

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

JUNE - AUGUST 1972

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION

VOL. XXII NOS. 6-8

VIENNA: TWELFTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The 12th Congress of the Socialist International was held in Vienna on 26-29 June 1972. The Congress was attended by 172 representatives of 39 parties, as well as by 21 representatives of associated organizations.

The proceedings in the Austrian capital had opened on the morning of 26 June with the holding of a Council Conference, which is the body immediately below the Congress in authority. According to its statutory duty, the Council Conference had elected the following Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Socialist International:

Chairman: Bruno Pittermann (Austria)
Vice-Chairmen:

Willy Brandt (Germany)
Trygve Bratteli (Norway)*
Sicco Mansholt (Netherlands)*
Golda Meir (Israel)*
François Mitterrand (France)*
Pietro Nenni (Italy)
Giuseppe Saragat (Italy)*
Harold Wilson (Britain)
* new election

The Council Conference had also recommended the admission of the following parties to the International:

Member parties: Radical Party of Chile, French Socialist Party, Italian Social Democratic Party, Socialist Action of Portugal, US Socialist Party/Democratic Socialist Federation.

Consultative status: Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland Labour Party.

Observer status: People's Electoral Movement of Venezuela.

Associated organization: Labour Sports International.

These proposals were subsequently endorsed by the Congress itself, and as stated in the Report on the activities of the International since 1969 presented to the Congress on behalf of the Bureau by the General Secretary, Hans Janitschek, the membership of the Socialist International as at the Congress comprised 37 full member parties, 13 parties with consultative status and 7 observer members, a

total of 57 parties representing over 14 million members and over 75 million voters.

The Vienna Congress also elected the following to be represented on the Bureau of the International:

Australia: Labor Party (alternating with New Zealand Labour Party); Austria: Socialist Party; Belgium: Socialist Party; Canada: New Democratic Party; Chile: Radical Party; Denmark: Social Democratic Party; Finland: Social Democratic Party; France: Socialist Party; Germany: Social Democratic Party; Great Britain: Labour Party; Israel: Labour Party; Italy (one seat): Socialist Party, Social Democratic Party; Japan (one seat): Socialist Party, Democratic Socialist Party; Malta: Labour Party; Netherlands: Labour Party; Norway: Labour Party; Singapore: People's Action Party; Sweden: Social Democratic Party.

The 12th Congress was attended by many guests and observers, including observers from two of the African liberation movements, the MPLA of Angola and FRELIMO of Mozambique, who had been invited, respectively, by the German Social Democratic Party and the Dutch Labour Party. Messages of greeting to the Congress were received from Indira Gandhi, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Salvador Allende of Chile.

Chairman's Address

In his opening address to the Congress the Chairman of the Socialist International, Bruno Pittermann, said that 'democratic socialism is fighting to realize its objectives against those who reject democracy on ideological grounds and those reactionary powers who, while they pay lip-service to democracy, are always ready to ally themselves with anti-democratic forces and capitalist dictatorships whenever

this enables them to reduce the workers' share of the fruits of the national economy.'

He went on: 'The democratic socialist parties have always respected the right of other political ideologies . . . to proclaim their ideals and win adherents on an equal basis. They have had to realize, however, that neither the capitalist dictatorships nor the states ruled by the communist party alone have granted this equality to the supporters of democratic socialism.'

Dr Pittermann also called for intensified international cooperation among socialist parties to 'lead their members away from narrow chauvinistic pressures', and observed that 'as long as the labour movement remains split into national organizations it will never be able to oppose a tightly organized international capitalist monopoly but will always be laid open to attempts to play the national groups of the labour movement against each other.'

Report on activities

Presenting the Bureau's Report on the activities of the International in the period since the last Congress at Eastbourne in 1969, General Secretary Hans Janitschek, after drawing attention to some facets of the organization's work in this period, concluded by referring to four aspects of the International 'external attitude' since 1969. 'In the first place', he said, 'there was the welcome and solidarity given by the International to the victory of the Popular Unity in Chile led by President Salvador Allende.'

