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SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN NEW YORK

The SI Council convened in New York City on 8 - 9 October, its first meeting in the United States.

Participants were welcomed by Mayor of New York David Dinkins. Guests taking part in this first SI Council meeting in the United States included, as well as Mayor Dinkins, Democratic Party chairman Ron Brown, who attended the meeting of the SI Presidium and party leaders on 7 October, and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland who addressed the session of the Council on 9 October.

'Your unique vision and commitment to social and economic democracy throughout the world have marked this century', David Dinkins told SI President Willy Brandt, 'After decades of struggle, your dream of a world liberated from the crushing weight of fascism and totalitarianism is quickly becoming a reality - from the shanties of Soweto to the crumbling bricks of the Berlin wall.'

Mayor Dinkins recalled that, whilst there was now no mass democratic socialist movement in the United States, in the past the country had contributed such legendary figures as Eugene Debs, Norman Thomas and A Philip Randolph. He also spoke of his friend Michael Harrington, chair of the Democratic Socialists of America and honorary president of the Socialist International, who died last year and whose presence would be sadly missed at this first SI Council meeting in his home town.

'Today', he said, 'we must rededicate ourselves to Michael's mission - to close the yawning gap that exists between the rich and the poor in so many nations of the world. I first met Michael during the civil rights movement, when the American Socialist Party garnered its forces in the struggle for equality and justice led by the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King Junior.

'Of course, poverty knows no race or national origin, but it is a stinging fact that, in this country, economic deprivation and race too often go hand-in-hand...

'The tradition of democratic socialism tells us that the accident of birth must never condemn a human being to poverty, sickness, or lack of hope. At a time when inequities are on the rise in this,

the richest nation on earth, we in the City of New York remain committed to social and economic justice.

'Thank you', Mayor Dinkins concluded, 'for caring about the problems that all nations share.'

SI President Willy Brandt opened the Council's deliberations on two main themes: Bridging the North-South Divide: New Economic Relations for the 1990s, and East-West: Common Security.

'What', he asked,' could be a more appropriate time to rally for world peace and global development than these very weeks when the United Nations General Assembly is in session? The world is looking towards the United Nations with new hope and - in view of the very real danger of war in the Gulf region with growing concern. Our political family appreciates the ceaseless efforts of the UN secretary-general to resolve this crisis peacefully, and we fully support the decisions taken by the Security Council...

'Joint action to enforce the principles of the UN Charter is

imperative. The chances of such action have greatly improved, in particular owing to East-West détente...

Since our International has always aimed for a constructive approach to international relations, we find these recent developments encouraging. We continue to support all efforts aimed at strengthening the United Nations. Recommendations for warranted institutional reforms are presently being drafted by an international working group headed by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.'

As this is our first Council in the United States,' Brandt continued, 'we should introduce ourselves to the American people, with whom we have much in common: we share the same historic political values of personal freedom, justice and democracy; likewise we detest dictatorship and any discrimination against individuals...

He went on to speak about the Socialist International's record on questions of peace, human rights and justice, remarking that 'it is good to know that some paragraphs of the NATO communiqué at the recent London summit sound like quotations from earlier papers by our SI disarmament council. But we do not regard this as the end of the road. Our International will continue to make bold proposals on salient security issues, such as nuclear testing and non-

Willy Brandt and David **Dinkins**

proliferation, banning chemical and biological weapons, restricting arms exports and, last but not least, on the peace dividend - the freeing of military resources for human betterment at home and abroad.

The primary task of our Council meeting here in New York', he ended, 'is to recommit the world community to a comprehensive approach to security for all. We focus once again on economic hardship and ecological stress, and on the resulting social tensions and political turmoil in far too many parts of the world...

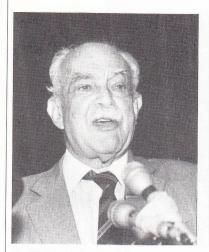
'In view of the growing disparities in living conditions between the North and the South and within regions, the principal challenge for the nineties really is sustainable development for all. What we have to achieve is a new type of economic growth, one that is sensitive to social justice and to our natural environment. 'Finally, the end of the cold war is certainly not the end of history. But it may mark the beginning of a new era. We should and we will do our utmost to make this an era of peace and development, an era of democracy and human rights for the greatest possible number of people on this planet.

The first main theme of the Council's discussions, Bridging the North-South Divide - New Economic Relations for the 1990s. was introduced by Italian Socialist Party Leader Bettino Craxi, who spoke also in his capacity as the UN secretary-general's Special Assistant on International Debt (see page 4 for an article by Bettino Craxi on today's economic realities). Speakers also included Boutros Boutros Ghali, Egyptian minister for foreign affairs: Sten Andersson, Swedish foreign minister; José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party; Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party; Jan Pronk, Netherlands minister for overseas development; Guy Spitaels, president of the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, and Jean-Pierre Cot,

Left: **lean-Pierre Cot**



Don Slaiman (left) and Skip Roberts



chair of the European Parliament Socialist Group.

Pierre Mauroy spoke of the risks today: 'The twelve member states of the European Community are getting ready for the Single Market: a new frontier for them. They are also hoping to bring into a confederation the countries of central and eastern Europe now recovering their freedom. They are, in brief, looking to a new horizon, even if it is still far away. 'As for the United States of America, they are also feeling the need to look first to their own problems, be it the question of debt, budgetary or trading deficits.

'The common factor in these various preoccupations is the risk of turning in upon, or among, ourselves.

'The second, even graver risk is the temptation to give up. This is a strong temptation. As our President Willy Brandt wrote recently, "all the attempts to establish a constructive North-South dialogue during the 80s have failed one after the other."...

'The final risk is that of coming to accept the instability characteristic of the present situation.'

All these risks, he pointed out, arose because of an illusion, 'the illusion that global equilibrium can be maintained on this unequal model, where the comfort of a thousand million men and women rests on the misery of the other four thousand million. The illusion that we still have time, when in fact the situation is urgent.'

