

## 10th Congress of the Socialist International

The Tenth Congress of the Socialist International was held in the Folkets Hus, Stockholm, on May 5-8, 1966. There were present 181 delegates from 50 countries, made up as follows: 135 delegates from member parties and associated organisations in 28 countries; 11 delegates from 7 parties with consultative status; 3 delegates from 3 parties with observer status; and 32 fraternal delegates and guests from 12 countries. It is worth recording that four of the twelve organisations (then with no organisational link with the Socialist International) which sent fraternal delegates and guests to the 8th Congress at Amsterdam in 1963 are among those which have since taken up membership of the Socialist International with observer status.

Welcoming addresses were given by the Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party and Prime Minister of Sweden, Tage Erlander, and the Chairman of the Socialist International, Bruno Pittermann. The greet-

ings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were brought from its former President, Arne Geijer, who is President of the Swedish Trade Union National Centre. These speeches are published on the following pages.

Pietro Nenni, Deputy Prime Minister of Italy and leader of the Italian Socialist Party (P.S.I.) attended the Congress as a fraternal guest. The invitation to Nenni was made on the initiative of the Italian Social Democratic Party. It was the first time that the P.S.I. had been represented at a Congress of the Socialist International since the War. On the invitation of the Presidium, Pietro Nenni delivered greetings to the Congress; his speech is published in this issue.

The Congress was opened with a rousing selection of international work songs conducted by E. Eckert-Lundin. Following the opening speeches, members of the Opera Ballet staged a moving "choreographic cantata", which had as its theme the words of *The Internationale*. The cantata, which was composed by

Kurt Lingren with choreography by Conny Borg, depicted "the pain of hunger and lack of freedom, the dream of peace and independence, and the message of solidarity beyond all borders".

Approving a proposal to amend the Statute to increase the number of Vice-Chairmen to four, the Congress received with acclamation the report that the Council had reelected the Chairman, Bruno Pittermann, and the three Vice-Chairmen, Tage Erlander, Guy Mollet and Harold Wilson, and had elected Willy Brandt as the fourth Vice-Chairman.

Messages were sent to the former General Secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party, Giuseppe Saragat, and the former Lord Mayor of Vienna, Franz Jonas, who had been elected Presidents of Italy and Austria respectively since the last Congress of the Socialist International. Regrets for non-attendance and good wishes for the success of the Congress were received



Tage Erlander, Prime Minister of Sweden and a Vice-Chairman of the International, opens the Congress.

from the General Secretary of the Latin American Parliament, Andres Townsend Ezcurra; the Kenyan Economic Affairs Minister, Tom Mboya; the Prime Minister of Guyana and Leader of the People's National Congress, Forbes Burnham; the General Secretary of the Turkish Workers' Party, Riza Kuas; the Leader of the Labour Party of Montserrat, W. H. Bramble; the Leader of the Popular Revolutionary Party and former President of the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch; the New Zealand Labour Party, beginning its Jubilee Celebrations on May 9, and the Nepali Congress.

The Congress was especially pleased to welcome as a visitor, Marta Ollenhauer, widow of the former Chairman of the Socialist International, Erich Ollenhauer.

At a meeting of the Bureau prior to the Congress, it was agreed to circulate a statement for the information of delegates by the Portuguese Socialist Action, which was represented at the Congress as an observer.

The main subjects on the Agenda were:

"The International Situation", introduced by Tage Erlander, and the Chairman of the German Social Democratic Party and Governing Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt;

"Europe in the World Context", introduced by the British Minister for Economic Affairs, George Brown, and by the former Foreign Minister of Austria, Bruno Kreisky. The General Secretary of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) and former Prime Minister, Guy Mollet, who was to have opened this subject, was detained by unavoidable duties in Paris until after this subject was taken. In his place, the former French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau, contributed to the opening;

"Development of Democratic Socialist Thought and Action in New Countries", introduced by the General Secretary of the People's Action Party and Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew; and

"Disarmament", introduced by the British Minister for Disarmament, Lord Chalfont, and the Leader of the Swedish delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, Alva Myrdal.

Private sessions were held on problems of liaison in Asia-Oceania and Latin America. That in the former area was presided over by Lee Kuan Yew. Machinery for consultation and mutual information, not involving the establishment of a full-time office was agreed. A Preparatory Committee, consisting of the parties in Japan (2), India, Australia and Singapore, was set up. It was given

the task of organising and convening a foundation meeting to determine and inaugurate the machinery which is proposed. There was a general wish that the setting for this meeting should be New Delhi. The Indian representative undertook to pass on to the Praja Socialist Party this request.

The Latin American representatives meeting under the chairmanship of Haya de la Torre (Peru), proposed closer collaboration between the Liaison Bureau of the Socialist International in Latin America and the Coordinating Committee of Popular Parties, one of the means being to give the Secretary of the Liaison Bureau, Humberto Maiztegui, membership of the Coordinating Committee. The Coordinating Committee will convene, early in 1967, a Conference of Popular Parties to which leading personalities of member parties of the Socialist International and the Socialist International itself will be invited. Other proposals for the development of the ideas of Social Democracy in Latin America were proposed for study.

A private session had been provided in the programme to discuss liaison machinery in Africa, but aroused no interest. Representatives of African parties had been among non-member parties participating in a Special Conference held in Uppsala on April 27-29, which member parties also attended, on the subject of "Development of Democratic Socialist Thought and Action in New Countries". There were 37 representatives of 19 member parties, 14 representatives of 6 non-member parties, and 3 representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Union of Socialist Youth present.

The participants at the Conference had unanimously adopted a statement,

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which was circulated for the information of the Congress. The statement is published in this issue. A proposal that provision should be made for participants in the Uppsala Conference from non-member parties delegates to address the Congress with the press and public present on the Uppsala statement, was not acceptable to the African representatives of non-member parties, who desired participation in the Congress itself. They continued to follow the discussions throughout.

The Congress adopted a very comprehensive resolution on the international situation, and other resolutions: on disarmament (the text of which had been formulated at two meetings of the Disarmament Commission of the Socialist International in London and Geneva); on democratic Socialist thought and action in new countries; on Europe in the world context; on Malta; and on the position of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union; and a declaration on Latin America. The texts of these resolutions appear in this issue.

The Congress amended the Statute of the Socialist International to increase the size of the Bureau from 15 to 18. The Congress also added a provision to the Statute making compliance with financial obligations by December 31 a condition for the exercise of a vote at a Council Conference or Congress during the following calendar year. This will apply as from January 1, 1967.

The Congress approved the applications of the Australian Labor Party, the Labour Party of Mauritius and the People's Action Party of Singapore for admission as full members of the Socialist International, and those of the National Liberation Party of Costa Rica, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party of Paraguay, the Aprista Party of Peru and the Acción Democratica of Venezuela, for membership with observer status. The application of the Social Democratic Party of Mauritius will be reported on to the next Council Conference.

The Congress noted with satisfaction that, in addition to the applications it had before it for membership of the Socialist International, there were many enquiries at various stages towards formal application. In view of the fact that Congress is now at 3-year intervals, it authorised the Council Conference to admit applicants as provisional members subject to final endorsement by the Congress. No amendment of the Statute was required.

The Congress took the grave decision to expel the Labour Party of Malaya. Information was gathered and enquiries were made by the Secretary, Albert



## Chairman's address to Congress

BRUNO PITTERMANN

Carthy, and later by the International Secretary of the German Social Democratic Party, Hans-Eberhard Dingels, during visits to Malaysia. These showed, and they were confirmed by reports of reliable persons, that the character of the propaganda conducted by this Party in the villages was indistinguishable from that of a Communist front. Although the Chairman of the Party was judged to be a man of integrity, the real work of the organisation is determined by Communists and Communist agents in the Party apparatus.

With the increased size of the Bureau, the Congress reserved two of the seats for Latin America (this will apply when members take up full membership) and granted one seat to Australia and New Zealand (alternating). It also allocated the vacant seat for Asia to the People's Action Party of Singapore. The Bureau therefore consists of: Australia and New Zealand (alternating), Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, the Nordic countries (two), Singapore, with two seats reserved for African parties and two for Latin American parties.

Dinners were given to delegates by the Social Democratic Swedish Women's League, the Executive Committee of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party, and the Folksam (Cooperative Insurance Society).

The Congress was preceded by the Triennial Conference of the International Council of Social Democratic Women, held in Stockholm on May 2-3, at which Anna Rudling (Sweden) was elected Chairman for the next three years, and by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe, which was held in Stockholm on May 2. The resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee appear in this issue.

Other meetings held prior to the Congress included the Study Group on Eastern European Questions, which was open to the public and press, the Standing Joint Committee on Developing Areas, the Spain Committee, the Contact Committee on European Unification, and a discussion between Bureau representatives and the International Union of Socialist Youth.

The Chairman of the Socialist International, Bruno Pittermann, closed the Congress with warm thanks to the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party for the exemplary arrangements which had been made, and the generous hospitality which had been shown at Uppsala and at Stockholm. His speech and Tage Erlander's closing address are published in this issue.

