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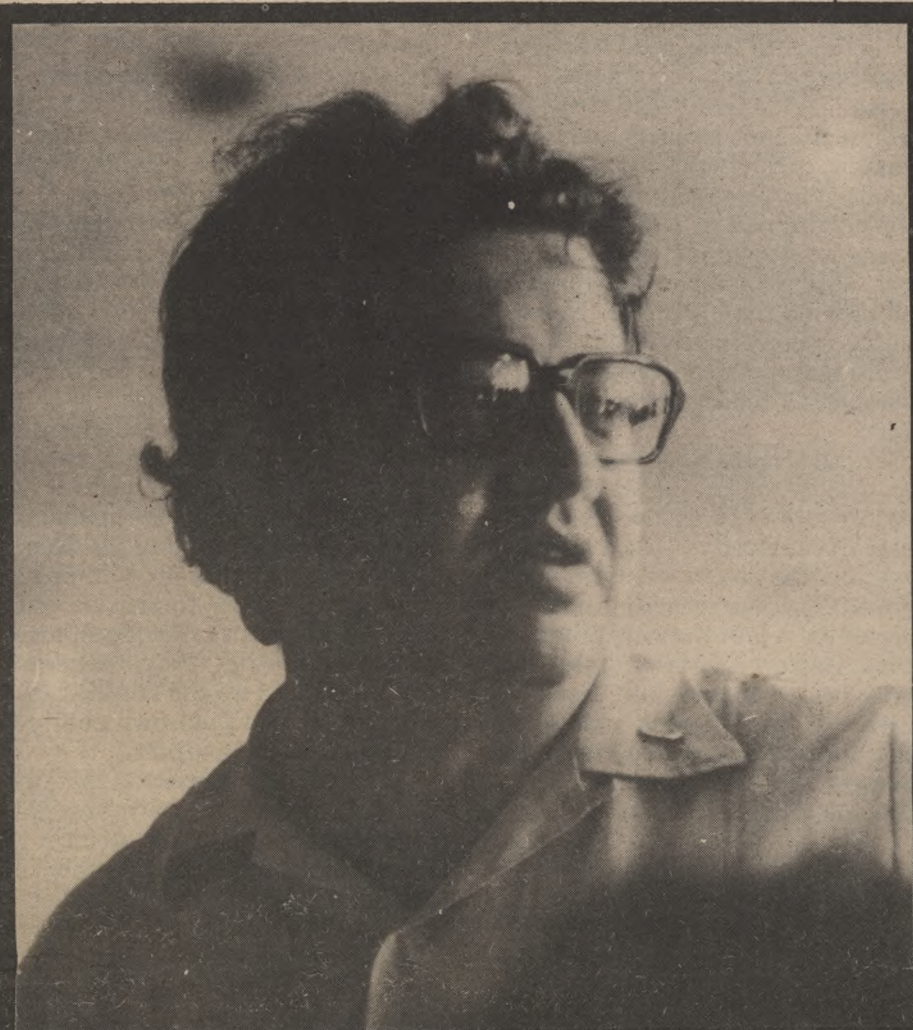
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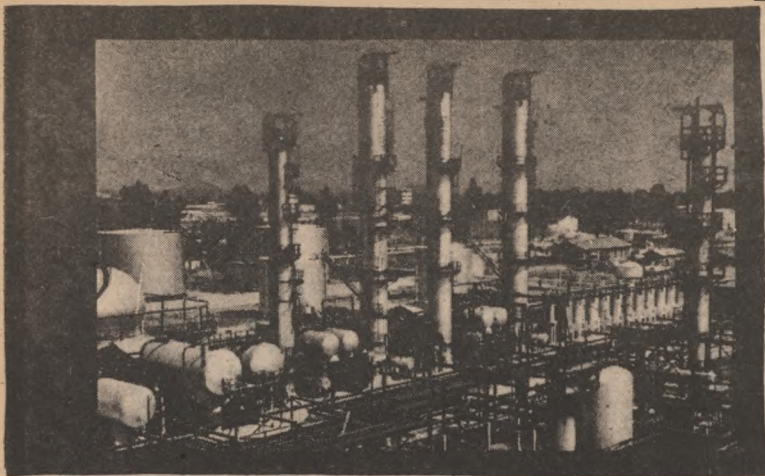
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SOCIALISM...



photos — murray cammick

**international union off socialist youth.
bureau meeting, new zealand 1974.**



industrial democracy

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Our society seems to be faced with a problem of incompatible demands. On the one hand there is the demand for "industrial harmony" to facilitate the smooth functioning of the economic system. On the other hand we are faced with the rising tide of demands from trade unions for a guaranteed standard of living and a constantly improving share of the income of the nation to be available in wages and salaries.

Industrial democracy in its many forms is often seen as a way of stemming the rising tide of demands by making those doing the asking aware of some of the problems involved. In its turn, however, moves towards a more democratic workplace have the effect of stimulating the movement to wider participation in decisions which affect the whole community.

More and more workers are becoming dissatisfied with their role as subordinates and are demanding that they have a greater say in the industries upon which their livelihood depends. A feeling is growing that workers must be more directly involved in the running of the industry above and beyond their daily labours. Several means have been tried to increase "industrial democracy" or "worker participation".

Labour Shares

One idea is Labour Shares. Section 67 of the Companies Act 1955 enables companies at their discretion to issue labour shares to their employees. The rationale behind this section is that if a worker has a financial interest in the industry in which he is an employee then he will be less likely to disrupt the smooth functioning of that industry. However, the issue of these shares is subject to the discretion of the management and it does not entitle employees to have any voice in the running of their industry anyway. This provision is merely a sop to those persons lacking enough in perception to imagine that the handing-out of a few relatively worthless shares in a company will bring about industrial harmony.

Democratic Factories

In the United States a number of companies have "democratised" the running of their factories. The decisions are how jobs are to be done and whom is hired and fired are made on the shop floor. It must be noted, however, that even in this sort of arrangement the employees have only a limited role in the actual running of the industry. In the long term, measures such as described above will not be effective in bringing about greater industrial harmony as the workers will come to realise that the real power still lies in the hands of an elitist minority and that those who play the biggest part in industry still do not control conditions of work or what is produced.

Cooperative Management

Cooperative management is sometimes suggested as a solution to the problem of the need for industrial harmony. One form of cooperative is the system whereby workers elect representatives onto a committee, the prime function of which is to carry suggestions to management to advise them on the best procedure

for attaining harmony within the company or industry. The main drawback with a system like this is that management are not bound by any of the decisions or advice of the workers' representative. A token gesture of democracy is made to workers but it is a mere facade. The real situation is that these committees are only a sounding board which a truly perceptive management would not need anyway.

An example of a cooperative is the West German situation. Briefly, West German industries are run by a cooperative of workers' representatives and the board of directors in equal numbers with one neutral party. It has been observed that the allegiance of the employees' representatives is often split between the firm and trade union, thus weakening the unity of the employee voice. Some writers assert that the degree of control obtained or influence on management is not as great as that exercised by British and American unions through collective bargaining from outside the managerial structure.

Self Management

Some countries have implemented schemes whereby workers representatives actually take part in the policy-making process at managerial level. One of the most successful of these is the system used in Yugoslavia. Management is drawn from workers themselves and the Workers' Council that runs the company. Overall supervision of the operations of industries comes from the central political authorities. Observers of the Yugoslavian industrial relations have concluded that workers' council legislation has not given workers more authority: the main benefit has been to management by giving it more freedom and scope for initiative. However, even if real decision making power does remain with management it is a fact that in the Yugoslavian system management is drawn from the workers in the industry unlike a capitalist system which draws on outside expertise.

Complete Worker Control

The only real answer to the question of workers involvement in management is complete worker control. In other words, the workers themselves, rather than management control their industry. An example of this is the Harco/Work-in. In

November 1971, five boilermakers and one iron-worker employed by Harco Steel in Newcastle Australia were handed dismissal notices. Instead of the traditional strike in protest the boilermakers and iron-workers, including those handed dismissal notices continued to work. They continued to do so in spite of strong union and management pressure, until a Supreme Court injunction ordered them to cease. It did, however, deny management their traditional rights and also show that workers self-management could work.

Another more recent example is the occupation of the Lip watch factory in France by the workers after the company had gone bankrupt and the employees been dismissed. The workers continued until ejected by a 3,000 strong police force. However, Charles Piget, the strike leader, summed up the lesson of the work-in when he maintained that the real factory was where the workers were found and not where the police were.

A Political Question

Implicit in this statement is the understanding that what is being fought for is not only the jobs of those workers but in the long run a social system wherein the worker is accorded his rightful dignity in society. Such a new form of social ownership and social administration would amount to a social revolution

implying that although New Zealand has many facets of socialisation, it has not yet progressed much beyond the stage of worker cooperatives. It was proposed to implement such a scheme in the Ngauranga Meat Works in Wellington. The management proposed to close down because new hygiene standards were required. Such was their neglect of this workplace over such a long period that the project for a cooperative was confounded because management's assessment of the plant's value was proven correct.

One of the biggest obstacles in the way of industrial democracy is that workers have not received sufficient training to be capable of exercising managerial duties. Ken Coates suggests that it could be a function of unions to provide training programmes as they do in most overseas countries. Programmes of this kind build up the confidence workers have in their own ability to manage their own affairs.

Industrial democracy is the opposite of industrial disharmony. It implies completely new social relationships implying not only greater dignity for the individual but also a greater and more meaningful choice, or freedom. Industrial democracy establishes collective and individual rights and obligations and has no place for laissez-faire every man for himself, and implies an explicit policy on the distribution of wealth in society.



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NON-ALIGNMENT

the swedish alternative

In Sweden we feel we have a good practical expression of non-alignment. By being a non-participant in any of the major packs we continue a tradition dating back to the Napoleonic era.

Swedish foreign policy is to support liberation movements. This is not done out of socialist principles but out of a humanitarian principle decided by the United Nations.

The reason we believe in non-alignment and not neutrality is that we believe that we have social responsibilities to under-developed nations. A neutralist policy would not see us having these.

Important in our policy is a real, rather than implied support for the UN. We have taken the UN resolutions on Rhodesia very seriously as many other Western nations have failed to do.

An important aspect of Swedish foreign policy is investment. We have tried to steer our investment so that it does not drop. It does not deplete the under-developed nations of their resources. To this extent we have given favourable trade concessions to nations such as Tanzania and India to help them while at the same time not insisting that they follow our ideas.

Trade is the collective responsibility of all, so naturally we consult the trade unions on any decisions.

Because our policy of helping liberation movements and third world is often economically unprofitable the interests of government and private capitalists are often contradictory.

However often it has meant a reorientation in trading priorities. At first, for example, private interest were ideologically opposed to Swedish support for Cuba. However, our interests coalesce, when they realized that it was a profitable market.

We have nothing against that as Castro will ensure that such trade cannot be used in the same way as in South Africa or Rhodesia.

Economic co-operation is developing in countries is intrinsic to our policy of non-alignment. We realise however that any such co-operation must be bi-lateral and only takes place on a multi-lateral level.

If there is any conflict in Swedish foreign policy it is how to retain Swedish economic interests without impinging on the third world's rights. For as the gap between rich and poor continues and grows and as we benefit from such a situation then we develop at the expense of the poor and oppressed nations and give them little latitude to progress.

In 1965 our present prime minister said that the aim of a socialist democratic government is to stand on the side of the poor and wretched against their exploiters. Our policy in Sweden is a policy of non-alignment in peace time and neutrality in war. It differs from the non-alignment policies of Switzerland and Austria and that it is non-

constitutional - it was made from a decision of the majority in parliament.

Our policy doesn't mean that we should be silent, for we have spoken out strongly against any form of oppression no matter who commits it, as we did when the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968.

We have also consistently opposed the war in Indo-China, in fact diplomatic relations between Sweden and the United States have only been recently resumed because our prime minister compared the Christmas bombings in North Vietnam two years ago to what Hitler did in the Second World War.

Our aid policy reflects our ideals. The Social Democrats policy is only to give aid that will aid development. We have given support to North Vietnam, India, Cuba and Tanzania where it will be used to aid development.

Sweden doesn't use this as economic blackmail i.e. because aid was given they have to buy our goods because this would increase the price of our goods by between 20-40% - their debts would increase and we would be harming them by our so-called aid.

We have recognised governments which according to ideas from Washington and the Pentagon should

not have been recognised. In fact we were the first country in the so-called free world to recognise the government of North Vietnam.

However, the young socialists (in Sweden) have criticised the government for not carrying out this policy e.g. the govt. has not recognised the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam or the Royal Govt. of Cambodia.

The youth movement has also played a vital role not only in the question of development co-operation to the govt. but also the question of support to national liberation movements. The Swedish Govt. supports the liberation movements in Mosambique, South Africa and other countries not for pure socialist reasons but for other human reasons and this has been decided by the United Nations, in contrast to other countries who didn't support the UN by their deeds.

CHILE

Luis Ayala is a Chilean in exile, after spending 3 months in the Chilean underground. He is the President of I.U.S.Y.

How did your political involvement in Chile begin?

Well, I am 25 years old and from when I was 13 years old I have been a member of the Radical Youth. While still at school I was a member of the students federation which is very highly political. At University I became a member of the Directory of the Federation of Students.

What were your aims in the Student Federation?

We tried to make students aware of the need for reform - both within the University and within Chile. From 1968, we started a very strong reform movement. Our main task was to change studies inside the University to reconcile the University students with the Chilean reality. The main idea was to relate the University

Did you change the University structure?

Yes, we actually achieved students participating in electing the administrators. However, we had participation everywhere. Thousands of students took part in voluntary work when the copper mines were nationalised. They took part in agricultural reform by forming student brigades to help the peasants in building co-operatives. Many students also helped in illiteracy campaign. Within the University, university exten-

sion courses for workers were set up. For the first time, the University ceased to be a separate structure and became integrated with society.

Did you see the University as part of the capitalist structure?

Yes, it was the way to achieve an orientation to the capitalist society.

Did you feel, then, that if you changed the University then maybe you could change the capitalist structure?

No, we were very clear that in order to make a revolutionary change, it could not start in the University. We needed to change the society to change the University. Our vanguard was always the working class.

Under development in Chile also occurred in Brasil, in Argentina and throughout Latin America. Could you ever achieve radical reform just in Chile? Is that why you failed?

We were very clear that ours was a shared reality. We believed in the necessity of a common fight of the Latin American people to oppose their exploitation.

Latin America exported capital. In the last 30 years, copper companies got \$US9,000 million from Chile. Their takings averaged a 2 1/4% increase. But in Chile it averaged 10%.

We had to rectify this. We were starting to confront our problems, and then the coup came.

What happened in the last four weeks before the coup?

It was obvious that our actions were endangering American interests so it was inevitable that we should go. Even before Allende came to power we knew that they and the plutocracy would not tolerate us.

They calculated at isolating our economy. Our aid was cut off and loans were impossible to get.

Internally, the opposition sabotaged our industry and the newspapers vilified the government. Despite this, because we believed in constitutionalism, we let them continue.

We were becoming asphyxiated. The week before the coup, saw the culmination of this pattern, and it's intensification. We knew what was happening but there was little that we could do. But that was not the end, for the common people had experienced freedom, and they would not forget. Throughout the months of fascist rule, and despite murder and torture, they still remember. We have a saying and it is Vencemos - we shall win.



TOWARDS THE SANE SOCIETY

JEFF McDONALD TALKS TO DR FRASER McDONALD, SUPERINTENDANT OF CARRINGTON MENTAL HOSPITAL, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SICK SOCIETY.

JB: Dr McDonald, you have been quoted as saying our capitalist system is causing a lot of mental illness. To what extent does this affect the individual?

McD: Well, I think everybody is completely affected. They think it is just a part of the normal state of affairs. They don't realise how distorted their 'normal' selves are distorted by social pressures. They accept it as their normal environment. It is very hard to imagine how far they are distorted from a much more productive, stress free life.

JB: By productive do you mean in the sense of human capabilities.

McD: Yes, as well as the \$ and c type. The best worker is a healthy, happy worker. I think work is essential to mental health. We are still suffering from the myth originating the beginning of the industrial era that work was so bloody awful, it would be heavenly to sit around doing nothing. When somebody retires, they often go to pieces very badly, similarly the unemployed, and it is very bad to get them to undertake some sort of work they can bear. Housewives are in many respects at a loose end, and may become neurotic.

JB: Well how can society change so that people get more satisfaction out of their work?

McD: Obviously, one looks to parallels. Now in Russia and China there is one striking feature and that is the happy sense of involvement. They have certainly solved many of those problems and this is not propaganda. It is unlikely that New Zealanders would put up with that level of an organisation, but somehow we can adapt our political system to get results similar to those.

JB: Could you explain how an individual in our sort of society could be happy as a member of a team.

McD: There are some very destructive forces at work. Firstly, the power of advertising must make his dissatisfied about the size of the pay packet he is receiving. He is being encouraged to buy a lot of material goods, yet his wages are kept at such a low level that he can only get these things by an awful lot of struggle. This is part of the capitalist system and it will go on so long as capitalism continues. You must have intensive advertising to create these artificial needs. Any many of them are aimed at making a man feel inadequate as a man if he does not get these things for his family, inadequate as a father, inadequate as a breadwinner and he tends to consider himself a failure because only a tiny percentage can afford these things.

When there is the tremendous competitiveness and not co-operation bred by the system, makes everyone feel on his own and consider the next man as an enemy - a destroyer of his security (of his job) so that it accentuates competitiveness. It is also fostered by our family system - a very tightly enclosed, inward looking system which is a very odd way of bringing up children in the content of world history. It has only been going a couple of centuries and it perpetrates this idea of the enemy against us, the family (Dad and the two kids)

JB: Do you see any political parties in this country which are aware that this is the situation and are striving to overcome it.

McD: I am constantly disappointed in the NZ communist party and the

Peking/Soviet conflict which seems to dominate their thinking. This turns most people off and leaves the constructive thinking to the National and Labour parties and effectively silences the left. Labour has accepted the mantle of the left wing party - but is no more left wing than my foot.

JB: Are you recommending a rather revolutionary change in government policy. So you think NZ'ers would really welcome this?

McD: I think there is an awful lot of radical support that is waiting for a realistic intellectual lead. The NZ tradition is a radical tradition and it is just not being catered for with these very conservative middle of the road Labour and National parties which really have no intention of changing the system at all.

The early Labour party was quite revolutionary with the start of social security, state housing, free medical services but it has lost its radical enlightened approach. We need a NZ type of socialism because you cannot transplant the Soviet or Chinese system to our conditions.

