

# INTERNACIONAL SOCIALISTA



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### LIMA - PERU





## ***Facing the challenges ahead***

On 20-23 June the Socialist International held its seventeenth congress in Lima with the theme of 'Peace and economic solidarity' at the centre of the stage. This issue of Focus carries edited versions of the contributions by Willy Brandt, Kalevi Sorsa and Michael Manley, and thus provides a stimulating insight into the debate which took place in Lima.

The struggle for disarmament and the struggle for development cannot be separated, since peace and economic security are inextricably linked: each requires and depends on the other. Thus, Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister, sets disarmament and security initiatives within a much wider context than the highly technical negotiations surrounding arms-control agreements. 'In the long run, only a comprehensive strategy involving equitable socio-economic development, democratic and participatory reform, and the promotion of political, economic, social and cultural rights' would guarantee the solution of conflicts. Such is the nature of the dual challenge facing democratic socialists.

Discussions round the theme of 'one world', however, were not exclusively limited to the need for a new international order based on peace and economic cooperation. The last section of the Manifesto of Lima emphasises and dwells at length on the need for the transformation of the Socialist International 'from a male-centred organisation into an integrated one, giving justice to women all over the world'. That too is a major challenge.

And in facing up to the new challenges, many at the Lima Congress evoked the memory of Olof Palme, the late leader of the Swedish Social Democrats. Anita Gradin, head of the Swedish delegation, spoke for many when she said that 'Olof Palme was a man who had the courage to be in the forefront of many international battles; his work for peace and security, for freedom and justice, inspired many of us.'



*The bowl pictured above, part of the image used on the official poster of the Lima Congress, was made by Peruvian craftspeople.*



# *The SI: A global force of peace and social progress*

Opening the Lima congress, SI President **WILLY BRANDT** reflected on the Socialist International's task of promoting world disarmament and development.

**F**irst of all I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the President of the Republic and to our APRA friends who made it possible for this congress to be held here in Lima. We are all glad to be here and we appreciate the warm welcome extended to us.

My second word is a cordial welcome to all delegates, many of whom had to come a long way for this meeting. I also welcome the numerous observers and guests from all parts of the world who are with us at this congress of the Socialist International.

I am sure that I speak in everybody's name when I say: we are also glad to be here because it gives us the opportunity to demonstrate our solidarity with the forces of progress and social democracy in Latin America.

On this occasion our special sympathy goes to the people of Peru and to its President, Alan García.

We are aware of your difficulties, many of which are not of domestic origin. But you should know that you have friends all over the world. They will not let you down. We are on your side in your struggle against civil strife and misery, for social betterment and economic progress.

Evil forces are threatening in many parts. They took the life of Olof Palme, our beloved brother. But we must understand that there are situations in which defending oneself cannot be restricted to words. And there is no doubt in my mind that constructive ideas – and resolute deeds – are the only valid instrument to defeat destructive illusions.

During these days the forum of the Socialist International stands ready once more to sharpen our thinking and to concentrate on our forces:

- forces which intend to stop the insanity of the arms race in order to make world peace safer and to divert resources into more productive uses;
- forces which want to reopen the stalled dialogue between North and South and to help solve that crippling debt crisis with its particularly severe impact on Latin American countries;
- forces which recognise how much will depend on raising public awareness of those global issues stemming from the accelerating destruction of our natural environment – in addition to the global economic problems that are out of control;
- and not least, forces which intend to continue and to strengthen the struggle for individual and collective human rights; the struggle with which our movement has been closely associated from its early beginnings, an association that will remain unbreakable.

Democratic socialism without human rights would be like

christendom without Jesus.

I note with great satisfaction that there are more women at this congress than we had become used to seeing at similar occasions in the past. But today, who would want to argue that the realisation of human rights includes equality of women and men in practice and not just in a formal sense? Without doubt it is part of the road from a predominantly male society to one that is truly human; in our sphere of influence we must make sure that there is full and equal participation of women at all levels of political responsibility.

In that sense we should not only pay attention to what our Socialist International Women discussed and resolved these last few days; we should analyse it and we should be ready to carry it on.

This congress in Latin America sets a landmark and a signal in the development of our international community. Meeting in Peru also means that the Socialist International is coming together in the country and on the soil of the unforgotten Haya de la Torre and at the source of 'indo-americanism'. This is not a matter of course, and much less is it without meaning.

