

## Mission to Egypt

Two representatives of the Socialist International visited Egypt from 14–18 September at the invitation of Dr Hafez Ganem, First Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt; they were Robert Pontillon, International Secretary of the French Socialist Party, and Rodney Balcomb, Assistant General Secretary of the Socialist International, who made the visit in their capacities as, respectively, Chairman and Secretary of the Socialist International's Study Group on the Middle East.

The Middle East Study Group of the Socialist International, in which are represented all the parties which are members of the Bureau of the International, was established with the aim of studying the political, economic and social conditions in the countries of the Middle East, and the possibilities of establishing contacts and close links with social forces in those countries.

During their stay in Cairo, the Socialist International representatives had talks concerning Egypt's internal and external policies with Dr Mahmoud Fawzi, one of the two Vice-Presidents of Egypt, with Dr Mohamed Hatem, Deputy Prime Minister for Culture and Information, with Mr Kamal Khalil, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and with Dr Hafez Ganem and other leading members of the Arab Socialist Union. Also during the talks, Robert Pontillon conveyed to Dr Ganem an invitation to the Arab Socialist Union to send representatives to the next meeting of the Middle East Study Group of the Socialist International. This invitation was accepted.

## United Nations

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on 4 May 1973 decided to grant the Socialist International category II consultative status with the United Nations.

## Congress Party

A delegation of the Indian Congress Party visited Austria for three days from 12 July at the invitation of the Austrian Socialist Party. The delegation was led by Shanker Dayal Sharma, Congress President, and he and his colleagues had intensive discussions with the leaders of the Socialist Party, the Chairman of the Socialist International, Bruno Pittermann, leaders of the trade union movement and members of the Government, including the Austrian Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky. Mr Sharma conveyed a message from the Indian Prime Minister

## Fritz Segall

Fritz Segall died in a London hospital on 3 August at the age of 72. Fritz Segall had become a member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) at 18 and during his life had worked as a journalist for *Vorwaerts*, *Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst* and the trade union press. After the collapse and subsequent reconstruction of the SPD after the Second World War, Segall was appointed by Kurt Schumacher as liaison officer to the British Labour Party in London, where he also represented the SPD on the Bureau of the Socialist International and organised aid programmes. He was a tireless campaigner for a better understanding of German problems and will be greatly missed for his constant helpfulness and generosity.

## Caetano Bans Mission

The Portuguese Government, on October 13, informed the Socialist International by letter that a mission which the International planned to send to Portugal to study the campaign leading up to the general elections on October 28 would constitute 'a clear interference in the internal Portuguese policy, and cannot therefore be authorised'. This reaction followed a letter which the General Secretary of the International sent to the Portuguese Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano, informing him of the International's decision to send such a mission.

## Vassos Lyssarides

Vassos Lyssarides, leader of the Cyprus Socialist Party, visited the Secretariat of the Socialist International on 18 September for talks with the General Secretary. He discussed the situation in Cyprus and general problems of democratic socialism.

The General Secretary, Hans Janitschek, had been in Cyprus from 8–12 August at the invitation of Dr Lyssarides.

## Salvador Allende

A memorial service for the late President of Chile, Salvador Allende, was held in St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, on 18 September. The service was attended by, among others, The Rt Hon. Judith Hart MP, members of the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party, Mr Ron Hayward, General Secretary of the British Labour Party, The Rt Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and Hans Janitschek, General Secretary of the Socialist International.

## Nuclear Tests

The Socialist International and the International Council of Social Democratic Women sent a cable to President Pompidou of France on 19 July protesting against France's decision to carry out nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean despite world opposition and despite the fact that such tests constitute a serious threat to future humanity and to all countries directly affected. They appealed for an end to all nuclear tests and for those countries which have not yet done so to ratify the treaty banning nuclear tests.

## Ernst Papanek

Ernst Papanek, a long-time activist in the Socialist movement in the United States, died on 5 August. Dr Papanek served on the National Committee of the Socialist Party, the predecessor of Social Democrats, USA (affiliated to the Socialist International), and was, many times, its delegate to Socialist International Congresses where he had a close relationship with the Austrian Socialist Party and knew personally the foremost leaders of the International.

## Bureau Meeting

The Bureau at its meeting in London on 29 August 1973 decided to postpone the Council Conference which was to be held in Malta on 2–3 November. It confirmed its earlier decision to send a mission to the Dominican Republic consisting of representatives of the Swedish, German and Belgian member parties.

It also endorsed the sending of a mission to Portugal to observe the 'elections' there in October 1973, another mission having visited Portugal at the time of the last 'elections' in 1969. The Bureau also heard reports on the visit by the General Secretary to Cyprus at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, as well as on the recent situation in Greece. The General Secretary was instructed to prepare detailed reports on the state of affairs in these two countries for the next meeting of the Bureau.

The Bureau also discussed the situation in the Spanish Socialist movement.

# SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1973 SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION VOL. XXIII NO. 5

## Social Democracy and Imperialism

## Social Democracy and Communism

## Social Democracy and the Third World

## Socialist Mayors I

## Conferences of French and Czech Parties

## Elections • Book Review

## Socialist Diary

## EDITORIAL

# Salvador Allende Lives

When fascism hit Chile in the early days of September of this year, as it hit Austria in the 'thirties and Greece in the 'sixties, the flame of freedom, social justice and democracy went out in yet another country. And it was not only the reactionary forces in Chile itself but in many other countries, including some model democracies, that applauded the bloodbath which cost the lives of Salvador Allende and many other democratic Socialists and which was meant to end the democratic road to Socialism not only in Chile but in Latin America as a whole.

But Salvador Allende and the idea of Socialism in freedom lives because ideas cannot be smashed by grenades and bullets: they cannot be killed by all the military forces in the world, not in Chile, not in Czechoslovakia, not in Greece, not in Spain, not in Portugal, not in South Africa.

The democratic road to Socialism is a long road. But as social democracy emerged as a much stronger force after the night of fascism in Germany, Austria, Italy, it will also return to Chile.

HJ

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## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND IMPERIALISM

### The Assassination of Democracy

The Socialist International has both protested against the US military intervention in San Domingo and against the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact States in Czechoslovakia. Now the International protests with the same determination against the forcible removal of the democratic government in Chile, in the clear conscience that as with the military putsch in Greece 1967, not only internal reactionary groups but reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism had been involved.