JB: The original Marxist theory had as its basic intention to produce an independent free thinking, active and productive individual. Do you think any industrial society can afford to produce such a person?

McD: Yes, I think you can only afford to have someone like this as long as he is totally involved in the political process. He must be involved in decision making in a very real sense.

JB: It is politically unrealistic to think that all of a sudden people will suddenly fall in line with this new socialism and forget the capitalist precepts they were brought up with. Could this create more stress and lawlessness?

McD: In fact it would take a long time to re-educate the people that they can do something to improve the defects of the present system. It will be a long time before they can be educated to think there can be anything different. We must get them ready to accept the price it will cost to get rid of these defects from the system.

JB: Do you think the educational system helps to maintain the capitalist system by treating the pupils as individuals who must compete against each other, and not work together as members of a group.

McD: Yes certainly the education system helps maintain the present ideology.

JB: What will be the worst disadvantage to the individual in the changeover?

McD: I don't think the individual will suffer much. Perhaps, it will be the loss of the freedom of the eccentric thinking in a system that one envisages. I think social pressures may be very hard on the individual who criticises the system - in an objective way. Mind you, its the same in the present system to a certain extent so perhaps that won't be any great change.

JB: I think the popular notion is that a communist or socialist factory or office worker is no happier than a capitalist worker because of the boredom and frustration of their work. Do you think it is possible to allow people to become truly human beings and still expect them to work in these menial jobs?

McD: Oh yes, I most certainly think so, so long as the worker can be made

to feel he has an essential part to play in the whole of society. The menial jobs can become enjoyable if the society is organised properly. The only despicable jobs are those despised because of the conditions of work. It is extremely hard under the capitalist system to make these jobs non-boring and attractive. I think that you need a system where the first priority is the actual worker and he should feel a contented member of society and after that the GNP and not the other way around.

JB: Surely in the transitional stage, there is a possibility that people will become disillusioned with the system and seeing no brighter alternatives offering so long as their actual jobs don't change, then

ional reach of everyone. Then you can stop thinking about communication gaps and start thinking of job satisfaction.

JB: Do you think it would be a good idea to encourage more families to create communes in the urban environment.

McD: I would like to see much more experimenting in this type of thing. Certainly Maoris are trying this by the resurrection of the Marae idea. I would like to see in state housing areas some experimental architecture where 4, 8, 20 different families are arranged in a compound so that each block could have some community identity.



opt out. Could we in fact reach a state of anarchy?

McD: I don't think anarchy is such a bad thing really. The overtones of what we think of anarchy is bad. But the original theorists on anarchy, Propotkin a Herten haven't been understood at all well. I think there is a tremendous hunger for the ideals held out by the anarchist thinkers - we see this in the active life style movement. Their ideas in setting up communes are often spoilt by the people being untutored and unskilled. If there was more modern anarchist writing we could give these people more help in setting up their communes in a viable sort of way, so a lot of the original idealism could be put into action right away.

JB: Do you think that ultimately small communities that are largely self supporting are a better alternative to the industrial society?

McD: I certainly think that we have just got to get back to small communities, where the size is such that everyone is within emotional reach of everyone else. Even if they may be slightly less efficient (and I doubt this really) we simply must get back to smaller communities from a purely psychiatric public health point of view. We are starting to do this with Carrington Mental Hospital. To get things down to a believable size we are creating four hospitals from the original one, so that all the staff and patients can be within the emot-

JB: Original Marxist theory held that man was only completely happy when he was in complete harmony with his world: himself, his fellow men and with nature. To do this he must be free, active and productive. How will this individual behave and feel in the ideal community.

McD: Well I can imagine we will be much more open and trusting with one another because we feel we have to protect ourselves by putting on masks. Presently we have to disguise ourselves, we are frightened to tell other people who we really are. This is biologically unnatural, dogs and cats don't have to hide from one another. I can imagine we will have a greater feeling of naturalness, of belongingness, of being one with the world. Much reduced anxiety, much reduced depression.

JB: There has been much talk recently of the occult and many respected scientists have investigated ESP, telepathy,

faith healing, and physic surgery etc. Often they have been able to discount fraud so do you envisage the full development of man's potential will extend into what we now call the super-natural?

McD: I wouldn't call it the supernatural, but, certainly, the human brain has only had a small fraction of its full potential tapped yet. We have only started to understand a small fraction of our

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psychological powers. I would hold back from calling it the supernatural but it could certainly go beyond what we call the natural laws of the human psyche at the present time. There will be developments in the speed and depth of learning and areas which have not thought to be open to learning will be opened up.

JB: In the future, is it possible that automation and streamlining of distribution of goods result in a leisure-orientated society, so that people will be able to explore these activities.

McD: Yes I'm sure. Work as we now know it will only fill in a small fraction of a person's time and the rest of the time people will be doing something constructive which they will enjoy doing, unlike at present where work is something wicked to be got rid of or avoided. It must be creative activity, for the sake of anyone's mental health (housewives included) who really haven't got enough to do, they need something stimulating, worthwhile to occupy themselves.

JB: Would you agree then that our system which produces a competitive, insular type of person, creates as a by-product high crime and divorce rates and similar social diseases.

McD: Yes. These things are a function of the system and where people feel alienated these problems will arise. Delinquency, for example, occurs when an individual doesn't know or care for the individual or property he is hurting.

JB: Do you think the way we treat our prisoners reflects the rather inhuman way we regard our fellow man.

McD: I think the whole of penology is a total mess, although I haven't got any easy solutions I do think that they should have much more creative activity for the sake of anyone's mental health.

JB: As a psychiatrist do you feel the present prison sentences are quite excessive if they aim to reform the prisoner.

McD: Yes I can't make up my mind what they want to do. Whether they want to reform him, punish him or shut him away from society. They're so unclear what the aim of imprisonment is that they can't possibly develop any coherent policy.

Unfortunately I think penal reform is held back by fears that they will be accused of running labour camps. When in fact properly run, work-orientated prisons are good for society and help rehabilitate criminals.

JB: What is there for the concerned individual to do to alleviate the mess that modern man has got himself into?

McD: There's an awful lot. Obviously there are the seeds of dissatisfaction. The setting up of the Values Party is trying to non-align with any other ideology but it creates an enlightened policy for NZ. As well, the individual can help in the things mentioned before and small group activities to try and humanise our society. The long range aim is different to set up a radically different political system.

JB: Do you think drug using is necessarily bad for a person who is searching for answers.

McD: No, I think they have got a place. But the person must know a lot about drugs. Indiscriminate users waiting for something to happen tend to come apart at the seams. They are very potent things and get people into trouble and make them unproductive. Similarly alcohol can be very destructive.

JB: Do you think alcohol is a more socially destructive than marijuana?

McD: Yes

JB: Do you think present government policy is unnecessarily harsh on drug users?

McD: They couldn't be any more liberal really. Public feeling is very hard line. It would be political suicide if they went any further. Drugs arouse a lot of terrible irrational feeling amongst people, which I see all the time at seminars etc.

JB: Do you think immediate legislation to introduce profit sharing and worker participation; contribution in management would be any use.

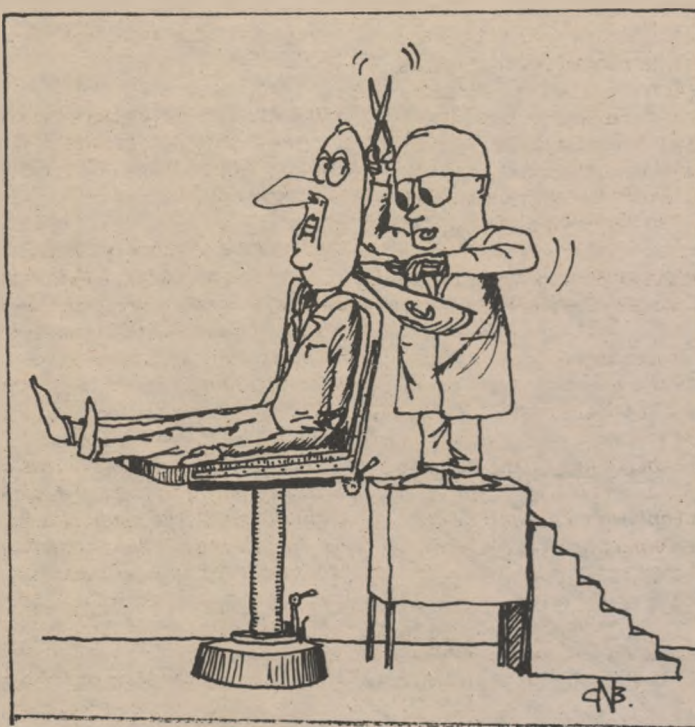
McD: Oh yes. I was rather intrigued by the suggestion to nationalise all the land - yes I think that's a good idea. This could well change a lot of things. It could be a help to a lot of people if we could wipe out the whole squalid business of land profiteering and the emotions that

land ownership arouses in Europeans and Maoris. It would give government much greater control of ecology and the environment.

JB: What do you think of the primitive Maori style of life before it was tainted by the white man.

McD: There, they would have been living much more like healthy animals which I greatly admire them for. But of course it's a vastly different sort of system. There just wasn't a word for I, or a concept of ego. Whereas our whole system is built around the freedom of the individual. The whole judaeo-M'ian bit ya know. He had no feeling of being separated from himself - he was the tribe and the tribe was him.

END.



where
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Forward to Syria!! Delegates to the recent I.U.S.Y. meeting visit Rotorua.

The International Union of Socialist Youth is the association of youth and student organisations based on the principles of Democratic Socialism and Internationalism. These principles aim at building a world community based on the four fundamental ideals of freedom, justice, equality and solidarity and at eradicating capitalism and all kinds of Imperialism and to establish collective ownership of vital means of production.

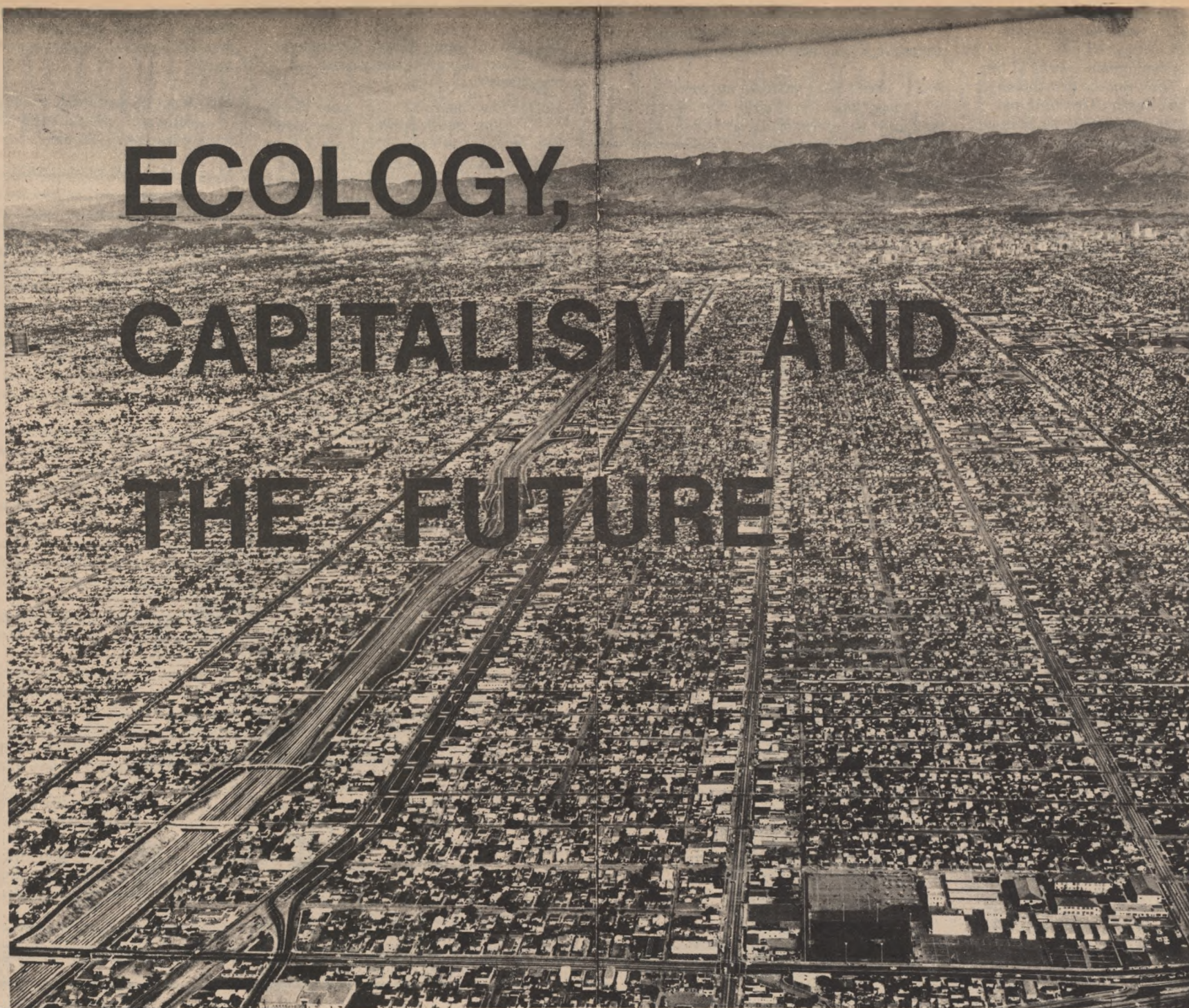
Our goal is a classless society characterized by co-operation and solidarity; all barriers preventing man from attaining and enjoying freedom and security and from experiencing equality and solidarity with others must be broken down.

But socialism will not be attained without tremendous fight and sacrifice. It entails the ultimate unity of all forces fighting for Socialist Internationalism. To this struggle we hereby dedicate ourselves in co-operation with all who fight for the same aims.

IUSSY considers that the following are the fundamental principles of Democratic Socialism and Internationalism.

1. International economic solidarity meaning a worldwide equal distribution of the material and cultural riches of the peoples.
2. International political solidarity meaning active support for the principles of self-determination of all peoples.
3. A full and meaningful mobilisation of the resources of the world - technical, economic and human - aimed at creating good living conditions for all mankind.
4. A peaceful solution of conflicts between peoples and general disarmament.
5. The preservation of the basic human rights, as embodied in the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights.
6. Collective ownership of the means of production, social control and democratic planning for the public good.
7. Democratic organisation of the social, political and economic life of the community at all levels.
8. Social and economic planning aimed at spreading education and culture to all groups of people in all parts of the world.
9. Social, medical and economic planning aimed at preventing, mitigating and remedying physical and mental illness all over the world.
10. Social and economic planning aimed at creating a classless society and equality between individuals with different physical and intellectual capabilities.

ECOLOGY, CAPITALISM AND THE FUTURE.



ECOLOGY, CAPITALISM AND THE FUTURE

For most of human history the future has been hazy, if not totally unpredictable. Futurology was left to astrologers, Nostrodamuses and other quacks. The same may not be said of the present. Ecologists and other scientists have begun to show us some of the limits to our development. Some economists have implicitly told us as much. The political scientists should be telling us much more.

We are haunted by a human population explosion that has already exceeded the organisational capacities of our social and political systems. Most of the contemporary world is doomed to poverty, famine, disease and war for that reason and hundreds of millions are condemned to what can only be termed sub-human existences.

Economically and politically there is a growing gap between the rich and powerful of the earth (who are also the most conspicuous consumers and polluters) and the poor, weak and populous. The latter now constitute at least half of the world's population. It is estimated that by the year 2,000 they will constitute about two thirds.

3. The pressure of population and of accelerating consumption per head amongst the affluent few have contributed to the near exhaustion of major resources. It has been suggested that reasonably recoverable supplies of natural gas could run out before the year 2,000, oil soon after and coal by about 2,030. Supplies of many metals will also have been exhausted during the same period.

4. The same phenomena have contributed also to far reaching transformations of the natural environment which already render human habitation difficult or unpleasant in many parts of the world. Lakes have been 'killed' by industrial poisons. Air has been so filled with carbon monoxide and other noxious substances that peoples in large cities have died of it. Vast areas of land have been so over-cropped, or otherwise mistreated that they are now barren. (Texas, Nevada, North Sahara, Lebanon.)

The 'curtaining' effect of supersonic jets could produce a significant lowering or raising of the earth's temperature, the scientists are not quite sure which. The scientists are, however, in almost complete

agreement that if we continue to populate, produce and pollute on present scales we will so transform the earth's ecology that we will soon render it uninhabitable.

The implications of such known facts are horrific. If the species makes it to the end of the twenty first century it will probably do so only after revolutionary technological, social and political transformations. In the absence of controlled transformation, the price of survival for a relative few will have been a series of devastating wars over dwindling resources. Because survival will depend upon the careful control of as much of the environment as possible, the survivors will probably be organised in a single, centralised and somewhat authoritarian global polity.

The implications are indeed so far reaching that few are prepared to face them. Immersed as we are in traditional patterns of behaviour and thought, few think on a truly global scale -

- or on a scale necessary to embrace the widespread changes in our total environment which are already underway. Thus problems and remedies continue to be viewed locally. We agitate about the local rubbish dump, the filling in of parts of the harbour, the French more than the Chinese bomb tests and so on. But the basic and growing disharmony between human demands as a whole and the global environment continues to be discussed and dealt with piecemeal, parochially and therefore with almost complete lack of effect.

Political Implications and Solutions

Although men have always pressed upon their immediate natural resources they were until recently but one among many sources of environmental transformation. They were limited in numbers, leaving vast areas of habitable land vacant. Moreover their technology and thus their capacity to change the environment was limited.

However, in the last 2 - 300 years there has been an unprecedented acceleration of human growth and a more than proportionate increase in human impact upon the total environment. Population grew from about 728 millions in 1750 to the present 3,800 millions, nearly half that growth occurring in the last 43 years.

The population explosion was accompanied in some states by a continuing technological revolution of even greater significance. It has meant that diminishing numbers of men possess the capacity and desire to transform the environment on an ever increasing scale. Thus the contemporary USA, which is by far the most technologically sophisticated society in the world, possesses only 5.26 per cent of the world's population but consumes about 35 per cent of the world's energy. Indeed by far the greater part of the world's resources as a whole are used by a small number of highly industrialised states with relatively small total population.

The era of untrammelled growth is nearly over. If we fail to impose our own social and political checks the laws of the natural environment will do it for us. Progress will need to take other forms than the accumulation of goods.

The nature of these social and political checks is the central question which we continue to avoid. A number of points stand out.