At the beginning of my address I wish in the name of the member parties and guests of the Socialist International to thank our hosts, the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, most sincerely. Firstly to thank them for the tremendous hospitality they have extended to us personally, and secondly to thank them for the opportunity of observing a state that has long been led by a Social Democratic Government. Sweden today shows us the great social and economic progress for working people that can be achieved in peace and freedom without bloodshed and without violence. We thank our hosts once again for their doubly-appreciated hospitality.

I greet the honoured guests and representatives of fraternal organisations present, as well as all the delegates of the member parties. This Congress is a world-wide congress of democratic Socialism. Member parties from all the continents are represented. In particular, I would greet the parties now about to be admitted to membership by decision of the Council, as well as those parties with observer status.

Finally, I ask to be allowed to speak for the Congress in conveying hearty congratulations to Julius Braunthal, former Secretary of the International for many years and now staying in Vienna at the invitation of the Austrian Socialist Party, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

The world peace organisation created after the Second World War is showing grave signs of weakness. The United Nations Organisation has not been able, despite noteworthy partial successes, to preserve world peace. War is being waged in South-East Asia, a war involving all the technical and economic resources of a great power, and as yet the United Nations have not succeeded in intervening.

Despite the dreadful experience of genocidal racialism that marked the barbaric Hitlerian period, discrimination against human beings still persists in certain parts of the world. Congress should be unanimous in its unreserved condemnation of all discrimination against individuals or peoples on political, national, racial or religious grounds.

An enormous growth in technological progress is carrying mankind farther out into space. At the same time, capitalist society is falling farther and farther behind in the task of satisfying human hunger and providing the people

with the consumer goods necessary to life.

More than ever, mankind stands in need of Socialism and the achievements of Socialists. A just division of the one-sided surplus of material goods among the earth's population as a whole, the guaranteeing of world peace, and worldwide disarmament, have been and still remain the principles of democratic Socialism. The struggle of Socialists for the liberty of mankind is directed against the systems that suppress liberty, not against the victims of oppression.

Socialists know that similar ideals are also pursued by other people whose way of thinking differs from our own. In the struggle against war and oppression, Socialists are prepared to establish contacts with other political groups. This also applies to collaboration with religions that abstain from persecution of, and discrimination against, the adherents of democratic Socialism.

Democratic Socialism is against dictatorship and one-party rule. It supports contacts and peaceful action designed to open the way to full enjoyment of human rights for those who are still denied such rights.

We remember especially the attempt made in Hungary ten years ago to convert a one-party Communist domination into a democratic system. Democratic and Communist groups participated jointly in that movement, which was forcibly suppressed by the powers of doctrinaire Communism. Similar acts of violence have been and still are being perpetrated by other régimes practising one-party rule.

For the parties of democratic Socialism there can be no unity of action with parties that deny within their domains the rights of association of trades unions and forbid the formation of democratic parties and the activities of such parties. Those Socialist parties that have been able to ensure the prevalence of democracy in their own countries will at all times extend aid to the persecuted and, without resorting to force, will support all movements seeking to bring about a peaceful transition to democracy.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, a Congress of the International in Stockholm tried to save the peoples of the earth from the disaster of a world war. The forces for peace proved at that time to be too weak: two years later, the first world war of this century broke out.

May the memory of that experience guide our work in this present Congress. We, as parties of the International, must unite in common action for peace. We must allow no dissension between individual member parties in the fulfilment of this aim, and we must avoid or overcome schisms in democratic Socialism within our respective countries.

Let us in the second century of the existence of the International give force to our ideal of the unity of nations through the united organisation of the

parties of democratic Socialism, to bring about the collaboration of all mankind for peace and to secure and maintain human rights for all men and all peoples. The spirit of democratic Socialism, which we see successfully realised here in Sweden, preserves freedom and promotes the progress of society in all areas of human life.

When peace and human rights for all men and all peoples have become a reality, the International will be that of all mankind.

## Speech of welcome

TAGE ERLANDER

You are all welcome to Sweden, and to the 10th Congress of the International. I would particularly like to direct my greetings to the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Cooperation between Socialist parties and trade unions has always been the strength of the Labour movement.

There are also many other guests who have been invited to the Congress, but who are not yet members of the International.

The Socialist Party from Italy is represented by a group under the leadership of Pietro Nenni. The contacts between the International and the P.S.I. have been broken for many years. Once again they are represented at a congress of the Socialist International. We all hope that the unification of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party will succeed and become a reality.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to welcome several guests from Africa and Latin-America, representing parties that we consider very close friends, coming from countries some of which have attained independence, others still fighting for theirs.

There are many guests at this Congress whom I would like to mention by name. However, I hope that you all understand if I mention only one name: Marta Ollenhauer. Erich Ollenhauer was Chairman of the International and devoted his life to international cooperation and Marta always stood by his side. We are happy that you are here, Marta,

I have said that all delegates are welcome but I am sure that you agree with me that there is a special reason to mention the British Labour Party, whose overwhelming election victory has stimulated Socialists all over the world. I would also like this Congress to extend a special greeting to the Finnish Social Democratic Party which after a

tremendous success in its last election is now ready to form a Cabinet.

We feel honoured indeed to have been given this opportunity to be hosts for this Congress. In these days Socialist parties have important tasks to perform. Our hope is that the work of this Congress will be of value for our attempt to solve the problems ahead of us.

But we also hope that you will find time to see something even outside this building and that you will be able to see our country and meet members of our Party.

It is a custom on occasions like this to say a few words about the host country. I will not pass any comments on the international situation now since we are going to have a discussion about the international problems later on today.

In many ways Sweden has been fortunate. We have been lucky enough to live in peace for more than 150 years. We have no religious tensions within the society, we have only one language spoken by everybody and we have not and have never had any racial conflicts. Sweden is a small and extremely homogeneous country, and this has been of great meaning for stability and harmony in our society.

The Labour Party of Sweden has held the Government, alone or in coalition, now for about 34 years. This is a very long period of time and it gives rise to a series of questions. Has Sweden during this period been transformed from a backward capitalist country into a prosperous Socialist country? Has the class society completely vanished and been replaced by a classless society?

These and other similar questions cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. A society of equality cannot be completed in 30 years. The method of evolution and democracy is, of course, slower than revolutionary methods. On

the other hand, the changes that are achieved are based on a stable foundation. In one election after another we have been fighting to carry through legislation to improve equality and security for the people. Thus the people have gradually accepted the new values as their own. This is very important. Socialism implies a welfare policy and Socialism also means maximum economic growth. But, and above all, the essence of democratic Socialism is that all people must participate in building a new society. This will also result in a break-down of the traditional class society affecting the relations between people based on the Socialist values of freedom, equality, and solidarity.

The Labour Party of Sweden has tried to be pragmatic and practical. Our day-to-day policy has been based on the fundamental values of freedom, equality and brotherhood. The implementation has differed from time to time, but the same Socialist values have always been the yardstick for our day-to-day policy.

We are satisfied with our achievements, and not even our bourgeois critics deny that there has been tremendous development and progress, even though they do not give the Social Democrats the credit. A Conservative Swedish professor and a former M.P. recently wrote a pamphlet about the development in Sweden on the basis of which the British *Daily Telegraph* wrote an editorial in the same spirit. According to this professor, who is certainly not a professor in social sciences, Sweden was already prospering before the arrival of Socialism in 1932. And hence he concludes that Sweden has prospered in spite, rather than because, of Socialism.

This description is from the very beginning wrong. The Labour Government took over a country of poverty, depression, and unemployment. The shop we inherited was on the verge of bankruptcy.

On the basis of John Maynard Keynes' theories we formed a new economic policy in the thirties to create full employment. We did not accept the bourgeois stand that a certain degree of unemployment was necessary and even favourable in the long run. Full employment for everybody throughout the year is a prerequisite for men and women to feel free and secure. And if unemployment is necessary in an existing society, society has to be changed.

Today our labour market policy has been further elaborated. Our tools have been sharpened and the methods have been more refined. The task is no longer to take care of those who have

been unemployed but rather to stop unemployment from occurring. We have therefore tried to create mobility in our labour market policy. Through our so-called investment funds, enterprises have been given incentives by the State to spread their investments over the whole business cycle. This has been one of the reasons for the high rate of employment. We are now trying to merge these elements into a new industrial policy to use our resources in an optimal way. In this policy the most important ingredients are education and retraining of the labour force. Today one per cent of the labour force is being retrained every year through public funds. The Swedish trade union movement has not feared the changes in industrial and technical methods since they have been aware that the Government, through its labour market policy, will guarantee full employment. Thus the trade unions have been positive and even pushing for more rapid change in industry.