I recall what Haya de la Torre told us ten years ago at the conference in Caracas. He quoted Goethe, the great German poet, who has Mephisto saying that theories are rather bland while only life itself shows all the colours. What else should have been the meaning of that reference if not a reminder of the fact that all truths of life are real. Thus we should also be aware of the roots from which democratic socialism grew in Europe, and not only there. And where the points of contact can be found with regard to the indigenous forces in this part of the world, in Latin America including the Caribbean. And also what you in the Americas and we in Europe have in common with similar movements, with intellectual-political thinking in Africa and in the Middle East, in the vast continent of Asia, in the Pacific.

**I**n its different forms of organisation the Socialist International looks back on a history of 120 years. Nevertheless we are only just at the beginning of what our predecessors had seen as their task. As a movement of ideas and as a possibility of coordination grounded on principles the period of development is still before us – if the human race actually survives, that is. But then it is the effort to assure survival which is at the centre of what we are striving for.

The Socialist International is neither a superpower nor a super-party. But it encompasses more than five dozen parties after all, two dozen of which are in government, others in the role of strong oppositions. To us belong twelve friendly and associated international organisations; and good working





***'We democratic socialists stand for the expansion of individual freedoms of which some others only love to talk.'***

relations exist between us and numerous political organisations, especially in third-world countries.

Back in 1864, among the aims of that small European club founded in London under the name of 'International Workers Association' was the struggle for a dignified life for the working people. The struggle for peace – against colonialism, warmongering and the arms race – filled the renewed International of 1889 with life. The colouring we give to both in our present International, a club that has grown much larger and truly international, is different as the world has changed. Still, at the heart of the matter the task remains unchanged; the aim still is the welfare of the working people (and those excluded from work), their liberation from degradation and exploitation. At the centre still is the nations' right to self-determination, opposition against arrogant imperialism which uses people like pawns in a game of chess; where they are not masters of their own destiny but objects of paternalism and of outside forces.

The tradition of the International as a human liberation movement can be an inspiration; in any case, it need not make us feel ashamed. The memories of a strong tradition and of undisputed achievements can help us hold on to our guiding principles in a world that is becoming ever more complicated.

I think we might succeed in agreeing on a renewed declaration of principles, perhaps by the time of our next congress in three years. It has been some thirty-five years since the aims and objectives of democratic socialism were formulated in the Frankfurt declaration. Preparatory work for what is to replace that declaration has made good progress in small working groups. My feeling is that we might now need a wider discussion. If the programme of the Socialist International is to gain real importance it has to become a matter of serious concern for all the member parties. The Lima Declaration

which this Congress will be invited to adopt is an important step in the right direction.

Perhaps you will permit a reference to recent experience in my own party. A commission which I chaired just completed its deliberations on a draft programme which is to amend, and lead on from, our programme adopted back in 1959, the so-called Godesberg Programme. We had no problem reconfirming our basic orientations. It was more difficult, however, to deal with a number of new topics that have arisen since the 1960s:

- the full implementation of equal rights between men and women, and the future of working under conditions of increasing automation;
- claims on hyper-modern technology that assure its human appropriateness – very much in the forefront after the Chernobyl event;
- the requirements of co-determination (Mitbestimmung) and democratisation of work;
- criteria for economic growth of a kind that is acceptable in terms of its ecological and social effects; and, not least
- the meaning of combining the state of law and the welfare state, merging both into what in German one might call 'Kulturstaat', ie. a culture-oriented society.

For our international orientation, too, we could not just repeat our earlier statements. With common survival of the human race now being at stake the question of how to organise peace must be reconsidered. The need for fundamental reforms of the world economy has become more obvious. The same holds with regard to a whole group of international organisations. It is at least as important for various forms of regional cooperation and even integration.

Unfortunately, multilateralism in general has suffered some severe blows recently. The United Nations Organisation itself is in financial trouble. The UN secretary general has asked me to assist in overcoming the existing misconception of the role of the UN. It seems ironic indeed, if not ridiculous, that financial issues of relatively minor importance are hampering the work of the UN at a time when in many conflict situations it is playing a more important role than ever before. The world really should know that the UN budget is just about the size of that of the New York City fire department.