1. The longer the delay the greater the pressure on the environment and the more drastic the subsequent social and other human changes that will be required.
2. World population is already so great and our political and social resources so small that mere adjustment will be inad-

equated. If, for example, we wished to achieve for all anything approaching American standards of living on the basis of present life styles and technology we would probably need to reduce world population by about two thirds. Such a target could not conceivably be achieved unless by major natural catastrophe or massive political violence. The maintenance, on the other hand, of the present situation of conspicuous affluence for the static few in the midst of poverty for the rapidly increasing mass seems to be politically out of the question in a period of rising popular awareness. It too could be maintained only by the use of continuing large scale violence.

3. Scientific and technological solutions for the environmental problems as a whole are out of the question. No technology could deal with the essential problem of rising demand for finite resources and the unavoidable environmental changes resulting from all technological and industrial activity. This fact is scientifically irrefutable. That it is as yet not widely accepted derives from lingering blind faith in the capacity of science and a failure to regard the environmental problem as a whole.

Technological or political tinkering will solve none of our long-term problems. They won't even delay them very long. Revolutionary social, economic and political changes will alone enable us to cope relatively humanely in a period of dwindling resources and intensifying human reactions in a decreasingly healthy environment.

Politically we are confronted with a series of issues.

World Government

Firstly, we possess no international institutions capable of the type of decisive action which is necessitated by global problems. Resources rationing is, for example, essential if we are to avoid an intensification of tension and the probability of open warfare over the distribution of resources such as oil. The fish war

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has already begun and will intensify. We may anticipate many others in the absence of international regulation. Population controls are equally important yet are being inadequately implemented by factions and parochial national governments. In this respect it is important to appreciate that to be effective controls must be compulsory and universal. One could provide innumerable other examples of the need for international action.

The general message is irrefutable. To cope with the type of problems that confront us we need international administrative and regulatory agencies, equipped with full powers of enforcement, from which no nation may be permitted to stand aside. In fine, world government is less a utopian dream than a necessity for survival.

Inadequacy of Capitalism

Secondly, a capitalistic political and economic system is incapable of the type of action noted above and will need to be discarded.

The essence of capitalism is the exploitation of resources for private rather than public profit. It is intimately associated with the phenomenon of growth which is probably necessary to its maintenance, and thus with the encouragement of conspicuous consumption.

We cannot permit decisions about scarce resources to remain in private and publicly irresponsible hands. Above all we cannot permit social attitudes to be manipulated in an essentially selfish and anti-social fashion.

The ad-man's world of the new, the flashy and the manufactured has been at the very heart of the culture of planned obsolescence, conspicuous consumption and conspicuous waste.

We can no longer afford the luxury of deliberate discarding of major investments like motor cars. Nor can we afford to permit the uncontrolled creation of demands for ephemeral products and pleasure when every demand imposes additional pressure upon the environment.

To suggest that a reformed welfare state capitalism might be capable of the necessary transition is to be naive in the extreme. Even in the welfare state the essence of capitalism remains the search for private rather than public profit. To that end the individual is largely free to exploit those resources which he can buy and to produce those goods which he thinks will be most profitable. To assist in the sale of the goods he produces he is free to advertise in almost as anti-social a fashion as he pleases and is even assisted by taxation and other incentives to do so.

State regulation on the scale necessary to ensure wise use of resources would necessarily be on such a scale that it would strike at the very heart of present day capitalism. Moreover negative regulations alone would be inadequate in a time when we need planned development to ensure that human activities remain more or less in balance with the total environment.

Socialist Solutions

Thirdly, socialist solutions may thus be seen to offer the only hope of significant success.

In a time when we will sink or swim

together we can no longer maintain the curious belief that a host of individual decisions directed at individual benefit result in a larger public good. There is in fact only one way to ensure the wider public good and that is by the delegation of powers for collective decision-making to elected public representatives.

Acceptance of the principle is shown in our election of councils, boards and parliaments. But with our present private enterprise or capitalist system our elected representatives spend most of their time regulating the anti-social activities of private enterprise.

The only rational solution is to do collectively for the public good what is now done privately for individual profit. In short we need, above all in a period of scarce resources, to produce our goods as well as to educate our children for social ends under social control.

Land is already in such short supply and its correct use of such vital concern that its private ownership and control may no longer be permitted. Under public ownership the granting of land use rights under leasing arrangements should be closely regulated and clearly defined.

Revolution in Attitudes

Associated with such social control we will need a revolution in attitudes. The idea that the primary end of existence is the acquisition of more and more material goods will be inexorably eliminated by the iron law of finite resources. In a world of finite resources we may not continue to foster rising material aspirations and almost infinite material demands.

We will need to develop other aspirations and satisfactions that the mere production and consumption of goods. The sooner we do this the longer our resources will last and the less traumatic will be the inevitable transformation.

We need to become infinitely more concerned about harmony and balance than with our contemporary obsession with change and progress. The ideas may appear strange but have until recent times been philosophically far more widely accepted. Prior to the industrial revolution virtually all societies emphasised to one degree or another harmony with nature for the very real reasons that they were directly dependent upon agriculture, and thus upon natural phenomena, for their sustenance and survival.

For a brief period of about 200 years industrial man was able to control his environment and divorce himself from the restraints of nature to such a degree that his powers for change and 'progress' seemed unlikely. The assumption is now seen, as we come up against the limits to our resources, to be unwarranted. The seeming dominance of industrial society was temporary and based upon exploitation.

The cults of production and growth should, in other words, be replaced by those of harmony, balance and social activity. If the prospect appears alarming to some it will appear as a liberation to others. Given our present technology it is possible for small numbers of people to produce food and industrial goods for many times their number. A major part of our present economy is in fact already occupied by those providing services for industry and the public.

With carefully managed resources, the avoidance of conspicuous consumption, the ending of planned obsolescence and the immediate control of population we could reduce the productive sector to a far smaller part of our total economy while possibly sustaining moderate increases in the material standard of existence. We could thus divert much more of our time, resources and energy to the provision of public services of all kinds and to creative, artistic and recreational activity.

The Balinese developed many centuries ago a society which was marked by a remarkably stable balance with the environment, a philosophy of harmony, and an artistic culture of extraordinary grace and refinement. Art, beauty and harmony continue to be central values in Balinese society despite the disruptive effect of many outside influences. Is it beyond our wit to devise our own values appropriate to a new and more stable balance between industrial society and the natural environment?

A Programme for New Zealand

What does all this mean for New Zealand?

Basically it means an end to minor tinkering and the creation of a deliberately planned socialist society in stable balance with the New Zealand environment.

Our present pride in New Zealand's concern with the environment is excessive and quite unwarranted by a realistic assessment of actual needs. The saving of Lake Taupo and the stricter enforcement of sewage regulations and so on are all desirable and necessary. However they touch upon none of the prime causes. We remain a society of conspicuous consumers and polluters dedicated to the unthinkable exploitation of the environment and dominated by the concerns of private enterprise.

The present return to welfare policies is necessary yet it fails to touch any of the central issues. The Labour Government remains committed to private production and ever more conspicuous consumption or the conventional view of a car or two for every household, a Sanyo in every pocket. Its Minister for the Environment has no executive power. Its spokesmen indicate no awareness of the wider issues involved.

Internal Reform

An outline of the types of reform we need follows:

1. The ending of population growth by means of public education, the provision of free contraceptives, the legalising of abortion and the ending of all immigration except by exchange.
2. The socialisation of production by a combination of worker, public and governmental control. Let production be a public activity for public purposes.
3. The socialisation of land.
4. The limitation of advertising of goods and services to the bare minimum necessary to indicate their form, price and availability. Let us start to determine our own needs and aspirations.
5. The environmental costing of all economic and perhaps some recreational activity. Let us charge a realistic price for the discharge of all effluents and the use of all resources, including water. Environmental costing of this type would lead, for example, to the revival of the railways which use about 1/5 the energy per ton of cargo as does road transport. Motorway construction would stop.
6. Public financing and assistance of greatly expanded educational and cultural and recreational activities.
7. The systematic propagation of the concept of a new New Zealand society, mature, balanced, in harmony with its environment and directed to social rather than essentially economic ends.

International Action

Our South Pacific utopia would, however, remain as dependant and inadequate as ever in the absence of comparable change throughout the rest of the world. The essence of the environmental or ecological crisis is that we all share a common human destiny from which we may not escape.

In New Zealand there is a widespread complacency because we are so remote

from the worst centres of population pressure or industrial pollution and because we live close to sea, farms and bush. Yet we cannot escape the consequences of energy shortages, we are already affected by maritime pollution and nuclear radiation in the atmosphere. Our coastal waters are already being overfished. We will be unable to stand neutral in any future conflict, whether it is over resources or between the rich and poor states. Indeed our very isolation from the worst effects of the crisis may make us an object of envy, a prize for powerful and predatory states. Where the rest of the world goes we will go too.

Our present foreign policies go to the root of none of these issues. Some of our policies exacerbate them. We continue, for example, to protest about isolated instances of global pollution such as French testing but have moved very slowly on general questions of over-fishing and maritime pollution. Our aid remains far below the level which conservative economists estimate is needed for 'take-off' in the underdeveloped world. Aid is, moreover, indiscriminate and fails to cope adequately with the most fundamental problem of all in the 'underdeveloped' world, population growth. Unless it is checked the marginal increases in living standards which occurred in some areas in the 1960s will inevitably be converted into decreases in the 1970s and 80s. In Southeast Asia our policies are designed to promote 'stability' largely by means of military governments and military means in an area where radical social and economic transformation is essential. Policies such as these frustrate necessary change and tie us in firmly with the exclusive alliance of capitalist states which benefit from and help to perpetuate Third World poverty.

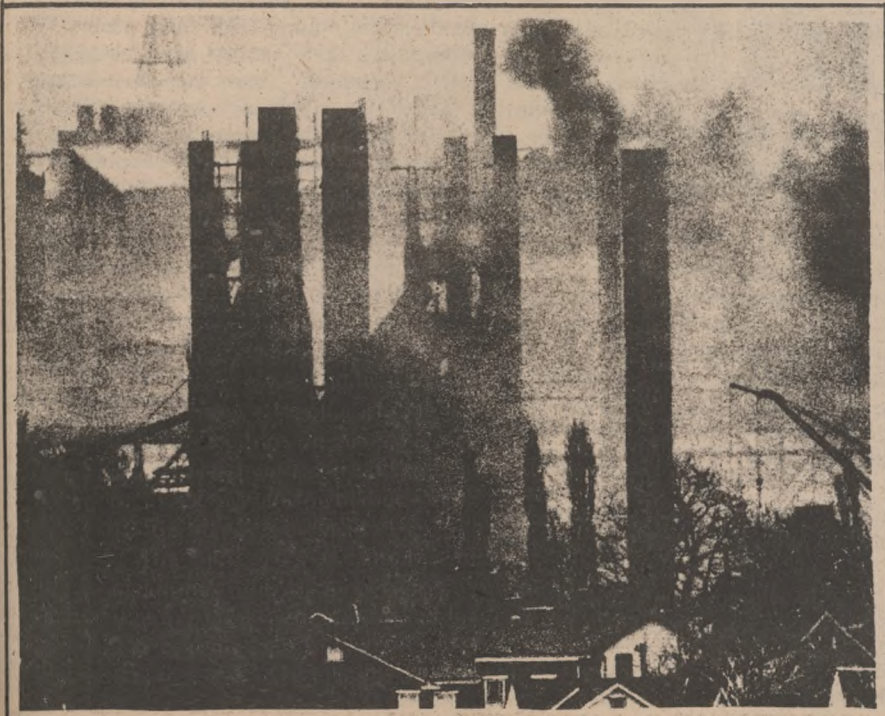
If we are to cope with the ecological crisis humanely, cooperatively and without major warfare, it is essential that we radically re-orientate our foreign policy towards the following ends:

1. The establishment of fair trade arrangements which favour primary rather than manufactured produce. A measure such as this would reverse the trend of the last 28 years and would in itself be the greatest possible incentive to decelerating undesirable growth in the advanced manufactured states and stimulating necessary growth in the 'underdeveloped' states.
2. Massive redistribution of international wealth and resources with the objective of establishing over 30 years a considerable measure of international equality. This would almost certainly involve public aid levels more than 10 times as high as those of the present. But is the need not obvious? Is not intensifying international conflict inherent in a situation of scarce resources and increasing international inequality?
3. The active promotion of international regulatory agencies to control the use of scarce resources such as oil and fish and to establish and supervise international pollution standards for example.
4. The direction of virtually all our aid and most of our other international activities through the United Nations. Only then may aid lose its strings and may those in need determine its levels. Above all we should discard the fiction that so-called regional security arrangements, which mean in practice the propping up by military means of inadequate regimes in South-East Asia, provide any security at all. In reality they prevent necessary change on the one hand and promote international suspicion and rivalry on the other. True security is indivisible and can be achieved internationally through the United Nations or not at all.

We will need, therefore, to work actively and insistently for the withering away of the sovereign national state in favour of international government which recognises not the sovereignty of man but his inescapable interdependence with his environment.

World government still sounds utopian. Certainly it has so far eluded us. In the light of the scientific evidence is there any alternative?

* MIKE STENSON *

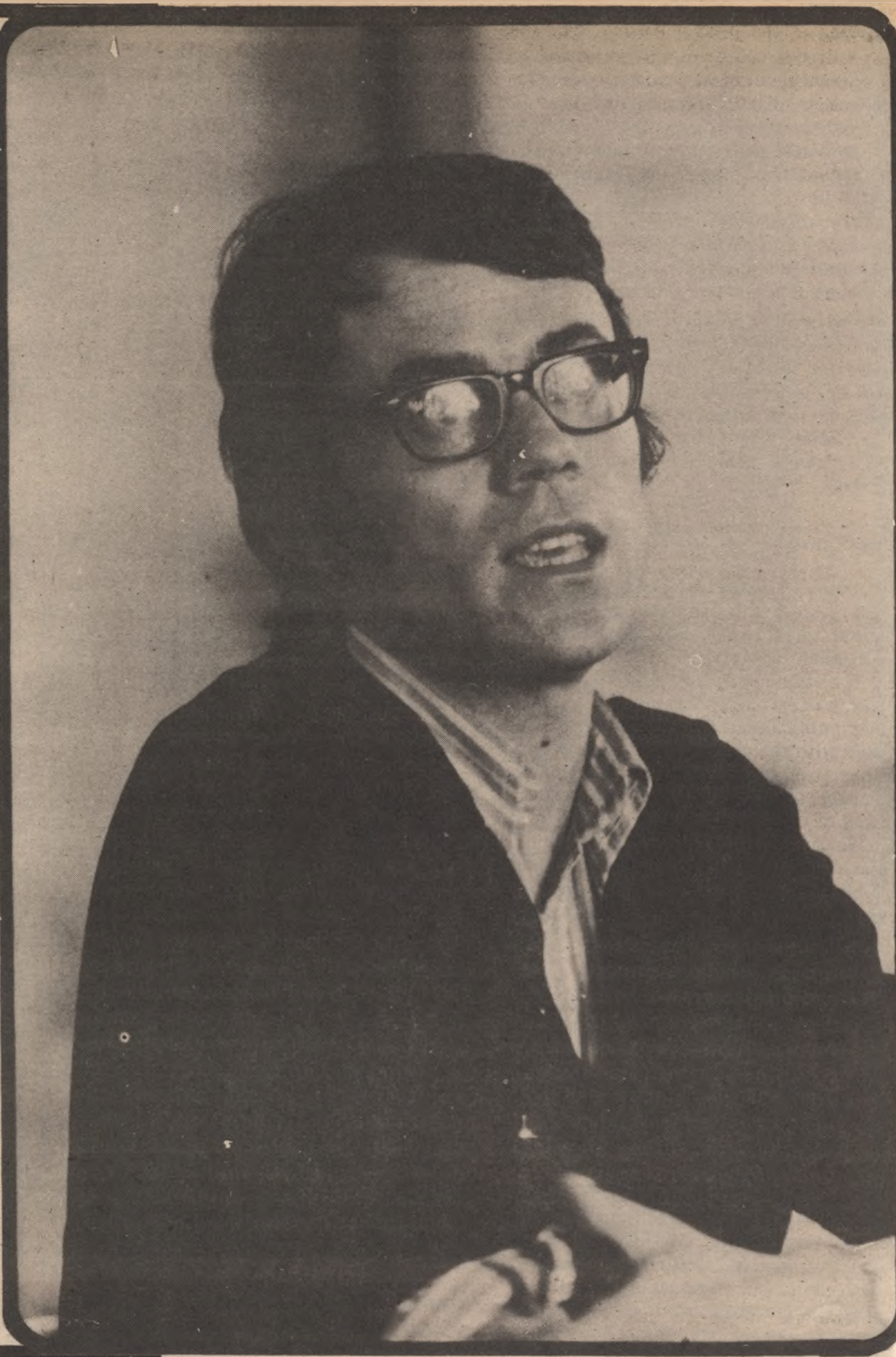


Johan Peanberg is the Swedish Secretary of the I.U.S.Y. (International Union of Socialist Youth), and talked with Brent Lewis in Wellington at the recent conference.

The following is a transcription of their conversation.

THREE THOUSAND MILLION EQUAL SHARES

or 'creeping socialism'...



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Brent Lewis: One of the most important things to come out of this conference is the endorsement of Zanu as being a constituent of I.S.U.Y. because this stresses, it seems to me, a belief that democratic means may not be appropriate to the third world. It means that I.U.S.U. can distinguish between situations and not be liberal and irrelevant.

Johan Peanberg: Yes, I agree 100 percent. As democrats, we must agree with the majority of people. It's very clear that in Zimbabwe there is no democracy for the majority of people. Their spokesman, thus, are the African Liberation Movements. Zanu you remember said we stand for the same aims and principles that's where we coalesce. The methods they use depend on the tools used against them.

B.L.: Many organisations of I.U.S.Y. are underground because their members have challenged dictatorial regimes to their loss of freedom. Could you tell us about some of them?

J.P.: Well one of our vice-presidents, Pablo Ruiz from Spain has not been heard from for six months. It is unfortunately one of the dangers of peaceful co-existence which has a lot of advantages.

Brent: What, ultimately, is the answer? Is it to forego peaceful change in favour of revolution or is democratic change still relevant?

Johan: Well first of all, I don't see any conflict between revolutions or reforms. Reforms, if they are going to be effective have to be revolutionary. I would say that the majority of revolutions have failed because the political and economic level of the people has not yet reached the level where there could be a successful socialist take-over.

B.L.: One of the complex questions that may diffuse our movement is this: our democratic socialist movement may take too much notice of democracy to the exclusion of socialism or perhaps the reverse. People become obsessed with institution and forget the reasons why the institution was created. You must have seen examples of this?

