

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

88a ST. JOHN'S WOOD HIGH STREET, LONDON NW8 7SJ

Phone: 01-586 1101

Grams: INTESOCON, LONDON

Telex: 261735

~~IN ENGLISH ONLY~~
~~FOR MEMBERS ONLY~~



Circular No. M.4/74
March 15, 1974.

MINUTES

of the

MEETING

of the

BUREAU OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

London, December 9, 1973

(Bureau meeting 6/73)

1.	Opening by Chairman and adoption of agenda	Page	1
2.	Minutes of last meeting		1
3.	Report of Party Leaders' Conference		1
4.	Socialist International mission to the Middle East		2
5.	Reports of Finance and General Purposes Committee		2
6.	Socialist International mission to Egypt		6
7.	Israeli prisoners-of-war in Syria		8
8.	Next Council conference		8
9.	The situation in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies		9
10.	Membership in Socialist Group of European Parliament		11
11.	Report of Socialist International mission to Chile		12
12.	The situation in Greece		15
13.	Any other business - telegram to Willy Brandt		17
14.	Next meeting of Bureau		17
	List of participants		18

Annexes: I. Budget estimates 1974
II. Report by Socialist Democratic Union on the
situation in Greece

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1. OPENING BY CHAIRMAN and ADOPTION OF AGENDA

The Chairman of the Socialist International opened the meeting.

The participants stood for one minute in silence in memory of David Ben Gurion, former Prime Minister of Israel and leader of the Israeli Labour Party.

The Chairman welcomed to the meeting Anne Clare Park, new representative of the Canadian Party, and Luis Ayala, Chairman of IUSY.

Michael Harish asked permission to include on the agenda an item concerning Israeli prisoners in Syria.

This was agreed and the agenda was adopted.

2. MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

The minutes of the meeting held in London on 30 June (Circular no. M.15/73) and Addendum (M.15a/73) were adopted.

The minutes of the meeting held in London on 29 August (Circular no. M.16/73) and Addendum (M.16a/73) were adopted.

The minutes of the extraordinary meeting held in London on 22 September were adopted (Circular no. M.18/73).

3. REPORT OF PARTY LEADERS' CONFERENCE (11 NOVEMBER 1973)

The General Secretary informed the Bureau that the Party Leaders' Conference on November 11 had been most successful and had been attended by nine Prime Ministers. The discussions had lasted approximately ten hours and had been grouped under three main headings :

- (i) the situation in the Middle East;
- (ii) the relationship of Western Europe and the Middle East;
- (iii) the tragic events in Chile.

4. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

In connection with the discussion on the Middle East at the Party Leaders Conference on November 11, Bruno Kreisky had proposed to the Conference that a fact-finding body of the Socialist International should be established at the highest level. The Party Leaders Conference had given general support to this proposal and it had been agreed that the proposal should be placed on the agenda of the Bureau meeting to be held on December 9. Karl Czernetz now put before the Bureau amplified proposals by Bruno Kreisky concerning a Socialist International fact-finding body on the Middle East. The Bureau discussed these proposals, and decided that a fact-finding mission of the Socialist International should be established, composed of representatives of member parties at the very highest level, with the aim of visiting the Middle East in January 1974.

It was agreed that the fact-finding mission should be composed as follows :

- 1 representative of the Austrian Socialist Party (Karl Czernetz said that Bruno Kreisky would represent the Austrian Socialist Party in the mission and said that he thought that Bruno Kreisky would be prepared to act as leader of the mission).
- 1 representative of the member parties in the Benelux countries (possibly from the Dutch Labour Party);
- 1 representative of the British Labour Party;
- 1 representative of the French Socialist Party;
- 1 representative of the German Social Democratic Party;
- 1 representative of the Italian Social Democratic Party; and
- 1 representative of the Scandinavian member parties (possibly from the Swedish Social Democratic Party).

It was agreed that the mission should visit both Israel and Arab countries (the first country to be visited being Israel), and that the members of the mission should all travel together and visit the same countries (without which proper comparison and evaluation would be very difficult).