He called for an action plan.



'Given the opportunities offered by the new international scenario, and faced with the gravity of the situation, it is time to put in place a real emergency plan at global level, by organising a major conference of rich and poor countries, as the French President François Mitterrand proposed in July 1989.'

The SI Council subsequently passed a resolution on 'Bridging the North South Divide' (see page 36).

The Council heard contributions from a number of speakers, including Alfonso Guerra, vice-president of the Spanish government and deputy general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, on the meeting's second theme, 'East-West: Common Security'.

Alfonso Guerra referred in particular to the proposal already raised at the last SI Council meeting in Cairo for the creation of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, since the crisis in the Persian Gulf, he urged, even more important and worthy of consideration. He went on to look at security questions in the light of the Council's earlier discussions on world economic relations. 'Peace and security come through development', he summed up. 'Countries, peoples, governments, and especially the socialist and social democratic parties of the Socialist International ... must gain from the present situation a sense of self criticism ... an impulse to try to resolve conflicts. We must move away from

structures of confrontation and replace them with a structure of cooperation.'

Following discussion, the Council approved and endorsed the statement on Global Security issued by the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, following the SI Disarmament Conference held in Tampere, Finland, in September (Socialist Affairs 3/90, page 34) and reported to the meeting by Ulpu Iivari, general secretary of the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

Peter Jankowitsch, international secretary of the Austrian Socialist Party, introduced a discussion on 'The SI and the United Nations in the 1990s' and the Council adopted a resolution urging the strengthening of the institutions, financing and role of the United Nations (see page 37).

The Gulf Crisis

All the Council's discussions took place in awareness of the very serious situation in the Gulf region. Willy Brandt stressed in his opening address that the world was looking to the United Nations with new hope, and - in view of the very real danger of war in the Gulf - with growing concern. The Council later passed a resolution (see page 37), reiterating the condemnation by the international community of the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, and the Socialist International's demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait; expressing full support for the resolutions and initiatives of the UN Security Council; urging that every effort for a peaceful solution be kept up; and calling for the holding, after the resolution of the present urgent crisis, of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, to open the way to a solution to all the problems and conflicts of the Middle East.

Latin America

The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean met in New York on 7 October, prior to the Council meeting. The



Committee reviewed its current and future activities and welcomed proposals for SI missions to observe the elections in Guatemala on 11 November, the much delayed elections in Haiti, now planned for 16 December, and the forthcoming elections in Guyana. The Council later endorsed the proposals for SI missions and approved resolutions introduced by the committee in support of the democratic process in Haiti and in Guyana, together with a resolution on Central America. (see pages 38 & 39)

Farer Report

Before the Council in New York was a report prepared for the SI by Professor Tom Farer and Professor Robert Goldman on the official investigation by the Guatemalan authorities into the assassination of Héctor Oquelí and Gilda Flores in Guatemala last January.

Professor Farer addressed the Council, reiterating the conclusions of the Report, and the Council passed a resolution (see page 38) endorsing the Report's findings that, despite the personal pledges of President Vinicio Cerezo, the Guatemalan government had not assumed with any degree of seriousness the responsibility of investigating this crime, and calling for a more serious investigation to be held without delay.

Africa

The SI Southern Africa Committee met in New York on 7 October. The Committee reiterated its current position, welcoming progress towards reform in South Africa, but retaining its commitment to sanctions. A resolution embodying that position was later approved by the Council (see page 39).

The SI Study Group on Africa also met in New York to discuss its activities and to exchange information on latest developments and on political forces in a number of countries. The Study Group had decided at its previous meeting in Lisbon that the Socialist International would send a number of missions to the continent over the coming period, to gather information and to support the democratisation process in various countries. It was agreed that the first such mission

would meet the general secretary of the Organisation of African Unity.

Also planned for the near future was a mission to the Maghreb countries. Other missions would be to francophone African countries, and to Angola, Mozambique and other Front Line States.

Other resolutions

The Council also approved a number of other resolutions and statements on questions of urgent concern. These are published in full on page 39. On 8 October, when news reached the SI Council of the serious incident in Jerusalem and resulting deaths, the Council agreed on a statement released that day on its behalf by SI vice-president Pierre Mauroy. (see page 39)

Left: Luis Planas, Elena Flores and Alfonso Guerra

Membership

Having heard a report from Thorbjørn Jagland, chair of the SI Finance and Administration Committee, on applications for membership of the Socialist International, and in particular on the recent SI mission to the Baltic republics, the Council decided to revitalise the full membership of the Estonian Social Democratic Party, ESDP, and of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP.

The Council also agreed to recommend to the next SI Congress that the suspension by the International of the Popular Socialist Party, PSP, of Argentina be lifted and that the application of the People's Government Party, PGP, of Uruguay for membership of the International be accepted.



Kazimieras Antanavicius and Willy Brandt



SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN NEW YORK

Luis Ayala

Dear Comrades,

Since our last meeting in Cairo the activities of our International have reflected our ongoing global commitments in line with the decisions of our Council and the initiatives and responses that the changing international realities have called for from our organisation.

May I first of all mention here our appreciation to all those who have assisted us in organising this first Council meeting in the United States, implementing an idea which has existed within our International for some time.

Looking back over our preoccupations and efforts during recent months, I would like to mention some of the areas in which we have been active since our last Council Meeting in Cairo.

Our active involvement in central and eastern Europe and close contacts with social democratic forces there, through consultations, missions, delegations and observation of elections, which I reported on at previous meetings, have continued. I should mention for instance the mission which we organised to Bulgaria in June on the occasion of the elections there and the very recent mission to the Baltic republics, in accordance with the decision of the SI Council in Cairo.