Johan: That's true, but I think that the ultimate aim of democracy is socialism. The institutions of private property where everything is decided by the heads this becomes irreconcilable with democracy.

Practically all over Western Europe, money has to go into private enterprise in times of recession. For a start its important that the state and workers have a right to decide with the capitalists that there will be worker participation.

Brent: Now I.U.S.Y. works internationally. It exemplifies the power of ideals of people combined together to get these ideals recognized. This must make you anti-nationalist. I wonder if there is a contradiction between being Socialist and Nationalist.

Johan: No, on the contrary - Look at Tanzania. There are 120 ethnic minorities there and one ethnic minority, the Chaka, form most of the professions in Tanzania. What is important for Tanzania to develop is that these people can feel they are Tanzanian, not Chaka. This ensures that Tanzania develops representing all and not just the Chaka.

Brent: Is nationalism then transitional?

Johan: Yes, that's an important thing to stress.

Brent: Do you think that in many developed societies we have gone beyond nationalism but still cling on to it - that we fail to see it as transitional?

Johan: If you look at the socialist international - its founding decisions were binding on all its members. When these parties came to power, this changed. Then national politics became important. If your national politics are to the benefit of the poor and the wretched and your international politics go against this, then you're not fighting for equality, justice or international socialism. We have many governments who perpetrate such contradictions.

Brent: Should we be more purist and say these are our terms of reference and if you don't accept these then you cannot remain members?

Johan: At I.U.S.Y. we have the function of raising international affairs and democratizing it. Too often, international affairs are seen as the right of experts too often, right-wing experts. International affairs are

just as important as internal affairs.

Brent: Is there often a contradiction between what I.U.S.Y. says and what the Socialist International says?

Johan: Contradictions do exist, although the basic ideas are very close. We are more radical - we take resolutions that applaud liberation movements, which is not being done by the Socialist International. The Socialist International has Lee Kwan Yu's party in it. We, in I.U.S.Y. would have nothing to do with such a decrepit sham. Our Singapore affiliate is opposed to Lee Kwan Yu. Our comrades there work illegally, are unable to print their newspaper and cannot hold public meetings - all because of this so-called Social Democrats party in Singapore.

Brent: In Europe, the youth part of the parties are virtually autonomous units articulating their differences. How does I.U.S.Y. help these constituents to attain this degree of independence.

Johan: Well, when I travel around I give them ideas of how other members are coping with their problems. Dialogue strengthens their hand. I also meet secretaries of parties, leaders of parties and then I try to reconcile the difficulties which may be between the parties and their youth organisation by defending the youth party's position. Many of these people like to think that was the time when they were internationalists.

Brent: Of course that doesn't relate to New Zealand. We have only one member of parliament in N.Z.I.P. who has come from the youth organisation.

Johan: As your movement strengthens this will change. In Sweden, the majority of the government and in Germany many of the people have this background.

Brent: We've talked as Socialism as an absolute, but do you think, Johan, that socialism may be what we decide ourselves as individuals? Is it a value judgement and if it is then is it right to impose it on other people.

Johan: I don't think that our generation will achieve socialism. Socialism means struggle. I don't believe in

such a thing as we have - just under democracy by which it is a line.

Brent: Doesn't it mean a society?

Johan: Well I think because the reason for his ideas about the general pattern of your own argument is fighting for socialism not also from Socialism is a and deciding, and which is the best society is not but

Brent: Often people don't realise that the social movement happened in the land reform war. But maybe, as a next to develop permeate society needed for the cause socialism of Pablo Neruda as the political and political consolidation of these is a violent change in man - it hits the man is separate but there is

Johan: I agree.

of a violent socialism which is a condition for the fight against the firm conviction carried through

A revolution because of that also wrecks the war in the Middle East years to get that it enjoyed

Brent: What's the meaning of this?

Johan: Its role importance of through the action to co-ordinate influence and the young social party involvement Germany. We are Chile. Our res

Brent: One of the movement - whether organisation or that most people now and that on itself will

Johan: If you are from outside European and not Europeans. nations work despite government limited by the

Brent: Does it mean that socialism is there capital movement. There the it insisted on a Surely, unless unless we call will never be a must be to revolution democratic government How do we get

Johan: Chile was States, hence the On the question getting office, it is true of you the same historical development of companies by 1 not stopped. This has changed the social democratic as well as

ach a thing as the perfect society. The ideas which we have - justice, equality, the means of production under democratic control - however provide a social flux by which society becomes recharged on democratic line.

Brent: Doesn't this come into conflict with democracy?

Johan: Well I believe in reformism over a takeover. Because the reformist has to win, he has to fight for his ideas all the time... all to win. This changes the general pattern of society. For a start, it clears your own arguments which makes you a human being fighting for socialism, not only from what you feel, but also from what you know. Socialism is a process of putting together alternatives, and deciding, according to the opinion of the majority, which is the best. There is a conflict only because capitalist society is not based on democracy.

Brent: Often revolutions take place in a vacuum. People don't really change their values and the revolution is really a coup d'état - a change in personnel with the social dynamic remaining the same. This happened in Mexico where there was a demand for land reform without changing the context. But maybe, as Social Democrats, we allow the context to develop, allow the revolution to assimilate and permeate society. Chile, under Allende, after all succeeded for that brief time and will succeed again because socialism was a movement - it meant the poems of Pablo Neruda and the songs of Victor Jara as well as the retaining of Chile for Chileans. A cultural and political change creating an environment to consolidate these realities is surely the real revolution. A violent change however is often just a bullet from a gun - it hits its mark but it is a mechanical act - the man is separate from the action. There is an end product but there is no totality.

Johan: I agree.

Violence is often just the expression of a violent society. It has nothing to do with socialism which is to do with human beings. It is, however, a condition forced on people because you cannot fight napalm bombs with arguments. But it is my firm conviction that military struggle can only be carried through by political means.

A revolution often wrecks society, on a human level, because of hatred carries over and sours ideals. It also wrecks the economy. For example, the last war in the Middle East will take Syria six or eight years to get back to the point of its economy level that it enjoyed before the war.

Brent: What's I.U.S.Y.'s role as a pressure on governments and does it fulfill it?

Johan: Its role is first to make contact. That is the importance of us coming here. Secondly, to carry through the activities decided by Congress. Thirdly, to co-ordinate information that is relevant, we try to influence and I think our constituents do much - e.g. the young socialists in Sweden organise against company involvement in South Africa, and so do they in Germany. We act collectively against the junta in Chile. Our resources, however, limit what we do.

Brent: One of the big discussions is that on retrenchment - whether I.U.S.U. should be an international organisation or a European organisation. Do you feel that most people see it as an international organisation now and that by the next bureau meeting that question itself will have dissolved?

Johan: If you look at the member organisations, most are from outside Europe. Much of the activity is non-European and most of the bureau members here were not Europeans. Many of our non-European organisations work with few economic resources and despite government suppression. Their effectiveness is limited by their governments.

Brent: Does it mean that with an abundance of money that socialism itself becomes defeated? Look at Chile - there capital conspired against a democratic government. There the government was overthrown because it insisted on democratic means.

Surely, unless we collectively as a movement and unless we call on our associates in the trade-unions we will never be able to take power. Our policy, I feel, must be to reverse Schampeters dictum that social democratic governments take office - not power. How do we get out of that quandry?

Johan: Chile was within the hemisphere of the United States, hence the military take-over.

On the question of social democratic countries just getting office, historically, this is very often true - it is true of your society and Britain. But, also the same historical background shows that with the development of capitalism some 300 multinational companies by 1985 will rule the world if they are not stopped.

This has changed the political climate. It is forcing the social democratic parties to act and take economic as well as political power. If they do not, then

they will lose political power, to the multinationals. With democracy as we would like to see it - we would have free association, free speech, a true workers control.

Brent: I think it was Tony Haas who made the point when we chose to run a seminar on Socialism in the South Pacific, that we were putting our own conclusions on other people. Wasn't this a form of paternalism he was saying.

Johan: The question isn't whether the people in the South Pacific call their society socialist, its what they do and what relations they have towards each other, its how labour is carried through and whether their dignity as people is respected. They might call it anything they like but as socialists we fight for the principles of equal opportunities and equal rights.

Brent: Do you believe in the inevitability of socialism?

Johan: I don't believe in socialism coming by itself. It is a process of organisation.

Brent: So a socialist has to be jesuit and proselytize?

Johan: Yes, but make sure he is not as hated as a result.

Brent: What part does Marx play as a catalyst for socialist ideas?

Johan: Well, Marx is a very important thinker. However he has been abused. If Marx was asked - 'are you Marxist' - he would say no. Moreover, one shouldn't try to build a scientific socialism - use economics, sociology, psychology. What Marx has given us is a way to understand reality and a base from which these disciplines can be used.

Brent: I've heard you described, Johan, as a romantic. Do you agree with the description?

Johan: Well, as a socialist, you have to be a realist because you have to realize the situation to understand it. You have to be an idealist because most governments are fascist and you must fight against tremendous powers. Experience shows us in Cuba and China, that armies cannot kill ideas of freedom or justice or equality.

Brent: So idealism is a necessary precondition for being a socialist?

Johan: Well in hard times it helps. So many people I mingle with are oppressed - Greeks, Vietnamese. Socialism itself is a direction.

Brent: Its ultimately looking at people in terms of their intrinsic value, rather than through the ethnics that surround them. Just as the Christian would like to believe in the after-life, a heaven, so the socialist perhaps because he's a sceptic or can't wait that long wants a Utopia. Perhaps its pantheism?

Johan: Creating a society based on the poor and wretched people is changing the ideas of heaven to earth.

Brent: Some people in I.U.S.U. may disagree with these premises. There is a dialectic and presumably the ideas are merged. That means you may disagree with in going contrary to the ideals you think it should have. Does it happen?

Johan: It could happen, I can't think of one.

Brent: But in your country, Sweden, there's been an institutionalised socialism. At the end of a Swedish

film 'Adalan 31' there were some words on the screen 'Sweden has had a Social Democratic Party for 40 years. Social justice has not yet been achieved'. People can vote for socialism many times, but that doesn't mean that socialism will ever occur. Perhaps they should have voted Conservative for they endorse the capitalist system. Social Democrats say they don't and actually overcome it in their sub-conscious, but that's about the only place.

Johan: Reformism isn't socialism although the closer to power the more attractive it seems. All one can do is organise.

Brent: At the last election though the Swedish Social Democrats actually acted as a conservative government by saying 'look at what we've achieved'.

Johan: It was an appeal to older people but to the young it wasn't enough. They didn't want to look back. It was a mandate initially to raise the standard of living that's here, we must move on from that.

Brent: Well it seems to me the party there has become a monolith. Like Stonehenge, it weathered change but it was, however, meant to create change.

Johan: I can agree with a lot of what you're saying. But always the question of what is the alternative. It's not decided by us.

Brent: Is it decided by God then?

Johan: No, by the money-makers - the capitalists.

Brent: But we're tolerated by them because they know we won't achieve anything.

Johan: No - our right-wing party has to accept a lot of what we say now. It's a slow process.

Brent: But are our institutions then adaptive, assimilating all things, clinging like barnacles onto acceptable ideas? Do we evolve them or work through them.

Johan: We work through them.

Brent: Do you think they're non-political?

Johan: No, we look through them to change them.

Brent: But you don't change an institution that's opposed to you - only one that's neutral.

Johan: We have many examples to prove that you can change an institution.

Brent: Well that proves they're neutral. It is like a

Johan: Chameleon

Brent: Yes.

Johan: I believe the people will always fulfill their ideals.

Brent: Are you talking about institutions now or people?

Johan: Institutions, they are people.

Brent: Most times they're not.

Johan: Can you give me any institutions that are not people?

Brent: Yes, I can give you a lot. The Third Reich wasn't people. Portugal, until recently wasn't people and 1984, where institutions are so prevalent that the person becomes irrelevant.

Johan: Yes, but every institution is run by people

Brent: But it isn't of them. They can be quite gratuitous to it.

Johan: The question is what interest it represents.

Brent: You say the institutions itself is the people. But in Ethiopia, people are building a road by hand. Now, that's wrong because it is hurting people but it can be rationalised by saying it's for the good of the society. We can say we'll forget those people who build those roads - they're helpers for the future. Isn't it possible to negate people for principle.

Johan: No, I don't think so. I'm a socialist.

Brent: In the third world, if you divide things up and you find you that the basic problem is you haven't got enough, is socialism going to help?

Johan: Yes, it is planned development. Poverty is the disgrace of humanity, but poverty if shared by everyone is acceptable. That is equality. It is what Julius Nyerere does in Tanzania. Our aim, as Socialists, is not to be armchair philosophers but to realize that our riches should be shared.

announcement

The AA MUTUAL INSURANCE GROUP and AUSA have arranged a daily insurance service for students and staff. New business written and advice given for: motor vehicles, personal effects, travel, Life Assurance; sickness boats, buildings, etc. AAMutual inspector Kevin Coffey can be found at the INSURANCE OFFICE, 1st floor, Student Union Building, between 12 and 2 daily.

Save yourself time and money for expert service and advice.



SOCIALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD....

In the third world the lack of resources and a proletariat combine to create under-development.

Can socialism find a solution to problems of under-development which haunt the third world. There are no easy solutions; all from Castro to Nyerere would agree on that. Eucides Acerudo from Paraguay, a third world country, comments in this paper:

The third world is not just an abstract idea. Nor is it a definition of those nations whose foreign policy is in opposition to the post-war blocs.

It is not merely geographical, cultural or political.

It is rather an objective phenomenon resulting from a unique historical process which binds it firmly to the developed nations.

Liberal Thought

Liberals see international relations as those established between independent nations. Such bourgeois attitudes come from the liberal social sciences which see the individual as a nucleus of society.

To overcome this barrier, which impregnates all our culture is the first step. The scientific method which sees international relations as a unique process embodying contradictions and problems of development.

As we see it the third world describes a group of nations that underwent conquest and colonisation during the mercantile revolution and in the industrial revolution, suffered exploitation.

The tendency characterizes the third world. It permeates all of its societies. It is not merely economic, not at all, but also cultural, political and even religious as Bishop Helder Carmarra vividly describes in 'Church and colonialism.'

Historical Origin of the Third World

During the sixteenth century vast regions of the planet experienced conquest and colonisation by the surging European nations.

The historical roots of underdevelopment date back to this time. Pizarro and Cortes were symbols of this phase.

It was a traumatic time which created in the societies a product structure which at the same time was dominated, dependant, unequal, and underdeveloped.

Frantz Fanon was to document this vividly. His words from the third world speak to the third world. "Gold and raw materials originating from the colonial countries inflated

Europe out of all proportions. . . from these continents towards which today's Europe shows its star of opulence - are leaving for the same Europe shipments of diamonds and oil, silk and cloth, timber and all sorts of exotic products. Europe is, literally speaking is the creation of the third world.

The timid attempt on the part of the Society of Nations, the World Court at the Hague and other organisations to create an international order founded on justice, equality and arbitration did not thrive.

Such a dream was incompatible with the expansionist interests in Germany, Italy and Japan, the desperate attempts of Great Britain and France to maintain their colonial empires and the growth of Soviet and American power.

The world prices of 1929 shook the foundations of the capitalist system facilitating the development of internal and international contradictions.

The culmination of many minor disputes of the second world war which proved the complete failure of the system which was already extensively damaged.

From the War comes the burgeoning of a massive

Yes, this gave the 'coup de grace' to colonial imperialism which apart from some small exceptions was never re-established.

Dependancy, however, became more subtle. Multi-nationals were to supplant more overt forms of political control.

A new arrangement in the sphere of influences in the world occurred through the development of nuclear technology. Both the US and the Soviet Union were to use this ultimate pawn of power as a means to create hegemony. A complex series of agreements which consolidated political economic and cultural depletion of the third world resulted.

A complex mechanism of east-west detente was slightly weakened by the actions of De Gaulle who refused to accept the system of a two powered world control. This action was similarly followed by China and

resulted in the fragmentation of the post-war arrangement.

Such manifestations were to transcend class interests although they were caricatured and misrepresented by various interests. 'We have made a revolution greater than ourselves', said Castro in the early 60's as the third world was consolidating itself.

In the near East Africa and the Far East movements of national liberation created a new cultural identity and began to process towards national control of resources. Capitalist expansionism soured in the latter half of the 19th century consolidating subordination of the territories of Asia, Africa and later America, to the old world.

Unknown to each other, without communications, without interior trade the third world countries were being sapped of their resources, according to the needs of the old world.

When I return to see the sun's light they deny me my love
we shall go
then go briefly to weep
on the countless graves of countless men
who have gone
without funeral or wake
without hope for the sun's light they deny us.

Antonio Jacinto
Angola, 1972.

During the second half of the 19th Century the international division of labour began to form, coming to a peak during the 1st decade of the 20th Century. The formal independence of the Latin American republics aided this process.

Production relations of the subordinated nations were again reorganised to ensure the creation of a new form of tie dependance.

Gunter Frank has called this era 'the development of the underdevelopment'.

The fate of the conquered, colonized transformed and subordinated societies was and still is its increasingly capitalisation combined with structural non productivity and a growing misery of the masses.

In 1914 the British Commonwealth extended over a quarter of the earth's surface. Its maritime power was indispensable to keep this vast empire forever.

The first world war menaced the supremacy. Many thought that it would result in the end of capitalism.

Although it weakened Great Britain, it also committed the ascension of the United States as a great power.

Socialism, although established in the Soviet Union, was not yet on the threshold of realisation.

Ever since the US became the major credit giver of the world. Dependents of the third world thus shifted to its orbit. Its policies and economic doctrines have been the yardstick for any third world development.

Thus forms of development which contradict the economic goals of the US have been suppressed through cancellation of aid and

through the denial of market access.

The objectives however were different for rather than following the demands of imperialism, they were integrated with the self-sustained developments of the new countries.

Intrinsic to this was the recognition that development pre-determined government planning of resources. The form was to vary it was to be explicitly socialist Allende's Chile and Tanzania and nationalist in Peru and Libya.

Generally the military was to act as a conservative force against the desire for Socialist aims although in Peru and Ghana for example it was to stress patriotism as a way to galvanise radical reforms into political realities.

The term third world is not precisely equivalent to 'third position' or 'neutrality' as outlined by the foreign ministries of some countries.

The first concept was the result of an objective historical process

and the second stands for a concrete foreign policy which may or may not be held by countries that have historically participated in the third world.

However, the immediate objective of the third world is to overcome the underdevelopment produced by dependance.

Starting Bases For Common Policy

Anyway the wars of liberation and nationalistic movements throughout the world lead to the necessity of creating a new organisation for international relations.