The Bureau decided to hold another meeting of the Bureau on January 6 to complete the preparation of the mission. It requested Karl Czernetz to act in the meantime as rapporteur with the assistance of the secretariat of the International (Rodney Balcomb), and to consult with the parties nominated for the mission in order to establish who would be the party representatives who would participate in the mission, which would be the best dates for the mission, what the general terms of reference of the mission should be and which countries should be visited. On the basis of the consultations conducted by Karl Czernetz, a paper should then be circulated to all member parties represented on the Bureau, in advance of the January 6 Bureau meeting, containing proposals by Karl Czernetz based on the replies received from the parties.

5. REPORTS OF FINANCE AND GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE

Ron Hayward, Chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, said members of the Bureau had received the minutes of the meetings held on 29 August (F.35/73) and on 23 November (F.42/73). He reviewed the minutes of the latter meeting in great detail.

New Statutes

Johan Peanberg objected to the suggested amendment for the draft statutes as set out on page 2 of document F.42/73. IUSY would not have the right to vote at future meetings as it did not contribute to the Socialist International budget.

Tom McNally informed him that it would be far better for IUSY to make its objections known when the new draft statutes were before the Bureau for consideration and approval.

Irène Pétry wished to draw the attention of those Bureau members who were not members of the Finance and General Purposes Committee to the dangers inherent in the proposed amendment. It was possible to argue theoretically and logically that he who did not contribute financially should not be allowed to vote on financial matters, but it seemed to her undemocratic that the ICSDW and IUSY would not be allowed to express their opinion in the form of a vote and she hoped that socialist aims would not be forgotten.

Affiliation fees

Ron Hayward was pleased to inform the Bureau that the Radical Party of Chile and the Dutch Labour Party had paid their affiliation fees since the last meeting.

On behalf of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, Ron Hayward thanked those Parties who had paid their affiliation fees for 1973 and also the 10% increase. He congratulated the General Secretary on the low expenditure of the Secretariat during the past year; he had been carefully frugal but the Committee would not wish him to be so frugal every year as it wanted the International to expand its activities.

Budget Estimates 1974

Ron Hayward then reviewed the budget estimates for 1974, as set out in documents F.42/73 (Annex 1) and B.32/73, for members of the Bureau and asked for their approval.

He explained the Finance and General Purposes Committee had decided to submit to the Bureau, without recommendation, the following items :

- (i) Mission to Africa
- (ii) ICSDW study tour to Tanzania.

ICSDW

The Bureau decided not to increase the budget for the ICSDW above £4,000, and that any expenditure above that amount should be referred to the Finance and General Purposes Committee with a detailed written explanation for recommendation and submission to the Bureau.

Vera Matthias explained that the increased budget had been requested to cover the cost of the projected study tour to Tanzania and as a reserve against inflation.

Several members of the Bureau expressed reservations on the projected ICSDW study tour of Tanzania.

The Bureau also decided that the surplus of roughly £800 saved by the ICSDW during 1973 be transferred to the Socialist International Reserve Fund to which the Council had no access.

Staff Salaries

Tom McNally referred to F.42/73, page 3(a) "Salaries" and asked that the item be referred back to the Finance and General Purposes Committee. He made the request on the advice of the Labour Party's Finance Officer who had suggested deferring the salary increases for one month during which time the staff structure of the International would be studied in conjunction with the General Secretary. This was agreed. The Bureau also agreed to consider the possible appointment of a clerical assistant to the staff of the International when it had studied the General Secretary's report.

Seminar in Jamaica

Rodney Balcomb said that he wished to raise at this point, while the budget estimates for 1974 were being considered, the question of the financial aspects of a seminar which the Socialist International's Study Group on Socialist Strategy for the Third World, meeting in London the previous day, had proposed should be held in Jamaica during 1974; he said that he would deal with other aspects of the proposed seminar later in the Bureau meeting under the agenda item 'Report of Study Group on Socialist Strategy for the Third World' (because of lack of time, this item of the Bureau agenda was not reached). The proposal of the Study Group, he said, was that a seminar,

