

## EUROPE

# Socialist parties champion interests of the Third World

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

EUROPE'S SOCIALIST PARTIES have embarked on a collision course with the Reagan administration by agreeing to champion progressive movements and human rights in Latin America. At its 15th Congress in Madrid this November, the Socialist International, more responsive than ever to appeals for help from the Third World, called for reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and set up a prestigious committee to defend the Nicaraguan revolution that is slated to go to Washington to plead for the Sandinistas. The committee includes SI chairman Willy Brandt, Austrian premier Bruno Kreisky, former Swedish prime minister Olof Palme and French socialists Francois Mitterrand and Michel Rocard. It is headed by Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) leader Felipe Gonzalez, who seems to have edged out fading Portuguese socialist leader Mario Soares as the International's main link between Europe and Latin America.

The Socialist International congress was held in Madrid simultaneously with the big international Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and was considerably more interesting. The fact that the two meetings were held at the same time was hardly coincidental, and the original intention of at least some of the SI leaders—notably Willy Brandt, whose German Social Democratic Party (SPD) carried by far the most weight—was no doubt to cheer on detente and European disarmament talks. But with the freeze on East-West relations following the events in Afghanistan, now exacerbated by the situation in Poland, and with Moscow waiting to see what the Reagan administration is really up to, the SI call for a European disarmament conference could not have much echo. The spotlight shifted to Latin America, where everyone expects the worst as a result of Reagan's election.

Latin American revolutionaries flocked to the SI congress. Their eloquent denunciations of U.S.-backed military dictatorships and their PSOE hosts' eagerness to proclaim Spain a new halfway house between Europe and the Third World gave the Madrid meeting an air of Latin passion that contrasted with the usual technocratic pragmatism of Nordic social democracy. Sandinista Bayardo Arce Castano warned that a process was underway in Nicaragua to "create internal conditions favorable to an external aggression." Delegates showed their support for the Nicaraguan revolution by giving Arce Castano an ovation.

Another guest at the congress, Jaime Paz Samora, vice president of the Bolivian government-in-hiding, explained to Jose Garcon, correspondent of the Paris daily *Liberation*, that Latin American revolutionaries who used to dismiss social democracy as "imperialism's last card" were now drawn to the social democrats, despite ideological differences, by one essential common ideal: "the notion of democracy exists for them."

"The main parties in the SI take Latin America seriously for economic reasons but also for political and humanitarian reasons," said Paz Samora, "so we have converging interests." The SI provides an alternative to Latin Americans who don't want to have to choose between the two superpowers "or become the hostages of their confrontation." He noted that the USSR has heavy invest-

ments in the Bolivian mining industry. European social democracy is no more motivated by economic interest than anyone else—and it at least cares about human rights.

In its final resolution, the SI reminded its European members that their countries' participation in the economic life of Latin America "should not contribute to lending legitimacy to military dictatorships, as has often been the case."

The SI expressed its support for "all progressive forces in the southern cone and in Central America."

## Squaring off with the IMF.

But the recent defeat of Michael Manley in Jamaica brought home to the SI that its purely verbal support could not save a member party when it dared to reject IMF dictates. Swiss social democrat Jean Ziegler told the congress that IMF conditions for granting credit aimed at "forcibly integrating countries into the world capitalist market and opening them up to the multinationals." Ziegler called on the SI to join with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a joint

military coup in Turkey has aroused serious apprehension of contagion in the Mediterranean area. Felipe Gonzalez opened the congress by expressing concern over the "aggressivity of the conservative right" in Europe—certain to be encouraged by the Reagan administration (which was the main topic of strictly off-the-record talk at the congress).

In this context, Gonzalez' condemnation of terrorism as "one of the major enemies of democracy" that "in many cases enjoys outside support" reflected not only a particular Spanish problem but also a broader fear that mysterious terrorists may crop up in any country to create disorders eventually justifying a military takeover, as in Turkey. Soares and others deplored NATO's "tolerance" for the Turkish coup.

## Divisive issues.

While the socialists and social democrats agreed on the principles of East-West detente and North-South relations based on something other than resource pillage and arms sales, they split over the Palestinian question and the Polisario. And these divisions point up an underlying weakness of the Socialist International's outreach to the Third World: the fragility or political ambiguity of its potential allies in the poor countries.

A Palestine Liberation Organization

number of parties, and thus there was never any question of considering it for SI membership.

A split occurred between a group led by the Spanish and Italian socialists who wanted to recognize the PLO, and another group led by the Germans and Austrians who wanted to endorse the Israeli Labor Party and make a special appeal to Jordan to take part in peace negotiations. The final resolution merely described Peres' party as "the only viable force for peace" and expressed pious hopes for a just peace with security for all that takes into account "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

Having lost out in the PLO battle, the PSOE turned its energies to getting the SI to support the Polisario in its battle against Morocco in the former Spanish Sahara. At this, Senegalese president Leopold Sedar Senghor abstained from the entire resolution in protest against the alleged "racism" of the Polisario. Aside from problems between black Africans and Arabs in that part of the continent, Senghor is a very close friend of the French government that supports Morocco. His own socialism is extremely doubtful, but the SI is anxious to have African members, and on a continent mostly ruled by single-party military dictatorships, a head of state who permits

## The Madrid congress passed a bold resolution against IMF policies toward underdeveloped countries, but split over the PLO.