The Bandung conference in 1955 emphasised the recognition of common interests of all the countries of the third world.

It was a watershed leading to mutual co-operation.

It embodied a common programme and proposed a common fight against racism, colonialism and the necessity for economic co-operation.

For the first time it emphasized the identity of the interests of the third world exclusive of both Western tutelage and Soviet influence. The conference was held at Belgrade in 1961 and El Cairo confirmed the position.

The reckoning of colonialism has varied.

For Latin America, within the third world, the continuation of the organisation of American states (OAS) has strengthened the influence of the US to the detriment of nationalistic development.

The existence of a local bourgeoisie and an incredible disparity in wealth have perpetuated an oppressive system. All attempts to overcome this have failed as they have always



CONT →

ended up under tutelage.

Conclusions

Based on the youth of the Febrerista (r) proclaim the the objective of the the the establish operation.

The Juvenario (JRF) exists a functional objective of the third stems not or past of exploitation which Occident but realisation of

JRF believes agreements and a multi-will fortify

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Obstacles to A fraternal people of the developed

Can capitalism profit as the economic the suprem and private of product without lining social principles, which very essence absurdities which come of the who

Look at fruits - of course - in Latin America happen in a colonialism a small group Latin America is maintaining poverty of citizens. They of land keep They allow work there. from acquisition and work without any This is unique situation, worker damage or so basic education a co-operation being turned patriarch. I demolished himself, he en or assass even have the crime developed not only that but he usually police and human justice - as for religion here to Latin the position Africa and national colonial regrettably closed to the full and has having access Indians and in practice

ended up under imperialistic tutelage.

Conclusions

Based on these considerations the youth of the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista (revolutionary party) proclaim the fundamental unity of the objective interests of the countries of the third world and demand the establishment of a policy of co-operation.

The Juventud Partido Revolucionario (JRF) believes that there exists a fundamental identity of objective interests of the countries of the third world. This identity stems not only from the common past of exploitation and actual looting which was admitted by the Occident but also from the present realisation of the nature of dependence.

JRF believes in strengthening all agreements between governments and a multi-lateral nature, which will fortify the unity and co-operat-

ion between the countries of the third world.

JRF believes that the struggle for national liberation which is fundamental in the construction of socialism has not finished. Throughout South Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Angola third world solidar-

ity with the oppressed peoples is needed, not by worlds alone but by actions to vanquish colonial and racial oppression. JRF opposes national chauvinism. This only creates a

division at the expense of change.

The JRF believes that the international union of Socialist Youth

(IUSI) must further the fight of the nations to terminate colonialism, the very backward dictatorships and to create conditions, on new political bases, where the construction of socialism is feasible.

IUSI must understand that within



the third world national liberation has many meanings and numerous ways of struggle. It must let the people of these areas decide their methods and their objectives to realize their freedom.

Euclides Acevedo, a member of the I.U.S.Y. Secretariat and secretary of J.R.F. is now in political exile in Uruguay, where he continues to fight for his ideals.

end

PATHS to FREEDOM

Obstacles on the road to peace

A fraternal message to the young people of the capitalist developed countries.

Can capitalism cease to consider profit as the essential motor of economic progress, competition as the supreme law of the economy, and private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right, without limits, without corresponding social obligations? These principles, which seem inherent in the very essence of capitalism, lead to absurdities and to revolting injustices which compromise the development of the whole man and of all men.

Look at the main fruits - rotten fruits - of capitalist egoism: - in Latin America (does this also happen in Africa and Asia?) internal colonialism is spreading. This means a small group of privileged people in Latin America itself whose wealth is maintained at the expense of the poverty of millions of their fellow-citizens. The owners of huge tracts of land keep most of it uncultivated. They allow poor families to live and work there. But to prevent them from acquiring any rights, care is taken that they remain in foul hovels and work under a patriarchal regime without any law to support them. This is unquestionably a sub-human situation, white slavery. If the worker dares to claim some improvement or some guarantee - to join a basic education course, a trade union, a co-operative - he is threatened with being turned off the land of the patriarch. If he persists, his house is demolished. If he tried to defend himself, he risks death. If he is beaten or assassinated, the family will not even have the consolation of seeing the crime punished, for in the underdeveloped regions the landowner is not only the master of life and death but he usually controls politics, the police and the frail structure of human justice.

- as for religion - I am referring here to Latin America (I do not know the position of the main religions in Africa and Asia, where there is internal colonialism) - as for christianity, regrettably it has kept its eyes firmly closed to the activities of the powerful and has connived at them. After having accepted the slavery of the Indians and African slavery, it has in practice accepted national slavery.

Wherever christianity today feels that it can no longer make alliances with such crying injustices, wherever it feels it cannot approve the situation in which a small group possesses everything, keeping millions of men in a sub-human situation; wherever it feels that the reform of socio-economic structures cannot be put off, christianity is opposed: the laity, priests and even bishops are labelled subversive and communist.

Furthermore, young people from

world that it has, within its own borders, thirty million Americans living in a situation unworthy of human condition.

What developed country with a capitalist regime does not have its underdeveloped layers which, though on a different scale, share the poverty of the under developed countries?

However, sadder still is the situation where, as in the United States, over and above material problems racial prejudice breaks out, absurd and revolting.

"The new relations are not the result of one barbarism replacing another barbarism, of one crushing of man replacing another crushing of man. What we Algerians want is to discover the man behind the coloniser; this man who is both the organiser and the victim of a system that has choked him and reduced him to silence."

Franz Fanon

the developed countries of the capitalist world, you must surely have noticed already that capitalist regimes create underdeveloped layers even in your own developed countries? The United States has had the courage to admit to the

We know that Martin Luther King conducted, in the United States, the non-violent battle undertaken by the Blacks, in order to obtain racial integration. It is the most beautiful the most democratic and the most christian page in the contemporary



"The wine is bitter but the wine is ours".

Jose Marti

"Development must be integral if it is to be authentic, raising up the whole person and the whole of humanity... guided by the principle of unity."

Pope Paul

history of the USA. Unfortunately the egoism of the Whites forces the Blacks to resort to violence.

Young people of the developed capitalist countries, are you keeping an eye on the attitude of capitalism towards the underdeveloped countries? If we take as an example the relations between the United States and Latin America, when one compares what Latin America receives in aid with what it loses in consequence of the falling prices of its raw materials; when one compares the money invested in Latin America with the money which returns to the United States (illegally, of course, but there are hundreds of ways of getting around it), one becomes aware of the nonsensical situation that it is Latin America which is aiding North America. And the same thing happens in the dealings between Asia

If, for capitalism, profit is the essential motor of economic progress, what can the underdeveloped

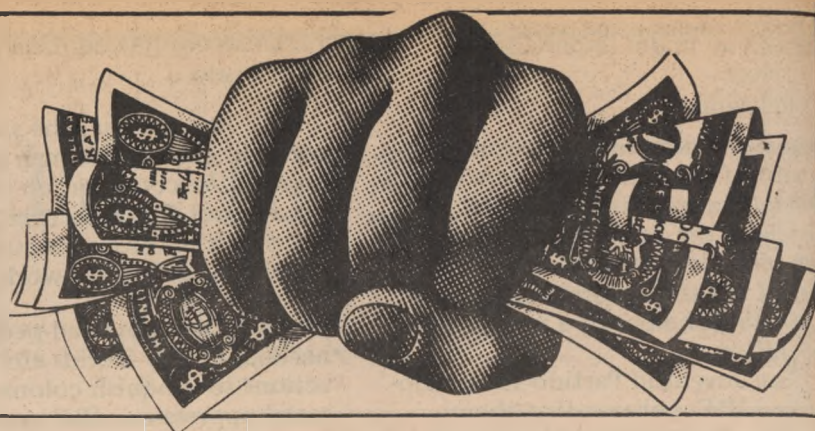
countries expect from the capitalist countries, other than the crumbs which fall from the banquet-tables? If, for capitalism, competition is the supreme law of the economy, the logical outcome is that, alongside pre-industrial societies, highly industrialised societies and even post-industrial societies will arise. If, for capitalism, private ownership is an absolute and sacred right, anti-communism and the defence of the free world are excellent pretexts for wars like the one in Vietnam, which scarcely bother to conceal a concern to maintain and extend zones of influence and of political prestige.

Helder Camara is archbishop of Olinda and Recife in the North-East of Brazil, the country's poorest and most underdeveloped region. He has won a worldwide reputation by his devotion to the poor and his eloquent advocacy of the demands of the underdeveloped countries of the world.

In spite of his reliance on Pope Paul VI's encyclical on development, *Populorum Progressio*, Helder Camara's support of the underprivileged has won him the enmity of conservative interests in both church and state in Brazil.

His concern with economic and social conditions springs directly from his belief in the central mystery of christianity; it is a moving plea for an unalienated christianity, 'incarnate like Christ himself'.

aid, and development



A discussion between Colin Chiles, director of CORSO, Loo Chong Yong from Singapore, Luis Ayala from Chile, Mike Moore, M.P. for Eden, and Brent Lewis.

Colin: The people themselves must tell us what they want. For them the need may be opposite to what we thought of.

LOO: There's another point too, the recipient country must also have a development plan. They must know exactly what they want. This often doesn't happen. For example in Malaysia the government wants hospitals so they build more. This is short-sighted.

CC: Why do you say this. Because, in actual fact by providing better hospitals you may be saving lives. Do you think its aid without helping in the long-term.

LCY: Yes, the philosophy is wrong. It means that the way the foreigners can take care of things in the long term. Nurses should not be sent as nurses but rather as trainers for out nurses. This makes us independent.

Many countries just offer and the offer is taken up. For example, Russia comes in and offers a steel mill. But what is the use of a steel mill if the iron ore is not developed. So aid must be integrated for many of these countries are living on a day to day basis and have no clear idea of development.

CC: So what do you do?

LEY: You send your experts to discuss with them. You cannot tell what kind of development they should have but through discussions, ideas filter through.

CC: Well in New Zealand there's groups that are very diverse - farmers, churches and students. Now all of these groups agree to help the starving, agree in the short term help but some of the more conservative oppose development. They say this is political; we don't want it.

How do you persuade them on that one?

LCY: You say 'Well this hospital we're building has only so many beds and it has little effect but if we send people to train doctors - these people in turn can serve in centres and improve the health of more people.

So we want to look at the net effect. Look at India. People don't like to give aid there because the problem is so big that aid can be given without visible effect.

In your position there's a temptation to show visible results so you'd rather build one hospital to say, 'this is what we have done.' That is why a lot of countries wanted to help a country like Singapore because you can do a project that's easily quantified and looks impressive.

CC: And there is no real need.

LCY: Yes, to give you an example a very conservative organisation like the Asia Foundation comes into Singapore. We found the government is very co-operative so they co-operated with the government to create a 3rd channel of television for educational purposes. This looks impressive because the t.v. channel is tangible and so many people are being helped.

But if you want to retrain people in India and Ceylon, where there's so many people with BA Honours, it takes a long

time and this results aren't quickly visible.

So the director wouldn't get his promotion.

CC: Yes; Well I want to know how one can get our people over there. Is V.S.A. effective in this way?

MM: I think so reasonably. Its stopping all the liberal young lads, the out of schoolers going over and taking over Indonesia instead. One of these problems is well why should we help a government that's fascist. I walked in March for 14 bloody miles to raise money and every step you take you think 'Christ, if Ethiopia had a capital gains tax they'd be far better off.'

What you've got to do is balance your political prejudices against what's right for the people.

In the end, our aid becomes pragmatic and you say 'right there's people in Ethiopia who need aid and how can you get it past the government bureaucracy to the people and don't be frightened



that in some countries officials will get 10% before it gets to the village. Otherwise you'll do nothing.

LA: Our reality is a little different. The problem in Latin America is the structure for in Chile we had all the possibilities but no control. In Chile in the last 30 years the American companies took \$9,000,000 just in copper.

Latin America is a continent of contradictions. We export capital but remain in economic dependency.

The United States meanwhile supported reactionary governments through their aid. This is clear to us in Chile for when we nationalized the copper to allow Chile its independence, all the aid was stopped. Then the multinationals and the World Bank moved against us and you know what our experience was. But meanwhile through all this the Chilean armed forces continued to receive aid to help them to create a coup.

CC: Now in Ethiopia the people themselves have been creating roads by hand. Wouldn't it be better for us in Corseo to send trucks rather than money over there. This stops a rip-off surely.

BL: What if the government decides to use the trucks for its own use?

MM: What can you do? You've just got to do your best. If you go around saying 'what if your milk landed up on the Prime Ministers table' you'll do nothing. You're a very negative person on aid Brent, if you don't divorce your aid from politics you'll end up doing what the Americans do. This is aid to help the people and not get it too blurred with the politics. With aid agencies your decision is just to get it through; if you get too ripped off you don't do it. Government aid is being used politically, yours is not.

LCY: Yes. What you can do with the trucks is simple. When the famine is finished you can encourage the farmers to form a co-operative to carry their goods and this introduces a new idea.

CC: Isn't there a danger of government stopping this when they see joint actions by their own people.

LCY: Of course. But the governments want aid too so they wouldn't rush to do this lest their aid be cut off. Tied aid shouldn't be just used by the Americans. As the donor country you pick a project which will help the society that will dev-

elop towards your ideas. In Indonesia a good idea may be to build a worker's college instead of building a port so that the merchants can import and export.

BL: Your points about Japanese aid and how it creates dependent economies surely make many underdeveloped countries suspicious of aid?

LCY: Yes that's why it must be examined inside the country that's getting it. As a socialist, we should look at aid as a way of spreading resources.

BL: Now it's education that always changes people's values. If, however you send teachers to a society like Indonesia which has an archaic education system, where it's usual to prop up the existing institutions then isn't that aid being used in a negative way?

LCY: It depends from whose point of view. From their point of view it's fantastic because it perpetrates; from yours it's terrible. So you must send teachers who will inoculate other values. Of course your teachers may be thrown out by a vigilant government but this means aid may stop and that's your weapon.

MM: There's been a basic change in our aid.

For example, in Indonesia now the chief aid is checking water supplies and cleaning pipes whereas the Australians and Americans grandstand with posters we just move in with a few jeeps and in the next few days the water's clean. We've got to utilise the countries resources and ways of doing things, for example, if the local people build with bamboo, make sure that bamboo's used and you've created a skill while solving a problem.

LC: In these societies it's every man for himself. So you must mobilize the population to show them the power of participation. If your people are sensitive to opportunities you can really do a lot.

BL: My objection is that our aid is pragmatic; we didn't have a philosophy.

MM: I think its got to be pragmatic partly because each area changes. What's good for the Cook's isn't going to be good for Ethiopia.

BL: But we've got to decide whether we're doing the best thing to help these people.

MM: Your just being pragmatic.

CC: Well I think if we're going to send teachers over they must understand the culture because if he can't identify with the people or live with them then he's doing nothing.

MM: The Peace Corps have been discredited because they get these super-duper liberals from the universities who do their good thing and walk out.

CC: Nyere says also that development is what the people themselves want.

BL: Well Tanzania's an example where the government represents the people's aspirations. In other societies where this doesn't happen and the government says 'we speak for the people' which is nonsense then you're not going to get to the grass roots.

CC: This worries me too; that's where I think we use the weapon of no aid.

MM: There's a collusion of a whole lot of things here. Also you've got to use your industries and techniques. We use milk biscuits because it's a primary industry which has been successful. It is no use suggesting we go into computers because we can't even build them for ourselves yet. So you are a collusion and decide to use your resources and here unfortunately Brent, we're going to be pragmatic.

LCY: There must be a thread but your application must be flexible.

CC: Another question of course is how much. In New Zealand the goal's 1 - .7% from government and .3% from voluntary agencies.

LA: In Finland it's 1% and Sweden it's more, but in both of these it's used politically. Both Sweden and Finland made Chile their first priority until the coup because they knew our problems and saw we were attempting a Socialist solution. Their next largest aid is to Tanzania to enable it to achieve socialism.

MM: Yes, aid's an extension of a

country's foreign philosophy. The

LCY: We can say 'we are socialist saying we don't want' in which case we want?'

MM: Not quite

LCY: But if we're socialists then we're political con-

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Social inequity has been as great, they are today. The gulf widened and the generation is very on the back for quality even when rate, contribution massacre of deprived people name peasant

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country's foreign policy coupled with philosophy. That's another collusion.

LCY: We can start from a point of saying 'we are socialists' or start from a point of saying we don't have a common ideology in which case we'll just say 'what do you want?'

MM: Not quite.

LCY: But if we start from a point that we're socialists and believe in internationalism then we have to try and put some political content in.

MM: It's got to be done very subtly though and that is where you use your own resources in the best way without inflicting your biases.

LCY: One problem with aid is creating discontent. For example if you bring in television you bring in demand which cannot be met. This is television - always a development. In this case no.

CC: The transistor radio seems to have transformed Asia and developed a concept of using media as an aid.

LCY: That's true. However creating false needs is different. Showing a hoovermatic over television in an underdeveloped society only creates a marital dispute which may last for many years.

LA: With Sweden our aid was discussed jointly. We never felt shameful because of our poverty. The essence of aid seems to be as a method to create co-operativeism between peoples and establish links.

LCY: Yes, this is very true. As long as you ensure that your aid does not create

dependant economies then it is a useful method to confront third world problems. However, if I was living in Tonga I would not feel happy about New Zealand aid because there is no alternative.

CC: I think we realise now that you can't separate aid from development. I hope through Corso that we will realise our responsibilities.

A BETTER DEAL!

Social inequalities have never been as great, on a world scale, as they are today, and never has the gulf widened so rapidly. Our generation is very quick to pat itself on the back for its generosity and morality even while, passively at any rate, contributing to the ruin and massacre of more determined or deprived peoples, from North Vietnamese peasants to the Indians of central Brazil

Social inequalities have never been as great, on a world scale, as they are today, and never has the gulf widened so rapidly. Our generation is very quick to pat itself on the back for its generosity and morality even while, passively at any rate, contributing to the ruin and massacre of more determined or deprived peoples, from North Vietnamese peasants to the Indians of

central Brazil, who are going the way of those of California. Yet no age in history has been responsible for evils so inexcusable, in that at last we have the technical and economic means to end almost all of them fairly rapidly. Our predecessors did not have this chance - which makes our own responsibilities all the heavier. But the political means for using it have not yet been discovered.