jointly sponsored by the People's National Party of Jamaica and the Socialist International should be held in Jamaica during the period March-May 1974; it was proposed that the theme of the seminar should be 'Emancipation and Social Justice in Latin America and the Caribbean - What are the prerequisites', and that in addition to the member parties of the International, other political organizations and individuals from Latin America and the Caribbean should be invited to participate in the seminar. It was hoped that it would be possible to send a representative of the International to the region in advance of the seminar in order to make contacts with political organizations and individuals and to help ensure good participation at the seminar. The Study Group had decided to request the Bureau to allocate the sum of £1,000, which the Study Group considered would be sufficient to cover the cost of sending a member of the staff of the secretariat to attend the proposed seminar itself, of sending a representative of the International to the region in advance of the seminar, as proposed above, and of making a contribution towards the cost of simultaneous interpretation for the seminar; Rodney Balcomb pointed out that the Budget Estimates for 1974, which were before the Bureau, contained an allocation of £522 to cover the cost of sending a member of the secretariat staff to attend a meeting in a Third World country of the Study Group on Socialist Strategy for the Third World, and said that this sum could perhaps be allocated instead to cover part of the expenditure in connection with the proposed seminar.

The Bureau decided to refer to the next meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee the question of the allocation of funds in connection with the proposed seminar, and instructed the secretariat to prepare for the Finance and General Purposes Committee a paper setting out in detail the proposals for the seminar and the estimated expenditure which would be incurred by the International in connection with the seminar.

Pensions of Former Staff

The Chairman asked that the Finance and General Purposes Committee consider at its next meeting an increase in the pensions of Albert Carthy and Mrs. Julius Braunthal.

United Nations activities

Vera Matthias pointed out that the International now had observer status at the United Nations; if it did not participate in its activities, its membership would lapse. She said that the ICSDW would like to combine its efforts with those of the International in this respect and asked that the item be placed on the agenda of the next Bureau meeting. No decision was made.

In concluding the debate, Ron Hayward paid tribute to Vicki Walters, the Socialist International Finance Officer, and to Douglas Richards, his Finance Officer, for all the hard and efficient work they had put in on the accounts and budget estimates for the Socialist International.

On behalf of all members of the Bureau Giampiero Rolandi thanked Ron Hayward for his hard work and for making the financial situation of their organisation so clear and comprehensible to them all.

The Bureau adopted the budget estimates for 1974, as amended (Annex 1).

6. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO EGYPT

Rodney Balcomb reported on the visit which Robert Pontillon and he had made to Egypt from September 14-18, 1973, in their respective capacities as Chairman and apporteur/Secretary of the Socialist International's Study Group on the Middle East, following an invitation received from Hafez Ganem, First Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt. He said that Robert Pontillon had asked him to make a verbal report to the Bureau concerning the visit but had asked that, since he himself was unable to be present at this meeting, there should be no substantial discussion of the report on this occasion. Robert Pontillon proposed instead that the written report of the visit, which would shortly be circulated, should first be referred for detailed discussion to a meeting of the Middle East Study Group (which could then report its conclusions to the Bureau). The Bureau agreed to this proposal. Rodney Balcomb apologised for the fact that the written report of the visit had not yet been circulated. This was due, he said, to great pressure of work in the secretariat which had delayed the completion of the report, and also to the fact that it had been necessary to transmit the draft of the report to Robert Pontillon for approval. Robert Pontillon had now informed him

that, although he would shortly be communicating to the secretariat a few minor emendations or additions to the draft report, he agreed with the broad lines of the report and wished him to make a verbal report to the Bureau along those lines.

Rodney Balcomb stated that during their visit to Egypt, Robert Pontillon and he had had meetings with Dr Mahmoud Fawzi (one of the two Vice-Presidents of Egypt), Dr Mohamed Hatem (Deputy Prime Minister for Culture and Information), Mr Kamal Khalil (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Dr Hafez Ganem (First Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union) and a number of other leading members of the Arab Socialist Union. They had been informed about, and had discussed, Egypt's external policies (it was clear that Egypt was now seeking to increase its contacts and links with Western Europe), and had been informed of the links which the Arab Socialist Union had with political organizations in the Arab world and in Eastern and Western Europe (including some member parties of the Socialist International). During the meeting with Dr Ganem Robert Pontillon and he had reiterated the request which had already been made to the Arab Socialist Union in 1972, on the instructions of the Middle East Study Group, that the Arab Socialist Union should collaborate with the study group in its study of Egypt and should supply to the study group documentation about the ASU and about Egyptian socialism. Dr Ganem had replied that the ASU would be prepared to collaborate with the Study Group as requested.