In Bulgaria, the Social Democratic Party, within the main opposition Union of Democratic Forces, obtained good results and a sizeable representation in parliament. While the 18-month transition period of constitutional change is in progress, the balance of political forces continues to evolve and in a byelection last week the Social

Democrats made further parliamentary gains.

With regard to the mission to the Baltic republics, a group of eight SI representatives, including myself, travelled to Vilnius, Riga and Tallin from 8 to 10 October. We met leaders of the parties represented in the parliaments of all three republics and held extensive talks with representatives and leaders of the reestablished social democratic parties. In Lithuania, the members of the mission met President Vitautas Landsbergis, in Latvia, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, president of the Supreme Council, and in Estonia, Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, among others.

The recommendations of the SI mission on the applications for revitalisation of full membership of the SI from the social democratic parties in the Baltic republics will be reported to this meeting by the chair of SIFAC.

A mission of the SI Disarmament

Advisory Council visited Moscow on 30-31 August for talks on current arms control and disarmament negotiations, and on European and other security issues. This followed a similar mission to Washington in May. The SI delegation met with experts from the Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs, the Academy of Science and the Communist Party Central Committee. Extensive talks were also held with Valentin Falin, secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and head of its international department. Our discussions ranged over the START negotiations, the Vienna talks, bilateral negotiations, chemical weapons, test ban treaties, reconversion of the armaments industry and the CSCE process. There was particular emphasis on future institutionalisation of CSCE

and on the need for negotiation on naval disarmanent.

While we were in Moscow, members of the delegation also met officials of the Russian social democratic organisation.

A Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Tampere, Finland, on 5 and 6 September, at the invitation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party. This was the third conference on disarmament held in recent years, since the establishment in 1978 of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, chaired since then by Kalevi Sorsa.

The Tampere conference convened in the present context of renewed hope for global disarmament and international cooperation, but also at a time of crisis precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Contributions to the conference from SI leaders and a number of guests reflected our commitment to the building of a new security system, based on principles of common security and shared responsibility.

Calling for speedy progress in current arms negotiations, the conference underlined the need to direct the 'peace dividend' resulting from the ending of the Cold War towards real cooperation between East and West, North and South. The conference also strongly supported the recent action taken by the United Nations Security Council following the invasion of Kuwait.

Since that invasion, the SI Committee on the Middle East has been following developments, firstly through contacts established in the region by its chair Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski and later by the convening of a special meeting of the Committee in Stockholm on 24 September. A large number of SI member parties, including those from the region, attended the Stockholm meeting, which was notable for the consensus among all those present in firmly condemning Iraq, supporting the UN Security Council resolutions, demanding the release of all hostages, and calling for humanitarian aid for refugees. In particular, the meeting underlined the collective response of the international community in defence of fundamental principles of international law.

In Cairo, we strongly condemned the assassination of Hector Oquelí, under-secretary general of the National Revolutionary Movement of El Salvador and secretary of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean. We demanded that the Guatemalan and Salvadorean governments assume their responsibility to carry out a serious investigation into the crime and secure the punishment of those responsible.

After a considerable time, no responsibility had been established, much less charges made. On behalf of the Socialist International, I invited Professor Tom Farer to evaluate the official Guatemalan government report on the assassinations. Professor Farer is director of the Program of Law and International Relations at the American University in Washington DC and former president of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organisation of American States. He carried out this task in association with Professor Robert Goldman. We are most grateful to them for their investigation on our behalf. Their report has been widely circulated and you have it amongst your papers at this meeting.

Turning to developments in the African continent, I must report that the SI Southern Africa Committee, SISAC, held a meeting in The Hague on 18 June, hosted by the Dutch Labour Party and chaired by Wim Kok, leader of the party and deputy prime minister. The committee reviewed the current situation in southern Africa, and particularly in South Africa. A statement was issued, setting forth the SI view that, despite positive developments within South Africa, there was as yet no clear evidence of irreversible change in the direction of ending apartheid, and that pressure on the South African government must continue.

The committee also discussed and agreed on a programme of activities for the coming period, including close monitoring of developments in South Africa, continuing close cooperation and contacts with the ANC and other democratic organisations in the country, assistance in the reestablishment of those returning from exile and aid for the development of

democratic structures in South Africa.

The SI Study Group on Africa has been intensifying its activities in the recent period. A meeting of the group was held on 12 July in Lisbon, hosted by the Portuguese Socialist Party and chaired by Jorge Sampaio who, together with our Senegalese comrades, heads the group. A number of representatives of parties in Africa were also present in Lisbon for an informal exchange of views and information.

The study group analysed current processes of democratisation and political changes taking place in several countries of the African continent. It was agreed that the group will continue the close cooperation developed by the SI over the last decade with different political parties and forces in Africa, and expand further this cooperation in the light of political changes taking place.

The group agreed on a programme of action to be carried out over the next two years, and this programme was further discussed at a meeting of the Study Group here on Sunday. It has been agreed that a number of fact-finding missions will be sent to Africa in the coming months; there is also a proposal to hold a conference on the continent in 1991, on the theme 'The Africa of the Future'. This conference will seek the participation of political forces striving for peace, democracy and development in many African countries.

The first SI mission will be to meet the secretary general, Salim Salim, and other officials of the Organisation of African Unity, in order to formalise contacts and also to hold discussions on substantive areas of concern, for example on economic and ecological questions. Future missions will be to the Maghreb, to francophone African countries and to Angola, Mozambique and other Front Line States.

I have had the opportunity during recent months to be present at the congresses of a number of our member parties, for instance those in Finland, Sweden and Greece. I should perhaps mention the special congress in Berlin where the Social Democratic Parties of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic were united, just a few days before the unification of Germany. Following the admission of the Social Democratic Party of the GDR to full membership of the International at our last Council meeting in Cairo, it is my very unusual task today to announce with pleasure that the Socialist International now has one member party less!