**W**ithin the Socialist International we need to bring together the insights of democratic socialists in industrial countries and of those in countries whose development continues to be hampered – not just by outside forces. Such a combination of insights will produce additional arguments justifying why what some of us have called the 'internationalisation of the International' is not only possible but continues to be necessary. And what moving force, what promise it can hold.

The Socialist International as a global force of peace and social progress, of conservation of and care for the natural and social bases of life – this is the continuation of a tradition which keeps the flame burning instead of guarding the ashes. This could indeed inspire our future work.

Our way from the Geneva Congress in 1976 has now brought us to Lima: there were impressive stops along this road. Let me mention our congresses in Vancouver, Madrid and Albufeira; our meetings in Dakar, Tokyo, Arusha and Gaborone. And some stops which have made Latin America such an important pillar of our organisation: Caracas and Mexico in 1976, Lisbon in 1978, Santo Domingo in 1980, Rio de Janeiro in 1984.

When I said that we are only just at the beginning of what we have set ourselves as our task I also meant that our international community as an organisation needs to adjust itself to new requirements. As an idea social democracy and



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democratic socialism were always more advanced in the international sphere than as an organisation. This being a fact, it should not prevent us from attempting some improvements.

Clarifying issues, coordinating initiatives and strengthening organisational structures are all needed if we want to give a somewhat satisfactory response to the challenges we have to expect. Some proposals in front of this congress I consider useful in this respect.

At this point I should like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the honorary presidents and the vice-presidents and to our general secretary and his colleagues, but also to those carrying respective responsibilities in our member and consultative parties, as well as in a number of friendly organisations.

The need for programmatic actions and for political and organisational efforts also results from the challenge of the neo-conservative offensive with which we have been confronted for some years and in a considerable number of countries. According to its masterminds, that offensive goes against the concept of the welfare state and the very ideas of international social democracy. We will only be able to resist it if we do not give up the vision and the historic achievements of the welfare state, and if we do not limit ourselves to merely defending achievements of the past.

The great deception of the neo-conservative offensive lies in the complete lack of moderation with which a majority is being deceived by promises of what only a minority will ever get. But this is a serious weakness of that offensive, and it is there that we must apply the lever.

For this is the truth: we social democrats and democratic socialists, we stand for the expansion of individual freedoms of which some others only love to talk. We are the ones who recognise each individual's right to a dignified life and to personal happiness. What else is it that history shows? The history of the labour movement, of liberation movements, of democratic socialism? But history also reminds us that social decline and degradation of a majority was too high a price for the good life of minority elites.

History has demonstrated the creative talents of large groups of society and that these must be released if progress is to have its chance. History tells us that widening personal freedoms remains just a slogan as long as only a minority enjoys the benefits; and when the so-called free play of capitalism produces a rather skewed distribution of opportunities in favour of that minority.

Contrary to what the neo-conservative philosophy of the right is meant to claim, the democratic social or welfare state is not a brake on the wheel of progress but rather provides the wheel on which progress rides.

Let me put it this way: we must create a situation in which a majority understands us when we say that we want a future based more on cooperation than excessive competition. We expect nothing from competitive greed as the basic philosophy of government. Without solidarity there is no peace – neither within nor between states and nations.

It has always been our principle that peace – domestically and internationally – must be secured through freedom and justice.

Now, nobody would argue that in these last few years the world had become a safer place or that it had gained in hope – quite the contrary. For many years there have been talks about disarmament. In reality, we have seen ever more turns of the arms spiral. If this cannot be stopped there is but little hope for the future of the human race.

**T**he fate of our globe may well depend on whether a new mode of coexistence can be achieved between the two nuclear superpowers, something of which recently one could



*Industry adrift: Unemployed fishing for eels in London docklands*

have had the impression that it might actually be possible. Right now not much of the 'spirit of Geneva' seems to have survived. We must address all states with a certain military potential of their own: everyone by now should understand how foolish it would be if they did not listen to what the respective other side has to say. And this also means: all serious proposals must be taken seriously, must be appreciated and analysed even if they happen to originate in Moscow.

Testing all relevant proposals for arms limitation to me is much more important than tests of ever more advanced weapon systems.

Everybody knows about the fundamental differences between democratic socialism and authoritarian communism. Yet we also know of the overriding obligation towards preserving peace which takes priority over opposing ideologies.