The transformation is far from being completed. It has only started. Abroad Sweden is often described as a perfect welfare state where all tasks have been performed. But this is a serious mistake. We have a welfare state but there is so much more to do to make it the incarnation of our dreams of social justice. We have succeeded in abolishing mass poverty, and unemployment. The standard of living has increased rapidly. The gap between classes and different social groups has greatly diminished. Those people for whom life advances in the perfectly normal course are most of the time enjoying the full effects of the welfare state. But all the people who, because of sickness or other unhappy events, are on the dark side of life or all people during their weak periods of life, on account of studies, child birth, old age etc., have large unanswered demands.

In many affluent countries and welfare states we have experienced what has been called a "revolution of rising expectations". The demands on society are increasing, demands for better housing, education for everybody, better public health services etc. These are all things that can only be provided by the society. Since the demands grow faster than the public sector this tendency may result in either inflationary tendencies within the society or "queues". The fact that the demands cannot be immediately satisfied creates disappointments.

The higher the standard of living, the larger the demands on society for the construction of a still more efficient infrastructure to give the citizens the

possibilities of enjoying their rising living standard. All groups expect action and a vigorous policy from the Government and the demands can only be implemented through a policy based on fundamental Socialist principles.

The welfare state is often said to be boring and static. This is wrong. Social and economic security and material welfare does not lead to passivity and indifference. On the contrary it affords new possibilities for man to develop

according to his potentialities. The welfare state is not static but highly dynamic and not without problems.

These are some of our experiences. We are all facing different problems in our countries since we work in societies with different structures. I think it is extremely important for us Socialists from all parts of the world to meet and exchange experiences. We have all something to learn from each other.

Once again, welcome to Stockholm.

## Greetings from the I.C.F.T.U.

ARNE GEIJER

On behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions I would like to express warm thanks for the invitation to attend this Congress and to convey sincere and warm greetings from our International. I would also like to express our hope that this Congress will contribute to increasing the understanding between peoples and become an active catalyst in the work of the international labour movement for peace, freedom and equality.

Your International and the I.C.F.T.U. have the same goals: Peace in this world, better living conditions for all poor people and a just society built on democratic principles.

The I.C.F.T.U. has, since it was formed in 1949, carried out extensive work mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The idea has been to create, improve and help democratic organisations, which can represent the employees with a view to improving their living conditions. But the I.C.F.T.U. thinks it is its duty to contribute to the building of a democratic society. We have learnt that free trade union organisations cannot work in other countries and in other societies than in political democracies. And a political democracy needs free organisations to develop.

Numerically the I.C.F.T.U. now counts about 60 million members in a hundred countries, which means that we are larger and more representative than any previous trade union international. But, of course, we have great difficulties to cope with, especially in the developing continents, not least in Africa.

A political development towards one-party states, where governments try to centralise all power and initiative to themselves, creates great difficulties for the genuine unions and makes it impossible for them to function. In Latin America the problem is that reactionary or military régimes block the activities of the unions. At the same time, in all

these countries, trade unions are often the only channel there is for constructive criticism from the side of the people.

The I.C.F.T.U. has devoted much attention to the problem of how to speed up economic development in the developing countries. We have tried to pressure governments in the industrialised world to pay greater attention to what they could do to contribute to a speedier development. Development aid may have increased in recent years, but it is still far short of the needs and of what the industrial countries could do, if they were really concerned about the fate of the starving masses and about equality between nations. This negligence from the side of the industrialised world is true of countries with Social Democratic governments as well as of countries with Conservative governments. The I.C.F.T.U. has often had good reason to criticise governments in the industrialised world, and we do not make any exception for countries with Social Democratic governments. Here international practice is the same as the national practice where the unions criticise their political friends in the Labour movement.

The I.C.F.T.U. thinks that greater and speedier contributions must be made if we are to realise our fundamental principles of peace, freedom and justice for all people. In order to achieve better results in our work for developing countries, a closer cooperation between our two international organisations might be useful. At present there is no direct cooperation, but such a confrontation might result in new ideas and action which might better coincide with our common principles than is now the case.

The situation in Sweden might well serve as a model for such a practical cooperation, where from the very beginning the political and trade union labour movements worked intimately together, and supported each other. This is surely the reason why Sweden has

a labour movement with a political influence which is stronger than in most countries. Our cooperation has developed while each branch of the labour movement has maintained full independence.

Without this practical cooperation the labour movement nationally or internationally cannot develop into a force that can influence political and economic decisions and developments.

The Socialist International as well as the I.C.F.T.U. believes in democracy. This belief should also decide the policy carried on by Labour governments. The cooperation now existing between democratic governments and governments in totalitarian states is contrary to our principles. Stronger ties between democratic countries and democratic governments is therefore of fundamental

importance for the international labour movement. This democratic cooperation should first of all aim at creating a solid economic and social basis for rapid progress in the developing countries. Within this framework free trade unions will be very powerful and progressive allies.

We hope, and this is the greeting from the I.C.F.T.U. to this Congress, that the Socialist International will decide on a more positive approach to the development of cooperation with countries that are economically and socially underdeveloped, a more positive international trade policy and a more forceful assistance policy to speed up economic development in the developing countries. The I.C.F.T.U. will continue its work in this direction and we welcome all positive contributions from the side of the Socialist International.

task to Comrades Aneurin Bevan—our unforgettable Nye—Morgan Philips and Pierre Commin, all three, alas, now gone. It was then that the policy of alliance with the Communists in the struggle for power was abandoned by the Italian Socialist Party; this was not only due to the recurrence of the incompatibilities that had caused the schism of 1921, but also to the lack of a clear and frank response by the Communists to the collapse of the Stalin myth.

For it was just at that moment that Communism showed that its appearance of revisionism and adaptation to the principles of democratic life followed by the masses in those countries where the Communists are in opposition, was tactical in character and did not represent a change of strategy or doctrine.

Nevertheless, doubt entered the consciences of many Communists. The critical spirit has come into the open. On the plane of international relations, contacts have become less difficult.

Yugoslavia is no longer alone in its "heresy". The split between the Soviet Union and Communist China, and the mutual accusations of great-power chauvinism hurled by Peking at Moscow and by Moscow at Peking, have created serious problems, not only tactical but also ideological and political, for Communists all over the world and for the nations incorporated in their system.

Our own task is to aid revisionism, and we can and must do so openly and loyally in a confrontation between the free and democratic creation of Socialism, the emancipation of the workers achieved by the workers themselves, and Socialism imposed from above.

It remains none the less true that wherever Communism still possesses appreciable organisational strength, we have continually to deal with it in an interlacing of polemics and parallel action. What is essential is that Socialism should at all times preserve its own individuality and its own autonomy.

In a different field, the Italian Social Democratic Party has followed an analogous course of evolution. It has detached itself from the majorities of the so-called Centre that have been fatally exposed to the influence of the Catholic and Liberal Right. It has favoured the movement of the Christian Democratic Party to the Left and the formation of the Centre-Left majority which has governed the country since 1962, first with the support, and later with the participation, of the Italian Socialist Party.

Thus the two parties have approached each other in the common awareness

## Fraternal greetings to Congress

PIETRO NENNI

I thank the Socialist International for the invitation addressed to the Italian Socialist Party to attend its 10th Congress as guests. I thank our comrades of the Italian Social Democratic Party, who have taken the initiative in this fraternal invitation. I thank Tage Erlander for the friendly greetings he has addressed to the Italian Socialists and to myself.

The Italian Socialist Party has not taken part in the work of the International since its reconstitution, although it took part in the preparatory work from 1945 to 1946.

The reasons for disagreement were essentially two-fold. In the first place, we refused at that time to abandon unity of action with the Communists, which we still considered necessary to the unity of all anti-Fascists after the Liberation, as during the Resistance period. We were faced with the truly enormous task of the democratic reconstruction of our country after twenty-three years of Fascist dictatorship, which had left behind it an impressive pile of moral, political and material ruins.

In the second place, we were opposed to Italy's joining the Atlantic Treaty and in general to the policy of military alliances, which seemed to us to be contrary to the national interest.

We had then come to the conclusion that the international status that would best serve the interests of the country was that of neutrality in the manner of Sweden, whose guests we are today and which for a century and a half has spared its people the horrors of war, yet without shutting itself off in a purely selfish

attitude from the organisation of peace.

The debate was necessarily a very heated one in the crusading spirit that then inspired the world. Fortunately, however, nothing remains fixed in history, provided the political will to bring about change exists. Irreparable disaster was avoided, even though the means employed by one group and another were not the same.

In the field of domestic politics, the initial dangers, if not entirely eliminated, have at least been diminished to the point where normal conditions of life and democratic and social development in our country have achieved a factor of security and stability in the democratic evolution of the public spirit.

In the field of international politics, the relaxation of tension has made substantial progress, even though it is still endangered by the extremism of one group or another, at any rate to such an extent that it has become possible for the Socialist Party to work for peace even within the Atlantic Pact.

The unity of action between Socialists and Communists, for its part, has not withstood the wear of time and the evolution of the situation. Since the 1950s, it has been in our country a factor not of development, but of isolation, of the Labour movement.