In the immediate future, a number of activities are planned in the Latin American region. An SI mission will visit Guatemala during the campaign for the forthcoming elections and another will observe the election

campaign and the much delayed poll in Haiti. There will also be a mission to observe the voting in Guyana, where, as delegates know, elections have stirred great controversy in the past.

The Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean will meet in Aruba early next year and an initiative is also being jointly planned with COPPPAL, the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties. At the meeting of the Committee preceding the Council here in New York other future activities were also projected, which will doubtless aid the cause of democratic socialism in the region.

Two important additional subjects which have been increasingly mentioned as fields of activity for the International are the transformation of the former command economies in central and eastern Europe and the global environment. On the first of these subjects an initiative is being considered for launching with those working in the SI on economic topics. On the second, our Committee on the Environment plans a meeting in Stockholm next year, where our common strategies on this issue will be further developed.

We have been invited by the Australian Labor Party to hold a Socialist International Party Leaders' meeting in Australia, on the 100th anniversary of the party in March 1991. This conference, whose dates have already been fixed for March 9-10, will take stock of political realities in east and south Asia and the Pacific and will provide an opportunity for first-hand contacts with social democrats in that part of the world. On the occasion of this Council meeting I have had preparatory discussions with the parties of that region.

May I end by saying that the growing number of our meetings and activities is not the only measure of the vitality and impact of our organisation. These days, we ourselves are certainly disseminating our political message with much vigour. At the same time we note the eagerness for democratic socialism evidenced by the approaches made to the International by political forces in many parts of the world. With the authoritarian left moving into its twilight and the unbridled forces of the market shown to be no paradigm for human development, our message is as important as perhaps even more important than it has ever been.

RESOLUTIONS

BRIDGING THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE: **NEW ECONOMIC RELATIONS FOR THE** 19905

Introduction

1. The improved relations between the superpowers, the integration of the world economy and the broad movement towards economic and political reform greatly affect global development and create an opportunity for strengthening

international cooperation.

The tradition of socialism and social democracy based on the choice for an economy of social justice, the politics of pluralism, democracy and representation, as well as for strengthened international cooperation in all these areas lead the way to formulating new approaches for the 1990s.

2. The most significant change at the turn of the decade is that borders are

fading away.

The democratisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and the Baltic states, which offer new possibilities for international cooperation, will lead to a transformation of their economies. Their coming integration into the world economic system is now a crucial and formidable task for the countries concerned, as well as for the international community. It will also have an impact on the developing countries.

The enhancement of common security between East and West is connected with the movement of the countries of the South away from poverty. The new international configurations create new opportunities for democratisation, for peace and for better use of funds that so far were spent for a military build-up. The effects of increasing pollution of water, air and soil, destruction of forests, the advance of the deserts and uncontrolled mass-migration do not stop at national borders. In our interdependent world, global cooperation is needed.

3. A second major change in the global situation is the blurring of distinctions between 'North and South'. And the line between rich and poor is not of a purely geographical nature. If 'South' means poor and 'North' means rich, we now see that there is South in the North and North in the South. At the beginning of the 1990s we see, more than ever before, a picture of differentiation within and amongst countries.

Strengthening International Institutions

4. Opportunities and risks lie ahead in the context of these new realities. With one billion people living in absolute poverty, the situation has become critical. By the end of the century 6 billion people will share our planet. Security will

have to be defined in new ways. Massive poverty, environmental degradation, large-scale migration, respect for equal opportunities for women and for children's rights, AIDS and drug-problems require a of consensus on a comprehensive, global strategy. A strengthened role of international institutions is required to set priorities and manage interdependencies. The creation of a more equitable, and sustainable global order is urgently needed. This should begin by strengthening as well as reforming the present UN system so that it is able to take care of its duties in im-plementing the global development strategy for the 1990s, which is now under discussion in the UN General Assembly. The traditional concept of sovereignty will have to be redefined.

Good Governance and Human

Development

5. To be successful, development in the 1990s will have to be a common effort of West and East, North and South, of public authorities and private enterprise, of intergovernmental and independent non-governmental organisations and movements. In a development dialogue on equal footing, review, appraisal and criticism should be mutual. Good domestic governance and welfare is a necessary but insufficient condition in the struggle against poverty. International good governance and a fair international economic order is equally important. Developing countries have an equal right to criticise the governments of the rich partners in the world economy and must be able to compete in a fast-changing world of technological, cultural and economic innovations.

Primary attention should be given to the eradication of poverty, focussing on the human dimension of development. To eradicate poverty the autonomy of women should be stressed. Children should be given a first call on the world's resources. What is needed is a sustainable process of expanding the capacity, capabilities, creativity and initiatives of people; one that seeks to mobilise all the resources available to an economy, material and human; and one that systematically seeks out adequate methods of production which generate additional employment without hurting social justice or contributing to environmental degradation.

Human development implies development for, of, and by people. It is a process of enlarging people's capabili-ties, as well as their opportunities for better living standards. It requires political freedom, the guaranteeing of human rights, and better governmental capacity to administer the economic and socíal process.

Environment

6. The dangers of ecological distortion and degradation are enormous. Strong action is needed along the analysis of the Brundtland report. We need a common undertaking to avoid environmental risks.
The establishment of an Environmental Security Council is now a first and urgent task. Ultimately the protection of the environment requires substantial resource transfers from the industrial world to the developing countries. It should be recognised that there is a strong link between poverty and environmental degradation, and that the elimination of poverty is a condition for sustained environmental improvement and viceversa. Another priority in this context is to reduce the rate of population growth, which requires improvements of the living standards, education and health of the poor, particularly women, with full respect for human rights.

Adjustment with a Human Face

7. Although the globalisation of financial markets has reduced the scope for management of national economic policies, governments are still essential in setting the business environment, enhancing economic competition in unstructured markets, setting rules for the financial flows and for investment, protecting the poor, promoting industrialisation and modifying the outcomes of the markets when externalities such as environmental damage are neglected. Aworld public sector, under the auspices of the United Nations, is needed to countervail the present transnational private sector.