Above all we need a new way of thinking, in conformity with the rules of the atomic age. It is necessary for both superpowers – and all of us together with them – to accept the fact that for all of us and even for them there is no alternative to common security.

Last October at a special conference in Vienna we summarised and tried to project our own thinking on security and disarmament policy. At that meeting both superpowers as well as the People's Republic of China, India – on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement – Yugoslavia and the United Nations were represented. We will have to reinforce and broaden our appeal:

- that a test ban – and in fact a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty – would make sense and therefore should be agreed; the Five-Continent summit to take place this summer could be of considerable importance in this connection;
- that new and serious talks are needed about the withdrawal on both sides of missiles which were deployed without any real need; that talks must be held about the limitation of troops and nuclear as well as conventional arms; and
- that we really do not need any new round of developing binary chemical means of mass destruction.

And we need bread for the hungry rather than weapons in space.





I already pointed to the fact that the state of the world economy continues to be a matter of considerable concern. Some objective conditions improved to a certain extent but mass unemployment and underemployment continue to exist even in the so-called North. For the so-called South a solution to the debt crisis is not in sight, and the danger of new trade wars is very real indeed.

We are all very pleased with the important progress of democratisation in Latin America. We were able to make a small contribution, and we will certainly not remain silent until Chile and Paraguay are free from dictatorship. And until Central America, free from military interventions, is allowed to seek its own way.

It deserves to be recognised that the United States did help to promote democratisation in a number of Latin American countries – as well as to end the Marcos regime in the Philippines. But one should also see the links between debt and democracy, between development and peace, and one should draw appropriate conclusions.

On several occasions during the past few years we had to concentrate on the crisis in Central America. That was not our choice. Our partners in Central America but also some in Washington informed us of their views of this problem; and I am very much aware of the fact that from a third-world point of view North-South takes on a dimension considerably different from that of many European observers. Nevertheless, I think we agree when I say that revanchism always turned out to be detrimental. And international law of course must be observed by all; it is not only binding for small states but even for the biggest. It is not some kind of two-class law.

Our world has no need for interventions à la Nicaragua and it cannot accept occupations à l'Afghanistan.

In this context it appears to me that in the strongest possible terms we must encourage the peace initiative which originated in this region: the Contadora process including the South American support group. What has been tried in this regard deserves the encouragement and the support of the Socialist International, and not least that of its European parties.

Incidentally, I believe the areas of our activity in the coming years are pretty much predetermined; they are reflected in the agenda of this congress. Partly they are determined by problems in old and new crisis regions. Thus, repeatedly even if without real success we tried to assist in overcoming the conflicts in the Middle East. Without overextending ourselves it should be evident and there should be no doubt that our good offices will be available when they might be of use.

***'At the heart of the matter our task remains unchanged; the aim is still the welfare of working people (and those excluded from work), their liberation from degradation and exploitation.'***

Not least this holds for Africa. I believe our African friends present here in Lima realise that in recent years our International has made great efforts – for us nevertheless as a matter of course – to support their justified aims. With our meetings in Arusha and Gaborone we sent out signals: above all we support the struggle against apartheid. And in my view the new report by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa is of considerable importance in this connection.

I myself visited South Africa in April, and I was rather depressed when I left. The picture I saw was much bleaker than I had anticipated from earlier descriptions. What is at stake in South Africa – and this has been demonstrated during the last few days – is more than just a verbal reaction to a pre-revolutionary situation. Really at stake is the fate of a large number of people who are threatened with being crushed. We cannot remain silent on this situation. We will have to prove our solidarity by action.

We have been in the forefront against terrorism and for the implementation of human rights everywhere. We remain adamant – not just where certain conservatives prefer to raise these issues. For us this is a matter of concern in Chile and in Cambodia; in the Middle East and in South Africa; in the case of illegal intervention and of misdeeds in the name of state security.

The struggle for human dignity and human rights, against hunger and poverty, is a task that must continue to determine our day-to-day activities. And nothing can be more important than the fate of endangered people and how best they could find relief.

That was the principle followed by Olof Palme whom we miss so much:

- time and again he told us and others that apartheid could not be reformed, that it could only be abolished;
- he was concerned about the crisis in the Middle East, and on behalf of the United Nations he tried to find a solution to the Gulf war;
- two years ago at our meeting in Denmark he told us that whoever had a kind heart could not let down an anti-Somoza Nicaragua;
- the Commission that carries his name established new standards in the moral-oriented as well as pragmatic fight for disarmament; and
- his very last signature he put to a document of the five-continent-initiative.

