrats -5
SKDL -3 (2 Left Socialists and Sec. of C.P.)
Centre Party -6
Swedish Party -1
Non-party -1

SKDL includes minority Communists (supporters of Taisto Sinisalo)-11
Majority communists (supporters of Aarne Saarinen) -20
Non-Communist Left -4

Chairman of SKDL -Kalevi Kivistö (non-Communist. Minister of Education)
Secretary of SKDL - Jorma Hentila (majority group Communist)

Social Democrats
Chairman - Kalevi Sorsa (former P.M.)
General Secretary - Ulf Sundquist (Minister of Trade)
Acting Secretary - Erkki Liikonen.

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THE DECLINE OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

by

Ralph E Spence

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The Italian general election held on 3 June has not produced a very definite result. The parties have been returned to parliament with almost the same proportion of the vote as before the election. It has therefore been a typical Italian election. Only two parties, the Communists (PCI) and the Radical Party (PR), have had a change of more than one per cent in their voting strength. The PCI has lost four percent, the Radicals have gained 2.3 per cent. Thus in terms of party strengths little has changed. The change that has occurred has been the result of changes in the parties' attitudes. The PCI, which from 1976 had been propping up a minority government dominated by the Christian Democratic Party (DC), as part of its grand strategy of the 'compromeso storico', decided earlier this year that the expected fruits from such a policy were not forthcoming and withdrew once again to be the chief party of opposition. The only criteria upon which the PCI will once again support the government is that which allows several of its own members to fill positions in the cabinet. The DC are no nearer now to allowing the PCI entry into the government than they have ever been. Indeed as the PCI has for the first time in its history actually dropped in popularity, the DC are less so inclined.

This of course means that the Italians are once again in for a long period of governmental crisis, a phenomenon for which they are now famous. The DC are of course central to any new government formula, as indeed they have been for the last thiry-three years. But aside from the DC, it is the Socialist Party (PSI), which once again holds the key to the problem of Italy's next government. Without a change of mind by the PCI the only possible solutions are those based upon either a government of the centre maintained by socialist abstentions, or a return to the government formula which governed Italy from

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1963-1974, the government of the centre-left. The speed with which the crisis can be solved will depend upon the choices made by the PSI leadership. The choices will not be easy to make for two reasons. Firstly, the PSI leadership has, throughout the election, had to combat a revolt by the party's left wing against any attempt by the party to distance itself from the PCI. This problem, as we shall see later, stems from the party's dual position of trying to adopt an intermediate or third force strategy (between the DC and the PCI) while historically being situated amongst the parties of the Marxist subculture. Secondly, the party owes its present position of importance to its strategic position in the party system rather than to the actual physical weight of the party itself. The wrong choice could prove disastrous to the party's ability to survive.

However, neither of the above mentioned problems are new to the PSI leadership. Since the founding of the post war Republic the party has been searching for a meaningful role to play in the Italian party game and each choice has had a profound impact upon the party's fortunes, both internally vis-a-vis the party apparatus and externally vis-a-vis the electorate.

IN SEARCH OF A ROLE

Throughout its post war history the PSI's search for a role has involved it in strategies which, at various times, have resulted in alliances with both the DC and the PCI.

In the period immediately after the left's expulsion from the government in 1947, the strategy adopted by the socialists was one of a united left with the Communists. This strategy was adopted during the height of the cold war and had a profound effect on socialist fortunes. The socialist movement had emerged from the war with a unified socialist party, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP), but the united left strategy involved the movement

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in one of its many splits. The movement had always had its three factions, the reformists, maximalists and revolutionary. Despite the split in 1921 which gave birth to the PCI, there were still those who remained in the party who were as radical as those who had left. However, the split which resulted from the close alliance with the communists in this period was by the right or 'reformist' wing of the movement. Under the leadership of Giuseppe Saragat, the right broke away from the party to form the Italian Social Democratic Party, complaining of the party's collaboration with a party whose commitment to democracy was in question. Such an alliance could only be dangerous both for the country and for the Socialist Party itself. The remainder of the PSIUP re-christened themselves the Italian Socialist Party, thus dropping the Proletarian Unity from their name.