How splendid was the American Dream of 1900 to 1945, as officially presented. The United States chose to appear as the ark of the world's liberties, setting itself up as the defender of democracy in 1917 and 1941 and as the liberator of the oppressed by its anti-colonialist stance on Indonesia and Indo-China in 1945, and on Algeria in 1954-60. Yet it has superseded the old-style colonialism of Europe with an even

more grasping neo-colonialism, and it has ended up having a war of its own in Indo-China and instigating massacres in Indonesia. Of course the United States supplies India and many other countries with a lot of corn, but that is to check communism in these areas. There are a lot more dictatorships now than there were before 1960 in Latin America, where the United States supports the most corrupt governments, as I saw for myself in Nicaragua. Caste or family interests are protected together with those of the North American companies.

The backward countries will never emerge from their underdevelopment except by banding together to contest, by force if necessary, the established disorder of the strong imperialist nations who exploit them both at home and abroad. An amusing road-safety

poster (showing a little girl and her dog crossing the road in front of a powerful car) reminds us that 'the right of might is never best'. Did its authors realize how revolutionary that is?

As the gulf widens between nations, as between individuals, men are born less and less 'free and equal' in fact, if not in law. A man born into a rich family in a developed country may very well have health, education, ease and even fortune, while the son of a *fellah* in the Moroccan Rif, of a *conuco* of Southern Venezuela, of a Brazilian *cabo-clo*, of a Chilean *inquilino* or a South Vietnamese *nha-que* has none of the same chances. At least the latter is fighting to get a better deal for himself, or for his children.

René Dumont

India

Daicodas Lohir from India, is asked about problems confronting his country,

There is a great deal of poverty in India. You as a Socialist believe that Socialism will alleviate this. Why do you believe this?

With over 60% of the people getting only two meals a day we must find a solution. Most of the property is in the hands of the rich and we feel we must distribute it equally. Those people who are rich spend more and we want to limit them to 1500 rupees a month so they can't live a luxurious life and exploit others.

You are a peaceful party. Are your ideas on this influenced by Mahatma Ghandi?

Not totally. We want to influence people by work. We want to influence government by getting a majority. We want to use education and slogans to imprint our ideas, these are our means.

You are an agricultural country. Do you think you must develop industries in India?

Yes, but we don't want to develop heavy industries.

Why?

Because then the people will not get work. In them everything is technical and most of the population will still be unemployed. Small scale industries will be the only way.

One problem in India, of course is an immense population. What does your party member believe should be done?

We believe as a party in a family of 2 children. As party members we expect our members to follow this policy. I myself have three children because the party's ruling then was three.

What is your attitude towards the caste in India?

We are a non-caste party. We do not believe in the caste. Socialism is our religion. I left Hinduism. We don't want to follow the old customs and religions. Our new ism is socialism - that is our religion, that is our caste and that is our life.

What do you feel of India's role in the world? Do you believe in non-alignment?

Yes it means simply to us live and let live. We oppose all pacts as they have a place. It must be developed to let us see each other not as races apart but as people living together.

In India the question of the untouchables is very bad. What do you do about it?

There are two questions. One is social injustice fostered by superstition. The other is economic inequality. I have no faith in caste and creed. We treat all human beings as one. We don't want to differ. We create it by our policies and also by encouraging inter-caste marriages. I myself am married to another caste girl.

You must feel that to co-operate with the Asian and African nations is an important priority. They face your problems. What are your thoughts on this?

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We must give help to those nations who are like us - underdeveloped and poorly nourished.

Some of these countries of course are military countries like Pakistan and South Vietnam. You presumably want to lead by example to show them the peaceful paths to Socialism.

Yes that's true. War creates chaos. We want to develop not to destroy our country. One thing that causes division in India is languages.

What is your party policy on languages?

Hindi is our national language and we stress this. Also we believe that each state should be allowed its own language and there are 22 of them. We, however, accept English as our international language. We thus have a three language formula.

To what extent is India developing its ideas as a result of its culture? To what extent have these been changed by the British?

We had to change our education system to make it Indian for education is the first way that we can change our people.

Tell me about education in India. Do you believe in free and compulsory education?

Yes we have to a certain standards. However there are pressures that do not allow a child to attend because of poverty. If the child is at school he cannot earn for himself.



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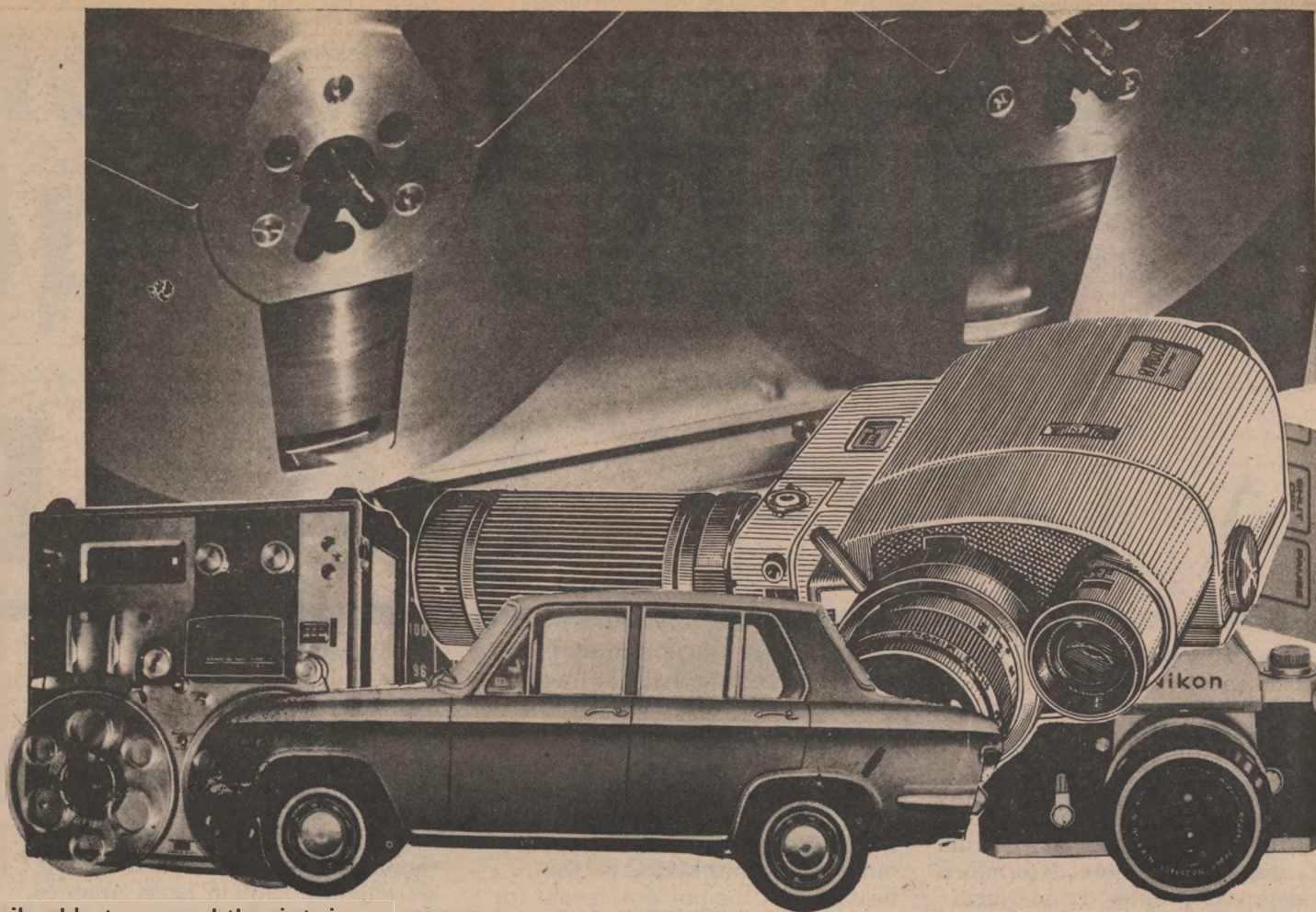
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JAPANESE economic expansion

Its Impact On South East Asia



The boycott of Japanese goods in Thailand last year and the riots in Jakarta during Mr Tanaka's visit underscored the growing apprehension amongst S.E. Asians of Japanese dominance in the region. The fear is not only of economic dominance but also of political and military dominance. S.E. Asian reaction has not been seriously noted in the past by Japanese diplomats and businessmen for although there were 'codes' for businessmen to follow, they seldom did so. Tanaka's promise to review this question upon his return to Japan has brought some optimism.

trade

The present trade pattern between Japan and S.E. Asia is such that Japan's imports are roughly equal to its exports. This is because the trade deficits of resource-poor countries like Singapore and Thailand are neutralised by the trade surplus of resource-rich countries like Indonesia and Malaysia.

Japan's imports from the region are predominantly unprocessed raw materials such as minerals, petroleum and fibres.

In return, the market for Japanese goods of all kinds has expanded rapidly owing to the aggressive and efficient marketing methods of Japanese companies. New demands have been created amongst local populations and consumption patterns have become distorted. New markets have been opened up with "tied-aids".

When tariff and non-tariff barriers are imposed by these countries with an embryonic industrialisation programme, the Japanese response was to set up local factories to assemble almost finished products imported from parent companies in Japan thereby frustrating the Governments' programme to industrialise the country. Such 'neocolonist' trade pattern cannot but breed resentment in the minds of the local population.

However, Japan's great dependence on raw materials and the increasing difficulties to secure such supplies regularly must mean greater bargaining power for the resource rich countries in S.E. Asia.

Such bargaining power could be put into good use in pressurising Japan to adopt a genuine mutually profitable form of relationship.

investments

Since the early 1950's Japan began investing in other countries. The rapid growth of the economy was accompanied by a corresponding growth in the field of overseas investment. In fiscal 1971, overseas investment reached a level of US\$900 million and projections show that

by 1975 this yearly figure could be around US\$2 billion, by 1980 the corresponding figure is expected to be US\$3.5-4.0 billion. Of the US\$30 billion it was estimated that 35% of US\$9 billion will be invested in S.E. Asia.

Foreign investments in Asia began in mining but gradually there was an increase of investments in the manufacturing sector. Today Japanese foreign investments have expanded over such tertiary areas as banking, foreign trading, tourist and retail trading. In March 1972, the investments in the resource developments projects accounted for 37.2% (31.0% in mining, 4.8% in agriculture and forestry). Secondary industry accounted for 45.1% (manufacturing 44.5%) and tertiary industries amounted to 17.7%.

Of the investments in the manufacturing sector, most of them belong to the import substitution type of investment. An export-orientated situation type of investment can only be found in a few cases. It is no coincidence that a field survey undertaken by the Export-Import bank of Japan revealed that the chief motives for investing in S.E. Asia were:-

- | | |
|---|-----|
| a) expansion of sales in most countries | 36% |
| b) defence of overseas markets in face of tightening import regulations. | 31% |
| c) seizing new market opportunities in meeting challenges from other Japanese competitors | 16% |

Future foreign investments will have to depend on the development of the Japanese economy. The oil crisis has cast doubts upon projections for Japanese economic growth. Herman Kahn's medium estimate of 11.4% growth for the second half of 1970's may not be realised.

The 'oil shock' has caused severe dislocations in the Japanese economy such that a 3.7% growth is expected for fiscal 1974, in the light of high oil prices and scarcity of supply together with rising

costs. It was thus no surprise that the Japanese Trade Ministry announced in early April 1974 that it will decrease direct investment in S.E. Asia.

The Japanese economy will continue to need ever increasing amount of minerals, petroleum and other natural resources. The 'oil shock' has shown that security of supply is an overriding consideration. As S.E. Asia is resource rich, near to Japan and relatively stable, the region will continue to attract Japanese investments, albeit overwhelmingly in the resource exploitative sectors.

Expected slow down in the growth of labour supply aggravating existing labour shortage, rising cost of labour, labours' decreasing commitment to growth of Japanese economy will necessitate Japanese investment in S.E. Asia; where abundant and cheap labour supply exists.

With prices in Japan rising, and the cost of implementing anti-pollution measures, foreign investment becomes more attractive and as the industrial development of Japan moves on to the so called 'Third Stage Industrialisation' more and more of the labour intensive and low-profit industries will be externalised. These factors together form a cogent argument for further Japanese investments in the region whether or not the Japanese economy will experience a high rate of growth.

economic aid

Japan's official attitude regarding aid to S.E. Asia can be found in a statement on Japan's foreign policy revealed on the eve of Mr Tanaka's visit to S.E. Asia. It says "Economic relations between Japan and S.E. Asia has been extremely close and active. Japan however, has no intention whatsoever of seeking self-interest alone from these economic relations, much less jeopardising the economic independence of those countries".

The magnitude of aid to S.E. Asia is such that of a total foreign aid of US\$7 billion from 1967-1971, 23.2% or US\$1.6 billion was channelled into S.E. Asia. As for bilateral official development assistance in 1972, S.E. Asia accounted for 62%.

These are impressive figures except that the percentage share of official development assistance (O.D.A.) in Japan's GNP has been much lower than other major donors. In 1972 Japan's O.D.A. amounted to only 22.4% whereas those of France and U.S. were 63.7% and 45.4% respectively. "While it is true that Japan has rapidly become a major supplier of capital to the developing countries especially in the Far East and S.E. Asia, a major portion of the increase

was due to outflows of private capital and government capital of a commercial and government capital of a commercial character in the form of export suppliers' credits". It has been the experience of recipient countries that the terms of Japanese aid are harsh and often "tied".

Apart from the nature of the aid, it has been noticed that Japanese aid are allocated in favour of so called "complementary economics". It is this kind of consideration that explains the reason why the aid to Indonesia is some ten times, that to other countries of ASEAN. With all the appearances of earnest desire to help, Japanese economic aid is not as altruistic as it sounds.

Lately however, there has been a shift in emphasis beginning with Japan's acceptance of a goal of 0.7% of GNP for official development assistance at 3rd Unctad in 1972. Realising the inadequacy of existing aid policy, T. Takano has advocated that aid policy be revised accordingly:

- 1) Japan should strive to attain the goal of 0.7% of her GNP for official development assistance. The oil crisis and its consequences must notwithstanding.
- 2) Japan must continue to enlarge her untied aid and soften terms of aid.
- 3) Technical co-operation must be expanded, in quality, extent and scope.
- 4) Flow of private capital must be made in an orderly manner with respect to the desires and needs of host countries.
- 5) In the exploitation of natural resources increase in domestic processing should be encouraged and infrastructure improved through co-operation.
- 6) Japanese economic co-operation ought to be implemented in a manner that will serve the development needs of the recipient countries.

NON-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Several problems arose as the Japanese economic presence or dominance is increasingly felt.

Much criticism has been levelled at the behaviour of Japanese businessmen and executives both in the way they conduct their business and also the way they interact or fail to interact with the local population. In her study on this subject Chie Nakone, summed up local complaints against Japanese businessmen as:

- 1) their inability to communicate effectively with local people.
- 2) their ignorance of local people, local customs and history.
- 3) their failure to mix with the local population partly because of (1) and (2). She herself found the Japanese opinions

on local people and in general the knowing the local

One incident amusing but alas Japanese business couple of business could FORCE the locals" as most of Japanese system thus be applied

Although the Asia did not experience many during the are people who Japanese advent her non-aggression S.E. Asians still Japanese military precluded military Kahn has warned should try to do are not really fair would be very a seek military solution feeling within Japan the Self Defense of a potential unsettling factor that has just exploded of India's H-bomb Lt. Onoda, an old hero's welcome the mass media old Bushido spirit

Japanese politics far has been to and also to maintain ship it has with the shock of the Japan in the race China, Japan is playing an Asian as Breninski, be difficulties in assuming widening economic disparities between nations will make ever it is S.E. Asia come first to the

Further as to continue their economic co-operation become political peaceful.

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If so, the Opport the B. part of

on local people "poor and stereotyped" and in general they are not interested in knowing the local people and their culture.

One incident she mentioned was rather amusing but alarming. After a lecture to Japanese businessmen in Singapore, a couple of businessmen asked her if "they could FORCE the Japanese system on the locals" as most of them believed that the Japanese system was the best and should thus be applied to locals.

Although the new generation in S.E. Asia did not experience Japanese hegemony during the last War, their leaders are people who vividly remember the Japanese adventure into S.E. Asia. Despite her non-aggression constitution, many S.E. Asians still anticipate a resurgent Japanese militarism. Economic success has precluded military solutions but Herman Kahn has warned that if other countries should try to close Japan out in ways that are not really fair, then the Japanese would be very aggrieved and may possibly seek military solutions. Rising nationalistic feeling within Japan and the build up of the Self Defense Force and her possession of a potential nuclear deterrent are unsettling factors in a South-East Asia that has just experienced the detonation of India's H-bomb. The recent return of Lt. Onoda, an officer of the Imperial Army, to a hero's welcome and the enthusiasm of the mass media in fervently extolling the old Bushido spirit.

Japanese political considerations thus far has been to serve the causes of trade and also to maintain the intimate relationship it has with the United States. With the shock of the United States beating Japan in the race to win the friendship of China, Japan is gradually looking towards playing an Asian role. Some authors such as Breninski, believe that there are difficulties in assuming an Asian role because widening economic, cultural and political disparities between her and other Asian nations will make her less Asian. But whatever it is S.E. Asia's economic interests come first to the Japanese.

Further as long as Japan and China continue their dialogue increasing their economic co-operation, the region will become politically more stable and peaceful.

future

It is evident that Japanese economic expansion into S.E. Asia has not contributed very much to the region's development as a whole. The standard of living most people in S.E. Asia has not improved.



To change existing trade patterns S.E. Asian countries must make use of whatever leverage they can get out of the supply of raw materials to Japan.

As scarcity of raw materials develop, it will become easier to reconcile differences amongst the producer countries. "Package deals" with the purchase of raw materials coupled with the purchase of manufactured goods from these newly industrialised countries can help change trade patterns.

The investment pattern has hitherto been only complementing the economic needs of Japan. The Japanese Government and business community must realise that it is in their own interest that S.E. Asia develop peacefully and that investments patterns must change. More investment should be made into export orientated industries.

The Japanese companies with the marketing techniques and marketing channels can do a lot to help manufactured goods from S.E. Asian countries acquire the exposure they need so as to make inroads into foreign markets. In this I do not exclude Japan as one such market. It is satisfying to note that such a measure is already taking place in some countries such as Singapore.

From the point of view of the host country it should develop an "effective countervailing power" to face the giant Japanese corporations. Such a power should include government, bureaucracy, technocracies and the local business community. Such co-ordinated planning ensures development by lessening exploitation.

As far as economic aid is concerned, the future should be brighter if the Japanese Government takes heed to the advice of T. Takano mentioned earlier. Besides securing better and more aid from Japan the host country should have a definite and clear idea of what it needs for development, at present and in the future; whether the economy requires capital or technological stimulus. Only with such a sense of purpose can aid be used properly and goals achieved.