All this – in addition to his great contribution to achievements in his home country – had been inspired and informed by the strong tradition of Scandinavian social democracy.

I really cannot see any reasonable alternative: I see no alternative to peace and development. I see no alternative to human rights and solidarity – there is no other hope. And we will not get anything for free. We must make even bigger efforts.





# ***Our fate cannot be left to the superpowers***

At Lima, **KALEVI SORSA**, the Finnish prime minister and chair of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, introduced the SI's new report on disarmament and arms control.

**T**he determined effort of the Socialist International to work for disarmament spans a period of some eight years. It was in April 1978 that the first Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Helsinki.

Subsequently, a Study Group on Disarmament – later to become the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC – started its work. A disarmament report was adopted by the Socialist International Congress in Madrid in November 1980.

SIDAC has now completed a new disarmament report. It is not just an updated edition of the previous report but an effort to take a fresh look at issues of current interest. For instance, there is not much in the 1980 report on the need to prevent a militarisation of outer space. Much to our regret, this question is now one of the primary tasks on our agenda.

We have not limited our report to questions of strategic nuclear disarmament and preventing an arms race affecting outer space, but have also dealt with regional disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, with the peaceful resolution of conflicts, with disarmament and development, I hope that our report will be of help as a basis for the disarmament and peace activities of the Socialist International during the next years.

In preparing its report, SIDAC has again been in contact with the parties concerned. We were well received last year both in Moscow and Washington and we had extensive and informative talks on a high political and expert level. The Second Socialist International Conference on Disarmament last October in Vienna was an occasion not only for discussions among democratic socialists but also for a dialogue between us and the great powers, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations. We have also been in contact several times with the two great powers during recent months.

**I**n 1984, we felt in SIDAC that an intensification of our efforts was called for. Arms control was at a standstill. The verbal aggressiveness of the superpowers found sharper and



sharper expressions. Someone must act, we thought.

During the ensuing period, the Socialist International has pressed for change, in Bommersvik in June 1985, in Vienna, in SIDAC's contacts with the superpowers. We told them that they should act now, encouraged them to meet at the highest political level, and listed a number of issues which in our opinion should be solved first, such as the preservation of the SALT agreements and the ABM Treaty and the halting of all nuclear-weapon tests.

We were, of course, not alone in putting forward these demands. In particular, the activities of the Palme Commission and of the six heads of state and government cooperating in the Five Continents' Peace Initiative are telling examples of what responsible political leadership, listening to the voices of humanity and world public opinion, can do to work for change. I feel deep sorrow over the fact that Olof



Palme was not allowed to see all his ideals and ideas come true. But we can assure you, Olof, that we will continue the struggle and that one day the global fetters posed by the arms race will be broken. We must regain our right to life and survival, to develop our societies freely, and to live our lives in peace, freedom and solidarity.

The prospects are far from assuring. Yes, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States met last November. yes, they have both declared their readiness to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. Yes, there are talks going on in Geneva and elsewhere. But the two main actors still seem to speak beside each other and be unable to start a real give-and-take process. In fact, even past achievements such as the SALT ceilings and the ABM Treaty may now be in jeopardy. There are as yet no clear signs of a halt and then final prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Such a halt would be a good sign to the world that both parties are serious about arms control. SIDAC appeals to the United States to join in a halt on nuclear tests and to resume negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The present debate going on in the United States on the fate of the SALT ceilings prompts the following comment: if that question is to be made the main issue surrounding a possible new summit meeting, world public opinion will not be satisfied. Disregarding the SALT limits would, of course, be a dangerous step but we cannot content ourselves with the preservation of these ceilings that are far too high. The will for real disarmament that has been declared must now be put into practice.

It is noteworthy that both parties have established common ground in certain areas when it comes to declarations of objectives and principles. I am thinking not only of their commitment to reducing and finally eliminating nuclear weapons, but also of the possibilities of conventional reductions in Europe. Recent developments have shown that there is, in principle at least, a basis for making progress in this field, including the crucial question of the verification of force reductions. Here again it is now a matter of turning these words into deeds. We would all be completely disillusioned if it turned out that no real progress is made, despite the verbal commitments.