Robert Pontillon and he had also been informed about, and had discussed, Egypt's internal policies, institutions, and organizations, including the Arab Socialist Union itself. The general economic and social policies of the Egyptian Government and of the ASU were aimed at developing the economy (the economy was predominantly publicly-owned but there was also a private sector), raising general living and educational standards, and increasing the participation of ordinary Egyptians in the running of the country. As regards political institutions, there were some similarities between Egypt and the countries of Eastern Europe, but in the apparently genuine attempt to combine socialism and democracy within the framework of a one-party State there were resemblances to the type of 'African Socialist' system found in Tanzania and Zambia. 'Egyptian Socialism' was a product of the specific conditions of Egypt and was different from Western social democracy and from Soviet or Chinese communism. While it might be doubtful whether, according to its present criteria, the International could admit the ASU as an affiliate (the ASU had in any case expressed no wish for affiliation), it was desirable, in the opinion of Robert Pontillon and himself, that the International should maintain contacts and a dialogue with the ASU.

In conclusion, Rodney Balcomb said that Robert Pontillon and he wished to propose that a two-day meeting of the Middle East Study Group should be held in London in the second half of January, or during February, 1974. It was proposed that during the first day of the meeting, the report of the Socialist International mission to Egypt should be discussed, together with the report on Egypt provided for the Study Group by the Israel Labour Party, and other reports on Egypt which might have become available by then, and that participation on the first day should be limited to the members of the Study Group. It was further proposed that the ASU should be invited to send a representative or representatives to attend the Study Group meeting on its second day, so that they could introduce the material submitted by the ASU, and so that the members of the

Study Group could have a general discussion with them. The Bureau agreed to this proposal, it being left to the secretariat to find the most suitable date for the meeting.

7. ISRAELI PRISONERS-OF-WAR IN SYRIA

Michael Harish wished to give some facts to the Bureau in the hope that sister Parties would be able to help Israeli prisoners-of-war in Syrian hands behind the scenes. Israel was to make a complaint to the United Nations as, up to that time, about 40 Israeli soldiers who had been taken prisoner were shot while in captivity, their hands tied behind their backs, their eyes blindfolded. Their past experience with Syria had been unpleasant and the Israelis were alarmed and distressed at the plight of their prisoners in Syrian hands. In accordance with the terms of the Geneva Convention, the Syrians should :

- (i) give names of prisoners to the Red Cross so that their families might be informed;
- (ii) allow a Red Cross representative to visit the prisoners;
- (iii) release immediately those prisoners who were seriously wounded.

His Party felt that if enough moral pressure were put on Syria, there might be some improvement in the situation which would be an important step forward before the opening of the Geneva Conference in December.

The Israel Labour Party's heartfelt request to all member Parties who had contacts with Syria, its embassies and Syrians, therefore, was to ask them to take urgent action in this matter and to report to that Party on any progress they were able to achieve.

It was agreed that the Secretariat would convey this request to member Parties, and urge their support. They would also be asked to provide information on the approaches they made to Syrian and Soviet Embassies, as well as to other groups which might have some influence on the fate of Israeli prisoners-of-war in Syrian hands.

8. NEXT COUNCIL CONFERENCE

As, at its meeting in London on 29 August, the Bureau had decided to postpone a Council Conference until 1974, Ron Hayward said that, in view of the serious world situation, the British delegation wondered whether a Congress should be organised instead next year. A Council Conference would be able to deal only with the fringe of the situation and the British Labour Party believed it would be of great advantage to all member Parties to hold a Congress in 1974.

If the Bureau came to that decision, Ron Hayward would recommend to the Labour Party's National Executive the following week that it play its full part as host. If his Party found

itself involved in a General Election or pre-election period, perhaps a sister Party would agree to host the Congress.

Ian Mikardo supported the organisation of a Congress in 1974 in preference to a Council Conference, as it would be able to approve the new statutes of the Socialist International which were being drafted.

Karl Czernetz, Alex Kitson, Paavo Lippinen and Irène Pétry were in favour of holding a Congress in 1974.

Irène Pétry reminded the Bureau of the financial implications which would be involved for the ICSDW if a Congress were organised, unless it were an Extraordinary Congress. In accordance with the terms of its statutes, the ICSDW was bound to meet before an ordinary Congress.

It was agreed that the question of holding a Congress in 1974, with the British Labour Party as host unless it found itself in an election period, would be referred to the Finance and General Purposes Committee who would report back to the Bureau on the financial expenditure. At the same time, the new draft statutes for the International would be submitted to the Bureau for its approval for subsequent submission to Congress.