#### Democrats with limitations

It must regrettably be pointed out that other democratic parties, while showing readiness to protest against oppression exerted by Communist governments, do not betray the same attitude in cases where capitalist reaction suppresses freedom. Solzhenitsyn, one of the main fighters for the implementation of human rights in the Soviet Union, was right to call that hypocrisy. The parties belonging to the Socialist International however, stand united against any suppression of freedom and against all exploiters of working people, who have been deprived by force of their right to form free organisations. They show the same degree of solidarity with the peoples under Communist as well as with the peoples under fascist dictatorships.

#### Intervention

The removal of democratic governments in the countries of Latin America by military force, most recently in Chile, happened, with the support of US capitalism. The investigations in the American Senate concerning the demands for compensation for the ITT-concern whose enterprises in Chile had been nationalised have brought the techniques of this kind of intervention into the open.

#### The task of all Democrats

The removal of democratic governments through interventions, either internal or external, must create in all democratic parties, not only in the social democratic parties, deep anxiety about the future of parliamentary democracy in the countries where it is still in existence. Resistance to these tendencies can only be

successful with the close cooperation of the forces of democracy, as had been established in the European Communities in view of the endeavours of dictatorships to be admitted as members or at least as close associates. This attitude must be maintained. The promise, though still a promise only, of the Greek dictatorship to re-introduce parliamentary democracy in Greece is no doubt due to the consistent attitude of democratic forces, and mainly of the Socialist Group in the EEC.

#### Freedom on both sides

The Socialist International has without any reservation protested against all tests with nuclear weapons which poison the atmosphere and threaten the environment of neighbouring peoples. It demanded that the point on the agenda of the European Conference of Security and Cooperation dealing with freedom for personal and ideological exchanges should not only be applied in view of conditions in Communist-dominated countries, but against all governments which suppress personal and spiritual freedom.

We do not trust very much those who cry out for freedom for persons and ideas in the case of Communist oppressors only. If Communist parties in democracies believe in their ability to achieve their aims in a democratic system of peaceful coexistence of different ideas, why do they then deny equal rights for ideologies in the sphere where they form the government? Why not democracy likewise in the countries under Communist domination?

#### Human rights

We Socialists say 'Yes' to military pacts of democratic states for the defence of personal freedom and independence of member states. We do not feel, however, any moral commitment towards partners who intend to maintain or enlarge by force their position in other continents.

This applies likewise to Portugal and the USA.

Programme and ideology of democratic socialism commit all its adherents as individuals and as organisations to fight for the implementation of human

rights in the whole world. In Europe we must rid ourselves of ideas and actions stemming from the outdated conception of national states, in order to replace the continental, capitalist class domination by a continent of free and equal people

and nations. From our European basis we want to help the suppressed and exploited nations of other continents to win their freedom from colonial oppression and imperialistic exploitation.

Bruno Pittermann

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND IMPERIALISM

### The Chilean Coup

What has happened in Chile cannot be forgotten by any Socialist or by any Socialist government in the world. President Allende's government was elected by the people; during the three years it was in power its every step had been in accordance with the constitution and law.

It constituted the Chilean road to socialism that meant to bring about social economic changes in the country that could not be postponed any longer. President Allende formed a political group that gathered together Communists, Radicals, Socialists and Christians. It had become necessary to defeat the reactionaries and achieve real independent autonomy in such a way.

#### The Pressures of Imperialism

From the very beginning of their election, the Left had always respected the will of the people. From the very beginning they had to face strong pressures outside the country and also inside. They had to face from the very beginning the pressures of imperialism: credit had been reduced, the World Bank cut aid that was normal for any other country and the United States kept back every single credit.

The process of nationalisation in full was necessary for Chile's independence. Copper was the bread and butter of Chile. The Bill to nationalise the copper mines was approved by Parliament before it had become effective.

We cannot outright accuse the Americans of being the plotters, for we have no evidence, but we can see what happened in our history before. We have seen the experience of our sister countries in Latin America. We believe strongly that the United States was responsible, not only to the Chilean people but to the world.

#### Elimination of the Left

The reason given for the coup by the Junta was the lack of freedom of expression, in a country where any question could be asked at any time.

ask all European countries to adopt the same position because of their different legal positions. The first request we make, however, is that those countries that could afford not to recognise the military junta, should not do so. Non-recognition would constitute a moral and political sanction. They should also freeze all aid and help because every single penny and cent the junta receives will help their cause whereas such aid would be interpreted by the people and workers that they were being abandoned by their comrades overseas.

Let those who helped the junta go to their aid. They will surely do so. Brazil will do so, and the USA.

The people of Chile will resist. In a country used to freedom, freedom cannot be suppressed from one day to another. There will be a Democracy and socialism in Chile again.

Carlos Parra

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND IMPERIALISM

### The Motive

One of the basic principles of ancient Roman law states briefly, that when in doubt the guiding factor in investigation is finding the motives of action. One who did, is probably the one who expected a benefit resulting from the action taken. This is a logical supposition supported by thousands of years of experience. It is not by itself a final proof but a very strong assumption and anyone challenging it must offer a very clear and conclusive evidence.

This apparently abstract legal consideration may have a rather unexpected political application to the present dramatic developments in Chile.

The basic fact is that, the legally elected government was overthrown by an armed revolt, organised by the military leaders. What has been made a disputable issue in the world press, is the involvement of international capital in the Chilean coup.

In this connection it should be kept in mind that the main economic reforms introduced in Chile by the Government of President Salvador Allende were twofold: agrarian—giving land to those who work it, and industrial—nationalising the main source of the country's wealth, the copper industry. The issue concerning copper was popular enough to gain support even of the opposition.

This course of action, of course, affected adversely the business interests of multinational capital, mostly American, and retaliation followed, e.g. cutting

credits, reducing aid from the World Bank etc. All this complicated enormously the economic situation of the country but still Chilean policy remained unchanged.

Then comes the military coup, the death of the President and all the recent dramatic developments. No foreign troops were directly involved in these events.