Nicaraguan delegate Bayardo Arce Castano, who received an ovation, was one of many Latin American revolutionaries that flocked to the congress.

investigation of the evil effects of IMF policy. He also proposed creating a solidarity fund to help workers in the Third World.

French socialist Jean-Pierre Chevenement called on the Socialist International to take the lead in a "crusade" to reform the IMF and make its rules more favorable to poor countries.

The final resolution called on the IMF to "stop imposing unacceptable credit conditions that thwart progress and social justice in Third World countries." The Scandinavian, French and Spanish parties played a leading role in keeping the resolution from being watered down for fear of arousing U.S. wrath.

The relative boldness of the Madrid congress seems in large part due to genuine and growing alarm at the worldwide rise of right-wing forces imperiling the most basic political freedoms. The recent

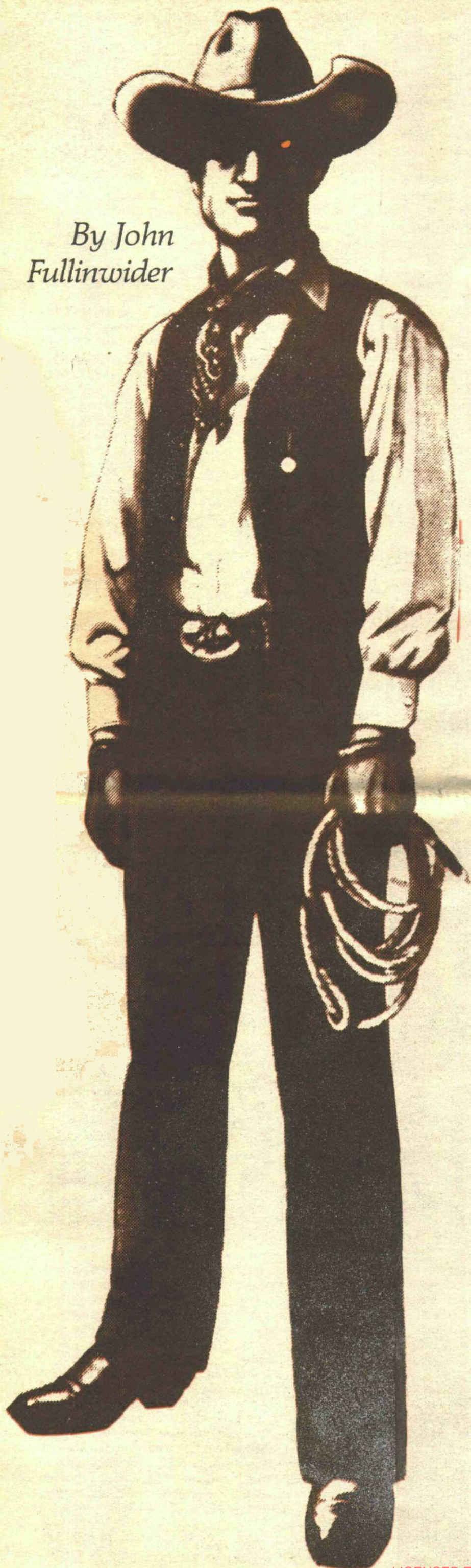
delegation was conspicuously haunting the corridors of the congress; it hoped the Spanish Socialists would succeed in getting the SI to recognize the PLO as "representative of the Palestinian people." But Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres succeeded in convincing the Europeans that such a step by the Socialist International could lose the next Israeli elections for his party.

The Europeans publicly differed in their evaluation of the PLO, with French socialist Francois Mitterrand closest to the Israeli position that the PLO should be disqualified as a negotiating partner because it "wants to destroy the state of Israel." On the other hand, Austrian chancellor Kreisky defined the PLO's aim as the "liberation of Palestine" and said he was for that. Kreisky also pointed out that the PLO was not socialist, but an umbrella organization including a

at least a semblance of democratic electoral opposition seems good enough as a starter.

Five parties were admitted to the SI, bringing membership to 49. They include the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador and the New Jewel movement led by Maurice Bishop, whose attempt at progressive rule in the small Caribbean island of Grenada looks like a prime target for destabilization capers now that Manley is out and Reagan is in. The first Arab party with PLO connections to be admitted, the Socialist Progressive Party of Lebanon, also faces a precarious future. As for the new African member, the Volta Progressive Front, it was banned 10 days later by a military coup in Upper Volta, which had been one of the freest, and still is one of the poorest, countries in Africa. ■





By John  
Fullinwider

# DALLAS

## The City With No



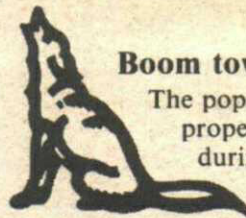
### Corporate migration.