Francis Cassar asked if the next Council Conference would be held in Malta.

The Chairman replied that the Bureau had decided at its meeting on 29 August, to hold the next Council Conference in Malta (M.16/73).

9. THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL AND PORTUGUESE COLONIES

a) Mission to Portugal. Rodney Balcomb reported that, in accordance with the decision of the Bureau meeting of August 29, 1973, preparations had been made to send a mission of the International to Portugal to observe the 'General Elections' held in that country on October 28. In view of the expulsion from Portugal of the mission of the International sent to observe the 'General Elections' in 1969, it had been decided to notify the Portuguese Government, in advance of the departure of the mission, of the intention to send the mission. The Portuguese Government had therefore been duly notified by

letter, and a letter from the Portuguese Government had been received in reply, stating that 'the despatch of such a mission to Portugal would be a clear interference in the internal Portuguese policy, and cannot therefore be authorised.' In view of this reply it had been decided to cancel the mission, but the exchange of letters with the Portuguese Government had been made public.

b) Arrest of Herminio da Palma Inacio. Rodney Balcomb reported that a letter had been received from the Portuguese Socialist Party in connection with the arrest in Portugal of Heminio da Palma Inacio, the Portuguese revolutionary leader. The letter stated that Palma's life could be in danger at the hands of the Portuguese secret police and requested that member parties of the International should ask their governments to make efforts, through diplomatic channels, to try to ensure that a lawyer was present during the interrogation of Palma by the Portuguese police.

The Bureau decided to instruct the General Secretary to write to member parties to ask them to intervene most urgently through diplomatic channels on behalf of Palma. The Bureau instructed the General Secretary to seek information about other Portuguese citizens recently arrested by the Portuguese authorities.

c) Recognition of Guinea-Bissau. Relus ter Beek reported that he had recently visited Guinea-Bissau and said that he would like to make a report to the next Bureau meeting on his visit, and in particular on the question of the recognition of Guinea-Bissau. The Bureau agreed to this request.

d) Proposed talks between socialist parties from NATO countries. Paavo Lipponen drew attention to the suggestion which had been made by the German Social Democratic Party that Socialist International member parties from NATO countries should hold talks to discuss the question of Portugal's colonial policies in Africa. The Bureau instructed the General Secretary to ask the German Social Democratic Party whether their representative at the next Bureau meeting could make a report to the meeting concerning this suggestion.

10. MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIALIST GROUP OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Ron Hayward referred to the Press Release the Socialist Group of the European Parliament had issued on 7 November, announcing the decision to accept Dick Taverne's application to join the Group. He wanted the Bureau to know that his Party was very angry indeed that a former member of the Labour Party had been accepted to the Group without any reference to it or to the Socialist International, the body with which they were all affiliated. It was not a question of a personality vendetta between Dick Taverne and the British Labour Party; he had received the maximum of assistance from Ron Hayward and the Party when he was first elected to Parliament and had been a Junior Minister in the Labour Government. Even when he had run foul of his local Party, when he was accused of not visiting his constituency as often as he should, he had been defended by Ron Hayward and his comrades who had recommended that the decision of the local Party be overruled until Taverne had been given sufficient time to explain and to defend himself. He had received continuous advice from the Party but had subsequently to be warned on several occasions. Taverne could not say that the British Labour Party had not co-operated 100% with him and 100% in his favour before his local Party decided, constitutionally, that they no longer had confidence in him and would select another candidate to represent them.

Member Parties who belonged to the European Parliament might believe that Taverne had been rejected by the British Labour Party for his Common Market views, but that was not the case. He had now formed his own Democratic Labour Party and it had been publicly announced that his Party would contest the Labour Party for fifteen marginal seats at the next election. The British Labour Party was well aware that it was to Taverne's advantage to enter the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, but could not understand why their sister Parties in the EEC had accepted a renegade member of the Party who was publicly opposing official Party policy. The British Labour Party had tried to play its part over many years in the International and contributed nearly £13,000 to the budget, plus the time of their Finance Officer. With that amount of money the Party could visit every Socialist Party in the world on a bilateral basis and need not have anything more to do with the International if it did not believe in the organisation.