A substantial part of the world press is of the opinion that behind the coup there has been the support and instigation of international capital, trying to recover its former position and profits in Chile.

The right-wing press interprets the events as a purely domestic struggle for power, free from any outside influence or help. We are not yet in the position to evaluate all the conflicting information concerning the forces behind the coup, and maybe it would not be wise to jump

easily, without being on the spot, to any quick conclusion.

One thing, however, should be considered as a major guiding factor in the analysis: should the main economic reforms, particularly relating to the copper industry, supported by the whole of public opinion, remain basically unchanged, the probability of the coup being an internal issue would be substantially increased.

On the other hand, if international capital would again be put in such a position that exploitation of the Chilean economy will be made possible—the credibility of all declarations that multi-national capital was not involved in the Chilean coup—will be reduced to almost nil.

As the Romans said—*FECIT CUI PRODEST*, the one who benefits has done it.

S. Wasik

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#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

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## The Truth

*György Marosán, a former Hungarian Social Democratic leader, one of those in 1948 who were active in promoting the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, has recently published the second volume of his autobiography. It deals with the merger and also with events leading to it, such as: the co-operation of Communists and Social Democrats under the Nazi terror in 1944, and with the widely-discussed scandal of the forged ballot papers in 1947. The following is the review which appeared in the Hungarian Review (condensed here for the non-Hungarian reader) by Anna Kéthly, former Social Democratic Minister of State in the Imre Nagy coalition Government of 1956.*

In his first volume, György Marosán, by and large told the truth. I believe him in any case when he relates that when after the war he approached the Communist Party with a view of joining it, its leader Mátyás Rákosi himself dissuaded him from doing so because, as he said, 'we need men like you in the Social Democratic camp, men with whom we can come to agreements'. This story cannot come as a surprise to anyone. We knew all the time that Marosán, as well as other spokesmen of the self-styled 'Left' of our Party, acted for and on behalf of the Communists.

The second volume of Marosán's book was published several months after the first one—most probably because Marosán had to submit his text to others, who tampered with it a good deal. Some passages of the book seem clearly to indicate the existence of such ghost writers. His alleged dialogues with myself for instance, could only have been invented by such co-authors. Marosán never addressed me as 'Annuska', as he

is reported to have done in his book. This is a minor detail, but typical.

More important are his fairy tales concerning the relationship between the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party. One of the arguments constantly put forward in favour of the merger by the Communists and their fellow travellers is the so-called 'Document of Unity' (*egységomány*), alleged by them to be drawn up in the Nazi years of illegality. Marosán repeats the tell-tale. The truth is, however, that that famous document of 'unity' has never existed; if it had, the Communists would already have produced and reproduced it. Even if under the confusion of illegality some Social Democratic leaders had been led to sign such a document, it would be of doubtful validity at the moment when the Social Democratic masses could be consulted. But since the Document has, up to now, been invisible, we may as well consider it as nonexistent.

The Communists were anxious to

prove that even before they had held power, the Social Democratic masses considered them as comrades. And this is why they launched the story of 'Unity' on their terms. They could not however break the resistance of the Social Democratic masses even after the merger enforced on them, and this was the reason to imprison even those Social Democratic traitors who, like Marosán, had been unable to deliver the promised goods.

#### 'Blue Tickets'

The second conspicuous fairy tale refers to the scandal of the forged ballot papers, the so-called 'blue tickets'. The author, or inspirers of Marosán's book say that the Social Democratic Party leaders (including the so-called 'Right wing') had been informed of this fraud in advance and had approved of it. They thus want the Social Democrats to appear as their accomplices—no word of this is true. The fact is that the fraud was carried out on the instructions of the Minister of Interior, the Communist László Rajk, entirely without consent from any responsible quarter outside his own party. As we know today, a pack of these ballot papers was handed over by Rajk to Marosán without the knowledge of the Social Democratic leadership.

One morning I went to party headquarters, where a young woman secretary, newly appointed by the 'Left wing', proudly told me that these ballot papers were distributed to trusted women comrades at the Women's Council and that the women would use them. I was appalled, could hardly believe my ears and ran to Böhm (at that time acting as deputy leader) and demanded an immediate investigation of the matter. It turned out that the woman secretary got the forged ballot papers, together with instructions, from Marosán himself. Böhm immediately sent for him and, after protracted talks, confiscated all the tens of thousands of spurious ballot papers which were meant to be distributed among Marosán's trusted men. Böhm locked the papers into his safe because he was afraid that if he returned them, the communists would use them. But the communists had another batch (about 300,000) of such papers which they did use.

Now Marosán says in his book that 'the only reason' why the Social Democrats objected to the whole sordid business was that they were given so much less than the Communists. This is a lie and the tragedy of our comrade, Dr István Reis proves this most dramatically. Ries was Minister of Justice at the time of the elections and urged that the

many manipulators of the 'blue tickets' who had been caught red handed, should be punished. As he could not get this done, he resigned in protest. Although under pressure he revoked his resignation, the Communists did not forget his stand against their illegality and in 1950 put him into prison from where he never returned. Marosán, who underwent similar torture at about the same time, could have had the decency of refraining from lies which besmirch his memory.

The third momentous fairy tale in Marosán's second volume refers to the 'mass meeting in the Sports Hall (sportcharnok) in Budapest' where early in 1948 the 'Right wing' leaders of the Social Democratic Party (e.g. those fighting to the last against the merger) were 'expelled'. As a matter of fact, this took place in an atmosphere of open terror under circumstances denounced today even by Communists as amounting to tyranny. 'Personality cult' and 'violation of legality' were already in full swing, although the Communist victims were still to follow.

#### Pack of lies

The inspirers of Marosán's second volume thus try to turn the masses of Hungarian workers against the Social Democratic leaders. They are trying to

do so in vain: in the revolutionary days of 1956 it was clear that the great bulk of the Hungarian workers was with Social Democracy and there is no reason to think that their feelings should since then have substantially changed. But the inspirers of that book also have other readers in mind. They are thinking of the Socialist International and of its fraternal parties. They would like these to believe that the Hungarian Social Democrats had misled their Western comrades and had only resisted the Communists when they had discarded them. So they do try to discredit us with both the Hungarian masses and our comrades all over the world.