8. The role of governments in mutually agreed conditionality programmes should be acknowledged. Budget priorities should focus on reductions of subsidies to the privileged and to inefficient state sponsored agencies, on equitable tax systems, as well as on land reform. A strategy of 'adjustment with a human face' has to be supported. Such a strategy aims at changing productive struc-tures while also including:

fair competition on a national and

international level;

concentrating sectoral policy on employment and income earning areas including small farming and informal

greater equity as well as cost effectiveness in income policies and social programmes;

- compensatory programmes to pro-tect health and nutrition of the poor

during restructuring;
- closer monitoring of major aspects of living standards, so as to respond more quickly to deprivation;

ecological responsibility;

reduction of military expenditures; democratic control of economic

policy-making;
- transfer of financial and technological resources to developing countries.

9. The revitalisation of an ecologically responsible economic growth and social development in the developing countries calls for sustained growth of the world economy, especially in the East-

ern and developing countries.

A first priority for multilateral economic cooperation is the elimination of the net financial transfers from debtor to

creditor countries.

An important goal must be to relate debt servicing obligations to the long term capacity to pay. Debtors and creditors should accept co-responsibility for the debt crisis that has swept human development aside for almost a decade. It is urgent that a lasting solution to the debt crisis be reached. This requires a new debt strategy and more efficient and fair management and other measures to stop the outflow of capital from the debtor nations. Furthermore there is a need for a lasting solution to Sub-Saharan African and other low income debt. As a first step the IMF should achieve a zero net transfer level in low debtor countries by 1991. Adjustment policies can only succeed if debt over-hang is reduced.

A new initiative is needed for the poorest developing countries facing severe debt problems, particularly severely indebted Least Developed Countries and other severely indebted low income countries. Cancellation would be conditional upon implementation of sound economic policies and structural reforms (for example, agrarian and tax reforms) by the debtor countries concerned. Colléctive creditor action should quarantee maximum positive impact for each of the debtors concerned as well as equality in the treatment of creditors. Governments should urge the private sector

to cooperate.

Part of the funds that will become available because of the cancellation of debts must be used to ameliorate the position of children.

In principle debt cancellation should be additional to regular development

aid.

The activities of SI vice president Bettino Craxi on behalf of the UN secretary general have to be considered in the perspective of political governmental agreement on the solution of the debt problem.

Trade and Aid

10. A strengthening of trade opportunities of developing countries is essential for global development and for the reduction of the negative capital flow from

the South to the North. Strengthening of GATT, a more liberal and fair trade order with preferences to developing countries require urgent attention. It is necessary to use Compensatory Finance for solving structural supply problems in the commodity field. Effective steps to fight all kinds of protectionism and to abolish unfair trade barriers, especially against primary and developing country products, are urgently needed. Special attention has to be given to free trade on the agrarian and textile sector.

11. More measures are needed to stop the negative capital flow from South to North. Although ODA cannot solve all problems of development, especially the poorest developing countries cannot

develop without it. Developed countries should implement the undertakings they have made to obtain the agreed international target of devoting 0.7% of GDP to ODA and 0.15% to the least developed countries as a bare minimum.

Opportunities 12. Socialism and social-democracy have a long tradition of supporting social justice, internationalism and the UN. The United Nations have a large role to play in revitalising global development in the 1990s. In these ways we can move to a world in which by the year 2000 poverty and misery will have been greatly reduced, economic degradation radi-cally diminished, and the security of all people substantially increased.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE **UNITED NATIONS IN THE 1990s**

More than ever, political challenges as well as political opportunities in the 1990s transcend national and continental borders. Developments in technology and communications, movements of capital and people, new dangers arising from disease and poverty, environmental de-struction or drug trafficking can no longer be controlled by countries and nations

This universal recognition - not only by small and medium-sized nations, but even by superpowers - will have a decisive effect on the nature of future inter-

The concept of foreign policy is changing rapidly from one dealing exclusively with relations between states to one dealing with common responses to common challenges.

This development is the background for the recent revival of the United Nations and its return to the centre stage of world politics, but this direction of international affairs demands strengthening of the multilateral tools in international relations. A new approach to the relationship between national sovereignty and international responsibility will be demanded.

Today more than ever, the people and the nations of the world need a strong United Nations. The organisation has now the possibility to live up to its charter of 1945.

The SI, against this background, calls on the members of the United Nations to work for an organisation that is fit for its task in the 1990s.

In setting out these tasks it should be recognised that, in the future, security will mean more than military security. This recognition should be reflected in the future mandate of the Security Council, which should also include new security risks to mankind such as those arising out of environmental destruc-tion. The United Nations in its decisionmaking should be able to follow up this broadened security concept.

In a new situation the position of the

Secretary General should also be strengthened.

A procedure should therefore be established to secure that the most qualified candidate possible be elected. Such a procedure does not exist today.

Funding problems besetting the United Nations still threaten to undermine our most important tool for solving the global problems and meeting the possibilities of the '90s. New systems for financing the UN,

including a system of taxation, should now be explored.

The Socialist International, in urging: the strengthening of the UN and its

constituent bodies;
- the strengthening of the role of its

Secretary General and the strengthening of its financial

hopes to contribute to converting the present reactive approach of the organisation into a more consistent and reliable system for maintaining peace and security in the future.

RESOLUTION ON THE **GULF CRISIS**

The international community has joined together in the firmest condemnation of the invasion and annexation of Ku-

wait by Iraq. Iraq's act of violence, against which from the first moment the Socialist International took an unequivocal stand, has united the world in collective defence of fundamental principles. It has brought together governments from East and West, North and South, in their concrete determination to halt and repulse such

The Iraqi regime can be in no doubt of the world's will to defend international

The Socialist International reiterates its demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from the sovereign territory of Kuwait. In doing so, it expresses full support for the resolutions and initiatives of the United Nations Security Council.