In such conditions, the situation appeared to have changed completely by 1957, at the time of the Italian Socialist Party Congress in Venice, to the point where the debate on Socialist unity could be opened from then on through the intermediary of the Socialist International, which had entrusted this



that their division has favoured the hegemony of extremist forces over the State and that of the Communists over the labour movement.

Today, we are able to say to your Congress that the unification of Socialists and Social Democrats is no longer a hope, but a certainty.

What our people hope for from unification is a clear response to the problems of our times, which in Italy as elsewhere are the problem of democracy in the Socialist State, of the transition from capitalism to Socialism, and of the financial foundations of economic planning with the reforms that this implies in the structures of society and the State.

It is a matter of presenting an alternative to capitalism in the field of effective participation by the workers in the processes of production and in democratic life, whether on the level of the factory or on that of the State, and to present an agreed alternative to Communism which has failed to provide an acceptable answer to these problems.

We shall accomplish this historic task, although we are aware of all the difficulties that we shall have to overcome. The programme for this work exists. It is the actual programme of the Centre-Left Government for planning of the economy and the reform of the State.

It is a question of organising a Socialist and democratic force which, without any spirit of hegemony, will be capable of ensuring substantial progress and continuous progress in the development of the democratic, economic and social life of our country.

Nothing, however, will stop the Socialists from following the road they have chosen, that of freedom, democracy and Socialism, three inseparable principles that lie at the root of our doctrine and our action, and at the same time define the frontier of the political space we wish to occupy and the alliances into which we are prepared to enter.

Comrades, we are extremely interested in the debates at the Tenth Congress of the International. Like you, we view the world situation with concern. Peace is the most important of our objectives. For the sake of peace we have agreed to work even within the framework of the Atlantic Pact.

We condemn all manifestations of extremism on the Right, as well as the myth of revolutionary war revived in the policy of the Chinese Communists. Only peace safeguards democracy; only peace is revolutionary, in so far as it ensures the independence of all peoples and the negotiated solution of all conflicts.

We regard as dangerous the power chauvinism which is the main-spring of Gaullist policies and which is liable to bring into existence an equal chauvinism in Germany and to make room in the policy of alliances for Franco's Spain, at the very time when the Spaniards are renewing their unity in an effort for the rebirth of democracy, an effort that deserves all our solidarity.

The expiry in the fairly near future of the Atlantic Pact gives the Socialist parties of the member countries an opportunity to re-examine not only the military situation but also the political situation, which is an essential feature of the equilibrium on which all prospects of peace and improved relations between West and East rely.

In Vietnam, which today constitutes the most dangerous point of tension, and even of open warfare, our first concern is for the Vietnamese people, for their sufferings, for their desire for peace and independence on both sides of the 17th Parallel.

Since no-one believes in the possibility of a military solution of the conflict, since the Americans do not believe in it, the Soviets do not believe in it, and probably not even the Chinese, we consider it to be the duty of Socialists to discourage, in the first place, any intensification or extension of the conflict, and to support by all means within their power the initiative of Premier Wilson to reconvene immediately the Geneva Conference, without any prior conditions other than a cease-fire and the participation of the Vietcong.

An initiative in this direction on the part of Moscow, which together with London holds the co-chairmanship of the Geneva Conference, would be extremely useful for both Vietnam and peace.

We are naturally in favour of the nuclear moratorium proposed by the Italian Government at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The new thermonuclear bomb which France is preparing to detonate on the eve of General de Gaulle's journey to Moscow, and the expected explosion of the third Chinese bomb, are irresponsible encouragements to nuclear armament on the part of other nations and an insane course leading to the suicide of humanity.

As regards the question of the development of Socialism in the countries of the third world, there is indeed nothing more urgent than the task of reinforcing the presence of the Socialist organisation in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

It is a question here of peoples needing

sympathy and not protection, aid and not tutelage, understanding of even their inevitable errors and not lessons in how they should govern themselves.

The urgent problem, however, is still the unity of Europe. Talking of European autonomy with respect to the United States and the Soviet Union, talking of one Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and in the meantime sabotaging the unity of those European countries already associated in E.E.C. or the links with the EFTA countries, is tantamount to saying one thing and doing the contrary.

Such in substance is the attitude of Gaullist France and all those who slow the process of unity, whether on the economic or political plane. Such is the attitude of those who up to now have rendered impossible the decision to call a European Parliament elected by universal suffrage. Such is still the attitude of those who put the European problem in anti-American terms, causing resentment and hurt feelings on the other side of the Atlantic.

From the point of view of the future of Europe, it is most important that Premier Wilson has been able to declare that there exists in Great Britain a positive will to join the Common Market.

Incidentally, there is a natural connexion between the problem of European unification and that of German unification. He who works for a united Europe is also working for a united Germany.

From this standpoint one can only approve the initiative of the German Social Democratic Party in approaching East Germany to establish a dialogue between the S.P.D. and the S.E.D., a dialogue which, in order to be constructive, must include an element of criticism and political responsibility.

In any event, it is against the problem of Europe that the ability of Socialism to make history must be measured. And this will be the conclusion of my address, which I have been able to keep within the limits of an expression of thanks for the invitation issued to us by the International and which I have taken the liberty of enlarging into a brief analysis of the current situation; in the face of this situation, the categorical imperative which seems to me to face Socialists is that of making history, and not of submitting to it; of winning in each country, as in Great Britain or here in Sweden, the position of moral and political guide which should be held by the militants engaged in the construction of a society of free and equal men.

# Resolutions adopted by Congress

## The international situation

The 10th Congress of the Socialist International will work to strengthen the United Nations, which is mankind's chief instrument for preserving the rule of law, fighting poverty and promoting peaceful change.

The Congress calls upon all democratic Socialist parties to seek the seating of the People's Republic of China at her rightful place in the Security Council of the United Nations, believing that there her differences with other countries can best be resolved, and that by her presence the United Nations would be immeasurably strengthened.

The Congress, reiterating its abhorrence of colonialism, and noting with particular concern the situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, will work through the United Nations to eradicate these and other vestiges of colonialism.

The Congress will strive to end the illegal Smith régime in Rhodesia, to restore constitutional rule and to introduce African majority rule as soon as possible. The Congress therefore urges full support for the efforts of the British Labour Government in accordance with the United Nations resolution.

The Congress condemns the iniquitous system of Apartheid in South Africa and urges respect for the fundamental human rights and civil liberties so brutally suppressed by the present régime.

The Congress expresses its grave concern at the sufferings of the Vietnamese people and at the threat to world peace presented by the cruel war in Vietnam:

*calls for* an immediate cessation of bombing and other hostilities. Such a cessation of hostilities could either precede any peace conference or be concluded at the conference itself; *supports* the convening of a peace conference under whatever auspices are most likely to lead to success and with access to the conference table guaranteed for all parties to the dispute; *urges* a settlement which would enable the peoples of North and South Vietnam to determine their own future and which would ensure the neutrality of the whole country without foreign troops or bases; *pledges* support for the U.N. in the massive programme of economic and

social rehabilitation that will be necessary to repair the ravages of war.

The Congress welcomes signs that the Indonesia confrontation against Malaysia may be in the course of modification, and supports all measures aimed at restoring harmonious relations between Indonesia and her neighbours.

The Congress notes with concern the recurring tensions in the Middle East which could constitute a serious threat to world peace and reaffirms its belief that in the Middle East as in other parts of the world a permanent solution to existing problems can only be found by discussion and negotiation, based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of all nations. The Congress warns that, due to the absence of peace in the Middle-East and the threats against Israel expressed by some Arab leaders, the heavy flow of arms to certain Arab countries creates an imbalance of arms which constitutes a real danger to Israel, the social economic development of the region and world peace.

The Congress denounces anew the régimes in Spain and Portugal for their continuing denial of human rights and liberties. It pays particular tribute to the Spanish people, whose spirit remains unbowed and whose struggle to become again master in their own house is unquenched. It also pays tribute to the Portuguese resistance to the dictator.

The Congress declares that in spite of some tendencies to liberalisation which are welcomed there is still suppression of freedom in Communist countries of Eastern Europe. It expresses deep sympathy with the victims and solidarity with those who strive for liberty and human rights.

The Congress, while regarding the continuity of the division of Germany as a threat to peace in Central Europe, recognises the right to self-determination of the German people, and pledges its support to all efforts towards a peaceful reunification of Germany, which is absolutely necessary for securing a stable and permanent state of peace.

The Congress pledges itself to seek every opportunity to relieve the tensions and to remove the heritage of mistrust which still divides East and West.

[Adopted with one abstention]

## European problems in the world context

The 10th Congress of the Socialist International stresses the importance of overcoming as soon as possible the economic division which still prevails between the two groups of democratic European nations. It recognises the immense benefits that would derive from fundamental progress towards a wider European unity, not only for the stability and welfare of Europe but also for the greater possibilities this would mean for helping the economic advancement of developing countries. The necessary dialogue to this end should be started as soon as possible between the E.E.C. and EFTA.

The success of the Kennedy Round is essential to promote economic growth throughout the world.