It is a pathetic spectacle to see an erstwhile promising young Social Democrat in the ignoble task of serving a dictatorial propaganda machine in this endeavour. Marosán after all had spent five years in a communist prison. His gaolers taught him how to suffer, but they did not teach him how to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. Would he ever be brave enough to resist pressure and not to sign his name under a pack of lies?

We have no right to demand more courage from those at home than we ourselves could pluck up if we were there. But everybody can keep silent.

Anna Kéthly

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#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

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## Coexistence and Human Rights

According to news coming from the Eastern Bloc, the East-West détente is accompanied by an increased pressure to 'conform', exerted by the Soviet Union on the Communist countries to which Moscow concedes only limited sovereignty in the sense of the Brezhnev doctrine.

The higher degree of 'consolidation' between the countries of the 'Socialist' community—as the communists in their misleading jargon call their orbit of power—expresses itself mainly in the close collaboration between the security forces under the supervision of the Soviet Secret Police, the KGB-centre. This 'Police-Cominform' has from the beginning the task of suffocating every hope for a weakening of Russian predominance.

#### The great contradiction

We are witnessing now a great campaign

for the internal strengthening and ideological 'isolation' of the Communist movement in the era of Russian-American co-operation. According to the Communist press, the peaceful co-existence of the Soviet Union with the United States serves to maintain world peace. But there are different and contradictory social systems in the Soviet Union and the United States. The historical fight between these two systems, Communism and Capitalism, must go on, though a world war has to be avoided. Hence ideological co-existence is out of question in the eyes of the Communists. As a matter of fact, there is no co-existence of various ideologies in any of the countries dominated by the Communists. The Communist dictatorships permit and foster only the Communist ideology while others are banned and suppressed.

All this is nothing new, but we must

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recall this fact in order to point to a remarkable contradiction. During the last years the Communists in Western Europe have emphasised time and again their devotion to democracy. They haven't understood that their resolute rejection of any ideological co-existence is in crude contradiction to their new assurance of democratic intentions.

#### Peaceful Competition

Co-existence is understood as the co-operation of different states or groups, whose internal frictions could still lead to

confrontations and fights with the exception of the application of force and the unleashing of wars, threatening the existence of one or the other. The principle of peaceful connection of differently-thinking elements, which is decisive for the co-existence of states with different social and state systems applies likewise inside democratic states. There is a co-existence of various social groups and classes and of various political parties and ideologies inside democratic states. The confrontations between the parties, the struggle between the classes and the competition between the ideologies are going on, but in democratic forms and without the application of force. This is the essence of democracy. There is no democracy without the freedom to form various parties, trade unions and organisations, no democracy without freedom of press and assembly.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

## European Security and Human Rights

The present campaign in the Soviet Union directed against those who think differently is making it more difficult to create confidence between states and cannot serve the cause of détente. Tolerance and humanity are fundamental values also when it comes to creating a stable peace.

Détente in Europe is proceeding and gaining stability, and it is clearly in accord with what the states judge to be their real interests. The far-sighted Eastern Policy of the West German Government has meant that difficult political problems have been eliminated in the centre of Europe and that many of the sources of mistrust between East and West have disappeared. Détente in Europe has proceeded against a background of growing understanding between the two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States.

#### Post-War Realities

The successful first stage of the Helsinki Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe has underlined and confirmed that the future work for peace in Europe must be founded on the realities that emerged at the end of the Second World War.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union Government has played a constructive and active role, and there is no reason to doubt the ambition of the Soviet Government to further the policy of détente. Everyone accepts the fact that there is a connection between the principles of

bly, without the freedom to stand for various ideologies. If the Communists once more and with the greatest determination refuse the emergence of ideological co-existence, thus denying the possibility of peaceful competition of ideologies on the basis of democracy, then their assurances of being good democrats become entirely unreliable.

#### The Trap

Who takes the stand against the peaceful co-existence of states with various social and political orders, is an enemy of peace. Who denies the possibility of ideological co-existence, is an enemy of democracy. No dialectical equilibristic will enable the Communists to escape the ideological trap, which they themselves laid and in which they got caught themselves.

Karl Czernetz

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE THIRD WORLD

## Frelimo and the SPD

On the invitation of the Chairman of the Commission for International Relations of the National Executive of the SPD, Mr Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, a delegation of FRELIMO, led by Mr Marcellino Dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO and Secretary for External Affairs, also consisting of Mr Armando Panguene and Mr Mariano Matsinha, both members of the Central Committee, visited the Federal Republic of Germany from 2 to 8 August 1973.

The SPD based her invitation on the decision taken by the Hanover Party Congress of April 1973, which moved the following resolution with an overwhelming majority:

*'In their fight against colonialism and racism, the SPD is on the side of the nations of the Third World. For this reason, the Federal Government should assert its influence in Europe to a much greater extent than up to now in order to reduce the colonialistic positions still existing and to put through the sovereign right of the nations concerned. The colonialism still existing presents a considerable burden for the whole Western Alliance and it is incompatible with its principles.'*

*We will therefore concede to the national liberation movements all our solidarity and our political and humanitarian support.'*

During its visit, the delegation of FRELIMO had talks and discussions with leading personalities of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, especially with the members of the Commission for International Affairs of the SPD.

#### FRELIMO's stand

The delegation of FRELIMO used this opportunity to inform the SPD of major aspects of its aims in the establishment of relations and cooperation with the SPD, the foremost of which are:

- (a) to achieve the complete liberation of the people of Mozambique from Portuguese colonialism;
- (b) to stop bilateral and multilateral arms delivery to Portugal by NATO member countries and other states;
- (c) to put an end to other means of support to Portugal which ultimately result in the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism;

Krister Wickman

#### SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

# Chile: Democrats Beware!

STATEMENT ISSUED BY  
THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL  
ON CHILE  
London, 22 September 1973

*At an Emergency Meeting on 22 September in London (the first since the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968) the Bureau of the Socialist International unanimously adopted the following Statement condemning the military coup in Chile and those multinational companies and imperialist forces behind it:*

Recent developments in Chile were the result of a continued campaign by reactionary and imperialist forces inside and outside of Chile against the lawfully established Government of President Salvador Allende. The Socialist International sees these events not only as a threat to Chilean and Latin American democracy, but as part of a wider threat to the rule of law and human rights, which demands an urgent response from democrats the world over.