The report prepared by SIDAC testifies to a belief in systematic and determined action for arms control and disarmament. Comrades, there is no need for me to explain to this audience why it is crucial to have results now, with so many important decisions affecting our imminent future, and with all the global issues such as the debt problem demanding resources and peaceful cooperation.

It appears to become more and more evident that the era of a working relationship between the superpowers as the dominant force in arms control and disarmament is over, or at least in deep long-lasting crisis. We have entered a new, more complicated, multilateral world. In this period of uncertainty, it is more important than ever that the fate of all of us is not left to the major military powers alone. We must strengthen the mass movement for disarmament 'from beneath'. The member parties of the Socialist International, among others, must do more to help correcting the present situation. And let us pledge ourselves to be as vigilant in government as in opposition.

**R**egional and local solutions and even unilateral measures must be pursued as a complement to the global negotiations. Here in Latin America, one is reminded of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the need for nuclear-weapon-free zones in general. The initiatives of our host country to restrict the transfer of arms and conventional armaments in the region also deserve our full support. These examples

should be followed in other regions, as has been done in the South Pacific by the recent establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that area.

Regional arms control is important not only for the sake of disarmament as such, but also because it would release expenditures badly needed for economic and social development. The solution of conflicts, whether international or internal, can only be successful in the long run if there is a comprehensive strategy involving, as SIDAC notes in its new report, equitable socioeconomic development, democratic, participatory reform and the promotion of human rights, both civil and political and economic, social and cultural rights.

In our report we also noted that the arms race has become more and more influenced by tactical political considerations rather than prudent needs of national security. This, of course, is a regrettable trend. It indicates, on the other hand, that regional solutions, unilateral steps and other similar measures may be of considerable value because they – even when their strictly military value is limited – have a political impact. Bad policies must be replaced by good policies. The argument that regional measures may be detrimental because they might foster alternative armaments in other areas is in my view utterly unconvincing. We have listened to this argument over the years but, comrades, where are the results of the global negotiations? In what way has refraining from regional solutions improved the global scene?

I firmly believe it has not, and I feel that we must draw the necessary conclusions. Not only regional and local solutions are called for, but we must strengthen indigenous and independent approaches in general. For instance, the non-nuclear-weapon states of Europe should come together and put up a common front against the nuclear arms buildup.

The Socialist International has made a serious and sustained effort for disarmament and we will continue to do so. We have made our own analyses and put forward our own demands. We challenge the other political forces to do the same. In the arms race there are only losers, in the survival race there are only winners.





### Conclusions and recommendations of the SIDAC report

In the view of the Socialist International, the above-mentioned perspectives and goals require that the following measures be taken in order to further **strategic disarmament**:

- All arms control and disarmament agreements in force must be scrupulously upheld by all parties concerned.
- The limits set by the SALT I and II agreements should also continue to be respected by both parties.
- The US government should reciprocate the Soviet moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests.
- The negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) must be immediately resumed, as required by the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty. A verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and it should apply to all nuclear-weapon powers.
- A process for the reduction of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems should be pursued vigorously with the aim of eliminating nuclear arms. It should be initiated by reducing by 50 percent the number of strategic nuclear warheads combined with corresponding restrictions on launchers and on missile-testing.
- To allow the reduction of offensive arms, the development and deployment of anti-missile systems and an arms race affecting outer space must be prevented.
- The Soviet Union and the United States must reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty. Negotiations should be pursued to establish unambiguous limits to research and to ban the fixed ground-based ABM systems allowed under the Treaty.
- Negotiations should also be pursued to ban the testing, deployment and use of anti-satellite systems and all other space weapons. Outer space must be preserved for peaceful purposes and international, regional and bilateral cooperation in this field strengthened. The technological challenges posed by anti-missile and anti-satellite programmes should be met by such cooperation.
- Within the framework of the United Nations or in a regional context, international arrangements for the verification of arms control and disarmament agreements by satellite or otherwise should be initiated.
- A global ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons should be concluded without further delay within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament.
- In order to further the early conclusion of a global ban on chemical weapons, states which possess such weapons should strictly abide by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in war and should refrain from the production and deployment of new types of chemical weapons, in particular binary weapons. Governments should dismantle special units trained for chemical warfare.
- In order to reduce the risk of nuclear war, a series of confidence- and security-building measures should be initiated, including disengaging and reducing tactical nuclear and conventional forces and devising mechanisms for the prevention of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war.
- The principles of non-use of nuclear weapons and of non-use of force should be strengthened by appropriate treaty

arrangements and by security stability, on as low a level as possible, of nuclear and conventional forces. The main military alliances should conclude an agreement on the renunciation of force, including the use of nuclear and conventional weapons. This agreement should encompass the obligation to withdraw those nuclear weapons which are designed to have the capability of implementing the concept of first use.