'In the second place', continued the General Secretary, 'there was the welcome and support given to the establishment of the new state of Bangladesh . . . The third factor is the progress made in the area of East-West *détente*, for which the major credit must be given to the Social Democratic-led government of the Federal German Republic under Chancellor Willy Brandt.'

The fourth factor, said Hans Janitschek, is 'the question of relations between social democracy and communism', which 'various international and national developments . . . did in

fact place . . . firmly on the agenda again.' He went on: 'Towards the end of 1971 the Bureau decided to refer the question to a special meeting which subsequently took place in Amsterdam in April 1972. At that meeting . . . it was the general feeling of the party representatives present that member parties should be free to decide their own bilateral relations with all other parties, including communist parties. At the same time it was the unanimous opinion of the Bureau that social democracy should prosecute its ideological dispute with communism as hotly as ever.'

Congress debates

The major business of the Congress was a series of debates on current world problems and questions of particular concern to the socialist movement. On 28 June the morning session opened with, for the first time in the present International's history, a full-scale debate on 'Equality of Women in Politics', which was introduced by Anthony Wedgwood Benn (British Labour Party) and Helga Timm (German Social Democratic Party). A full account of this appears in the current *ICSDW Bulletin*.

The rest of 28 June was taken up with the traditional debate on 'The International Situation'. The Federal German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, gave the first introductory speech, in which he asserted that the main trend of international political developments was 'the transition from confrontation to cooperation'. He also said that the trade unions and social democratic parties of Western Europe should 'bring their ideas into closer accord in order to complement the economic dynamism of the Community by the improvement of social democracy'.

The next speaker was the British Shadow Foreign Minister, James Callaghan, who dealt with East-West relations, African questions and the latest international monetary crisis. On the last theme he was critical of the arrangements negotiated in April this year by which EEC members and candidate countries agreed to support each other's currencies. The new system had been swept away at the first test by speculators, the lesson being that international monetary

problems 'must be dealt with on a world-wide basis and not on the basis of regional blocs'.

Other major speakers in this debate were Bruno Kreisky and Golda Meir. The Austrian Chancellor also dealt with East-West relations, and with the proposed European security conference, repeating his proposal that such a conference should consider setting up a 'good offices committee' to seek a reconciliation of the two sides in the Middle East dispute. The Israeli Prime Minister ranged over the whole complex of developments since the 1967 war, and concluded by looking forward to the day when a delegate of the Israel Labour Party would be able to speak to a Socialist International about something other than the Middle East.

Other speakers in this debate were: Demetrio Boersner (Venezuela), Ulf Sundqvist (Finland), Rafael Albuquerque (IUSY), Antonio Cariglia (Italy), Bruno Kalnins (Latvia), Aharon Yadlin (Israel), Nguyen Thai Son (S. Vietnam), Paul Feldman (USA), John Chalmers (Britain), Emanuel Scherer (Bund) and Kim Chul (S. Korea).

The other major political debate was on 'Socialist Policy for Europe'. The centre-piece of this was a speech by the British Labour Party Leader, Harold Wilson, in which he set out the reasons for his party's rejection of the Conservative Government's EEC entry terms. Other major contributions to this theme came from EEC President, Sicco Mansholt (Dutch

Labour Party), Pietro Nenni (Italy), François Mitterrand (France), Kalevi Sorsa (Finland), Ivar Noergaard (Denmark), Conor Cruise O'Brien, Dom Mintoff (Malta), Olof Palme (Sweden), Mario Soares (Portugal), Vilem Bernard (Czechoslovakia), Joan Lestor (Britain), André van der Louw (Netherlands), Mario Zagari (Italy), Henri Fayat (Belgium) and Walter Behrendt (Germany).