The Bureau therefore calls on Member Parties to urge their Governments to refrain from any diplomatic act which could be exploited by the military junta as recognition and acceptance of the present political conditions in Chile.

Democratic Governments should withhold all aid, credits and loans to the present military regime and ensure that they are also withheld by all international financial institutions and agencies.

The Bureau calls on Member Parties to use all means of influence at their disposal to obtain respect for human rights, the freedom of political prisoners, the protection of political refugees from other Latin American countries and the end of persecution and terror in Chile. The Bureau demands that democracy and freedom in Chile, and the rights of those anti-fascist political parties and trade unions which have been outlawed, be restored and calls on all Member Parties and Governments to work for this end.

The Socialist International and its Member Parties propose to offer political, humanitarian and financial aid to our Chilean comrades. The Socialist International will undertake an immediate investigation of the events in Chile, including the sending of a mission to Chile, and will meanwhile extend all possible assistance to comrades facing political persecution and exile.

The Bureau condemns the continuing interference in the internal affairs of Chile by multinational companies and imperialist forces.

''

**SAVADOR ALLENDE**  
**22 July 1908 - 11 September 1973**

*Julian*





## Reunión del Buró de la Internacional Socialista

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, DEL 7 AL 9 DE FEBRERO DE 1973

President Salvador Allende and his Popular Unity Government had the full backing of the Socialist International which held a Bureau meeting in Santiago on 8-9 February earlier this year. From left to right: Robert Pontillon, International Secretary of French Socialist Party, Hans Janitschek, General Secretary of Socialist International, and Bruno Pittermann, Chairman of Socialist International.

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(d) to assure the elementary human rights for the people of Mozambique;

(e) to strive for achieving a good relationship between the people of Mozambique and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The delegation of FRELIMO reiterated its conviction that the major obstacle to the acceleration of its national independence is the continuous political, military, economic and diplomatic support given by NATO member countries and other states to Portugal. FRELIMO stressed that economic investments in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau constitute one of the direct forms of support to Portugal's colonial war against their people and the peoples of Angola and Guinea Bissau.

*In sharing the above positions of FRELIMO, the SPD agree that the achievement of these aims should be considered as an important contribution towards safeguarding peace all over the world and promoting the social and moral advancement of mankind.*

**The view of the SPD**  
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, Chairman of the International Relations Commission of the SPD, outlined his party's stand:

- the SPD opposes all colonialist and racialist policies;
- in consequence to this, the SPD is against any kind of arms delivery to Portugal;
- the SPD holds the view that the practice of the so-called Final Destination

*Clause with regard to the arms delivery has not lived up to the assurances given by the Portuguese government to justify its continued application;*

• the SPD considers colonialism as incompatible with the principles of the NATO Alliance which was established in order to safeguard and protect the freedom of peoples and the independence and sovereignty of nations.

The SPD announced that it would endeavour to organise a conference of the Social Democratic Parties of the NATO member states together with representatives of the American labour movement to discuss and develop a common policy against the flagrant neglect of NATO principles by Portugal.

FRELIMO during the talks reiterated its position that the Cabo-Bassa Dam Project represented an instrument for the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism, of entrenchment and perpetuation of the supremacy of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

The SPD reiterated her principle that guarantees once having been given cannot be withdrawn at a later stage and expressed the opinion that in her view the Cabo-Bassa project could be regarded in the long run as part of the modern infra-structure of a liberated and independent Mozambique.

On this issue no agreement could be reached.

Hans-Eberhard Dingels

### SOCIALIST MAYORS I

## The Future of West Berlin

*With this exclusive article by the Governing Mayor of West Berlin, Klaus Schütz, we are starting a series of articles by Social Democratic city administrators and their policies for a better and more dignified life of the citizens and their communities.*

With the start of the 'seventies, the highly industrialised nations of the West have entered a phase of development, which provides increasingly urgent evidence that neither the liberal belief in the self-regulation of interests and energies nor the conservative clinging to traditional ideas of value and order is able to create a social order of greater social justice, fit for human beings.

Above all, our large cities have become the focal points of ever greater and more worrying problems, the solution of which has been rendered more difficult, if not made downright impossible, by

the cleft between public and private welfare, and an inadequate system of land laws (Bodenrechtsordnung). Particularly, unrestricted traffic and environmental problems have turned some of our cities into a nightmare for their inhabitants.

Nowadays, we also realise that town air can make one not only free, but also ill. Where many people live together in a very confined space, communication among fellow humans is by no means automatically established; on the contrary, loneliness and isolation increase, especially with old and ill people.

Social Democratic policy draws the necessary conclusions. Here, economic action, orientation towards quantities, to us is no value in itself. It is, however, decisive what contribution is being made towards qualitative social development, i.e. how far the aims envisaged tally with the essential framework of conditions, particularly with a healthy environment fit for human beings; a more just distribution of the gains achieved, and a higher quality of life altogether.

### Communal policy

These principles are also decisive for the policy of the Social Democrats in the large cities. Communal policy is thus embedded in the great context of reform projects for society as a whole which the Social Democrats have started to tackle in our country. Target and task of our policy is the human city tuned to its inhabitants' requirements for life.

What are the characteristics of this policy in Berlin and how are these principles practically implemented in one of the largest industrial towns of the Continent?

To begin with, I must draw attention to the special political situation of Berlin which determines our work and means that sometimes stress has to be laid on different points. One political event, however, is of decisive importance for the future of the city: with the coming into force on 3 June 1972, of the Four Power Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, the Soviet Union has now recognised the links between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany, which under difficult conditions have evolved over twenty-five years, and has also recognised the possibility of their further enlargement. The system of treaties provides further security for what we have created, and eases the life of the Berlin population by the agreements on the transit of persons and goods between the Federal Republic and Berlin, and on the visits of West Berliners to East Berlin and the German Democratic Republic. These are the principles on which we shall base our future actions and which will enable us to implement our policy.

It is our declared intention to make Berlin a model of a modern metropolis in all walks of life. The formula of the 'model of a modern metropolis' means that we are putting our aims high. We have chosen it because we Social Democrats are very ambitious in our planning, and intend to create something that is exemplary.