Secondly, the period was also one which proved decisive in the ongoing struggle between the socialists and communists as to which party would prevail as the chief spokesman of the left. In the election of 1946 for the Constituent Assembly (the body who's task it was to create the post war constitution) the question remained undecided. The Socialists gained 20.7 per cent of the vote whilst the Communists received 18.9 per cent. The turning point came in the election of 1948 in which the PSI and the Communists fought under a common programme and with a common list of candidates. The PCI came out of the election in a much stronger position than did the PSI. The PCI organizational advantage over the socialists had been strengthened by the fact of the socialist split (the split had robbed the socialists of one third of their organization and vote). The PSI had suffered also because of their close collaboration with the communists, which had, in the eyes of the electorate, rendered them as little more than a front organization for the communists. The election had also taken on the air of a referendum between the communists and the Christian Democrats, which further squeezed the PSI vote. All these

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factors led to the PCI replacing the socialists as the largest party of the left in parliament.

Throughout the whole of the period of the 'united left' it was the PCI who were gaining at the expense of the PSI. This fact was illustrated by the 1953 election result in which the PSI managed only 12.73 per cent of the poll while the communist vote had risen to 22.72 per cent.

Fearing a further decline of the party the PSI leadership from the 1953 election onwards began to re-assess their relationship with the PCI and began to search for a strategy which would enhance the party's fortunes. The party began to look toward a strategy which would offer the electorate more than a strict referendum-type choice between the DC and PCI. They sought to create a democratic socialist alternative, a 'third force' in Italian politics.

The PSI began to distance itself from the PCI by being much more critical of the communists policies. The process was helped by the traumas caused by the Hungarian invasion of 1956 and the process of destalinization, which had severely affected all the communist parties of Western Europe.

The new independent stand taken by the PSI appeared to be popular with the electorate at the 1958 election - the party increased its support by 1.5 per cent to 14.2 per cent. But the realities for the PSI were such that even with much larger gains than the one in 1958, they were never, at least in the forseeable future, going to be in a position to challenge the hegemony of the DC. The PSI leadership reasoned that if they were to gradually increase their vote they would have to demonstrate their ability to secure solid policy objectives. This would mean active participation in government as part of a DC dominated coalition.

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consistent policy was a virulent anti-communism. During its long period as the DC chief partner, it had been taking its share of the Italian system of patronage (the shady world between legitimate and corrupt patronage which the Italians refer to as 'sottogoverno') and had ceased to have a social conscience. Unfortunately, the PSI had by now been drawn into the same Christian Democrat web.

The third phase of the centre-left experiment emerged as a result of the events of 1968-69 - events which took the socialist leadership by surprise. In the election of 1968, the PSU had succeeded in achieving only 14.5 per cent of the vote as compared with the combined totals of 19.9 (PSI 13.8 - PSDI 6.1) when the parties stood independently in 1963. Most, if not all, of the loss had been due to the loss of votes to the PSIUP. 1968 was the year in which the great social and political unrest began which was to culminate in the strikes and civil disorder of Autumn 1969, which has become known as the 'Hot Autumn'. This unrest was largely due to the failure of the centre-left governments to solve any of the vast social problems from which Italian society was suffering, most notably in the spheres of housing policy and health.

The PSI leadership reacted to the situation by trying to act as the spokesman from inside the government for the political demands which were being voiced in the streets and factories. But inspite of, or because of, the political unrest, the DC proved, more than ever, to be reluctant to make the necessary concession which might have alleviated the problems. The PSI tried to extricate itself from the dangers the Christian Democrats were creating by looking for support from elsewhere in parliament for reformist measures. Their strategy was to try to create 'equilibri piu avanzati' - more advanced balances, which in practical terms meant creating ad hoc coalitions to force through parliament measures which were greeted with hostility from large sections of the DC. This, in practical terms, meant

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re-opening channels of communication with communists, channels which had been closed since the early days of the centre-left. This movement back toward the PCI precipitated the break-up of the PSU. The PSDI had too much to lose to be seen flirting with the communists.

The balance of political forces at the turn of the decade was such that the PSI was central to any lasting government formula. The Christian Democrats did attmept to return to their old alliances with the Liberals in 1972 but this proved to be unworkable and the centre-left was re-created in late 1973. The Socialists were thus able to remain part of the governing coalition while forcing through parliament measures which the other members of the coalition found unpalatable. Measures passed in this way included the provision of civil divorce and the introduction of schemes for subsidised housing.