Relus ter Beek informed Ron Hayward that Dutch members in the Socialist Group of the European Parliament had argued against Taverne's membership and had abstained from voting.

Judith Hart said that if member Parties of the International who were also members of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament did not take positive action to reverse their decision, they would be going directly against the spirit of the British labour movement and the grass roots of the Party, as well as supporting a renegade who, with the assistance of the right wing press in Britain, was trying to destroy the Labour Party.

Members who did not belong to the European Parliament expressed dismay that the Bureau of the International should be used as a forum to settle differences between Parties which were or were not represented on the European Parliament, although they had the greatest sympathy for the British Labour Party in this matter.

Relus ter Beek suggested :

- (i) his Party write a letter to other Parties in the Socialist Group of the EEC conveying to them the feelings of the British Labour Party and many other members of the Bureau, stating their disappointment that the matter was affecting the efficient working of the International;
- (ii) that the Bureau accept the proposal to put the question on the agenda of the next meeting in the context in which the British Labour Party had placed it.

This was adopted.

Giampiero Rolandi supported the initiative of writing a letter and undertook to contact the Italian Social Democratic Party on this matter.

The Chairman said that this was a serious case of solidarity and agreed to contact Francis Vals and other members of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament to ask them to suspend their decision.

11. REPORT OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MISSION TO CHILE (M.17/73, 20/73 and 22/73).

The Chairman of the International mission to Chile, André van der Louw, made a brief report and told the Bureau it would be a tragedy to forget Chile because of the situation in the Middle East, in Greece and the energy crisis. The reports which had been circulated contained detailed information and all members were familiar with the main facts of the situation. He then reviewed the follow-up activities of the delegation, as set out in the documents before the Bureau, and stressed the necessity for Embassies, especially those of Social Democratic governments, to give shelter to political refugees. He recommended that delegations continue to visit Chile, that governments support the Socialist International action. His Government had succeeded in freezing economic aid for development programmes in Chile and he hoped all socialist governments and Parties would work in the same direction. He concluded his report by making a request of the Bureau : that it express its gratitude to the Swedish Ambassador in Santiago, Harald Edelstam, whose bravery and courage had been an example to them all, for all he had achieved in ensuring the safety of many refugees.

Antoine Blanca, Rapporteur of the mission to Chile, had little to add to the Chairman's report. He stressed the violence of the coup and urged all Socialist Parties, especially those in government, to put pressure on the Junta so that its position might deteriorate and the repression not be allowed to continue without condemnation from the rest of the world. He suggested that strong economic pressure be brought to bear on the régime which had usurped a democratically elected government at the Club of Paris which was to meet in the following days to consider Chile's external debts.

After deplored the British government's attitude and referring to the refugees who were at that time seeking admission to Britain, Judith Hart agreed very much about the importance of the Paris Club meeting, where the International could achieve some results. It was understood that the Chilean Junta would be sending a strong delegation to the meeting to seek to obtain favourable terms on re-negotiation of its foreign debt. She suggested the Bureau call on all its member Parties who were in government to :

- (i) press them not to make any concessions at the Paris Club meeting that they had failed to concede to the Allende government, but, on the contrary, to take a tough, unrelenting attitude;
- (ii) bring pressure to bear on the United Nations, who had accepted responsibility for non-Chilean refugees, to take responsibility also for Chilean refugees who had been accepted into Embassies only at the discretion of the Ambassador. In this connection, the General Secretary should write a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations.
- (iii) All member Parties should give all possible help to Popular Unity.
- (iv) The Socialist International Fund which had been set up be channelled via the Radical Party representative on the Bureau to Popular Unity.

Carlos Parra regretted that their French, German and Netherlands colleagues had already left the meeting. He emphasised that the Socialist Parties in Europe could do very much to help their oppressed comrades in Chile. All political parties had united to form a resistance movement against their common enemy, fascism. They were determined to continue fighting to keep the Chilean cause before the public and he had been entrusted by the resistance movement to appeal to every member Party on the Bureau to help them in their struggle. He pleaded that socialist governments open the doors of their embassies in Santiago to refugees, and also the doors of their countries. He expressed the deep gratitude of Popular Unity to governments who had taken refugees into their Embassies, and especially to the Swedish Ambassador, H.E. Harald Edelstam.