### Environment

Already at the present time our city

offers excellent preconditions for this. Its combination of natural landscape, industrial and residential quarters, city centres, a comprehensive traffic network, and ample recreation possibilities, forms an area with a distinctive urban atmosphere. In contrast to some other European capitals we can, therefore, approach the many problems and tasks facing Berlin, under favourable auspices: protection of the environment; balanced planning of traffic; a system of land laws taking account of both individual and collective needs; improvement of the housing situation; the protection of the citizens and the fight against delinquency; equal chances of education and training; proper implementation of the needs of children, the old and the sick; a thorough-going democratisation of the whole of life, and the creation of appropriate and dignified living-conditions for foreign workers and their families.

All these tasks can be properly advanced only on the basis of an efficiently working economy. Naturally, it is impossible to pursue all aims at the same time and with the same intensity. The available means must be directed towards certain focal points, priorities must be observed. Furthermore, the Social Democrats' policy underlines the necessity of long-term planning orientated towards their principles. But the planning of a more humane future with greater social justice needs more than just loyalty to principles and good will. Apart from the realisation of what is practically and politically possible, an appropriate modern apparatus and, above all, creative imagination is required for this.

#### Man is the Centre

The tasks and aims of Social Democratic policy in Berlin show clearly that Man is the centre of all our considerations. In order to improve the quality of his everyday life, we must not lose sight of any of these points of view. This has to be stressed, as I am now going to underline some special considerations which will determine our work during the current period of legislation.

In the sphere of educational policy, Berlin is ahead of the Federal Republic, and this position has to be maintained and consolidated. One of the main aims of Social Democratic policy in this field is, in the interests of greater equality of opportunities, to eliminate injustices due to premature decisions on the educational curriculum of the individual and thus on his chances in life. All children, no matter from what social strata they come, must be offered the possibility of a free development of their individual

abilities.

Above all, our policy aims at educating young people to become critical and responsible citizens. We have seen to it that in contrast to other conurbations, in Berlin more than 50 per cent of all five-year-olds benefit from pre-school education in classes and groups.

As a break-away from a too early distribution of educational opportunities, we have in Berlin developed the system of comprehensive schooling, which offers more flexible educational possibilities according to individual abilities. Likewise, in the realm of universities, Berlin has shown the courage for reforms which were as necessary as they were decisive. Unjustified privileges have been removed in favour of augmented rights of democratic co-determination. It is inevitable that such experiments involve certain risks, as has been shown by our experiences and difficulties at the universities. We shall correct things where correction has proved necessary without, however, breaking off or even slowing down the process of reform which has already been set in motion.

A further important task of Social Democratic policy in Berlin is the safeguarding of care for the sick. What is needed is not only the augmentation and modernisation of our hospitals, but in the first instance, the reshaping of the internal structure of our hospitals in the sense of a higher degree of co-determination and the extension of prophylactic examinations of the whole population.

Our main concern, next to the sick, is our senior citizens. We endeavour, in particular, to integrate them fully into the life of our city and to provide them with adequate possibilities of communication. We thus intend to enable them to lead a useful life even in their old age in order to counteract loneliness. For this reason, we have introduced many steps to help the aged, ranging from material subsidies to programmes and travels for senior citizens and the establishment of social centres.

Berlin does not want to be a city of slums and ghettos. Social Democratic urbanistic policy starts out from the realisation that rising demands on housing and the fast growth of cities requires a planning of development and reconstruction which is determined by considerations of social justice.

Town centres, whose function as lively spots of communication are undermined by the building of blocks of offices and department stores, are, in our opinion, inhuman. We aim not only at the provision of new residential quarters, but at the maintenance of old residential

quarters in the course of a reconstruction of the city.

#### Traffic and Transport

Compared to other large cities, Berlin offers far better opportunities for a traffic policy that is favourable to the environment. Hence, we have to make the best possible use of this advantage. To us this is not a matter of either private transport or public transport—both these fields have to be brought into a balanced relation to each other. We, therefore, support both the further development of the public transport system and the building of city motorways which will take pressure off the city centres and, in the long run, prevent traffic jams.

More than other European capitals, Berlin has to rely on a growing number of foreign workers. The integration of these people into surroundings alien to them creates considerable difficulties, as everywhere else. Our endeavours aim at the quickest possible removal of language barriers, at helping them to deal with the authorities, and at improving their housing conditions. In addition, the Berlin Senate has provided means to facilitate the integration of foreign workers' children into our school system and to give further support to education by teachers coming from the foreign countries in question.

All these tasks facing social democracy in Berlin would be doomed from the start if they were not supported by a sound economic base. We, therefore, give the highest priority to maintaining and increasing our economic resources by an efficient economic and financial policy.

In doing this, we take account of the internal economic ramifications, and aim at the necessary development in accordance with our principles both of individual sectors of the economy as well as of individual economic activities. Here, only methods of market economy are applied which do not interfere with the freedom of decision of private enterprise, but mobilise it to the fullest extent for our aims.

Social Democratic policy demands far-sighted planning. Berlin has, therefore, developed a system of inter-departmental planning, which may be called exemplary. Teams for the planning of school and extra-mural education of minors in the elementary sphere, and for the creation of centres for intermediate school education by a system of prototype building have prepared the ground for the implementation of our educational programme. In addition, we have created working groups for the

protection of the environment, which we have meanwhile been able to improve considerably; for planning methods of houses; for the integration of foreign workers and their families; for the reorganisation of our hospital system and the social services, and for the prevention of, and fight against, delinquency.

Klaus Schütz

#### CONFERENCES

## French Socialists meet in Grenoble

The Grenoble Congress of the French Socialist Party was the first meeting of French socialists since the Unity Congress at Epinay in 1971. Epinay had been the outcome of several years' effort to unite in one party all those who call themselves social democrats in France.

During the months following that unifying Congress, the new organisation achieved results which satisfied the workers' expectations; this was accomplished in the first place by the founding of the new Party, then the publication of our programme and, finally, the drafting, on the basis of this programme, of a joint programme for the Left.