Ironically for the PSI, the very success of the strategy brought with it the seeds of its own destruction. The PSI, by drawing the PCI into the parliamentary arena as ad hoc supporters of reform legislation, were endowing the Communists with a democratic legitimacy, which up until then, they had lacked. The Communists were having the best of both worlds. They were receiving the credit for the successes of the PSI strategy but without being indentified with the Christian Democrats. The PSI's response to this was that if you can't beat them join them. They withdrew from the government to support measures on the same ad hoc basis as the Communists. In doing so they hoped to associate the Communists with the failures as well as the successes of government policy.

At the same time, there also began a move on the party's left to get the party leadership to accept the logic of the new situation, which was, as they saw it, the development of a new strategy based upon 'l'alternativa della sinistra', the alternative of the left. The strategy was simply based upon the idea of copying the French example of the 'union of the left'

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to create what would be at first, a strong unified opposition, but with the not too distant possibility of removing the Christian Democrats once and for all, from the reins of government. Only with the complete removal of the Christian Democrats could a thorough clean-up of the state apparatus begin.

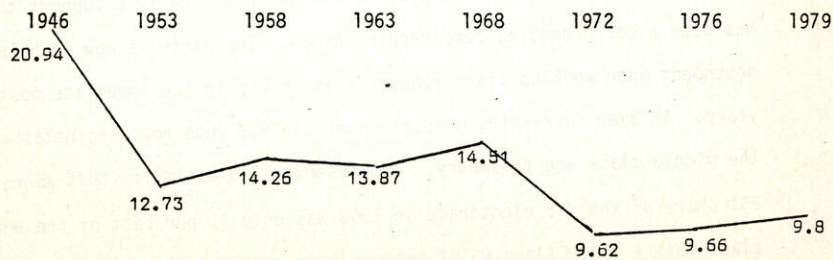
The party went into the election of 1976 with a new strategy as their election platform. But in reality the strategy was still-born because the Communists were committed to a wholly different strategy, the historic compromise, a strategy based upon co-operation between all the parties of the working class - and this included the Christian Democrats.

Electorate and Organization

The PSI strategies involving, as they have, oscillation between alliances with the Communists and with the Christian Democrats have had profound consequences for the party's electoral fortunes and its organization.

The original socialist party began the post war period with a 20.94 per cent share of the vote. In 1979, the PSI polled 9.8 per cent. After the 1947 schism, the PSI fortunes remained constant until the schism of 1964, which robbed the party of not just 1.4 million votes, but also a great deal of its traditional support in the area of the 'Red Belt' (fig i).

Fig i



1948 election fought in coalition with PCI
* fought as PSU(PSI + PSDI)

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This loss of support in the Red Belt speeded up a process that had already been in existence for some time; a process whereby the PSI was becoming a party based upon support from outside traditional socialist areas. Fig ii below shows the percentage of socialist vote contributed by the four political regions since 1946.[2]

Fig ii

Zones	1946	1953	1958	1963	1972	1976	1979
I	40.6	35.8	33.0	34.5	35.4	32.9	35.8
II	15.2	12.3	12.1	12.5	11.8	12.9	10.7
III	25.0	25.7	23.7	20.8	17.4	17.6	17.9
IV	19.2	26.2	31.2	32.2	35.4	36.6	35.6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1948 and 1968 fought in alliance with PCI and PSDI respectively.

The percentages demonstrate that there has been a fundamental change in the areas from which the PSI draws its support. It has declined in every area except the south and islands (zone IV), where the support from this region has gained in relative importance. The party has, therefore, become one which has to rely for the bulk of its support on the non-industrialized south. Parallel with this geographic change in the party's support there has been a corrosponding demographic change. The party is now much less dependent upon working class support than it was in the immediate post war years. An ever increasing proportion of the PSI vote now originates amongst the middle class and peasantry. One observer had estimated that amongst the PSI share of the PSU electorate in 1968 was only 12 per cent of the working class vote (the PCI and PSIUP between them received 42 per cent). Equally as

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ominous has been the decline in the share of the youth vote that the PSI has been able to attract. This is particularly important as it has been estimated that the left receives some 55 to 60 per cent of the vote from the age group 18 - 25. In the 1976 election the PSI received 9 per cent of its vote from this section of the population. The Communists received 16 per cent. Figures also show that the PSI has failed to attract any of the female vote which in recent elections has increasingly supported the left. This failure to capture the working class vote, the youth vote and the female vote lead to the conclusion that the PSI, at least in electoral terms, is becoming a middle-aged, middle-class/male dominated party based in the south.