Action by the international community in supporting sanctions and imposing a comprehensive embargo on trade with that country must be mantained and made ever more effective. Sanctions must be given time to work. Any military action in the region must only be under the auspices of the United Nations.

All foreign hostages must be released forthwith. Humanitarian aid to those fleeing from the violence of the occupying forces is an urgent priority. There must also be assistance for those weak economies of the region which have been affected by the turmoil that has resulted from the invasion.

Meanwhile, even at this stage of the crisis, efforts for peace - in which the Arab countries as well as the Arab League will continue to play an active part must be kept up. The recent speech made by François Mitterrand to the United Nations gives Iraqi authorities the opportunity to show their willingness to solve the situation by peaceful rather than military means. There can be no relaxation in the search for political and diplomatic initiatives which would end Iraq's grave affront to the world

Once the UN resolutions have been completely fulfilled and Iraq has withdrawn from Kuwait unconditionally, it is urgent in the Middle East as a whole to take new steps to support freedom, selfdetermination and social justice. Chemical arsenals must be destroyed and the development of biological and nuclear weapons must be halted. The Socialist International, in conformity with the Declaration adopted in Cairo, calls for an International Conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all interested parties, which would open the way to a final and global solution to all the problems and conflicts of the Middle East, including the Israeli-Arab conflict, the Palestinian problem and the crisis in Lebanon, and would contribute to the establishment of a new peaceful order for all the States and peoples of the region.

RESOLUTION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

The Council of the Socialist International notes with attention and interest the present situation in Central America and considers that the present social, economic and political conditions in that region are caused by, among other factors: (1) the problems which have arisen through the unjust nature of the economic relations between the region and the developed world; (2) the growing foreign debt that, for reasons concerning structure and deficient management of state affairs, has reached alarming levels; and (3) problems intensified by the lack of programmes to develop effective integration strategies.

rective integration strategies.

At the same time, the Council of the Socialist International considers that despite all of the progress achieved in bringing peace to the region, there are still serious problems to be resolved in order to pacify, democratise and demilitarise the societies of the isthmus; in this regard it is asked that all democratic governments and parties of the world avail themselves of the necessary joint efforts for cooperation, negotiation and reconstruction which must occur in Central America, to pave the way for peace, democracy and social justice in the entire region. In this context, the Council: (1) deplores the political deterioration seen in Guatemala in the form of the series of attacks and threats against

political leaders and members of the intellectual community, and other sectors of the population. In this connection, it calls the attention of the international community to the situation existing in this country; and (2) views with concern the fact that flagrant violation of human rights continues in Guatemala and El Salvador, and deplores the stalemate in negotiations between the government of El Salvador and the FMLN; therefore, it demands: (1) that the respective governments assume the necessary responsibilities to halt human rights violations in Guatemala and El Salvador, and (2) the development of productive negotiations in El Salvador which will allow, among other things, peace and the fearless expression of their will and preference by the people of El Salvador in the elections of 1991.

The current pressures in other regions of the world should not let us forget that much of the aggravation of the conflict in Central America has been the result of the interference of powerful nations in the developed world; to the extent that if now, under the pretext of other geopolitical and geostrategic priorities, the nations of the developed world neglect their cooperative efforts in Central America, they will be committing an irresponsible act of simple inhumanity.

RESOLUTION ON THE MURDER OF HECTOR OQUELI AND GILDA FLORES

The Council of the Socialist International, in view of the report on the official investigation presented by Professor Tom Farer - in collaboration with Professor Robert Goldman - considers that, nine months after the assassination of Héctor Oquelí Colindres and Gilda Flores it is clear that the Guatemalan government has not assumed with any degree of seriousness or responsibility the obligation of investigating the crime, despite the personal pledge made by President

Cerezo to the delegation of the Socialist International when it visited him in Guatemala.

In this regard, the Council of the Socialist International asks that the Government of Guatemala, and especially President Vinicio Cerezo, immediately undertake a systematic and legitimate investigation so that this crime may be brought to light and guilty parties identified. Furthermore, it also asks that President Alfredo Cristiani of El Salvador assume due responsibility for undertaking a serious investigation of the matter, since one of the victims was a prominent political figure from El Salvador and there is strong evidence to suggest that the crime involved extremist elements of the Salvadorean right wing.

EAST-WEST: COMMON SECURITY STATEMENT ADOPTED

After discussion of the SI Council's second main theme, 'East-West: Common Security', the Council approved and endorsed the Statement on Global Security issued by the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, following the SI Disarmament Conference held in Tampere, Finland, 5-6 September 1990. The statement was published in Socialist Affairs, Issue 3/1990.

RESOLUTION ON HAITI

The Socialist International notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the Provisional Electoral Council (PEC), the government, and other sectors of Haitian society for the upcoming elections set for December 16, 1990.

With respect to this situation, the Council of the SI, meeting in New York on October 8-9, resolved:

 To give the strongest possible support to the electoral process in Haiti and to request that the institutions concerned strengthen their already adequate arrangements so that the elections may be carried out under the best possible con-

ditions of security and credibility.

2. To send a delegation of SI observers whose mission would be to monitor the preparation period for the elections and the installation of the new government. 3. To give its solid support to the struggle of all Haitian democrats and to PANPRA, a member of the SI.

RESOLUTION ON GUYANA

The Council of the Socialist International: immediately communicates a vote of solidarity with all the people of Guyana

fighting for democracy;
- immediately calls on the government of Guyana to respect the wishes of the great majority of the citizens of Guyana to have international observers present at the upcoming elections in numbers to be agreed upon in negotiations between the government and the opposition;

the feasibility of the Socialist Interna-tional mobilising a team of monitors to go to Guyana to observe the conduct of the upcoming elections;

calls on the government of Guyana to immediately open negotiations with the joint opposition on the demands for electoral reform.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

Earlier this year the Socialist International welcomed the changes in South Africa marked by the unconditional re-lease of Nelson Mandela.