The first stage of these activities was concluded by the parliamentary elections of March 1973. As a result of its efforts the Socialist Party had 105,000 supporters with its radical allies of the Left and obtained 4,919,426 votes in the first round of the parliamentary elections. But, looking beyond those figures, it is the new strong and dynamic character of the Party that we must emphasise.

For it is, really, the Party which has achieved the unification of socialists and given new impetus to the French Socialist movement. It was the active members of this Party who met again in Grenoble from 22–24 June last.

#### Aims of the Party

There were debates on four themes, one under the joint chairmanship of François Mitterrand, First Secretary, Pierre Mauroy, Co-ordination Secretary, Gaston Deferre, Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, Mayor of Marseille, and Alain Savary, former First Secretary; the second under the chairmanship of Jean-Pierre Chevenement and the CERES (Centre d'études, de recherches et d'éducation socialiste); the third by Jean Popren; the fourth by the militant socialists led by Guy Mollet, former General Secretary of the SFIO (Section française de l'internationale ouvrière).

At the end of the three days' debate, the final motion, adopted by a very large majority, upheld the fundamental principles which constitute at the present

time the aims of the Socialist Party.

The policy of the United Left, led by a strong Socialist Party, to maintain by its efforts the cooperation of the internal elements of the French Left, is reaffirmed; the Socialist Party also sees its future action to be in the field of internal administration. In order to study in greater detail and to define this necessity, the Congress decided to convene, as soon as is convenient, a national convention on the theme of internal administration.

The intentions of the Socialist Party will become apparent first of all in its increased intervention in disputes and in its policy of action.

#### Internal Action

Apart from rapid reactions to current situations, the Party will set on foot a series of important campaigns with a view to mobilising all the active members on well-defined and precise themes:

*Submission of power to private undertakings;*

*Organisation of labour in business undertakings, hours of work, output, terms of employment and dismissal, etc;*

*Campaign against inequality in incomes;*

*Support for consumers;*

*Action for a better way of life.*

#### International Action

The Socialist Party will take a certain number of initiatives:

*It will organise a day of study and action on the dictatorship in Brazil;*

*It will invite the representatives of national organisations of countries which are still under Portuguese domination—Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, to Paris;*

*Finally, it will propose to all European Socialists to organise an effective pressure group to compel their governments to take joint action with a view to saving the lives of millions of Africans threatened by drought and famine.*

#### An Independent Europe

The socialists will also strive for an independent Europe, threatened in the

immediate future by the commercial dictates of American imperialism, to advance boldly along the road to Socialism.

In order to withstand the economic power of multinational companies, it is necessary to create a political organ to which the workers may have recourse. It is also necessary to set up machinery for consultation and arbitration for the representatives of the labour movement. These are the reasons why the Socialist Party will apply itself to the definition and to the effecting of a more active policy in the existing framework of the Community.

The unification of Europe as seen in a socialist context appears to be the only means by which our country can resist US imperialism. Unfortunately, the Common Market, as it functions at the present time, has been unable to resolve internal differences and the crises to which they give rise, such as the monetary crisis and the agricultural crisis. In this connection, it is urgent that the Europe of the Nine adopts a new structure and social programme.

A study in more detail of the Party's position on problems relating to Europe will also be the theme of a national Convention during 1974. At the same time the Party will take steps so that the Helsinki Conference will clear the way for the establishment of a new system of collective security implying, in particular, the disbanding of former military blocs. The independence of the countries which form Europe will ensure that she will be a peaceful and powerful force in the world.

#### Liberation Movements

Close contacts will be established by our Party with national liberation movements and progressive forces throughout the world. For example countries which are openly engaged in open strife at the present time, the GRUNC in Cambodia or the groups which maintain armed opposition against Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

The widespread movement of national liberation which is sweeping through Latin America at the present time needs all our support. This is the case, of course, of Popular Unity in Chile. We must not overlook that, in different forms, progressive forces are in power in other countries and revolutionary forces are everywhere fighting against dictatorship and imperialism.

Such are the fundamental principles on which the Socialist Party will base its policy in order to become the leading Party of France.

Robert Pontillon

## Czechoslovaks in Exile

A conference of Czechoslovak Social Democrats in exile was held on 21 to 23 September at the vacation centre of the Swiss Union of Timber, Industry and Building Workers at Gersau, near Luzern. Delegates from six European countries, the USA and Canada took part. Some of them escaped from Czechoslovakia after the Communist coup in 1948, some left their country following the Soviet invasion after having participated in the attempt to revive free activities of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party during the Prague Spring.

A resolution passed by the conference reaffirmed the relevance of Social Democratic ideals to the burning problems of our time. 'The people of Czechoslovakia', the resolution says, 'cannot accept the continuing occupation. Peaceful co-existence cannot become a reality until freedom and social justice have been restored in the countries of Central Europe.'

The resolution further says: 'The Soviet Government claims that the Soviet troops are stationed in Czechoslovakia for the protection of socialism. This is an explicit admission that military occupation is used for interfering in the internal affairs of the occupied country. The occupation power arrogates to itself the right to determine the social system of the occupied country and uses for this purpose its armed forces. This is at variance with international law and the principle of national security to which the all-European conference on security is dedicated. Silence of the all-European conference on this flagrant instance of violation of national security could encourage another application of the Brezhnev doctrine in the event of any future crisis in the relations between the Communist States. To decide on what social system should be installed in Czechoslovakia is a matter to be decided by the Czechoslovak people themselves who—as the events in 1968 demonstrated, emphatically reject the Soviet brand of socialism.'

Vilem Bernard

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#### Message to Dissidents

The conference has sent a message to the pioneers of freedom in the Soviet Union which says:

*The conference of Czechoslovak Social Democrats in exile sends fervent greetings to the pioneers of the Democratic Movement in the Soviet Union and pays tribute*

*An unfortunate mistake was made in the spelling of Ron Hayward, General Secretary of the British Labour Party and author of Labour Party Journey to Moscow on page 74 of the last issue (vol. XXIII no. 4).*

## Red Bavaria

Richard Grunberger: *Red Rising in Bavaria*. Arthur Barker, London, pp. 164, £2.75

As the perspective of history lengthens the old division of socialist history into pre-Marxist and post-Marxist looks increasingly irrelevant. The great divide is now seen to have come not when the workers' movement acquired a scientific basis, but when it met its Waterloo before and immediately after the First World War.

