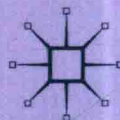


GLOBAL VISIONS OF OLOF PALME, BRUNO KREISKY AND WILLY BRANDT

International Peace and Security, Co-operation,
and Development



B. VIVEKANANDAN



B. Vivekanandan

Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt

International Peace and Security,
Co-operation, and Development

palgrave
macmillan

B. Vivekanandan
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi, India

ISBN 978-3-319-33710-4 ISBN 978-3-319-33711-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33711-1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016951733

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: © Olof Palme Archives

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky
and Willy Brandt

Also by B. Vivekanandan

AS THE MIND UNFOLDS: Issues and Personalities (*editor*)

BUILDING ON SOLIDARITY: Social Democracy and the New Millennium (*editor*)

CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM: An Analysis (*co-editor*)

CONTEMPORARY EUROPE AND SOUTH ASIA (*co-editor*)

ECHOES IN PARLIAMENT: Madhu Dandavate's Speeches, 1970-1990 (*editor*)

GLOBAL VISIONS OF OLOF PALME, BRUNO KREISKY AND WILLY BRANDT: International Peace and Security, Cooperation and Development

INDIA LOOKS AHEAD: Jayaprakash Narayan Memorial Lectures, 1990-2001 (*editor*)

INDIA TODAY: Issues Before the Nation (*co-editor*)

IN RETROSPECT: Reflections on Select Issues in World Politics, 1975-2000

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL POLITICS: Some Selected Essays

INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

PATHFINDERS: Social Democrats of Scandinavia

PROFESSOR M.S. RAJAN: An Outstanding Educationist and Institution Builder

THE ISSUES OF OUR TIMES (*editor*)

THE MODERN COMMONWEALTH

THE SHRINKING CIRCLE: The Commonwealth in British Foreign Policy, 1945-1974

WELFARE STATE SYSTEM IN SCANDINAVIA

WELFARE STATES AND THE FUTURE (*co-editor*)

WHY SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: Essays by Prof. B. Vivekanandan

To
Dr JAYASHREE VIVEKANANDAN
My daughter

FOREWORD BY PROFESSOR THOMAS MEYER

Professor B. Vivekanandan, a recognized expert on international social democracy, has written a book that explores an extraordinary chapter in European intellectual and political history. We know of no other historical case in which three prominent statesmen, holding office as heads of government in important countries simultaneously and during a time of crisis, were influenced so profoundly by shared ideas and convictions that they put their stamp on the history of their own nations and of entire regions. Moreover, in addressing the problems of their own time, they also understood how to leave a legacy that continues to inspire the world and shape its future. The three towering political figures in the history of social democracy studied by the author are Willy Brandt (Germany), Bruno Kreisky (Austria) and Olof Palme (Sweden). During the 1970s and 1980s, they headed the Social Democratic parties of their respective countries and—in the context of the Socialist International—defined the image of social democracy throughout the world. At the same time they served as their nations' prime ministers and were therefore in a position to shape European history during the Cold War era. In the latter role they contributed much to the *détente* policy that eventually helped overcome the intense conflicts between the two Cold War systems: the free world of Western democracy and Soviet communism.

During those years, the three social democratic leaders, all good friends, worked together closely to make history. Not only did they help mould the image of modern Europe in crucial ways, but they also served on international commissions with a focus on global affairs where they collaborated in formulating political ideas and operational principles that

even today seem as timely as ever. Indeed, their relevance and urgency only increase as the years go by.