Organization

After the 1976 election, at which the party's electoral following remained static at its level of 1972, the party militants blamed the party's decline on the degeneration of the internal structure of the party. This particularly attacked the activities of the 'correnti' or party factions and the separation between the party's rank and file and the oligarchic leadership at the top. Commenting on two fundamental functions that a party should perform (the representation of political demands and the democratic choice of leadership) one observer has noted:

> "It seems to be an accepted fact however that neither of these two conditions . . . . are realised today in the Italian Socialist Party." [3]

The same author blames this state of affairs on three separate but related changes that have occurred in the PSI make-up. There has occurred, he believes:

(i) a profound change in the social base of the party,

(ii) a bureaucratization of the party apparatus and internal factions which block the party's ability to adapt itself to changing conditions in society,

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(iii) a decline of organised participation at the base, which is at one and the same time both cause and effect of (i) and (ii).

The change in the social base of the party parallels that which had taken place in the party's electoral following. Franco Cazzola observed in 1968 (the period of the PSU) that 40 per cent of the PSI's local leadership were 'white collar' as compared with 28 per cent eight years earlier. The party's membership as a whole has changed quite profoundly since 1945 as the following table shows.[4]

Fig iii

PROFESSION	1945	1961	1970
Blue Collar	62.0	30.0	35.2
Peasants	12.5	31.4	13.0
Shop Keepers/Artisans	----	6.1	7.4
White Collar	7.0	14.5	20.9
Others	18.5	18.0	23.5
	100	100	100

If one looks at the figures for the party's membership the changes once again are similar to the changes in the party's electoral support with regard to geographical distribution.

Fig iv

ZONE	1961	1963	1965	1967	1970
I	22.4	21.0	20.9	19.8	19.0
II	8.4	8.1	7.9	9.2	8.0
III	29.4	27.6	22.7	20.0	15.8
IV	39.8	43.3	48.5	51.0	57.2
	100	100	100	100	100

The change that has occurred in the party's organization has also been quite marked. The party had been based upon a pyramidal power structure

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and
with the Central Directorate/Central Committees at the national level descending down through the Regional Committee, the federations and finally to the sections or wards. There had also existed a distinction between what one might call the internal elite - the full time party apparatus, and the external elite - the parliamentarians. With regard to the former, the collapse in participation of the base due to the profound change in membership meant that little democratic control was being excercised over local 'notables' who had come to dominate the party at both the levels of the section and federation.

The distinction between the internal and external elite has disappeared as the parliamentarians have come to dominate the central organs of the party. This coincidence of the two elites has, in the opinion of one author, very serious consequences:

> "The almost total parliamenterization of the national leadership of the party carries with it the danger of an identification of the party with its parliamentary representatives and of serious moral and political consequences (moral for making posts a launching pad for parliamentary and ministerial careers; political in placing all the decisional powers within the sphere of clientelistic and parliamentary alliances) likely to reduce the party organisation to a simple propaganda machine for collecting votes'[5]

This parliamenterization has of course been common to all parliamentary socialist parties. What differentiates the PSI from the rest has been the almost complete collapse in the ability of the party to control its parliamentary leaders. This fact alone enables one to explain how the party could degenerate into the factions which came to dominate the party in the late 1960's.

Factionalism had always been a part of the internal life of the socialist movement. In 1964 there were four parties, all of whom at one time or another, had been part of a unified socialist movement The difference was that in the past the various splits and factions had always centred around matters of political principle and ideology. The new factionalism

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was something completely different. It was based not upon political principle but upon personalized power struggles. There had emerged a 'southernization' of the internal life of the PSI - a situation in which the power struggles were based upon a clientelistic style of politics. The process was given momentum by the party's participation in the centre-left coalition. Access to the benefits and rewards of 'sottogoverno', which participation in government provided, meant that stakes for success or failure in power struggles were that much greater. At the election of 1972 there were as many as five officially recognised factions in the PSI - and as many unofficial ones.