Mr Grunberger's very readable, short (and sadly overpriced) book tells the story of a particular episode—the creation and collapse of the Socialist Republic in Bavaria in 1918–19—and in so doing gets to the core of what the broader failure was all about. It was a moment when, in the post-war collapse, confusion and disillusion, the old order might well have been swept right away all over Europe. But, except in remote Russia, the socialist movement did not seize its great (and probably never to be repeated) opportunity. In Munich and other cities courageous men were prepared to act upon the principles which socialists had expounded for decades. But the main body of the movement held back, and soon the moment was lost.

This gripping account of what a band of dedicated men tried to achieve in the capital of Bavaria as the Kaiser's Reich came crashing down is as gripping as a thriller story. It tells how the Bohemian journalist and orator Kurt Eisner overthrew the 800-year-old Wittelsbach dynasty in November 1918 and established a republic based on workers, soldiers and farmers; how he was assassinated in February 1919 by a right-wing fanatic; and how the Bavarian revolution then lurched into confused extremism until in May 1919 it was crushed by right-wing forces, backed by the Social Democratic government in Berlin under Friedrich Ebert.

Mr Grunberger's strength is in recounting a complicated story in a simple way. He is also very good on the array of personalities who made the Bavarian revolution (although he is rather unhealthily obsessive about the Jewish background of many of them): Erich Mühsam, the poet and anarchist; Max Levien, the founder of the Bavarian Communist Party; and perhaps the most interesting of all, Ernst Toller, the poet

who found himself head of the First Soviet Republic after the murder of Eisner.

There is no doubt where Mr Grunberger's sympathies lie. For him the villains of the piece were undoubtedly the Social Democratic leaders, who he claims were even then fearful that revolutionary turmoil would endanger their monthly salaries. That the SPD did not at that moment come out clearly for a complete break with the old order such as Eisner and his supporters advocated was, according to Mr Grunberger, its great historical failure, from which all later horrors inevitably followed.

Alan J. Day

### ELECTIONS

#### Manitoba Results Confirmed

Recounts by the Manitoba Court of Appeal of the ballots cast in several constituencies have altered slightly the result of the general election held on 28 June 1973 in that Canadian province. The final standing (with the 1969 figures in brackets) is: New Democratic Party 31 (28), Progressive Conservative 21 (22), Liberal 5 (5), Social Credit 0 (1), Independent 0 (1).

At the constituency level, the most important feature of the election was the continued decline of the once-powerful Liberal Party. As the NDP benefited somewhat more than the Conservatives from this decline, the Schreyer government was able to increase its margin of victory. The New Democrats experienced no difficulty in holding the traditional Labour seats, but a matter of some concern is that the Conservatives remain strong amongst 'the new masses' in the rapidly-growing suburban areas of Winnipeg.

The Manitoba election provided further evidence that throughout Canada the provincial foundations of the Liberal Party are crumbling. Between the Conservatives on the Right and the NDP on the Left, the position of the Quebec-based Trudeau government at Ottawa, already in a parliamentary minority, grows ever more precarious.

G. O. Rothney

#### Australians Win

The State Labour Government of Western Australia won the Balcatta by-election on 28 July by thirty votes after a recount of preferences. This means that the Government has retained its majority

of one seat in the State Legislative Assembly. The Opposition Liberal Party's candidate, Dr Black, polled more than the sitting Labour member, Mr Burke. The outcome depended on the preferences from the Australia Party.

#### Norwegians Returned

The Norwegian Labour Party, the Socialist International's member party in Norway, gained sixty-two seats, 35.5 per cent of the total votes cast in the general elections held on 10 September. Under the leadership of Trygve Bratteli, they have formed a minority Government.

#### Swedes Continue

The final results of the Swedish general election, held on 16 September, were announced on 21 September. Each bloc—Socialist (Social Democrats and Communists) and bourgeois—has 175 seats, the Social Democrats having 43.6 per cent of the total votes cast. Olof Palme will remain as leader of the Social Democratic Party and Prime Minister. Mr Palme said that the Social Democrats had resisted the largest bourgeois assault since the War.

# SOCIALIST DIARY

#### Jan Tinbergen

India will launch her fifth Five Year Plan in 1974, the aim of which is the 'Removal of Poverty'. The planning commission and the Indian Government took the view that the proposed Plan be subjected to critical examination by experts from India and abroad before the final Plan is drawn up towards the end of this year. The Indian Development Group in the United Kingdom therefore organised an international conference on the subject at Imperial College, London, from 30 June to 1 July.

The Conference was attended by a number of distinguished economists, academics and representatives from international organisations engaged in development studies. The main speakers were Professor Jan Tinbergen of the Netherlands, Nobel Prize winner and Chairman of the World Plan Council of the Socialist International, and Professor Nicholas Kaldor of Cambridge

University and former economic adviser to the British Labour Government under Harold Wilson.

The Conference was successful in achieving its objectives by provoking analytical and critical discussion on the 'Approach Document', in which the Indian Government outlines its aims for the Five Year Plan. A full report of the conference will be published shortly by the India Development Group.

#### Arthur Calwell

Arthur Calwell, former Labour Opposition leader in the Australian Parliament from 1960 to 1967, died in Melbourne on 8 July at the age of 76. He was given a state funeral. The Prime Minister and Leader of the Australian Labour Party, Mr Gough Whitlam, described Mr Calwell as an authentic Australian whose finest characteristic was his fierce pride in Australia. He said that

during Mr Calwell's leadership and deputy leadership of the ALP for a record total of sixteen years, he had been a stubborn and unrelenting fighter in pursuit of Australia's interests. He would be particularly honoured, Mr Whitlam said, for his fifty years' opposition to military conscription.

#### Leopold Gratz

Leopold Gratz, at 44 the youngest mayor 'Red Vienna' has ever seen, took over the reins of the Austrian capital on 4 July. Gratz, who was last leader of the parliamentary group of the Austrian Socialist Party, had previously been Minister of Education in Bruno Kreisky's first ever Socialist Government. No wonder he announced in his inaugural speech that he would start a 'cultural revolution' worthy of the great tradition of the city which first introduced Kindergartens and started social housing.