The Socialist International reiterates that only by accepting a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa, equal rights and the principle of one-personone-vote can the South African government convince the world that it is working towards the end of apartheid and not towards its reform. Though steps have been taken by President de Klerk in this direction, a clear commitment to genuine democracy and to constitutional reform is still lacking. The SI also de-plores the fact that the release of political prisoners is proceeding too slowly.

The SI expresses concern at the violence in the townships. This not only hampers the negotiating process, but also puts a severe burden on future relations in South Africa. The SI con-demns all kinds of violence and terrorism in South Africa and calls upon all community leaders to restrain their followers from provocative violence. The South African authorities are responsible for restoring order. The government whose 'home-land' policies are a primary cause of the violence, should purge its police forces and eliminate the so-called 'third force'. An independent judicial inquiry into the role of the South African police is necessary. The South African government must also act against ex-tremist organisations that aim to destroy the climate for negotiations.

The SI calls for a political dialogue with all the relevant anti-apartheid and

reform-minded forces in South Africa. This dialogue should be supplemented by an increase of international support for the anti-apartheid organisations that will play an important role in a new South Africa. Cultural contacts, aimed at strengthening anti-apartheid forces, support for returning exiles, and mate-rial help for organisations like the ANC that will have to build new political structures, are needed.

The international community, in the current debate in the UN General Assembly, should also commit itself to support a post-apartheid South Africa. Plans should be drawn up that will help a new South Africa, as part of a more stable, prosperous and democratic SADCC region, ('the Frontline States') to rise to the expectations of the black majority. [Such plans should also admajority. [Such plans should also address socio-economic problems in adjoining countries like Mozambique and Angola.] Especially in the fields of education, housing and institution-building, support will be of great importance.

The SI repeats its call for the implementation of the UN General Assembly declaration on South Africa of 14 Declaration of 14

declaration on South Africa of 14 December 1989. Reform in this country should be irreversible before economic sanctions can be lifted. Any decisions on sanctions moreover can only be taken after full consultation of the black majority. The international community should maintain sanctions. Now is not the time for a relaxation of pressure. Our aim is the end of apartheid, not the end of sanctions.

RESOLUTION ON **BURMA/MYANMAR**

The Socialist International reiterates its recognition of the convincing electoral victory of the National League for Democracy, and its deep appreciation of the democratic will of the people of Burma/Myanmar.

The Socialist International strongly condemns the military regime for continuing to ignore completely the un-equivocal outcome of the elections, and demands with emphasis the handing over of power to the elected Parliament.

The SI urges the release without delay of the NLD leaders and all political prisoners. The restoration of democracy in Burma/Myanmar will be a precondition for the necessary economic recovery and social progress. It will also facilitate a just and lasting solution to the coun-try's internal conflicts.

STATEMENT ON PAKISTAN

The SI Council, at its meeting in New York, expresses its continued support for the struggle to maintain the restoration of democracy in Pakistan which has been delayed by the forces of extremist conservatism and fundamentalism. We call for free and fair elections.

STATEMENT ON IRAN

The SI Council strongly condemns the torturing of Dr. Ali Ardalan by security guards and police in the prison of Te heran. It calls upon the Iranian President to order the immediate release of Ali Ardalan who has been a staunch fighter all his life for democracy and freedom in and for his country. A convinced social democrat, he led the struggles against the authoritarian forces of his country whatever they were.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Council of the Socialist International expresses support for the call of the re-established social democratic parties from Central and Eastern Europe for a return to their rightful owners of all the properties, equipment and cash expro-priated from these parties by the communist parties.

STATEMENT

by SI Vice-President Pierre Mauroy on 8 October 1990, on behalf of the SI Council

The explosion of violence and the escalation of military repression that took place this October 8 in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel and in East Jerusalem, which resulted in the deaths of dozens of Palestinian civilians, are a painful reminder of the urgency and the need, affirmed once again in the Cairo Resolution, to find a just and lasting solution to all conflicts in the Middle East within the context of international law and on the basis of UN resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

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OBSERVERS

Armenian National Movement C. Der Stepanian

SI OBSERVERS IN GUATEMALA FOR FIRSTROUND ELECTIONS

An observer delegation of the Socialist International was in Guatemala from 9 to 12 November, to observe voting on 11 November in the first round of presidential, congressional and municipal elections.

The delegation was led by Walter Coto, general secretary of the National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica and also included Karel Michiels, Socialist Party, SP, Belgium; Alejandra Faulbaum, Radical Party of Chile, PR; Jouko Elo, Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP; and Timoteo Zambrano and Daniel Romero, Democratic Action Party, AD, Venezuela.

The members of the SI group were accredited as official international observers and were able to exchange views and experiences with many other observers from national and international groupings who were in Guatemala to observe the elections, which took place against a background of escalating political violence in recent months.

Before the elections, the delegation held discussions with Mario Solórzano, leader of the SImember Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, of Guatemala, and other representatives of the party, who briefed them on the political situation in the country.

They also met the general secretary of the centre-left Party of National Advance, PAN.

On 10 November, the SI delegation had a meeting with outgoing Christian Democratic President Vinicio Cerezo. A press conference given by the delegation earlier that day had reflected the public and media concern aroused by the brutal and still unsolved murder of Héctor Oquelí and Gilda Flores in Guatemala last January. The

delegation took the opportunity of their meeting with President Cerezo to reiterate the grave concern of the Socialist International and the international community at the unsatisfactory nature of the investigation carried out by the Guatemalan authorities into this crime and to urge the president in the strongest terms to fulfil his commitment to ensure a full investigation before his term of office came to an end.

On election day, the SI representatives visited between them a large number of polling stations in and around the capital city, and also in the provincial city of Quetzaltenango. They were able freely to observe voting.