By dint of his remarkable knowledge of the historical contexts and his perspicacious presentation of the ways in which these leaders worked together, Professor Vivekanandan rescues from oblivion the message of the three grand old men of social democracy, making it available to today's globalized world, especially the English-speaking portion of it. It is no accident that the ideological and political alliances and personal friendships that bound Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, and Olof Palme together earned them a sobriquet inspired by French literature: *The Three Musketeers* of the golden age of social democracy. Scholarly research has indeed tended to portray the three decades after World War II in just those terms. On one hand, the special circumstances of that era were an important pre-requisite for the highly successful performance of these three extraordinary politicians and for their ability to set standards for their successors. On the other hand, they themselves contributed a great deal to making those years a high-water mark for social democratic thought and politics. In a sense they personified the idea of a social democratic golden age. That notion is intended to suggest a complex sequence of events. Europe suffered through a long series of causally linked disasters during the twentieth century, beginning with World War I and the Great Depression, and ending with the victory of National Socialism and World War II, all of which had devastating consequences for nearly every European country. But these disasters were followed by a three-decade-long phase during which the 'social democratic compromise' took root in almost all European democracies, not only in the most crucial political and economic institutions, but also in the broader political culture.

The social democratic compromise bore certain traits of Scandinavia's political culture. It replaced the older idea that the capitalist form of economic activity itself ought to be jettisoned in favour of a more pragmatic notion: representatives of the two great social forces, capital and labour, drawn mainly from the business community, labour unions and politics, should forge a historic compromise among themselves. Its core elements involved an exchange of concessions and assurances between capital and labour in their joint efforts to master the devastating effects of the Great Depression, which had been precipitated by a form of capitalism that, even in those days, was already heavily internationalized. We must not forget the implicit threat that hung over these negotiations. The Depression and what it implied—the breakdown of capitalism itself—menaced the very existence

of the societies whose representatives were searching for a compromise. Many of them came from social democratic and socialist parties that had been significantly strengthened by the economic collapse. They were quite serious about the project of overcoming the uncontrolled markets and nearly untrammelled private ownership of the means of production that then characterized the capitalist economic system. The pressure exerted by the gathering crisis and the potency of social democratic political forces culminated in general agreement concerning the historic compromise embodied in social democracy, a deal without which the history of Western Europe in the second half of the twentieth century would remain unintelligible. Its success, coupled with its widespread acceptance at all levels of society, weakened the more radical forces, damped down economic and social class conflict, and reconciled the overwhelming majority of the working-class population to a brand of 'civilized' capitalism which over time became domesticated and embedded in society.

The substance of this historic social democratic compromise in post-war Europe may be expressed in a simple yet momentous formula. The spokespersons of capital promised henceforth to involve labour representatives, via co-determination, in the most significant decisions being made at the level of the individual firm or even the entire company. They further committed themselves to support comprehensive labour legislation that would offer protection to workers and to divert some of their profits to finance a wide-ranging social welfare state. In return, the representatives of labour assured their opposite numbers that labour would accept private ownership of the means of production and the market economy duly embedded in the framework noted above. One might say that the three Social Democratic parties and their leaders in the era that inaugurated this new culture embodied 'ideal types' of the social democratic compromise. The avant-garde of these pioneers were the Scandinavian Social Democrats. On the Continent south of Scandinavia it was Austrian and German Social Democrats who played the key roles in implementing this moderate course and increasing its attractiveness. Before long their strategy bore fruit in the form of growing prosperity and increasing social security for the working population, coupled with an economic resurgence.

So it is not merely a coincidence that all three members of this exceptional social democratic trio, Bruno Kreisky, Willy Brandt, and Olof Palme, were socialized politically and intellectually in the social democratic milieu of Scandinavia and remained deeply affected by those experiences for the rest of their lives. They thus were able to personify the spirit

of the age while bringing it down to earth through their personalities, the policies they made in their respective countries, and their harmonious collaboration, which was evident to everyone. They became the poster children of the golden age of European social democracy because they were guided by a kind of Scandinavian pragmatism based on certain fundamental social democratic values consistently pursued: notably liberty (including in the material sense), equality and solidarity. The success of this European route to social democracy owed much to the trio's ability, via their personalities and policies, to project a sense of conviction and confidence, especially to the majorities in their own societies, but also beyond their countries' borders. As one can glean from the portraits sketched by Professor Vivekanandan, in the 1970s and 1980s they were among the most esteemed European politicians, whose appeal extended even into Eastern Europe as well as many third-world countries. In a sense, they and their social democratic policies embodied the hopes of people all across the globe. Those policies were intended to establish the full equality of all citizens, enable the working population to share fully in the wealth of their respective countries, provide social security for all, and make education and training available to citizens solely on the basis of merit.