On the last day the Congress heard reports from the two commissions which had met on 26 June, one on 'Development' and the other on 'Industrial Growth and the Environment'. These commissions were an experimental feature of the Congress. That on Development was chaired by Hans-Juergen Wischnewski (Germany) and heard introductory statements from K. B. Andersen (Denmark) and Judith Hart (Britain), who subsequently reported to the plenary session on 29 June. The other commission was chaired by Sir Harry Nicholas (Britain) and its Rapporteur to the Congress was Joop den Uyl (Netherlands). In the debate in the plenary session the following also spoke: Tom McNally (Britain), Josse van Eynde (Belgium), Carlos Morales (Chile), Hans-Juergen Wischnewski (Germany), Lennie Rodrigo (Singapore), Aharon Yadlin (Israel), Karl Czernetz (Austria) and Tom Driberg (England).

The Congress was also addressed by the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Otto Kersten.

Resolutions adopted by 12th Congress

*Resolutions covering the international situation, organization, equality of women in politics and the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization were adopted by the Vienna Congress.**

A International Situation

1. United Nations

The Congress expressed 'its satisfaction that the United Nations is on the way to achieving full universality, with the admission of the People's Republic of China—for which the Socialist International already called at its Stockholm Congress in 1966'.

2. The Summit Conferences

The Congress asserted that the recent Nixon summits with China and

Russia 'were important contributions to the lessening of international tension. The meeting in Peking opened the way to a more peaceful development of international relations and helped to end the isolation of the People's Republic of China. The meeting in Moscow proved that the leaders of the two Super Powers are firmly resolved to avoid a military confrontation which would lead to a disastrous nuclear war. They also want to increase mutual cooperation in the interest of international peace and security.'

3. The War in Indo-China

The full text of the resolution on Indo-China was as follows:

'The Socialist International, reiterating its view that there cannot and should not be a military solution to the war in Vietnam, calls for the im-

Published by the
Socialist International
88a St. John's Wood High Street,
London NW8 5J7.
Tel. 01-586 1103, Telex 261735

* The full texts, published in *SINEWS* Vol III No 10, are available from the Socialist International on request.

mediate ending of the war. Peace in Indo-China should be based on the absolute right of the Indo-Chinese peoples to decide their own future free from interference by outside powers.

'A necessary precondition to a political solution is the immediate stopping of the bombing and mass destruction of Vietnam and the ending of all other military actions. The Socialist International is deeply concerned about the introduction of new scientific methods of warfare by the United States which lead to the destruction of the ecological basis of life itself.

'All foreign military units have to be withdrawn from Indo-China.

'The Socialist International requests the United States Government to announce a date for the early withdrawal of all American military units and requests as well the North Vietnamese Government to offer a reasonable arrangement for the release of all American prisoners-of-war. A coalition government should be set up in South Vietnam, comprising peace-oriented elements in the country, to organize free elections at an early date.'

4. Nuclear Tests

The Congress expressed concern 'about nuclear tests in the atmosphere performed by some countries as these tests will increase the nuclear contamination of the atmosphere, the sea and marine and plant life' and demanded 'that the nuclear powers quickly prepare the extension of the existing [Test Ban] Treaty to outlaw also underground testing.'

5. Bangladesh

The Congress noted with satisfaction 'the successful outcome of the struggle for independence of the people of Bangladesh', and called on 'the leaders of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to open a new era for the subcontinent of peaceful cooperation without bitterness or rancour, and without resorting to any further fighting.'

6. European Economic Integration

The resolution on this subject began: 'The Socialist International realizes the importance of the progress of the economic integration of Europe which is now coming about through the enlargement of the EEC and welcomes the position of the socialists in the Communities who plan the strategy for creation of a socialist Europe. Congress is convinced that the EEC will have to meet the essential needs of the British

and other Labour movements in order to create conditions for full participation of all countries concerned in the enlarged Community.'

It concluded: 'Congress also supports the socialist parties of the EEC which decided to take the lead in pressing both at national and Community level for effective assistance to the developing countries.