## The Maltese general election

The Congress of the Socialist International, meeting in Stockholm on 5-8 May, 1966:

*Has Noted* the interference by the Maltese Clergy in the recent general elections in Malta, and in particular the imposition of mortal sin on those who voted Labour;

*Considers* these acts to be completely out of tune with the recent pronouncements of the Ecumenical Council, and *Appeals* to the Vatican Authorities to condemn these violations of basic human rights.

## The Jewish Community in the U.S.S.R.

The Congress of the Socialist International denounces once again all acts of discrimination and declares that respect for human rights is a vital prerequisite for an improvement of the international situation.

The Congress expresses its regret that despite the repeated pleas to the Soviet Union the three million strong Jewish community is still deprived of the rights accorded to all nationalities in the Soviet society.

The Congress urges the Soviet authorities to enable the reunification of families torn by Fascist persecution and war and to allow those Jews who desire it to rejoin their relatives in Israel and elsewhere.

The Congress urges that in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the Jewish community of the Soviet Union be given facilities enabling it to further its own religious beliefs and cultural life and keep in contact in these fields with other Jewish communities.

[Adopted with one abstention].



### Resolution on Uppsala statement

The Congress of the Socialist International views the statement issued by the Special Uppsala Conference on "Socialist Thought and Action in New Countries" [opposite] as an important contribution to the solution of all the problems relevant to developing countries. The Congress wants to stress the following points:

- (a) The inadequacy of some forms of bilateral aid and the burdens the loan service in many cases lays on the debtor countries call for the channeling of an increasing proportion of aid via multilateral channels, mainly via the international agencies of the United Nations;
- (b) the generally accepted target of a minimum transfer rate of one per cent of the national income of the industrial countries to the developing countries should be reached without delay by all the governments concerned;
- (c) concerted action should be organised to extend international commodity agreements to all major primary products in order to promote the stability and prosperity of producer countries, notably by fixing remunerative and equitable prices for producers and by the provision of adequate labour standards;
- (d) concerted international action, in a planned and systematic way has to be undertaken in order to enable the developing countries to build up manufacturing industries, particularly labour-intensive industries. At the same time the developed countries should withdraw from the production and protection of commodities which are and can be produced by developing countries under more favourable terms;
- (e) as unchecked population growth is hampering economic growth, concerted international assistance in the field of family planning should be considered, when requested, taking into account the particular cultural patterns and beliefs of different countries, groups and individuals.

The Congress, believing that democratic Socialism is the only system in which the transformation of structures, necessary for a rapid development in social justice, can be achieved, calls upon Socialist governments and parties in the industrial countries to pursue and support national policies aimed at the elimination of trade barriers and at increasing the volume of aid in order to further the progress towards democratic Socialism and social justice in the world as a whole.

### Statement adopted by Uppsala Conference

The Special Conference on "Socialist Thought and Action in New Countries", held in Uppsala on April 27-29, invites the 10th Congress of the Socialist International:

to reaffirm its will to struggle against underdevelopment, and its determination to work for economic policies aimed at accelerating economic growth and social progress in the world as a whole, and in particular to promote in the developing countries a rate of growth compatible with the need substantially to increase the national income, so as to diminish the gap between the standard of living in the developing and the developed countries;

to reaffirm the principle of democratic self-determination of peoples and majority rule for all, such emancipation not being complete unless it is accompanied by economic independence;

to reaffirm the continuing validity of the fundamental principles of democratic Socialism, notably the right of man to live in freedom, respect for human life, and respect for human dignity;

to reaffirm international solidarity in the struggle against under-development and the need for cooperation between peoples for the preservation of world peace, which is endangered by the existence of the constantly widening gap between developed and developing countries.

The Special Conference invites the 10th Congress to give serious consideration to action on the following observations and proposals:

1. The rate of economic growth in most developing countries has remained disappointingly slow. Having in mind the rapidly growing population, the per capita growth rate has been negligible. The application of science and technology to production would make a more sizeable contribution to improving the standard of life but for unchecked population growth in many parts of the world. Concerted international action in the field of population should be considered, taking into account the particular cultural patterns and beliefs of different countries, groups and individuals.

The main factors which have been slowing down economic development are: the insufficiency of general and vocational training, which is responsible for the lack of skilled manpower; the lack of capital equipment (resulting from the low savings and investment rate due in turn to the poverty of the

population); the insufficiency of the infrastructure and in many cases also the fragmentation of territory and antipathy to international cooperation.

2. To overcome these obstacles to economic growth, the developing countries have to strain all their efforts and to be ready to undertake all necessary reforms of their economic and social structure, in the context of soundly-based international cooperation.

3. Foreign assistance—in the form of financial aid and technical assistance—to the development efforts of underdeveloped countries, although substantial, has so far been inadequate. In the case of bilateral aid, it has too often (but by no means always) been dependent on political factors; tied to the purchase of equipment and services from the donor country; or given in the form of loans with burdensome terms. In many cases the loan service (for interest and repayment) lays such severe burdens on the debtor country as seriously to hamper its economic development.

4. While both the primary commodities produced in developing countries and the products of their slowly growing manufacturing industries find their main outlets in the industrial countries, these exports—vital as they are for their economic development—are still frequently hampered by disastrous fluctuations in the prices of primary products and by trade barriers erected against imports by industrial countries.

5. The efforts of a number of countries, if they are to achieve maximum success, must be supplemented by concerted international action, undertaken in a planned and systematic way, the chief objectives of which would have to be:

(a) The promotion and adequate financing of agricultural development including, where necessary, agrarian reform, communications, education and vocational training, the promotion of cooperative enterprises, the building up of manufacturing industries, particularly labour-intensive industries and the fight against disease.

(b) The extension of international commodity agreement to major primary products, to promote the stability and prosperity of producer countries, notably by fixing remunerative and equitable prices for producers, and by the provision of adequate labour standards. Such agreements might consider the establishment of a system of compensatory finance (for

losses due to price fluctuations of primary products).

- (c) The withdrawal by the developed countries from the production and protection of commodities which are and can be produced by developing countries under more favourable terms.
- (d) International monetary reform with the aim of creating ample international liquidity, enabling countries to overcome balance of payments difficulties for longer periods, and distributing monetary reserves more fairly and evenly.
- (e) The fairer distribution of wealth throughout the world, in particular the transfer of wealth from industrial to underdeveloped countries, it being understood that the generally accepted target of a minimum transfer rate of one per cent of the income of industrial countries should be reached without delay.

6. The efforts which have been made by international organisations to promote these objectives, by technical and financial arrangements and other means, through the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), UNESCO, the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.), the World Health Organisation, are not yet sufficient to replace bilateral arrangements. However, they should be encouraged, and everything should be done to expand their activities. Special attention should be paid to possibilities of wider regional and international economic cooperation.

The Conference welcomes the loans made under equally favourable terms by some industrialised countries and looks forward to an extension of such loans. Socialists should use their influence with their governments to ensure that an increasing proportion of their aid be channeled via international agencies of the U.N. Governments should also increase their efforts to put more qualified personnel into the international assistance effort.

7. Developing countries need to reform and adapt their internal structures and institutions to the requirements of economic and social development (struggle against psychological obstacles to development, austerity compatible with development, stability to be attained for institutions and administration, education, social and cultural advancement and regional economic groupings). Democratic Soc-

ialism is the only system within which the transformation of structures necessary for a rapid development in social justice can be achieved. The success of Socialist movements in developing countries is one of the essential conditions for the success of development.

8. The Conference realises that: political rule of the majority; non-discrimination; democratic rights of the individual are essential features of all societies, also that the exact form of political structure can vary from country to country, affected by traditional attitudes, social customs and ethnic composition.

## Congress Resolution on Disarmament

1. *The Socialist International, recalling the resolutions of its 1957 and 1963 Congresses, believes* that there is still room for a more positive and dynamic approach to the problems of disarmament and arms limitation. It recognises that these problems cannot be solved in isolation from the major political problems that confront the world, but is convinced that general political settlements must not be made a prior condition of disarmament agreements.

2. *The Socialist International further believes* that no substantial progress is likely to be made in long-term measures for arms limitation and disarmament until all states are involved in the relevant discussions and appropriate negotiations. Accordingly, it deplores the absence from disarmament negotiations of governments whose participation in them is essential to their successful conduct. It is convinced, however, that useful negotiations on certain measures of arms limitation can be carried on even in the temporary absence of such countries.

3. *The Socialist International fully endorses* the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles (1961)—the McCloy-Zorin Principles [see below]—as the essential basis of all disarmament negotiations.

4. *In the view of the Socialist International, the eventual aim* of all governments should be to contribute to the establishment of a disarmed world under an effective international authority. In the present international situation, first priority should be given to rapid agreement on partial measures of disarmament, according to the accepted principles of balance and verification, designed to promote international security and to pave the way for more comprehensive agreements.