1976 Onward

The period from 1976 onward has proved to be a particularly frustrating time for the PSI. At the party's National Congress in March 1976, the party declared itself to be against any collaboration with the DC, either now or in the future. It also declared itself to be against the historic compromise. The party believed it to be fundamentally misguided as a long-range strategy for solving the chronic social problems facing Italian society. The primary reason for the party's hostility to the historic compromise was that it involved collaboration with, rather than the replacement of, the DC. The party believed that the DC would be as hostile to social advancement in the historic compromise as they were during the centre-left. The PSI also attacked the formula as totalitarian, as there would be no room in it for effective opposition.

Unfortunately for the PSI however, the electorate gave the PCI strategy what appeared to be a vote of confidence in the June 1976 election. The PCI vote jumped 7.2 per cent from 27.2 to 34.4 per cent. The PSI vote on the other hand remained absolutely static at its 1972 level of 9.6 per cent. Equally important, as far as the PSI was concerned, was the fact that the parties of the left who would form the socialist alternative, if the PCI were to see the light, did not receive a large enough share of the vote to form such a government. The PSI, PCI, Radicals and other parties

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of the left won only 294 of the 630 seats in the House.

Denied the possibility of a return to the centre-left, the DC had little choice but to accept some form of accommodation with the PCI. The form of the historic compromise adopted was itself a compromise. The PCI gave its support to the minority DC government in return for being granted prestigious positions within parliament. The party was allocated chairmanships of important committees as well as the key position of Chairman of the House. They did not, however, manage to get the seats in cabinet which they had previously demanded. The DC leadership, for their part, although having had to make many concessions to the PCI, had not allowed the PCI to cross the 'psychological barrier' and actually enter government. The historic compromise had thus effectively robbed the PSI of its key position in the party structure. Having once been central to any government formula, the PSI had been reduced to the position of a minor party helpless in the face of the two giants, who between them controlled over 75 per cent of the seats in parliament. The party was left with very few options. The leadership knew from experience that any move back toward the centre-left would prove disastrous for party support and unity. But to accept the status-quo was to condemn the party to a fate which would be equally as damaging. The party adopted a very much 'wait and see' approach. It continued to pay homage to the socialist alternative and never missed an opportunity to critisize the two major parties (such as over the handling of the Moro affair).

The PSI's patience appeared to have been rewarded earlier this year when the PCI leadership, alarmed by the rumbling of discontent in the trade unions and party rank and file over the government economic policies, withdrew its support and precipitated the June 3rd election.

The government crisis, which resulted from yet another stalemate, has not yet been resolved. There is little doubt that the PSI are looking toward some form of solution based upon a return to the centre-left But the party are stressing that this time it will be a return to the 'centro-sinistra

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senza illusioni' - the centre-left without illusions. Aware of the danger of being frustrated by the DC once again, the party are insisting that any future Prime Minister should not be drawn from the DC but from one of the other parties of the coalition, preferably their own. Bonito Craxi, the party leader, has already tried and failed to form a government despite the support of the DC right, who would have liked him to succeed to further isolate the communists. The PSI will undoubtedly prevent the formation of anything other than a 'caretaker' government, in the hope that the expected realignments at the DC Congress in the autumn will result in Craxi's second attempt at becoming Prime Minister being successful. The party leadership hope that the prestige gained from providing the first non DC Prime Minister since the war will restore the party's fortunes.
Whether the PSI can pull off a major coup and provide the country with a Socialist Prime Minister remains to be seen. There is, however, little doubt that the party's fortunes will only improve if the leadership can turn the power gained from such a position into solid policy achievement. This will not be easy since the bureaucracy will be that which has succeeded in delaying and preventing the implementation of reforms in the past. The party must also resist the temptation of participating once again in the process of 'sottogoverno'. They know from experience the impact that any weakening in this direction can have on party fortunes, both from within and without. Perhaps the view that wrong decisions by the party leadership may send the party into oblivion is too pessimistic. The party's vote has very probably been at its present level for over ten years and four elections and the Italian political system has demonstrated many times in the past that its level of institutionalization ensures that political organizations exist even after their reason for doing so has disappeared, or in the case of the PSI, moved elsewhere.

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