'The Congress of the Socialist International supports the declaration of the socialist parties of the EEC, which stated that they would work to ensure the total exclusion of the Greek, Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships from the benefits and privileges of association with the EEC, which will remain a community of democratic states.'

7. Conference on European Security and Cooperation

The full text of the resolution on this subject was as follows: 'The Socialist International, reaffirming the considerations it emphasized in the resolutions of its Council Conference in May 1971 in Helsinki, in particular with regard to the convening of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and strongly welcoming the ratification of the treaties concluded in 1970 between, firstly, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, and, secondly, between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland,

- the signing of the final Protocol of the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin,

- the conclusion between the competent German authorities of the agreements and arrangements completing the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin as well as the signing of the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic on questions of traffic,

- the signing of the Treaty on the limitations of anti-ballistic-missile systems, of the interim agreement on certain measures concerning the limitation of strategic offensive arms, as well as the promise made by the United States and the USSR to pursue negotiations on the limitations of strategic armaments,

'notes with satisfaction that the decision has been taken to begin multilateral exchanges concerning the preparation of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and this at the level of Heads of Mission in Helsinki,

'urges that the multilateral preparatory conference, as well as the conference proper, will be called at the earliest possible date,

'is of the opinion that the agenda of the Conference should comprise the following aspects, namely:

- questions of security, including renunciation of force, and other principles governing relations between states independently of their different social and political systems; arms control and disarmament measures in Europe; procedures and guidelines for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces;

- economic, technical and scientific cooperation and cooperation to improve the human environment as well as free movement between peoples;

- cooperation in the cultural field; 'emphasizes the following considerations:

(a) the participants at a Conference on European Security and Cooperation would be the member countries of the Atlantic Alliance and of the Warsaw Pact, as well as the neutral and non-aligned countries in Europe;

(b) the Conference would enable the participating countries to engage in a thorough examination of the above-mentioned issues, with a view to obtaining concrete results at an early date. In order to facilitate the achievement of these results, study groups could be set up to examine the various aspects mentioned above. Permanent institutions should be created, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, for security and cooperation in Europe.

(c) the long-term goal of the negotiation process going on in Europe should be the creation of a situation of all-European cooperation, based on full respect of equality and sovereignty of all European states.'

8. Terrorism

The Congress rejected 'every form of terrorism as a method in the political struggle'. 'Terrorism', said the resolution, 'does not solve the social, economic, political or other problems that create the tensions in society. Terrorism can only sharpen these tensions. Violence produces violence.'

9. Development

The Congress asserted that 'mass poverty in developing countries remains the most serious immediate human problem for the world at large, and carries within it the seeds of regional and even world conflict.' Member parties and trade unions were urged to pursue the following ends:

'1. (agreeing that private foreign investment is not relevant to international targets for development

assistance), to raise their public financial flows to the target value of 0.7 per cent of their country's gross national product and to strive for at least an 80 per cent grant component by 1975 at the latest;

'2. to comply with the recommendations on the elimination of import impediments to products from developing countries and on commodity agreements made in the report *Towards Accelerated Development* and urged by the developing countries at UNCTAD III; and to give positive financial encouragement to Third World exports;

'3. to ensure that this objective is fully realized in the trading arrangements of any regional institution of which they are members, particularly and urgently in relation to schemes for generalized preferences;

'4. in addition, to agree to use new Special Drawing Rights, when created in the future by the International Monetary Fund, for the financing of IDA loans to developing countries;

'5. noting with concern the growing burden of debt servicing which offsets much of the flow of development assistance, to re-examine, to re-schedule, and where necessary, to waive outstanding debt, both bilateral and multilateral;

'6. to work together for multilateral agreement on the untying of aid;

'7. to assist the liberation movements of Southern Africa. Congress congratulates those member parties who are providing aid to the anti-imperialist liberation movements, and encourages other member parties to devise appropriate ways of similarly providing aid to them.'