5. *The Socialist International calls upon* all governments to devote positive efforts to reaching early agreement on the following measures:

9. The Conference reports to the Congress, and particularly to the representatives of parties in government, the urgent appeal of both the representatives of independent developing countries and the national liberation movements of non-independent territories for rapid and coordinated action to give effect to demands which they share in common for the establishment of majority rule, peace, well-being and human dignity for all the peoples of the world. It invites the Congress to take a clear and unequivocal position on the urgent problem of Southern Africa.

- (a) An agreement to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons is of the greatest urgency. Such an agreement should have no loopholes and should be designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as their dissemination by any means, whether directly or indirectly.
- (b) The extension of the Moscow Agreement of 1963 to cover underground tests is an important element in a non-proliferation policy, as well as being a restraint on the nuclear arms race among existing nuclear powers. International cooperation in the field of seismic detection should be actively developed as a contribution to solving the verification problem.
- (c) It is essential that the present arms race among the nuclear powers should be halted at once and put into reverse. There should be no further production of delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons, and there should be agreed reductions in the numbers that now exist. There should be no further manufacture of fissile material for weapon purposes, and agreed amounts of existing fissile material should be converted from military to peaceful purposes, especially by dismantling nuclear warheads.

6. *The Socialist International further calls upon* all governments to keep under active consideration the following further measures;

- (a) The creation of nuclear-free zones. Proposals should be carefully examined with special reference to the need to maintain a stable military situation in the area concerned.
- (b) Agreements to control and restrict international trade in arms. This applies especially to the traffic in advanced and expensive military equipment such as tanks, missiles and modern aircraft.

- (c) Formal international agreement to refrain from military activities in outer space.
- (d) Improvement and extension of international inspection and control of nuclear activities and establishments, especially that undertaken by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

7. *The Socialist International finally calls upon* all governments to improve the machinery of national and international disarmament policy making, especially in the following ways:

- (a) by extending and improving the exchanges between nations, and especially between the Soviet Union and the West, of technical and scientific information relating to disarmament and arms limitation;
- (b) by encouraging exchanges of expert knowledge through informal international contacts;
- (c) by setting up in all governments special units or departments for the formulation and execution of disarmament policies. The close coordination of disarmament and defence policies is especially important.

8. *The Socialist International respects* the desire of many nations to remain outside the major power groups, and it pays tribute to the work done by many of these countries in disarmament negotiations. It equally respects the right of all countries, in the absence of effective international agreement, to provide for their national defence, either by their own efforts, or by adhering to collective systems. It considers that the big powers have a special obligation to lead the way in establishing a system of world security, and believes that in doing so they will have to consider seriously the problem of providing for smaller countries assurances that they will not suffer if they deny themselves nuclear weapons.

9. *The Socialist International appeals* to members of all its parties to give their enthusiastic support to these proposals, and to do all in their power to ensure that their governments play an active part in their implementation.

#### **ANNEX: McCloy-Zorin Statement**

On September 20, 1961, the U.S. and Soviet Governments issued a joint statement, for submission to the United Nations, wherein they agreed "to recommend the following principles as the basis for future multilateral negotiations on disarmament and to call upon other states to cooperate in reaching early agreement on complete and general disarmament in a peaceful world

in accordance with these principles":

1. The goal of negotiations is to achieve agreement on a programme which will ensure that (a) disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems; and (b) such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

2. The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that states will have at their disposal only those non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities, and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that states shall support and provide agreed manpower for a U.N. Peace Force.

3. To this end, the programme for general and complete disarmament shall contain the necessary provisions, with respect to the military establishment of every nation, for:

- (a) Disbanding of armed forces, dismantling of military establishments, including bases, and cessation of the production of armaments as well as their liquidation or conversion to peaceful uses;
- (b) Elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction, and cessation of the production of such weapons;
- (c) Elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction;
- (d) Abolition of organisations and institutions designed to organise the military effort of states, cessation of military training, and closing of all military training institutions;
- (e) Discontinuance of military expenditures.

4. This disarmament programme should be implemented in an agreed sequence, by stages, until it is completed, with each measure and stage carried out within specified time-limits. Transition to a subsequent stage in the process of disarmament should take place upon a review of the implementation of measures included in the preceding stage, and upon a decision that all such measures have been implemented and verified.

5. All measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage . . . could any state or group of states gain military advantage, and that security is ensured equally for all.

6. All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end

under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out at each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an International Disarmament Organisation including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This organisation and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.

7. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of states to place at the disposal of the U.N. agreed manpower necessary for an International Peace Force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the U.N. can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purpose and principles of the United Nations.

8. States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved; and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme, and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme."

The following clause was omitted from paragraph 6, because the Soviet Union would not accept it:

"Such verification should ensure that not only agreed limitations or reductions take place but also that retained armed forces and armaments do not exceed agreed levels at any stage."

The U.S. made it clear that this clause expressed a key element in any comprehensive disarmament negotiations or agreement.



## Congress declaration on Latin America

### General Situation

The 10th Congress of the Socialist International views with satisfaction the first steps towards economic progress of Latin America brought about and accelerated by the principles of social justice and democratic freedom of the democratic, Popular and Socialist parties. Congress reaffirms its conviction that the national revolutionary and Popular parties and democratic Socialism constitute the sole political force capable of satisfactorily overcoming the historical difficulties of Latin America by ensuring economic and social progress in an atmosphere of freedom and permitting the elimination of poverty, ignorance and backwardness. In this spirit it refers to the declaration of the Special Conference held at Uppsala from April 27-29, 1966.

### Greetings to new members

The Socialist International salutes the new members admitted as observers, namely the "Acción Democrática" of Venezuela, the "Partido Aprista" of Peru, the "Partido de Liberación Nacional" of Costa Rica, and the "Partido Revolucionario Febrerista" of Paraguay, and declares itself determined to aid these parties and other political groups of the same tendencies.

It supports the courageous work of economic and social reform and democratic consolidation being done by the Government of Venezuela, headed by "Acción Democrática".

It applauds the splendid electoral victory of the "Partido Revolucionario" in Guatemala, which opens the way to constitutional legality and progress in that country.

It notes that the "Partido de Liberación Nacional" of Costa Rica increased its number of votes at the recent general elections, in which it opposed a coalition of six political groups, and that it has obtained a majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly.

It views with sympathy the parliamentary action and work of the "Partido Aprista Peruano", which is making a decisive contribution to progress in Peru, and welcomes the climate of political tolerance established in that country by the Party, a climate which offers good prospects for social and democratic progress to the Peruvian people.

It congratulates the Partido Aprista Peruano on its initiative in creating the Latin American Parliament.

### Dominican Republic

The Socialist International salutes the "Partido Revolucionario Dominicano"

and the heroic people of the Republic, and expresses the hope that the forthcoming elections will take place on the scheduled date under the observance of all guarantees and that the results will be respected in order that the country may start along the road of democratic legality, social progress and internal peace and may regain the full enjoyment of its national sovereignty.

The Congress further calls for the urgent establishment of a United Nations observer team to oversee these elections. Such a U.N. team could usefully be augmented by the presence in the Dominican Republic of representatives of member parties of the Socialist International.

### Situation in other countries

The Socialist International views with sympathy the process of institutional legality taking shape in Ecuador, and sends its greetings to the "Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano", the driving force behind this highly promising development and welcomes the Party's intention to redefine the principles of its programme with a view to adapting them to the social and economic realities of the country.

It salutes the "Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario" of Bolivia, and expresses the hope that the general elections will be held with due respect for constitutional guarantees and civil rights, that Bolivia may once more enjoy constitutional democratic government.

The Socialist International is following attentively the first steps towards democratisation that seem to be emerging in Paraguay, and hopes that the political tolerance to which the people aspire will lead to satisfactory results, as in the case of other countries of Latin America, and will give all citizens of Paraguay the assurance of being able to live in freedom in their country and devote their efforts to the political and economic progress of their country.

It celebrates the triumph of the forces of freedom at the presidential elections in Colombia and welcomes with sympathy the profound economic and social reforms proposed by the victorious candidate. Only the effective realisation of this programme will enable the threat of dictatorial insurrection to be avoided with the danger of violence to which the Castroite Communists on their side intend to resort.

It expresses the hope that the favourable democratic evolution taking place in Latin America may extend to countries still ruled by unconstitutional

governments. Congress protests particularly against the dictatorship that prevails in Haiti and against the dynastic régime in Nicaragua. It expresses its solidarity with the persecuted groups of the democratic Left in Brazil, and expresses hopes for the restoration of democratic government in that country.

Congress hopes for the creation of a truly free and democratic Cuba and expresses its concern at the "Tri-continental Havana Conference" called last January, which, dominated by the interests of international Communism, represents a danger to the democratic forces of Latin America.

Congress categorically condemns the fact that small minorities enjoying no popular support have attempted to create centres of urban and rural terrorism directed against popularly elected governments, and welcomes the defeats inflicted on these adventurers by the majority. Congress affirms its conviction that such movements can only serve the interests of the reactionary and military Right from which these adventurers recruit their chief allies and supporters.