The late President Allende's daughter and Carlos Parra had been entrusted to collect funds for the Solidarity Fund. Those who contributed should not ask how the funds were going to be used, that was a question for the Chilean people to decide. He had been consulted by some sister Parties who were willing to contribute to Popular Unity without channelling the funds through the Socialist International. He asked, however, that the money be channelled through the International as he and his Chilean comrades wished the efforts of Social Democrats in this context to be known in Chile.

Irène Pétry considered it should be the personal duty of each comrade to return to his Party and stress to his Chairman and Secretary the efforts which Parties should make to help their Chilean comrades. She supported the Netherlands' initiative that socialist governments should stop official aid to the junta for development projects as, to continue such aid, amounted to a recognition of the régime. There was a possibility that some of the many committees which were collecting funds for Popular Unity would not agree to channel them through a socialist organisation and, for that reason, in her opinion, there should be an alternative address to that of the secretariat.

Carlos Parra explained there would be a central account in case any donor did not wish to channel his contributions through the International. He summed up that attacks on the junta from several sources would be the most harmful to it. Despite increased activities it had already received setbacks in some countries and had been called on to cease executions and torture. The junta was weakening and that was the reason why repression had been increased. Embassies had been turned into living prisons, there were up to 400 people in some, every single stair was occupied, it was difficult to sleep in those conditions and the situation had lasted for months. There were more than 40,000 unemployed workers who had little hope of finding other employment. 7,500 copper workers had been expelled from their jobs and as they could not stay in the north where there was no alternative employment, they migrated to the south in the hope of being issued with a special work permit.

Popular Unity hoped to hold a conference in Rome before the end of January, and it was hoped that Western European social democratic forces would participate in that expression of solidarity.

Alex Kitson thought that the ICFTU's co-operation should be sought so that the forces of the working movement supported Popular Unity.

It was decided :

- (i) to appeal to Governments, led by member Parties, who would participate in the negotiations of the "Paris Club" to take "a very tough and unrelenting attitude and not to make any concessions";
- (ii) to bring pressure to bear on the United Nations to change its attitude and to accept responsibility for Chilean political refugees as well as other Latin American political refugees;
- (iii) to give full support to the Popular Unity organisation established outside Chile through the Radical Party, represented by Carlos Parra;
- (iv) to make funds available for the Socialist International Solidarity Fund for Chile for which the Radical Party representative, Carlos Parra, was authorised by the Bureau to make collections;
- (v) to authorise the Chairman and the General Secretary to express the thanks of the International to the former Ambassador in Chile of the Social Democratic government of Sweden, Harald Edelstam, for his successful efforts in bringing hundreds of members of Popular Unity to safety;
- (vi) to re-affirm the International's total opposition to the fascist dictatorship.

12. THE SITUATION IN GREECE (M.19/73)

The Chairman welcomed Charalambos Protopapas to the meeting.

Protopapas thanked the Bureau for giving him the opportunity of addressing it after so many years during which time not only he had suffered but also the Greek people. He wished to speak only briefly as his comrades had before them the confidential detailed report which he had circulated.* He wished them to know that the Greek people had never accepted the dictatorship and that reports to the contrary which had been circulated abroad were untrue. The recent events in Athens had demonstrated that most Greek people were opposed to the dictatorship. The Greek people had been slow to oppose the régime openly but the working class, and especially young people, were in fighting spirit and there could well be a new confrontation between the junta and the popular forces in the near future. All moral assistance which member Parties gave to the Greek people would be of inestimable value to them.

*Annex 2

The General Secretary referred to the paper which had been distributed on the instructions of the Finance and General Purposes Committee (M.19/73) recommending that a mission be sent to Greece in the near future. He asked Protopapas if he thought such a mission would be of value.

Relus ter Beek asked the same question and said that, in the opinion of his Party, there was a greater need to send a mission to Washington.

Tom McNally said that his Party considered a mission to Greece would be a peg on which to hang the mission to Washington. Giampiero Rolandi agreed.

Johan Peanberg feared that an official International delegation would receive the same reception from the Greek authorities as had the mission to Portugal, or, if it were allowed to enter the country, its achievements would be negligible.