The Congress also resolved that 'the European member parties should be asked to raise in the appropriate forums the suggestion that, because in the years immediately ahead many central banks and especially European central banks will be left holding very large and inconvertible dollar balances, part of these could and should be used to finance assistance to the less developed countries either by way of grants or long-term loans. Funds could be channelled through existing international organizations for the purpose of financing development and organizing the assault on poverty in the less developed countries. Such a fund could also be used to set up and finance stock-pile arrangements in support of selected commodities of less developed countries.'

10. Industrial Growth and the Environment

The Congress, considering that 'the conditions of life of working people world-wide have been and remain so inadequate and unacceptable, and taking into account the growing importance of the joint effects of the population explosion, water, soil and air pollution and the exhaustion of a number of vital natural resources on the future of mankind', recommended to governments and member parties:

● 'the development of internationally recognized norms and strict regulations to reduce pollution enforced by properly staffed regional organizations and backed by international economic policies that make social costs payable by those industries which incur them;

● to work for full democratic control and accountability by all organizations in society controlling science and technology;

● the democratic control of priorities governing all major industrial investment;

● the adoption of policies designed to secure the most equitable distribution of wealth and incomes in society;

● to recognize that the arms-race itself, and specifically the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical warfare, are capable of inflicting permanent damage on the capacity of mankind to survive;

● to give full support to the activities of the United Nations in these fields and to request an extension and in-

tensification of the work begun at the Stockholm Conference;

● to contribute to initiatives for international cooperation including in some cases, the establishment of trans-national authorities with precisely defined tasks and powers, and to introduce international economic policies for development that reflect more accurately the needs of our people in place of the haphazard and unbalanced expansion deriving from unplanned economic pressures.'

B Organization

The Congress instructed the incoming Bureau 'to establish a small sub-committee to prepare proposals for the revision of the Statute of the International, and present its proposals for consideration by the Bureau within one year.' The Congress also resolved that 'as recommended by the Bureau, the number of Vice-Chairmen of the International shall in future not be specified in the Statute'.

C Equality of Women

On this subject the Congress passed an extensive resolution which is published in *ICSDW Bulletin*.

D Asia - Pacific Socialist Organization

The Congress noted 'with satisfaction the increasing solidarity of democratic socialist parties in the Asia-Pacific region of the Third World being achieved through the Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization.'

How Congress Voted

The details of the voting on the above resolutions were as follows:

A. International Situation

1. **United Nations:** text as presented by Bureau adopted unanimously.

2. **The Summit Conferences:** text as presented by Bureau adopted unanimously.

3. **The War in Indo-China:** text as presented by Bureau adopted unanimously.

4. **Nuclear Tests:** text as presented by Bureau adopted unanimously.

5. **Bangladesh:** text as presented by Bureau adopted unanimously.

6. **European Economic Integration:** text as presented by Bureau adopted, the British and Finnish parties abstaining.

7. **Conference on European Security and Cooperation:** the German party moved an amendment to the text presented by the Bureau, that the words 'as well as free movement between peoples' be added in paragraph 9 after the words 'to improve the human environment'. The amendment was carried, with Finland, Denmark, Sweden, both the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian

Social Democratic Party and Chile abstaining. The text presented by the Bureau was voted on by paragraphs. All paragraphs were adopted unanimously except section (a), which the Malta Labour Party voted against. The text as published incorporates the German amendment.

8. **Terrorism:** text as presented by the Bureau adopted, with Portugal and Britain voting against and Canada, Chile, Finland, the International Union of Socialist Youth, the Netherlands and Sweden abstaining.

9. **Development:** text proposed by Rapporteur adopted unanimously.

10. **Industrial Growth and the Environment:** text proposed by Rapporteur adopted unanimously.

B. Organization

Text presented by the Bureau was voted on by paragraphs. The first paragraph was adopted, with the International Jewish Labor Bund against. The second and third paragraphs were adopted unanimously.

C. Equality of Women in Politics

The text presented by the Rapporteur was adopted, the German Social Democratic Party abstaining.

D. Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization

Text adopted unanimously.