The present volume shows convincingly how the 'big three' shared the tasks that arose from their joint effort to meet the crucial global challenges of their time. They were in agreement when it came to the completion of social democracy in the domestic affairs of their respective countries, in Europe, and gradually in the countries of the Global South. They demonstrated their consensus through their close cooperation in the context of the Socialist International, which was devoted to this objective. It was Willy Brandt, president of the SI (a global confederation of social democratic and democratic socialist parties) beginning in the 1970s, who relied on the support of both of his friends effectively to strip away the Euro-centric bias that had clung to it since its founding. Under Brandt's leadership the SI gradually lived up to its own implicit claim to represent social democratic forces all over the globe.

The Cold War, which had begun in the aftermath of World War II, posed special challenges for all three of these political figures. They concurred that a credible and successful détente policy was the best way to move beyond it, and so they hoped to de-escalate its confrontations and dangers by cooperating increasingly with political forces in both East and West who held similar views. Besides the idea of social democracy itself, this predilection for détente became the second hallmark of social

democratic parties in Europe, especially in the case of Willy Brandt. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 for those very policies and the successes they engendered. In the long run détente led to the collapse of the Soviet communist empire and the re-unification of Europe after the democratic revolution of 1989. And it was Olof Palme who in this same context dedicated himself to creating a lasting basis for the achievements of the détente policy by encouraging the Great Powers to negotiate far-reaching disarmament deals, a step which he hoped would free the world from the threat of weapons of mass destruction. His efforts bore fruit in the pioneering disarmament treaties discussed at length in Vivekanandan's book. Bruno Kreisky, born Jewish but not religiously observant, felt called upon to devote a portion of his vigour and prestige to the Middle East, a conflict zone that still smoulders today, and in which a conflagration could break out at any time. He wanted to upgrade the role of the Palestinians such that the quest for a peaceful solution would be carried on between two states with equal rights in the world. Needless to say, thus far his project has not been crowned with success.

In Willy Brandt's day the SI was preoccupied with the idea that the great contradictions of our time—from which many lesser contradictions follow—resulted from the disparity between a global economy and increasingly also society on the one hand and nationally limited power centres on the other. As SI analysts saw it, the world was becoming more thoroughly globalized in a socio-economic sense, while states continued to insist upon their separateness and national autonomy. Consequently, they were losing the ability to exert democratic control over events. As they fell further and further behind the curve, they were increasingly less able to seize the initiative and manage global problems proactively with any hope of success. To do his part toward minimizing this contradiction, Willy Brandt took over the chairmanship of the Independent North–South Commission in 1977. As the book under review here clearly shows, Brandt succeeded in recruiting a group of extraordinary individuals from many fields: politicians, scholars and representatives of civil society. With their help he was able to demonstrate that the North had a compelling interest in supporting the countries of the Global South vigorously and in full solidarity as they endeavoured to progress economically and socially. The North stood to benefit from these efforts through an increase in its own prosperity, the reduction of conflicts, and global pacification. This was a path-breaking insight that even today, for the most part, has not been applied in practice.

For all these reasons, Professor Vivekanandan's book is much more than a work of historical scholarship intended to illuminate a particularly fascinating phase of our recent past and the larger-than-life personalities who made it happen. Rather, it brings to light, painstakingly and persuasively, a remarkable wealth of practical political ideas and projects that even today—or perhaps one should say, today more than ever—seem particularly well suited to make each individual country and the world as a whole more just and sustainable. If we took the examples of Brandt, Kreisky and Palme to heart, we would be more likely to turn the earth into a peaceful, cooperative place.