The problem of cultural gap and hence animosity between Japanese businessmen and local population will be greatly reduced if the corporations concerned were to select the people whom they send overseas more stringently and more carefully. Above all Japanese must really "think Asian and act Asian".

If smooth development of S.E. Asia takes place and if Japanese economic expansion brings with it benefit to the S.E. Asian countries, then the likelihood of resources and markets being closed to Japanese remains remote and the corresponding threat of militarism diminished.

conclusion

The future of Japanese in S.E. Asia can be a bright one if the Japanese begin to understand the aspirations and needs of the S.E. Asian countries. Better co-ordination between Japanese Government or Japanese capital and local government would go towards making the region more developed and more prosperous. Mr Tanaka has taken a first step in this direction, it is up to the Japanese business bureaucrats and technocrats to follow.

A Paper Presented to International Union of Socialist Youth Seminar on Japanese Economic Expansion. Wellington April, 1974 By Dr Loo Choon Yong, SINGAPORE.

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PACIFIC....

Is Socialism relevant to the South Pacific? In this article Kelemendi Balewa looks at the problems of underdevelopment as it affects his country and offers these thoughts.

Perhaps one can share some information together. I shall begin by asking the following questions: is Fiji socialist, and, is socialism possible?

The answer to both questions is obviously no. Westerners define socialism very generally as the principle which holds that the means of production, distribution and exchange are state controlled and that the properties, wealth, securities and opportunities should be equitably distributed and available to all.

But to apply this definition to a place like Fiji would mean in fact that we are trying to transplant into the country an alien concept suitable only for the Westerners. Before I am accused of lying let me point out the fact that we have to a certain degree done this. But what we have absorbed is so small that the situation still remains the same as if the concept has not been introduced at all. The Fijians like other Pacific Islanders have or used to have anyway a mode of life that was very similar to the concept of socialism in the western sense but it was rooted in the Fijian culture. This is the main reason why our "socialism" is different from yours. I shall thus be using the above Western definition of socialism to analyse the situation in Fiji.

Means of Production

The Fijian economy thrives solidly on private enterprise. Very few industries are government controlled. The government at the moment is trying to nationalise the sugar industry which is the back-bone of the economy, but is faced with the problems of cost past (for the initial takeover may cost about \$20 million) present and future, lack of technical and management skills, unpredictable marketing conditions which is not helped by the fact that the old owners still control the marketing aspect of sugar whereas the government only controls the growing and processing aspects at the moment.

The point of whether the sugar industry has been nationalised is debatable. The government in the first place does not own all the shares. What is left to the general public is quickly seized by the people with the finance and knowledge of what is actually happening and also knowledge of the existence of the stock-

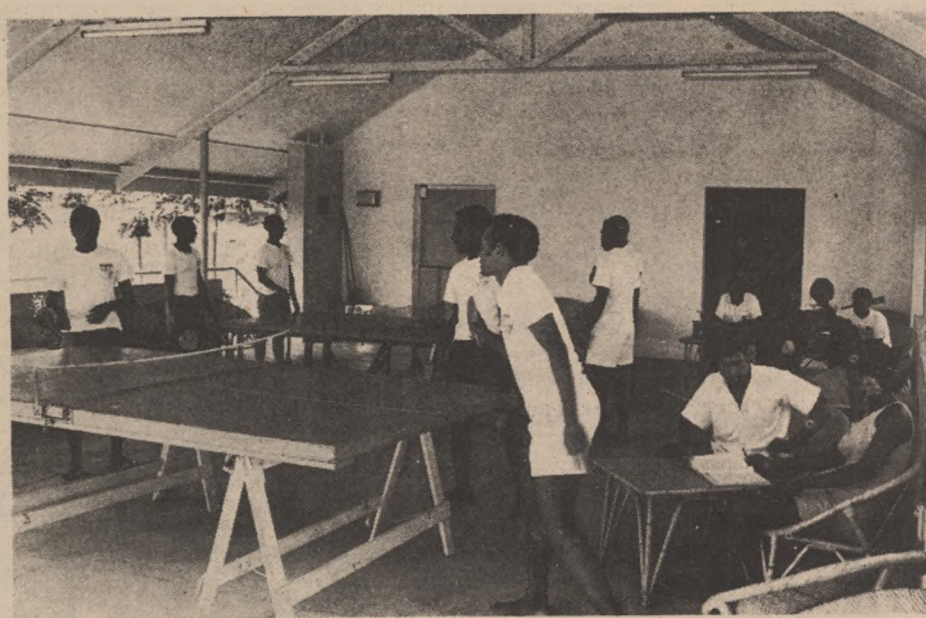
market and its working process. The government does not own all the land on which the canes are planted although there is a tendency in the last year or so for an increase in new Crown leases given to established growers who have had un-renewed leases from the Native Land Trust Board. As to the question of marketing of the sugar the existing arrangement is for the Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited to market all sugar produced for an indefinite period. The Fiji Government in 1974 will after the termination of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, be making arrangements with fellow participants of the International Sugar Agreement (1968) in relation to the marketing of raw sugar. It will also be seeking to ensure that from 1975 onwards its present negotiated price quota of 140,000 tons made under the C.S. Agreement, going to the United Kingdom, will be allowed guaranteed access to the E.E.C. at a remunerative price.

The nationalisation of the mining industry is being delayed at the moment because of lack of finance and technical problems associated with new and deeper drilling. I suspect that the government is satisfied with the present subsidy system and is not prepared to take the risk and problems associated with actual ownership.

Government loans in excess of \$500,000 were made to the Emperor Gold Mines Ltd. in 1971. A large part of that sum was interest free and payable over six years. Figures on mining reports seem to point to the demise of the gold mining industry in Vatu-koula. With a potentially unemployable 2000 work force the Government and the owners of the mines are embarking on a programme of diversifying into other industries - such as ready-mixed concrete, the manufacture of drain pipes, timber milling, farming etc. Some overseas firms have tried unsuccessfully to mine other minerals in Fiji.

The government is subsidising the Tourist Industry at the moment by granting leaseholds to prospective hotel owners and by facilitating the trade in duty-free goods and entertainment. At the same time it is encouraging local people to actively participate in grabbing their shares from the booming industry.

But again the economic system in Fiji is structured in such a way that the people directly benefiting from the tourist boom are the monied speculators on land and those engaged in the duty-free goods trade. The Crown is committed to stopping speculation on crown land in the light of the tourist industry boom, but it could be casting a blind eye on the



other from of dealings not directly related to land. For instance the loans given out by the crown to certain businessmen are only beneficial to them but not the society as a whole. Yet the loans were intended to develop the participation of the masses in the industry. The Native Land Trust Board and the Fijian landowners are put into a situation where they have to balance the needs of making a quick buck on the industry and development along traditional lines. The approach at the moment seems to be one of caution.

The effect of the industry on the people of Fiji has been depressing. For a developing country like Fiji I felt that the problems of inflation are increased by the flow of wealthy tourists who are prepared to pay for goods at prices outside the financial capacity of the local person. This leads to high cost of living. One must not forget the demoralising aspect of all this to the Fijian. In the days before the Europeans established themselves in the country a Fijian man can for a period of time possess certain goods not belonging to him by borrowing from the owner or by bartering. I am not suggesting that this was done all the time. But it is of vital importance to a Fijian to have the comforting thought that the possibility of acquiring any goods needed existed. Now he cannot even pay for the goods from his pay packet. In Pakeha sociological terms, his economic mode changed; group solidarity diminishes; there is a redefining of class based on the new and alien economic system in which he finds himself the underprivileged.

There has also been some embarrassing situations faced by Fijian landowners in relating to ownership of land. In some instances these people (often made up of a number of tribes) have been told that the piece of land they have been using for years are not legally theirs. Some foolish N.L.T.B. or government official had actually sold the land to an overseas person and his heirs. And the heirs finding that the country has a thriving tourist industry decided that their land would be worth a lot if they speculate wisely.

Thus in the process of establishing their title over the land a whole community has to be uprooted physically.

Fiji cannot afford to alienate foreign investors by being socialistic. It is to a very large extent dependent on foreign investment for economic development. It may seem to some people that what I am arguing is contradictory in that, on one hand there is a suggestion that we reject the Western capitalist and all he stands for and on the other hand, I am pointing out the great reliance we have on foreign investment for economic development. The solution is simply this. Give us the vital financial assistance we need without the usual strings attached and let Fiji

develop in its own unique way.

In smaller industries, encouragement is given to those with the means to expand in their various fields. Many people are left to support themselves as workers in industries and government. Others turn back on the land for a living which is only slightly above subsistence level.

Like most under-developed nations, the most important property is the land. It is also the cause of many of the major problems.

I suppose like a lot of problems something isn't a problem until we make it so ourselves. This I feel is the situation in Fiji, in relation to the land. Indians wish to have more say in the land so that they could determine the duration of the leases they hold from the crown and the N.L.T.B. They seek economic security by favourable lease terms. In fact those that aspire for the above aim are ultimately concerned with actually owning freehold land. Apart from the economic reasons obtaining freehold land has a lot of emotional significance to them. The permanent foothold in Fiji that had in general eluded their ancestors would upon obtaining their own freehold land, be established.

The Fijian landowner on the other hand can see no reason why Indians and other races should advance economically at his expense. He holds the view that the land is his and he can develop it in his own good time and ways. He also realises that the only property of real economic value to him is land and as long as he maintains possession he can control the rate of progress of the other sectors. He needs guidance as to how his land is to be developed. He wants to produce enough to sell in the markets and also enough to feed his family daily. Loaning institutions have started to wake up to the fact that if they want the Fijian farmer to develop his farm it must be done within the context of the Fijian land system, and closely following his cultural economic mode. At the moment the group amongst the Fijian farming community benefitting the most from these new developments are the cane farmers of the western zone of Vitilevu and around the Labasa area.

The land system in Fiji can be briefly divided into:

- Freehold
- Crown land
- Fijian land

Only a very small proportion of the land is freehold or owned by the crown. About 87% of the land is owned by the natives, the Fijians, who have surrendered their rights of control to the Native Land Trust Board. The N.L.T.B. acts on the principle that Fijian land can only be leased but not sold as freehold, and preference for leases are given to the Fijian owners. Thus



the N.L.T.B. a landowners. N very rare cases leaseholds to the motives an land. Although Fijians to use productive unused because wledge and sk poor quality c 500,000 acres that there is le person in Fiji ided amongst a all Fijians wer the land beco there are too land. The land make a living

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Distribution of Opportun

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SOCIALISM?

the N.L.T.B. act as trustee to the Fijian landowners. Note though that only in very rare cases does the N.L.T.B. grant leaseholds to non-Fijians who may have the motives and the means to develop the land. Although incentives are given to Fijians to use their land into some sort of productive unit, most of the land remains unused because of lack of resources, knowledge and skills amongst the Fijians; the poor quality of the land; only about 500,000 acres are arable which means that there is less than an acre for every person in Fiji if the land is to be subdivided amongst all Fijians i.e. to say that if all Fijians were to have their little shares, the land becomes unproductive because there are too many people and not enough land. The land is too small for anyone to make a living out of it.

The most important factor in my opinion is the fact that the land is now owned on an individual freehold basis. It is owned by the large groups - the tribes and clans. And because tribal and clan lineages are so confused and big as hell and the 'real' owners cannot be traced - loaning institutions - subject to above comment - infrequently finance any potential Fijian farmer. He in turn, turns back to the N.L.T.B. and to the Fijian Affairs Board for assistance only to find in most cases that funds obtained from them have been used in paying the petty bureaucrats in the offices of their two institutions or used in the financing of the new houses of the chiefs who sit on the directorial boards. The new Fiji constitution has entrenched the problem by insuring that all matters concerning the Fijian people are to go through these two boards and there elect and nominate senatorial representatives.

The Fijian also fears losing his land and prefers to sit on it rather than to develop it. This fear originates from his ignorance of the law regarding development of land and western economic development in general.

To summarise this section then, the means of production are not controlled by the state nor can they be distributed equally by mere reformist approaches. A revolution originating from a unity of all at the lower level of the social structure may change things, but unity racial and cultural wise for the purpose of equal distribution and joint ownership of means of production is just impossible.

Distribution of the Sources and Equality of Opportunities

There are about 650,000 people in Fiji of which about 51% are Indians and 46% Fijians and the rest are Chinese and Europeans. The problems of integration are obvious. Each racial group still largely remains in isolation from the others although there is a tendency amongst the younger generation in the city to integrate. This integration move is largely the result of education. Renewal of identification is partially the result of rejection of traditional cultural norms. *Racial conflicts are not conducive to socialism.*

There is a lack of nationalistic feeling. The Fijian remains the Fiji-Fijian - the Indians the Fiji-Indians etc. Because racial differences are also coloured by differences in wealth, the few legislations that had been passed to break down the barriers are ineffective. There is also a lot of criticism made about the racist nature of the Fiji Constitution with its specially entrenched provisions safeguarding the interest of the Fijian people. But changes can be made in accordance with the due process of law. It's most important effect at the moment is that, it stands as a reminder to all people within and outside Fiji that the racial problems in Fiji are there to stay. But even if the laws are changed to encourage integration - nothing will happen because people still hold on to their traditional ideas of racial separation.

We must also try to understand the concept of property ownership amongst the races. Fijians are more communalistic than the Fiji-Indians although the younger Fijians are rapidly absorbing the western and Indian concept of individual ownership of property. But even communalism in the Fijian and the polynesian sense of the word cannot be a springboard for socialism because of the following reasons:

(a) the doctrine of exchange of goods is inherent in communalism but the advantage is always with the person or group that takes than the person or group that gives. In most cases, the former would take a thing of better quality than what was given from him previously by the giver. Thus there is an underlying assumption in the exchange that goes to profit making and exploitation. This state of affairs would naturally lead the hard-workers to rebel at the idea taking the risk of being ostracized or pressure will be applied for them to conform. Communalism was useful and practicable when everyone did the same work and owned the same chattels, but the mercantile spirit arising out of the increased sophistication of industry cannot tolerate it. It was also helpful with respect to assistance offered to a person who has a duty to perform but hasn't got the resources to perform.

Another underlying assumption here is that the loaned chattel is not at the moment of borrowing being used by the owner. Whenever the need arises he is according to some rule of conscious entitled to immediate repossession even though the "temporary owner" till has some use left for the tools.

Not all properties of a Fijian is communally owned e.g. weapons and wives.

The exchange of chattels were not compulsory and there are various delightful ways of getting around it.

But the fact remains that in the western concept of socialism properties are acquired by the state through due process of law or through a revolution. Every means of production should theoretically be controlled by the state directly. Compulsory acquisition of the means of production and distribution has to be achieved to put the



state in effective control.

The Fiji-Indians belong to a more tightly and closely knitted society. This has historical reasons behind it. The immigrant Indian man from India before and after the turn of the century found himself alone in a completely different environment. He was forced to work harder, since he had very little money and had to save every penny he could get to build up his new life. He had very little property, his condition of entry into the country ie his indenture contract was often largely at the mercy of unfavourable interpretation by the authorities. Thus if it was not ingrained in his mind before he left India, the idea of individualism and the survival of the fittest, he soon learned it quickly in his new home land. These ideas have remained with the Indians up to this day, even though he has by now surpassed the Fijian man in material wealth. The Indian man looks very unfavourably at the communalistic ways of the Fijian and vice versa. But the latter feels secure because he is sitting on his land. The Indian man because of his experience and lack of security thus believes more in private enterprise.

At the moment there is little give and take between the races and it would be absurd to think that socialism could achieve this. One mustn't also forget the fact that class systems operate within the various races which are either hereditary or based on possession of material wealth. The Fijian society is just as class orientated as the Indian society. Unfortunately awareness of class conflict is lacking even though class conflict exists. Most people seem to accept existence of classes as an act of the Spirits or God and never rebel against it. If they did in the colonial days the colonists were there to support the ruling and the rich because they found it expedient to do so. This applies largely to the case of the Fijian people whereas the immigrant Indians could be effectively controlled by immigration regulations.

The Fijians were patronised by the colonists in the hope that they would develop a competitive and industrious outlook towards life. The colonist also by this process made sure that the two races remained separated. They could always trust the Fijians in times of trouble - whether its good old England or within Fiji. Mistrust was generated and propagated by the colonists amongst the two races to divert the people's attention from their own plans.

Certain provisions were made for the advancement of Fijians whereas the Indians were left to look after themselves. This was largely in the fields of education, administration and political control. This policy was just changed recently because of growing criticism. The Fijian has been expressly protected by the constitution with regards to his culture but subject to the other provisions of the act and interpretation of the Constitution by the Courts. The implementation of policies towards equal opportunity is a recent phenomenon.

Fiji's present political set-up is one of constitutional democracy. It is a dominion and gives allegiance to the crown. There are two main parties - Alliance and the Federation.

Government - Alliance is supposed to be multi-racial but is largely sponsored by Fijians and other races with little Indian support. More Fijian M.P.'s in the party than Indians. There is a constant attempt [by the party to protect a multi-racial image. It is basically conservative and most of the M.P.'s in it are rich but ignorant. Favours private enterprise - all out encouragement given to big international corporations to operate in Fiji too.

Opposition - Federation is supposed to be multi-racial but is 80% supported by Indians - has given up any attempt of recruiting Fijians in its rank who are qualified and respected. Top echelons are self-made Indian gents but is also conservative. At the moment is working quite closely with the Alliance Government and is disorganised because of conflict over leadership within the party, especially with regards to future economic planning. Real reason of conflict may have been the sell out at the 1970 Conference when the Constitution was drafted; incorporating the clauses on Fijian custom. Cannot condemn free and individual enterprise because most of its leaders are great land owners and businessmen.

Conclusion.

Fiji is unique socially, politically and economically. It is a plural society with its special problems that cannot be solved in the foreseeable future. What Fiji can imbibed from other nations are severely limited by its environment. Western socialism can only effectively be applied in western nations. Fiji should investigate the existence and potential capacity of this concept, but in the final analysis anything adopted should be basically Fijian. In its western social sense this doctrine holds no place in the Fijian society.



ISRAEL

You have tried to create in Israel an agrarian socialism?

Yehiel Leket: The concept of the Kibbutz is a unique one. It dates back to the turn of the century, when people came from Europe and particularly Russia, with socialist ideas. They came to an empty country, and they tried to fulfil socialist ideas by personal example. They were productive people. But the only way for them to buy land was to live in the communal system, which means the kibbutz, and to work together and to share equally.

During this century the kibbutz became a strong movement in Israel. Now the kibbutz is facing new problems because of the technological advances in agriculture. The percentage of manpower in agriculture is reducing and the kibbutz is going into industry and trying to create new sources of wealth. Many, many kibbutzes, while keeping agriculture, are forced into industry.