Protopapas said that pressure originating from Europe was important, and that a mission to Washington, following a mission to Greece, would be of great value. He suggested a mission be divided into two sections, one for secret talks and one for official talks with leading personalities. If the mission were only official, his compatriots would be afraid to meet its members publicly. He emphasised that a mission should take place in the very near future, preferably before the end of December.

Tom McNally pointed out that the mission to Chile had been extraordinarily successful in many ways and yet it had not met a single member of the military junta. A mission to Greece should not therefore meet the new military dictators, as courtesy calls would have no long-term value, as would conversations with politicians and private organisations.

Judith Hart and Ron Hayward moved that member Parties of the International call for the expulsion of Greece from NATO.

Relus ter Beek said it was not the Bureau's aim to expel Greece from NATO, its aim was to restore democracy in Greece. The threat of expulsion should be used in the context of persuasive influence. As the NATO Ministerial Council was to meet in Brussels the following day, he proposed the Bureau publish a policy statement immediately.

Protopapas suggested the Committee for Greece which existed two years ago be revived.

It was decided to send a mission of the Socialist International to Greece in the very near future in order to study recent developments in that country and to report back to the Bureau. The mission would convene in Rome before flying to Athens.

The Bureau adopted the following statement on Greece :

"Part 1

The Socialist International condemns the continuation and strengthening of fascist military dictatorship in Greece. The Bureau calls for the release of political prisoners and the restoration of full political and human rights.

"Part 2

On the occasion of the NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Brussels on the 10-11 December, the Bureau of the Socialist International stresses that the continuing membership of Greece does considerable damage to the credibility of NATO and its claims to be an organisation founded to defend freedom and democracy. The Bureau calls on those Socialist Parties from countries who are members of NATO to use all means of influence and pressure, including the suspension of Greek membership, until the restoration of democracy in that country."

Part 1 - AUSTRIA, CANADA, CHILE, FINLAND, GREAT BRITAIN, ISRAEL, PSDI, MALTA, NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, ICSDW and IUSY voted in favour.

Part 2 - AUSTRIA, CANADA, CHILE, GREAT BRITAIN, MALTA and the NETHERLANDS voted in favour.

FINLAND, SWEDEN and IUSY voted against.

ISRAEL, PSDI and ICSDW abstained from voting.

13. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

The Bureau decided to send a telegram of congratulations to Willy Brandt on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

14. NEXT MEETING OF BUREAU

It was agreed that the Bureau would meet next on Sunday, 6 January 1974.

LIST of PARTICIPANTS

- Austria : KARL CZERNETZ, International Secretary,
Socialist Party.
- Canada : FRITZ MARSCH, General Secretary,
Socialist Party.
- Chile : CARLOS PARRA, International Secretary,
Radical Party.
- Finland : PAAVO LIPPONEN, International Secretary,
Social Democratic Party.
- France : ANTOINE BLANCA, Member of Executive
Committee of French Socialist Party.
- Germany : HANS-EBERHARD DINGELS, International
Secretary, Social Democratic Party.
- Great Britain : JUDITH HART, National Executive member,
Labour Party.
RON HAYWARD, General Secretary,
Labour Party.
ALEX KITSON, National Executive member,
Labour Party.
IAN MIKARDO, National Executive member,
Labour Party.
ERIC MILLER, Treasurer,
Socialist International.
TOM McNALLY, International Secretary,
Labour Party.
- Greece : CHARALAMBOS PROTOPAPAS, Chairman, Social
Democratic Union of Greece.
- Israel : MICHAEL HARISH, International Secretary,
Labour Party.
ISRAEL GAT, European representative.
DANNY KOREN, Assistant European
representative.
- Italy (PSDI) : GIAMPIERO ROLANDI, London representative,
Social Democratic Party.
- Malta : FRANCIS CASSAR, London representative,
Labour Party.
- Netherlands : ANDRE VAN DER LOUW, Chairman,
Labour Party.
RELUS TER BEEK, International Secretary,
Labour Party.

Sweden :

BERNT CARLSSON, International Secretary,
Social Democratic Labour Party.

IICSDW :

IRENE PETRY, Chairman.
VERA MATTHIAS, Secretary.

IUSY :

LUIS AYALA, President.
JOHAN PEANBERG, General Secretary.

Socialist
International :

BRUNO PITTERMANN, Chairman.
HANS JANITSCHEK, General Secretary.
RODNEY BALCOMB, Assistant General Secretary.