Dortmund
27 March 2015

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are times when statesmen of exceptional dynamism, endowed with visionary insights, have intervened, alone or in concert, in the course of global developments with correctives, causing significant changes in the future direction of the world. Olof Palme (1927–1986) of Sweden, Bruno Kreisky (1911–1990) of Austria and Willy Brandt (1913–1992) of Germany belong to that calibre of world statesmen whose concern for the welfare of people transcended their national and continental frontiers to encompass the whole world. As adherents to the social democratic principles of equality, freedom, justice, democracy and solidarity, this trio acted more or less in concert to apply these principles, not only at the national level in their own countries, but also at a global level with a conviction that human needs everywhere in the world are more or less the same. As they were friends and contemporaries, they constantly consulted each other, and coordinated and complemented their endeavours to build a new ‘One World’ of equality and justice, free from fear and want. They thought ahead of their times and set their sights on the future of mankind. Peace, disarmament, détente, *Ostpolitik*, Common Security, North–South Cooperation, Common Future, environmental protection, and so on, are all spokes in their common wheel. How best the world’s resources should be used equitably for the welfare of humanity was their core agenda. A welfare-state system everywhere, based on international solidarity and common security, was their motto. They envisaged a world free from wars and conflicts, and conveyed the message that wars are not the best option to solve any problem, and that to seek solutions to problems through wars would be a ‘march of folly’. Similarly, it has been convincingly argued

that in today's world solutions to some important national or continental problems, such as unemployment, can be found only through international solidarity actions—like the provision of higher purchasing power to people in the underdeveloped world through meaningful North–South developmental cooperation. Their focus was on peace and development for all countries and all peoples.

The author's book *International Concerns of European Social Democrats* was published in 1997 jointly by the Macmillan Press in London and St. Martin's Press in New York. The focus of that study was the international element embedded in the theory and practice of Labour movements in Europe—in the Socialist/Social Democratic/Labour parties and their fraternal organizations and affiliates. The author finished that work after extensive research on the subject in 15 European countries—Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Prior to that work, he studied four Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden—for his book, *Pathfinders: Social Democrats of Scandinavia*, which was published in 1991. The focus of that book was on the domestic reforms which the Social Democratic parties have carried out in those countries. In connection with the writing of those books, and his other books and research papers on Britain, Europe and trans-Atlantic relations, he met a large number of political personalities, academic experts and policy makers from various European countries to discuss pertinent issues, in addition to collection of relevant material from various institutions in their countries. These studies are supported by the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, and the Indo-European Research Foundation, New Delhi.

The idea of writing a book focusing on the global visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt, who have made their mark on the international arena by their concerns for the general welfare of humanity, crystallized in the author while he was writing the above-mentioned two books on social democrats in Scandinavia and Europe. It was encouraged by the fact that during his long stays in Bonn and Berlin in 1989–1990 and 2002 for his related work on Europe, he had acquired considerable material on the wider vision of the Nobel laureate Willy Brandt from the Library of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), and from the Bureau of Willy Brandt, both in Bonn. In addition, he held discussions with several

close associates of Willy Brandt, like Dr Thomas Meyer, Professor of Political Science, University of Dortmund, Mr Eberhard Dingels, former International Secretary of the SPD, Dr Michael Hofmann, former adviser to Willy Brandt, Dr Hörst Büscher, former Director of the Asian Department of the FES and Dr Ernst Ulrich von Weizacker, former German Vice Chancellor. who all knew Brandt quite closely.

In 1996–1997, the author made visits to Sweden and Austria and spent several months in the archives and library of the Swedish Labour Movement in Stockholm, and in the Stiftung Bruno Kreisky Archiv in Vienna, to study the personal papers of Olof Palme and Bruno Kreisky. His visit to Sweden was supported by the Swedish Institute in Stockholm, and his visit to Austria jointly by the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, the Austrian Academic Exchange Service, and Dr Karl Renner Institute, both in Vienna. During his research in Stockholm, he was attached to the Olof Palme International Centre. All logistical support was provided jointly by the Swedish Social Democratic Women and the Swedish Lands Organizationen (LO). In Stockholm, he studied all relevant personal papers of Olof Palme, which are kept in the Archives and Library of the Swedish Labour Movement, as well as other pertinent documents kept in the Olof Palme International Centre and in the Research Department of the Swedish Social Democratic Party in Sveavägen. With the help of those papers also he could make a close study of the spot of Olof Palme's assassination, and the assassin's escape route after committing the crime. Similarly, during his research in Vienna the author was attached to Dr Karl Renner Institute and Stiftung Bruno Kreisky Archiv, where Bruno Kreisky's personal papers are kept. The author is grateful to all these institutions and their officials for providing him with their valuable assistance and facilities during the course of his research for this book.