### Economic Planning

The Congress of the Socialist International expresses sympathy for efforts at economic planning in Latin American countries, but expresses its conviction that these efforts will be doomed to failure unless relations between industrialised and poor countries are based on equality. It will be necessary to adopt a policy of fair prices, preferential tariffs, and aid to developing countries and to prevent the expansion of foreign control of national resources. Similarly, it will be necessary to assist the tendency to the creation of common markets, the establishment of uniform minimum wages and fiscal regulations. Congress deplores the fact that the plans for development aid put into effect up to now have attached hardly any importance to the low wage levels of the agricultural workers making up the majority of the population of the Latin American countries.

Latin America should push agrarian reform to completion, industrialise itself, diversify its economy, modify its fiscal policies and liberate itself from the crippling grip of the big foreign capitalist enterprises.

### Policy of the International

The Socialist International follows attentively the political and economic evolution of Latin America and will spare no effort to help Latin America to transform itself into a social democracy with solid foundations in this region of vital importance to the world.

## Chairman's closing address

BRUNO PITTERMANN

At the end of the Congress I want first of all specially to mention the participation for the first time since 1959 of a delegation from Iceland and from South Korea. Then I have the pleasant duty of thanking the Swedish Party for their extraordinary hospitality and their help in organising the Uppsala Conference and this Congress. I want to thank the whole Swedish Party including the many young comrades for their administrative services. They have given us most valuable help.

As Chairman, not only of the International but also of a large member party, I can very well judge the amount and the quality of this work, and I congratulate my friend Anders Thunborg and his excellent team of helpers.

My thanks are due also to the administration of the Congress building for providing us with accommodation and also to the representatives of the press, radio, television and the interpreters. Last not least I want to draw the attention of the Congress to the great amount of work performed by the small bureau of the Socialist International with the help of the Swedish Party. The work done by Comrade Carthy and his small staff deserves the gratitude of the participants of the Tenth Congress.

We have completed the tasks which we set ourselves for the Tenth Congress of the Socialist International. The valuable reports of Comrades Tage Erlander and Willy Brandt on the international situation, of George Brown and Bruno Kreisky on European problems in a world context and of Lee Kuan Yew on Socialist thought and action in the new countries, and finally of Lord Chalfont and Alva Myrdal on disarmament, led to a lively discussion. In this discussion many prominent personalities of international Socialism have taken part.

In this framework we had discussions on Socialist cooperation in countries outside Europe, for Asia and Australia and for the Latin American countries. A discussion on African affairs was arranged at Uppsala.

The great interest in democratic Socialism and its aims will make it necessary to adapt our Constitution so as to organise in connexion with the Congress further discussions between the member parties and groups which are interested but have not yet joined us.

The opening up of international

Socialism to Socialist movements of various kinds and in various stages of development, especially in areas outside Europe, will lead to an increasing inclusion of the problems of those movements in the work of future congresses. The deliberations of the Bureau and of Council Conferences will have to be directed towards creating a mechanism by which, on the one hand, the complete rights of the member parties are preserved but, on the other hand, our guests whom we have invited are given the feeling of equal rights. Then with good will on all sides there will in future be no misunderstandings about such problems at our congresses.

The discussions at the Tenth Congress have, I hope, contributed towards strengthening the understanding between the member parties but also with the parties with observer status and fraternal groups. Especially we should recognise

### *Tage Erlander's speech of farewell*

This has been—in many respects—a very important Congress.

There have been debates and individual contributions of great political significance. Let me, as examples, mention the statement by Lee Kuan Yew on democratic Socialist thought and action in new countries; George Brown's speech on the problems of European economic cooperation. We have listened with great attention to Pietro Nenni's address, signifying the efforts towards a stronger Socialist movement in Italy, and to the wise and challenging contributions by Golda Meir.

Willy Brandt said in his statement the other day that never before has an international congress of Social Democratic parties been attended by so many delegates and guests from the emerging nations—representatives from Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is a new situation.

The International has so far largely focused its attention on the problems of peace and cooperation in Europe. This has been a natural consequence of the predominantly regional membership of our organisation. A broader representation inevitably means that we have to widen our outlook, widen also the scope of our discussions and the range of our activities.

It is perhaps not surprising that this

even more clearly that there is also in the relations between the Socialist parties among themselves a sort of generation problem. The Socialist parties in developed industrial countries with a welfare standard have had a long time to organise themselves and to use the strength of their organisation to win a larger share of the national income for the working people. But these parties are conscious of the fact that the Socialist principle of fair shares does not apply separately for each country but at the same time includes the obligation to fight for fair shares for the whole of humanity.

To be a Socialist means always to learn, always to accomplish, always to feel for the human beings who are living in need and despair. To serve these ideals the Socialist parties have come together and organised themselves. We leave this Congress filled with better understanding for each others' problems, in friendly cooperation and with the determination to continue our work of building the new society of Socialist humanism.

adaptation to a changing situation will not take place without difficulties and that—in this educational process—we will all fumble. We will have to consider the situation very carefully in order to find the best ways to continue this new approach and—for this reason—also take a close look at the rules of the International.

Because there is no way back! The world in which we live has become one and indivisible. This morning extremely important discussions on disarmament did not deal with the problems of any particular region—it was of vital importance to people in all parts of the world. In an age where annihilation is the frightful possibility it concerns *all* our chances to survive.

The same is equally true when we approach the problems of starvation and poverty, the struggle for national freedom and independence, the fight against the appalling system of Apartheid.

The time has passed when we could discuss the problems of *others*. In the modern world they are always *our* problems. And it is our common responsibility to approach these problems on the basis of the ideals of equality, social justice and solidarity that should unite democratic Socialists everywhere.

It is therefore I hope that this Congress has been an important beginning!

# List of delegates to the Tenth Congress of the

## Argentina

Lia Ocampo, Delegate of Socialist Party, International Council of Social Democratic Women's UNESCO grantee for 1966.

## Austria

Bruno Pittermann, M.P., Chairman of Party, Chairman of Socialist International.  
 Bruno Kreisky, M.P., Former Foreign Minister, Member of Party Executive.  
 Karl Czernetz, M.P., International Secretary.  
 Alois Piperger, Central Secretary.  
 Anton Benya, Member of Party Executive, President of T.U.C.  
 Schachner-Blazizek, Member of Party Executive.  
 Rosa Jochmann, Member of Party Executive.

## Belgium

Victor Larock, M.P., former Foreign Minister, Chairman of Bureau of the Socialist International.  
 Joos van Eynde, M.P., Vice-Chairman of Party.  
 Henri Fayat, M.P., Former Deputy Foreign Minister.  
 Georges Dejardin, Senator.  
 Jan Luyten, National Secretary of Party.

## Canada

Robert Cliche, Associate President of New Democratic Party.  
 Terence Grier, Federal Secretary of N.D.P.  
 Arthur Turner, Veteran Member of the British Columbia Legislature.  
 George Cadbury, Federal Treasurer of Party, President of Ontario N.D.P.  
 George S. Bain, former President of Manitoba N.D.P.

## Denmark

Jens-Otto Krag, Prime Minister, Chairman of Party.  
 Niels Matthiasen, M.P., General Secretary of Party.  
 Einar Hougaard Christiansén, Chairman of the Social Democratic Youth.  
 Jan Haækkerup (observer).

## Finland

Olavi Lindblom, Vice-Chairman of Party.  
 Kaarlo Pitsinki, M.P., General Secretary of Party.  
 Pauli Burman, M.P., International Secretary of Party.  
 Martti Pöysälä, General Secretary of Central Union of Social Democratic Youth.  
 Sylvi Siltanen, Chairman of Social Democratic women.

## France

Guy Mollet, M.P., former Prime Minister, Vice-Chairman of the International, General Secretary of the Party.  
 Jules Moch, M.P., former Deputy Prime Minister, member of the Party Executive and inner Executive.  
 Christian Pineau, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, member of the Party Executive.  
 Jacques Piette, member of Party Executive and inner Executive.  
 Pierre Herbaut, Deputy General Secretary of Party.



WILLY BRANDT

New Vice-Chairman of the International

## Germany

Willy Brandt, Governing Mayor of Berlin, Chairman of S.P.D., Vice-Chairman of the International.  
 Herbert Wehner, Vice-Chairman of S.P.D.  
 Fritz Erler, M.P., Chairman of the S.P.D. Parliamentary Group.  
 Alfred Nau, Treasurer of S.P.D. and member of the S.P.D. Presidium.  
 Helmut Schmidt, M.P., Vice-Chairman of the S.P.D. Parliamentary Group.  
 Käte Strobel, M.P., Chairman of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament.  
 Marta Schanzenbach, M.P., Chairman of Social Democratic Women, and member of S.P.D. Presidium.  
 Hans-Eberhard Dingels, International Secretary of S.P.D.  
 Marta Ollenhauer, (Honorary guest)

## Great Britain

George Brown, M.P., Minister of Economic Affairs.  
 Joseph Gormley, Member of National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.  
 Tom Driberg, M.P., Member of National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.  
 Walter Padley, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party.  
 Len Williams, General Secretary of the Labour Party.  
 Gwyn Morgan, Overseas Secretary of the Labour Party.  
 Lord Chalfont, Minister for Disarmament.