The impression formed by all members of the delegation was that the voting process was on the whole free, fair and efficiently organised and administered, reflecting favourably on the work of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal.

The group noted a low turn-out, however, at many of the polling stations visited - a factor of some significance for the results. (see Socialist Notebook, page 62, for first-round election results)

SI FOLLOWS ELECTORAL PROCESS IN HAITI

Delegations of the Socialist International visited Haiti, before and during the elections of December 16 to observe the electoral process in that country, as resolved at the SI Council meeting in October in New York. The SI has long supported the advancement of the democratic process in Haiti. The elections, it was hoped, were to be the first open and fair elections in Haiti for decades. Those of November 1987 - the first to be held following the fall of the Duvalier regime - were suspended, resulting in a large number of deaths. Subsequently, there was an attempt to hold another election which was boycotted by the main political forces in the country due to lack of guarantees.

A delegation to observe the preparations for the poll visited Haiti from 23 to 25 November. The delegation met the president of the republic, members of the provisional electoral council, the presidential candidates Marc Bazin and Jean-Bertrand Aristide and representatives of political parties including the leadership of the Progressive Revolutionary Nationalist Party, PANPRA, a

member party of the Socialist International. A total of 14 presidential candidates contested the elections. 12 other candidates had been disqualified by the electoral council including Roger Lafontant, Duvalier's former minister of the interior and leader of the 'Tontons Macoute', standing for the Union for National Reconciliation, URN. The constitution bans all persons associated with the Duvalier regime from elected office.

The delegation which was headed by Luis Ayala, the SI secretary general, included José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, of the Dominican Republic, a vice-president of the SI; Isidore Canop, Socialist Party, PS, France; Hugo Tolentino, Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic; and Elsa Boccheciampe and Rómulo Chaparro of the Democratic Action Party, AD, of Venezuela.

Later, from 14 to 18 December, another delegation of the Socialist International observed the elections which took place on Sunday 16. This SI delegation was headed by Conny Fredriksson, international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, and by Hugo Tolentino, vicepresident of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic, Other members of the delegation were Marie Duflo, Socialist Party, PS, France; Doug Payne, Social Democrats USA; Elsa Boccheciampe, Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela, and Maria Rodriguez-Jonas, Socialist International Women.

Apart from the Socialist International, the elections were also observed by teams from the United Nations; the Organisation of American States; and an international group led by former US president Jimmy Carter.

KALEVI SORSA

Kalevi Sorsa, vice-president of the Socialist International and speaker of the Finnish parliament, celebrated his 60th birthday on 21 December.

Kalevi Sorsa, who has several times occupied the Finnish premiership, has chaired the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, since its establishment in 1978.



MIDDLE EAST COMMITTEE CONTINUES SI MONITORING OF GULF CRISIS

The Socialist International Middle East Committee met in Stockholm on 24 September to discuss the Gulf crisis. The meeting, hosted by the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, was held in advance of the SI Council meeting in New York in October. In the absence of SIMEC chairman Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, the meeting was chaired by Luis Ayala, SI secretary general. Representatives of member parties from Europe, the Middle East and other areas attended.

The SI Middle East Committee, a longstanding body of the Socialist International, convenes regularly to examine developments and to formulate and recommend policies concerning the region.

The Stockholm meeting stressed and reaffirmed the condemnation by the international community of the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. The Committee underlined the determination of governments from East and West, North and South, to halt and

repulse such aggression; the demand for the unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from the sovereign territory of Kuwait and the release of all foreign hostages; the SI's full support for the resolutions and initiatives of the United Nations Security Council; the maintenance by the international community of sanctions and the imposition of a comprehensive embargo on trade with Iraq and action to make them ever more effective.

The Committee reiterated the urgency of new steps to support freedom, self determination and social justice in the Middle East as a whole. It called for the destruction of existing chemical arsenals and a halt to the development of biological and nuclear weapons in that region.

Following the Council meeting in New York which adopted a resolution on the Gulf crisis incorporating the consensus views of SIMEC at the Stockholm meeting, the Committee reconvened in Bonn on 26

November to review the prevailing situation in the Gulf in thelight of latest developments. The meeting was attended by SI President Willy Brandt, and was chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, chairman of SIMEC. Participants also included representatives from SI member parties in Austria, Belgium, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and Tunisia.

The meeting viewed with concern the deteriorating situation in the Gulf and reaffirmed the SI's resolution adopted in New York as well as its full support for the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. The Committee considered that attempts to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis should be pursued and asked SI President Willy Brandt to continue his efforts in this respect. It further agreed that the Committee members should continue their close monitoring of developments in the region and their exchange of information.

SI COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS MEETS IN LISBON

The Socialist International
Committee on Human Rights met
in Lisbon on 11 December at the
invitation of the Socialist Party of
Portugal. The meeting was chaired
by Peter Jankowitsch,
international secretary of the
Socialist Party of Austria.
Participants included
representatives from member
parties in Europe, Africa, Latin
America and the Middle East.

Jorge Sampaio, secretary general of the Portuguese Socialist Party headed the host party's

delegation. The Committee discussed the SI's contribution to the defence and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the light of the SI's long-term commitment to human rights and the platform on human rights which was adopted by the SI Congress in Stockholm in June 1989. Along with deciding on areas of special concern which will be included in the ongoing work of the Committee, it also examined some regional human rights problems. Attention was also given to the rights of refugees and asylum seekers as the Committee is presently

elaborating a plan for adoption on this matter.

The question of East Timor, occupied since 1975 by Indonesian forces, was discussed. The Committee called on Indonesia to apply UN resolutions and called on Indonesia and Portugal under the UN Mandate to search for a peaceful solution of the conflict in East Timor in favour of the right to selfdetermination of the East Timor people. It condemned the violations of elementary human rights in East Timor by the authorities of the occupying country and urged Indonesia to stop these violations and to promote respect for the collective and individual rights of the East Timor people.