During his visits to Austria, Sweden and Germany in the course of this study, the author held valuable interviews and discussions with many well-known personalities. In this context, he would like to express his profound gratitude to Dr Bruno Kreisky, who, despite his serious illness, granted him an unforgettable interview a few months before his death. Similarly, the author is grateful to Dr Heinz Fisher and Mr Peter Scheider, Leader and Deputy Leader respectively, of the SPÖ in Parliament; Dr Peter Jankowitsch, International Secretary of the SPÖ and a former Foreign Minister; Dr Irmtraut Karlsson, General Secretary, Socialist Women, SPÖ; Dr Erich Fröschl, Director, Dr Karl Renner Institute; Professor Oliver

Rathkolb, University of Vienna and former Director of Stiftung Bruno Kreisky Archiv (St.BKA); Dr Stefan Aug. Lutgenau, St. BKA; Dr Herbert Berger, Dr. Karl Renner Institute; Mr Manfred Scheuch, Editor, *Arbeiter Zeitung*; Mrs Christle Pai; and Mr Joshy Cherukattu, all in Vienna.

Similarly, the author is grateful to Sten Andersson, former Swedish Foreign Minister; Sverker Aström, Olof Palme's Cabinet Secretary; Jan Eliasson, Special Assistant to Olof Palme; Dr Gudmund Larsson, Director, Research Department of the Swedish LO; Pierre Schori, Under Secretary, Foreign Affairs; Jan-Erik Norling, trade unionist; Sven Eric Söder; Roger Hällhag; Dr Klaus Misgeld, Swedish Labour Movement's Archives and Library; Gunnar Fredriksson, former Editor, *Aftonbladet*; and Ms Carin Akerberg, Swedish Social Democratic Women; all in Stockholm; and Professor Bo Gustafsson, Uppsala University, Uppsala.

The author is grateful also to Professor Fritz Vilmar, Professor Klaus-Jurgen Scherer, Professor Gesine Schwan, Professor Thomas Risse and Professor Martin Kohli, all in the Free University, Berlin; Dr Hans Kremendahl, former SPD Parliamentary Secretary, Berlin State Assembly, Berlin; Dr Hörst Büscher, Director, Asian Department, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn; Mr Eberhard Dingels, former International Secretary of SPD, Germany; Dr Michael Hofmann, Advisor to Willy Brandt; Dr Detlef Weigal, Dr Christoph Jessen and Ernst Reichel, German Foreign Office; and Dr Ernst Ulrich von Weizacker, former German Vice Chancellor, for the fruitful discussions which the author had with them in connection with the writing of this book. He is grateful to Dr. Jagadish Joshi, President, Indo-European Research Foundation, New Delhi. He is also thankful to Ms. A. Rajalekshmi for efficiently typing out the manuscript.

In addition, the author is grateful to Professor Joakim Palme, University of Uppsala, Sweden, Professor Oliver Rathkolb, University of Vienna, Austria, Professor Thomas Meyer, University of Dortmund, and Professor Hartmut Elsenhans, University of Leipzig, Germany, for their valuable comments on chapters relating to statesmen from their respective countries.

My special thanks are due to Professor Thomas Meyer, renowned social democratic ideologue, and an associate of Willy Brandt, who had opportunities to observe close interactions among Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt, for writing a scintillating 'Foreword' to this book.

I am grateful to my publisher, Palgrave Macmillan, London, for publishing this book in the most elegant way. Also I am grateful to Ms Sarah Roughley, Senior Commissioning Editor, International Relations and Security Studies, Palgrave Macmillan, for excellent support.

And, finally, words fail to express my profound gratitude to my wife, Vimala, and daughters, Nimmi and Jayashree, for the inconveniences they suffered due to my long absences away to Sweden, Austria and Germany on research for the writing of this book.

B. Vivekanandan
Trivandrum
6 November 2015