## Iceland

Erlendur Vilhjalmsón, Chairman of Social Democratic Party in Reykjavik, Member of Executive Committee and Central Committee of Party.  
 Aoubjörn Kristinnsson, Member of Central Committee of Party.

## International Jewish Labor Bund

Emanuel Scherer, General Secretary.

## Israel

Golda Meir, General Secretary of Mapai.  
 Mina Ben-Zvi, Director of the Mount Carmel International Training Centre.  
 Eliahu Speiser, International Secretary of Mapai.  
 Reuven Barkatt, M.P.  
 Moshe Flieman, Deputy Mayor of Haifa.

## Ichud Olami (World Union of Zionist Socialist Parties)

Itzak Korn, General Secretary.  
 S. Levenberg, European Representative of Mapai  
 Carl Berman.

## Italy

Antonio Cariglia, M.P., Deputy General Secretary and International Secretary.  
 Roberto Tremelloni, M.P., Minister of Defence.  
 Giuseppe Lupis, M.P., State Secretary of Foreign Affairs.  
 Alberto Bemporad, Member of Executive Committee of Party.  
 Margherita Barnabei, Member of Executive Committee of Party.  
 Giovanni Baldari, Member of International Bureau of Party.

## Japan

*Socialist Party:*  
 Seiichi Katsumata, M.P., Chairman of Commission on Ideology.  
 Fusao Yamaguchi, International Secretary of Party.  
 Shimpei Fujimaki, Secretary of Policy Committee of Party.  
*Democratic Socialist Party*  
 Ikko Kasuga, Deputy General Secretary of Party.  
 Yoshihiko Seki, Professor.  
 Roo Watanabe, International Secretary of Party.

## Luxembourg

Raymond Ourth, General Secretary of Party.  
 Farnand Georges, Vice-Chairman of Party.  
 Lucienne Tholl, General Secretary of Socialist Women.  
 Astrid Lulling, President of Socialist Women.

## Malagasy Republic

Laurent Botokeky, Minister of Cultural Affairs, Member of Executive of Party.  
 Rosette Robline, Chairman of Women's Section of Party.  
 Beby Razafimbahiny

## Malta

Danny Cremona, Chairman of Party.  
 Alfred Calleja.  
 Agatha Barbara, M.P., Chairman of Women's Section, former Minister for Education.  
 Mary Cremona.

## Mauritius

Sir Seewosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister, Party Leader.  
 Vinaya Teelock.



# Socialist International in Stockholm, May 5-8, 1966

## Netherlands

J. G. H. Tans, Chairman of Party.  
G. M. Nederhorst, President of Socialist Group in Second Chamber.  
Max van der Stoep, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.  
J. A. W. Burger, Member of the Executive, Senator.  
Rita de Bruyn Ouboter, Chairman of the I.C.S.D.W.  
Pieter Dankert, International Secretary.

## Norway

Haakon Lie, General Secretary of Party.  
Reiulf Steen, Vice-Chairman of Party.  
Aase Bjerkholt, Chairman of Women's Council of Norwegian Party.

## Singapore

Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister, General Secretary of Party.  
Lim Tiong Aun.  
Tan Kah Wan.  
Alex Josey.  
M. K. Nair.  
Goh Seah Hieng.

## Spain

Rodolfo Llopi, General Secretary of Party.  
Ramos, representative from interior of Spain.

## Sweden

Tage Erlander, Prime Minister, Party Chairman.  
Sten Andersson, M.P., General Secretary of Party.  
Alva Myrdal, M.P., Delegate to Geneva Disarmament Conference.  
Arne Geijer, M.P., President of T.U.C.  
Hjalmar Mehr, Party Leader in Stockholm, Member of Party Executive.  
Ernst Michanek, General Director of the Swedish Authority on Development Aid.  
Ingvar Carlsson, M.P., Chairman of Swedish Social Democratic Youth.  
Anna Rudling, International Secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Women.  
Ingemund Bengtsson, M.P.  
Anders Thunborg, International Secretary of Party.  
Åke Zetterberg, M.P.  
Lars Eric Ericsson, Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Student Organisation.  
Sven Andersson, Minister of Defence.  
Sven Aspling, Minister of Social Affairs.  
Gunnar Lange, Minister of Trade.  
Ulla Lindstöm, Minister for Development.  
Torsten Nilsson, Minister for Foreign Affairs.  
Olaf Palme, Minister of Communication.  
Gunnar Sträng, Minister of Finance.

## Switzerland

Fritz Grütter, Chairman of the Party.  
Walther Bringolf, M.P.  
Mascha Oetli, Secretary of the Party.

## U.S.A.

Ernst Papanek, Member of National Executive Committee, Chairman of International Affairs Committee.  
Samuel Friedman, National Vice-Chairman, Member of National Executive Committee.  
William Allen, Alternate member of National Executive Committee.

## International Council of Social Democratic Women

Pamela Peachey, Secretary.

## Latin American Liaison Bureau

Humberto Maiztegui, Secretary.

## Socialist International

Albert Carthy, Secretary.

## CONSULTATIVE MEMBERS

### Exile Parties

#### Czechoslovakia

Vilem Bernard, Secretary of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe, Executive member of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and former member of Parliament.

#### Estonia

Johannes Mihkelson, Chairman of the Estonian Socialist Party and former Secretary of the Estonian Trade Union Council.

Raimond Kolk, Secretary of the Estonian Socialist Party.

#### Hungary

Anna Kéthly, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, member of the Hungarian Revolutionary Government.  
Imre Szelig, Secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, Treasurer of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe, and former member of Parliament.

#### Latvia

Bruno Kalnins, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Latvia, Chairman of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe, and former member of Parliament.  
Emils Ogrins, Vice-Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Latvia.

#### Lithuania

Ebba Ceginskas, member of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party.

#### Poland

L. Winiarski, member of the Polish Socialist Party.

#### Yugoslavia

Marco Milunovich.

\* \* \*

#### India

Brij Mohan Toofan, Member of National Executive of Praja Socialist Party.  
Pramila Dandavate, Joint National Secretary of Indian Socialist Women.

## OBSERVER MEMBERS

### Costa Rica

José Figueres, Leader and Chairman of National Liberation, Former President of the Republic.

### Peru

Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Leader and international representative of APRA.

### Venezuela

Jaime Lusinchi, International Secretary of Accion Democratica.

## ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

**International Union of Socialist Youth**  
Sture Ericson, General Secretary.

Htun Aung, Deputy Editor of *IUSY Survey*.  
Miguel Martinez, Deputy Editor of *IUSY Survey*.

Wilbert Perera, Member of *IUSY Bureau*.  
Ricardo Lugo Rodriguez.  
Arturo Rodriguez.

## GUEST ORGANISATIONS

### European Economic Community

Enrico Palermo, *Chef de Cabinet* of Lionello Levi-Sandri.  
Alfred Mozer, *Chef de Cabinet* of Sicco Mansholt.

### International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

Arne Geijer, Former President.

## FRATERNAL DELEGATES AND GUESTS

### Armenia

Hrand Samuelian, President of Armenian Socialist Party in exile. (Armenian Revolutionary Federation 'Daschnaktzoutioun').  
President of Delegation of Armenian Free Republic Berj Missielian, member of Bureau of Party.

### Chile

Humberto Enriques, President of Radical Party.

### Italy

Pietro Nenni, Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of Socialist Party.  
Giacomo Brodolini.  
Venerio Cattani, Member of Party Executive.  
Riccardo Lombardi, Member of Party Executive.

Paulo Vittorelli, President of the Socialist Group of the Senate.

Mario Zagari, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

### Malaysia

Devan Nair, General Secretary of Democratic Action Party.

### Mauritius

Gaetan Duval, Deputy Leader of Social Democratic Party.  
Monaf Fakira, General Secretary of Social Democratic Party.

### Mozambique

Eduardo Mondlane, President of National Liberation Front. (FRELIMO).

### Portugal

Ramos da Costa, Secretary, Accção Socialista Portuguesa.

### Rhodesia

ZAPU  
Nelson Samkange.  
Nicholas Chitsiga.  
ZANU  
J. T. Chichiere.  
M. T. Mutambira.

### Tanzania

Wilbert Klerruu, Personal representative of President Nyerere, National Executive Secretary of TANU.

### Ukraine

Bohdan Fedenko, Member of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Party.

Nina Fedenko, Secretary, Federation of Social Democratic Women.

### Zambia

Simon Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister.  
A. G. Zulu, Minister of Mines and Cooperatives.  
S. Wina, Minister of Local Government and Housing.  
Chifunda.  
Kalima.  
Langston Kawesha.  
I. B. Manda.  
Noah Sambono.  
Musa Mbaluku.