Do you think that, with the growth of affluence in Israel, the kibbutz idea has been lost?

Y.L.: No, but over the last twenty years we have absorbed hundreds of thousands of people into the state of Israel. The strength and the ideas of the kibbutz depends on education. You have to give people the experience of living in a kibbutz and to decide whether they can continue living in such an idealistic framework of life.

When one is absorbing so many people from different backgrounds and traditions education is much more difficult. Now the kibbutz movements is trying to influence the youth movement, particularly the Trade Union youth movement. Many from the youth movement are going to the kibbutz. Not everybody remains after two or three years. Still the idea of the kibbutz and the decision to go

and live on the kibbutz is part of the educational process.

With the growth of cities, do you now think in terms of urban socialism?

Y.L.: First you have to take into consideration that the Kibbutz movement politically have a much bigger influence than their population. For example in the Labour party, the top priority is, from a social point of view, living the life of the kibbutz. Kibbutz members are representing the Labour party in the government, in the Trade Unions and in all elected bodies. The population in kibbutz is 3 or 4 per cent but their representation is perhaps as high as twenty percent.

Through this they are influencing political life. In the cabinet there is four who are kibbutzim out of twentyone.

But about urban socialism. Our problem in Israel is not how to control the private enterprises because in a special system the Trade Unions owns the majority of industry. We call it the workers society.

The management are also in the trade unions which means that the workers identify easily with them.

This however can cause problems as institutions become bureaucratised. The further we move on from our beginnings the more we lose the idea of them.

What about private enterprise?

A. The policy now of the government is to encourage private enterprise. I do not agree with this for it goes against our socialist heritage.

Twenty years ago however, government faced unemployment. Thousands of people emigrating, many of whom who did not have skills. It was a question of survival and we had to adapt to survive and private enterprise helped us there.

Q. What is the new prime minister like?

Rabin is a brilliant politician but on the other hand he is a newcomer to politics as he was a general. I feel he will take a line will help in the Middle East.

Q. Is he different from Golda Meir?

A. Golda Meir is the last of the founding generation. She is also the symbol of the policies that were criticised by the youth movements. She represents those who want to keep the status quo in the Middle East.

Q. Do you see Jewish people as having a cultural or religious identity?

A. I see myself as belonging to the Jewish people because of a historical and cultural background.

I am not religious, in fact I oppose Judaism as the official state of religion.

This is a great debate in Israel and its probably true that most Israelis feel that Israel should be a secular state. The fact is that only 12% of Israelis vote for the religious party.

One of the things Zionism has emphasised is Repatriation of all the Jewish people to Israel. Do you think that all the Jews should go to Israel?

Y.L.: I think all the Jews should want to live in Israel. This I think is the only solution to the Jewish problem. All the history emphasises an independent Jewish state. I think it is the duty of every Jew who believes in the Jewish solution (which is the only solution) to do something to strengthen Israeli society. The best thing to do to strengthen Israel society is to come and live in Israel. I will try to analyse for you the many problems of the Jewish people today - from the Jewish point of view. First of all the problem of the existence of Israel must be ensured. The best way (one of top priority)

is to have ALLIYAH, in Israel. This means the repatriation of the Jews to Israel and would keep Israel alive for a long time.

Second problem is the oppression. Several Jewish minorities in several countries are in a situation of oppression. I mean especially Russia and Arab countries. The best solution for those Jews there and the only relative solution today is to leave their country to ALLIYAH to Israel.

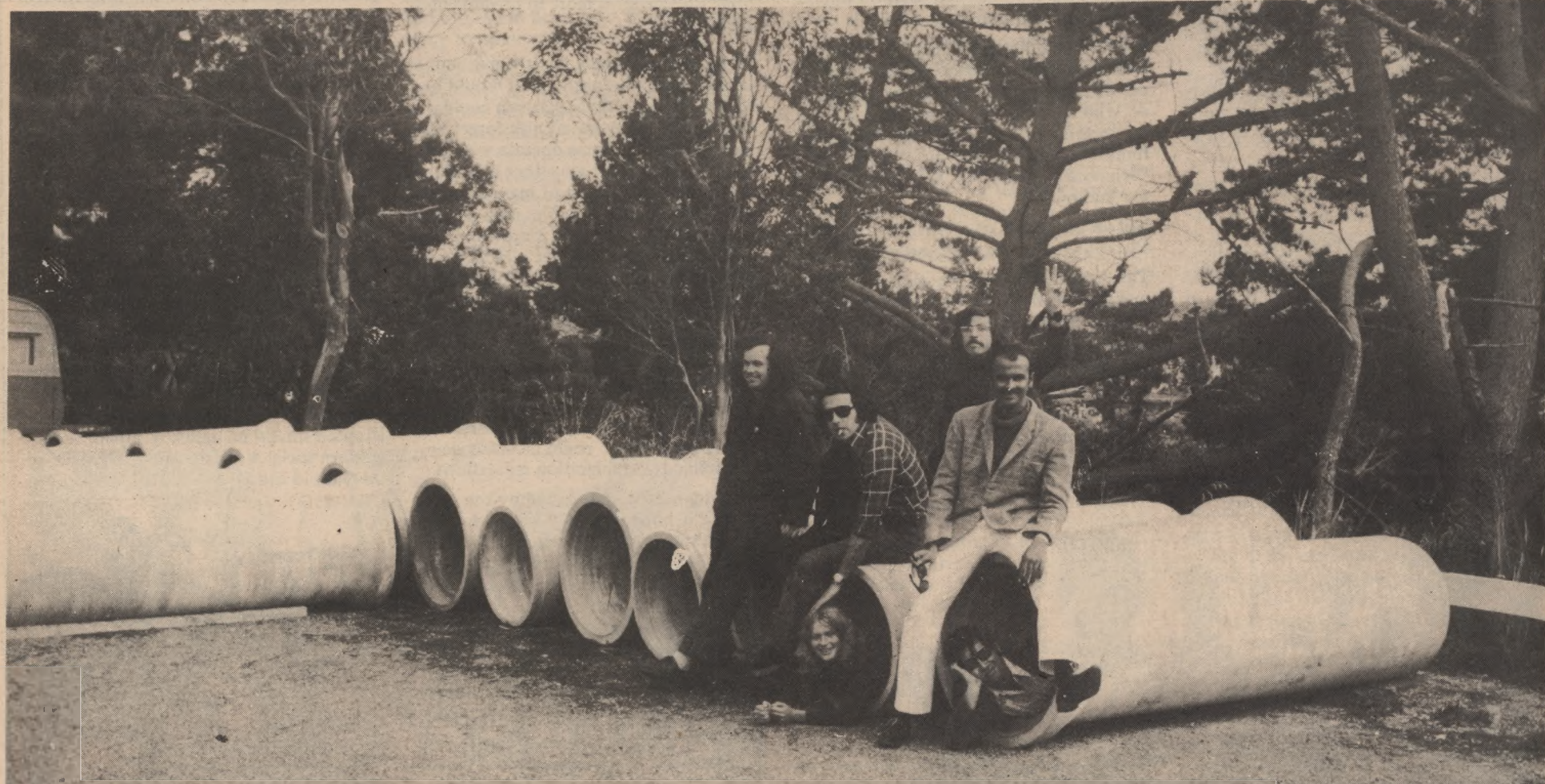
Third problem is the assimilation of Jewish people abroad. If Jewish people can't be assimilated abroad then the only solution is ALLIYAH. Repatriation of Jewish people remains the best solution of the problems of the Jewish people today.

Many arabs live in Israel. Are you satisfied that the Israel Government is giving equal rights to them, as citizens?

Y.L.: There are 300,000 Arabs living in Israel since 1948. The policy of the Israel Government is quite progressive towards them. They are equal citizens in Israel. There is a big advantage for them living in Israel if you compare the last 20 years of Arabs in villages in Israel and the villagers in country's in the Arab world. The Israeli Government gives the Arab population the same social services as the Jewish population. If you asked Israeli Arabs if they would be prepared to move to an Arab country and become a citizen, the majority would want to remain Israel citizens because of the conditions, education and other advantages of living in Israel. The best thing to do is to ask the Arabs in villages in Israel.

What about the problems over the question of language. Is there a language barrier, because of the widespread immigration.

Y.L.: Every new Jewish newcomer has intensive seminars, paid by the government. Ninety per cent of the Jewish population speak Hebrew as their everyday language. I can't say the Jews have a language barrier problem. Of course, older people who come to Israel have less motivation to learn quickly



CRACCUM is this week dedicated to the memory of Karl and Groucho Marx, and the French Club, who in a true socialist spirit, gave us the cheese.

It was edited by Brent Lewis, laid out by Paul Hartigan and Jill Ridgewell. Other comrades were Peter Goodfellow and Rob Greenfield (both Young Nats but better workers than most of us), Malcolm Walker, Chris Brookes, Lee Pattison, John Turnbull, Colin Chiles, Bill Ralston, Dave Butcher, Bob Lack, Rangi Haran, Graeme D. Easte, Cora Baillie, Brett Hillary, Geoff Saunders, Garth Kennedy, Roger Debreceney, Paul Halloran, Murray Cammick, Ken Newlands and Mike Rann

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Book Review

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BOOK REVIEWS-BOOK REVIEWS

Book Review: SOCIALISM, Michael Harrington, Bantam, 524 pages \$2.25

In his latest book Michael Harrington establishes himself as the foremost socialist thinker in America today.

Harrington has attempted to apply the wisdom and tradition of the socialist past to the future and make it relevant for today. By taking the viewpoint of "a democratic Marxist" he analyses Marx's thought and seeks to understand the future by understanding the past.

To Harrington Marx was the first and foremost a believer in democracy and not the father to totalitarianism as perceived by Joseph Stalin or Edgar J. Hoover. He argues that Marx came to see democracy as being the essence of socialism and could be achieved by democratic means rather than violent revolution or conspiracy. Thus he calls Marx the first "social - democrat".

Essentially this book is a Marxist analysis of Marx. He view his life as an entity, a whole, one which cannot be understood unless one takes this viewpoint. He rightly criticises those who take one particular period of Marx's thought and justify their existence or courses of action.

An example of this is the phrase "the dictatorship of the proletariat" which has been used to justify Communist regimes. Harrington argues that Marx was not sanctioning totalitarianism or the loss of civil rights but quite the opposite.

Marx viewed the State as the instrument of the ruling classes and was a "Dictatorship" in that the struggle for scarce resources is organised, and sometimes forcibly, in favour of the ruling classes. Thus the most libertarian of bourgeois democracies is a dictatorship in the sense that the economic wealth and power of the rich contradicts the theoretical equality of all the citizens.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was not to be a totalitarian state but rather a state organised democratically in favour of the proletariat. Engels viewed the Paris Commune as an example of the dictatorship of the proletariat where all the officials were elected by universal suffrage and subject to immediate recall.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was to be a democratic state for democracy is the essence of socialism. To Harrington, Marx was a democrat and a humanist.

The remaining chapters show the relevancy of Marxism for the world today. Perhaps the key factor in this is "the democratisation of economic power" which is synonymous with political power. Those that hold economic power in capitalist countries are those who have the greatest political power.

The book deals with various reforms which would lead society beyond the world market and beyond the Welfare State. Here Harrington is at his most readable and relevant for he details policies for socialists all over the world to carry out and overthrow capitalism.

Whether analysing the "new capitalism" or "the substitute proletariats" he never ignores concrete developments which do not fit into preconceived notions. The total honesty with which Harrington writes, his objectivity heightened by his partisanship gives the reader the sense that this book has got something fundamental to offer.

His iron resistance to any sort of dogma or fanaticism, and his restatement of all too forgotten fundamental truths makes this an appealing book to both socialists and non-socialists alike.

His chapter on the socialist vision

shows the basic conflict of socialist thought - the reconciliation of the socialist dream with reality. True socialism where "the fundamental limitations of human existence have been transcended" may never be achieved, but it must be striven for. If capitalism is overthrown then "there will not be an end to history, but there may be a new history".

This is arguably the most informed book on socialism to come out of Britain or America since the war. SOCIALISM has established Harrington as a perceptive Marxist and social critic and has ensured for himself a place in socialist history.

P. Hellyer

"Rules for Radicals" by Saul Alinsky Reviewed by Paul Halloran

Saul Alinsky was a remarkable man. He made democracy not just a middle class cliché but a weapon for the ordinary man.

His studies in criminology led him into close contacts with the Mafia in Chicago in the '30's and for a while he was a member of the Young Communist League but his attitudes were too radical and he was thrown out.

Alinsky's book can be used as a manual as it brings together his own experience in community organisation and his own views on the manner in which issues should be aired.

He makes the point clearly throughout however that the basic common goal in all his struggles was never to go beyond the wishes of the people that he wished to help.

Over a period of thirty years his reputation of reliability grew and he was invited to lead struggles in every state in the U.S.A. and in other countries as well.

Not all of his activities were met with instant approval. He had been jailed, beaten up, had contracts taken out on his life and had been run out of numerous towns.

He discusses in his book the make-up of the organiser, his virtues and vices. Raw experience had shown Alinsky that these were

never very clear and in individuals could be quite deceptive. Those of us working in groups could have a good look at his assessment of the organiser and his motivations.

On tactics he is basic. Spread them far and wide, he feels. That way it makes you harder to hit and they can't shut you up quite as quickly.

In the Kodak-Eastman dispute he organised proxy shares in that company to solve the black employees problems with that company. They agreed to his demands as his proxy vote at the stockholders annual meeting would have hurt the company.

In a dispute with a bank Alinsky had several hundred people open accounts one day and close them two days later. The result was confusion and a subsequent change of policy over loans to working people.

Does any of it apply to New Zealand? In so far as the basic approach goes it adapts very well. In the handling of personnel within an organisation it is helpful. As an alternative approach to frontal attack on establishment institutions it is excellent.

As a book it is also immensely readable.

N.Z. LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH CONFERENCE RUN BY THE YOUTH ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE LABOUR PARTY POINTS TO BE THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY THAT IS AVAILABLE TO THE YOUTH OF THE PARTY

LABOUR YOUTH HAVE PROVIDED MANY POLICY POINTS WHICH AFTER FURTHER STUDY HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED IN THE LABOUR ELECTION MANIFESTO.

WRITE TO:

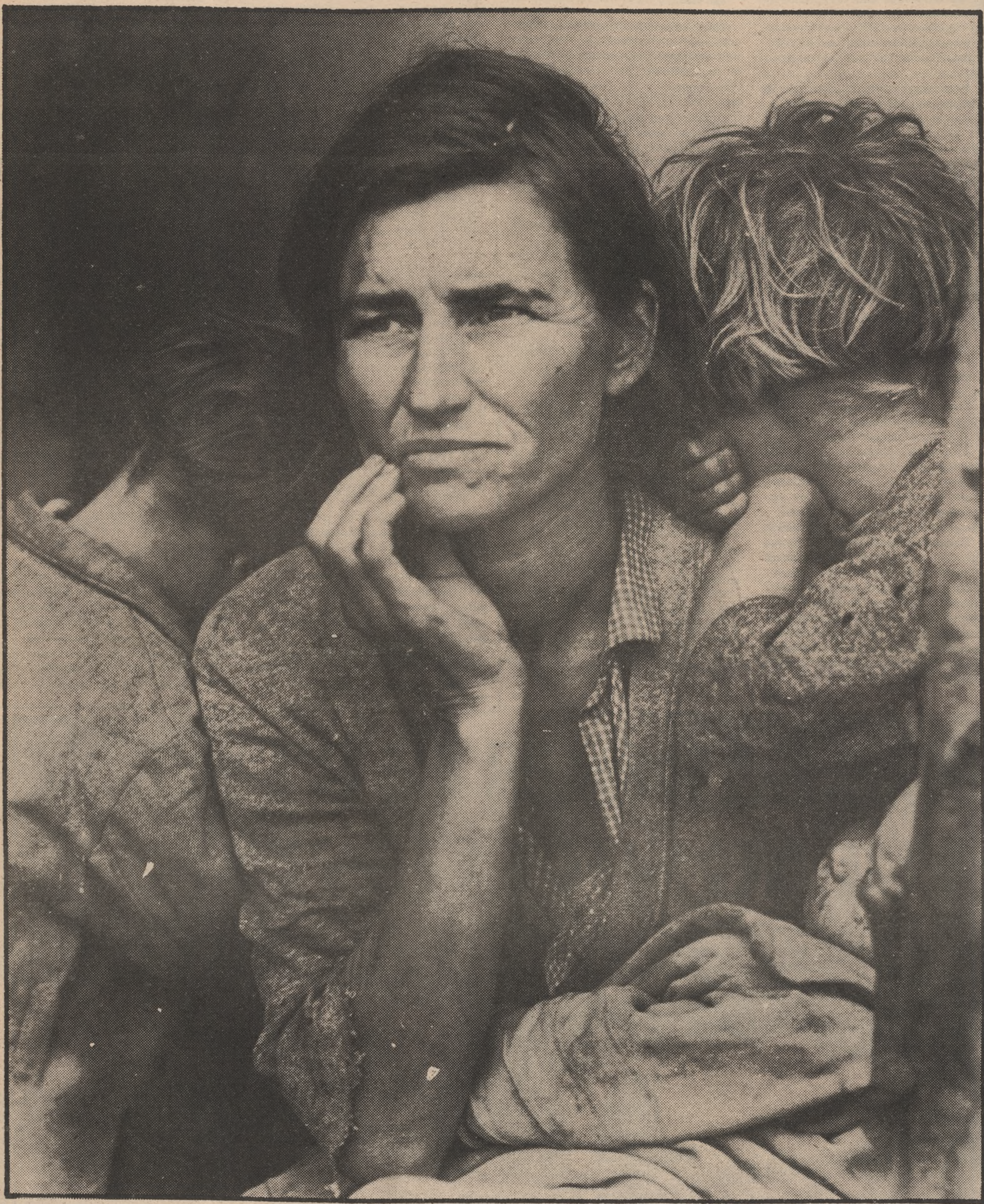
MANY LABOUR LEADERS HAVE BEEN DRAWN FROM THE RANKS OF LABOUR LABOUR YOUTH.

THEY HAVE FOUND BOTH HARD WORK AND PHILOSOPHICAL SATISFACTION WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY.

WHY NOT INQUIRE ABOUT FURTHER ACTIVITIES AVAILABLE TO YOU?

John Wybrow,
General Secretary,
New Zealand Labour Party,
Box 6373,
WELLINGTON

**work for socialism
and social change,....
join the labour young socialists.**



In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage. John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*

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