When Dallas Mayor Robert Folsom told the *Wall Street Journal* last fall that "the system probably works better when a poor man is not in office," no one asked: Better for whom?

Dallas' unemployment rate is the envy of most American cities. Indeed, with its largely unorganized workforce, minimal taxes and highly publicized pro-business atmosphere, the home of the Hunt brothers has become something of a corporate Mecca.

While the relocation of American Airlines' corporate headquarters from New York to Dallas was the most publicized move, Diamond-Shamrock, General Telephone & Electronics, Mitsubishi Aircraft and a score of other corporations have moved their headquarters here over the past three years. Even the Girl Scouts came.

Mayor Folsom and city manager George Schrader have them all to luncheons, where the chief executive officers of newly transplanted firms learn about the "entrepreneurial cooperative effort" between the public and private sectors in Dallas. They may be told about the country's largest airport and the new \$100,000 houses constructed "within walking distance of downtown," but they will not be told what effect the boom in Dallas is having on most local families.



### Boom town.

The population of Dallas proper grew slowly during the '70s, since many of the immigrants from the Frostbelt settled in suburban areas. More than half of the communities within the city limits actually lost population in the last decade.

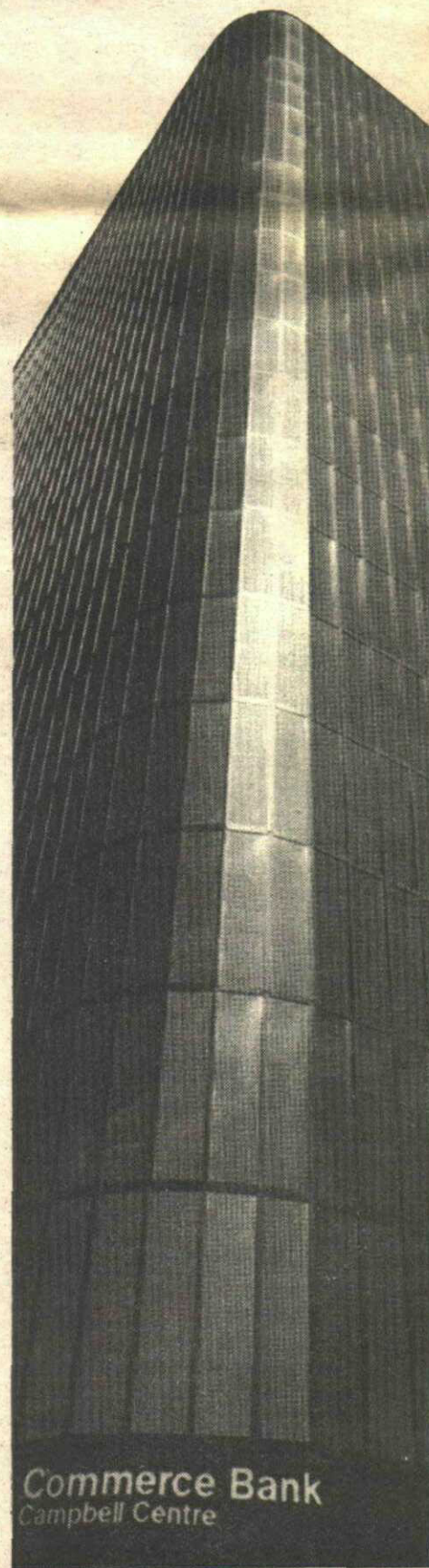
The virtually all-black neighborhoods of South Dallas suffered the greatest losses. A combination of state and federal highway projects, new school district facilities and the continual expansion of the Texas State Fairgrounds drove over 20,000 people from the area. Roughly a thousand single-family homes were bulldozed.

Dallas as a whole enjoys a 3 to 4 percent unemployment rate, but that rate is twice as high in the southern communities. People in South Dallas have trouble getting to North Dallas where most of the jobs are. There is no direct bus service, for instance, between South Dallas and the manufacturing centers along north Stemmons Freeway.

Over 60 percent of the vacant land in the city is in the southern sectors, but it is not being marketed. The city's growth is all to the north. Of the southlands, the city's Office of Economic Development (OED) says, "There has been a fairly decided lack of interest in the area, particularly by local developers."

One of the biggest local developers is Mayor Folsom himself. His financial worth is "in excess of \$7 million," and he is either a partner, manager, president, vice-president or member of the board of over 50 businesses. Folsom obviously has more than civic pride in

The mayor is one of the biggest local developers in Dallas, and owns 20% of the land. He is a partner or sits on the board of over fifty major corporations.



Commerce Bank  
Campbell Centre