In the view of the Socialist International the present situation calls for the following measures of relevance for **regional nuclear and chemical disarmament**, pending the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons:

- The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be strengthened by both the nuclear-weapon powers and the non-nuclear-weapon states. All states should adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty while the nuclear-weapon powers must pave the way for non-proliferation by promptly initiating real nuclear disarmament, including the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.
- The sovereign rights of peoples and governments not to allow the stationing or temporary presence of nuclear weapons on their territories must be respected. A process of withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territories of non-nuclear-weapon members of military alliances should be initiated.
- The example set by the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco and the 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty should inspire the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions, such as Northern Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East. The non-nuclear status of Africa should be formalised and should include the territory of South Africa. The Treaty of Tlatelolco should be applied in the whole Latin American region and it, as well as the South Pacific Nuclear-Free zone Treaty, should be brought fully into force.
- The nuclear-weapon powers should support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones eg. by recognising the status of such zones and by contributing with collateral measures of constraint.
- The Soviet Union and the United States should immediately halt further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and agree on reducing and eliminating existing systems on both sides, including those systems which were deployed in Eastern Europe in response to the deployment of new US intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe. Action should be taken to explore whether halting deployments in one or more countries facilitated an agreement, based on the zero option in Europe.
- In addition, it is necessary to reduce battlefield nuclear weapons deployed in Central Europe. The proposal of the Palme Commission to start the elimination of nuclear battlefield weapons with agreements on a nuclear-weapons-free corridor should be actively pursued.
- Regional disarmament measures should be undertaken to promote global arms reductions. The proposal for an agreement to establish a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe, jointly elaborated by the SPD of the Federal Republic of Germany and the SED of the German Democratic Republic, can be considered as a model for a bilateral and regional plan for arms reduction, crossing, as it does, the



frontier of blocs and being based on the notions of common detente and security.

- A conference of the European non-nuclear-weapon states should be convened. This would provide a forum for a common non-nuclear-weapon perspective to European security and could promote a broad dialogue with the nuclear-weapon powers.

To further **conventional disarmament**, and the peaceful settlement of disputes as well as economic and social development, the Socialist International recommends the following measures, in particular:

- In the Stockholm Conference, the first agreements, to be concluded well in advance of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in October 1986, should include, in addition to the first-generation CBMs on notification and observation of military activities, significant measures on constraints and the strengthening of the principle of non-use of force. After the Vienna meeting, the process should focus upon measures of European arms control and disarmament.

- In the Vienna talks a reduction of manpower in Central Europe should be promptly concluded and further negotiations on the reduction of forces initiated, taking into account also the possibility of making headway through unilateral action and informal bargaining. A first agreement should not be limited to symbolic reductions and to the freezing of existing forces, but the original aim of reducing the level of forces down to the previously agreed number of 900,000 soldiers on both sides and including a reduction of conventional armaments should be maintained.

- Confidence- and security-building measures should be created for other regions too, such as Central America, the Middle East and Southwest and Southeast Asia. The European experience can be of help but the initiative must come from the countries concerned.

- Restrictions on arms transfers should be brought back to the agenda of international arms control. The suppliers and the recipients should agree upon the limitation, reduction and control of such transfers. These measures are of particular importance in sensitive areas and with regard to weapons that are by their nature indiscriminate or destabilising.

- Recipient countries should cooperate within a regional framework to promote the limitation of arms transfers to the region. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru, put forward to other South American states, to restrict jointly the influx of weapons to the region.

- All states that have not done so should, without reservations, ratify or accede to the 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the protection of victims of war and to the 1980 UN Convention on Prohibition or Restriction on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons. The possibilities of strengthening international scrutiny of the application of humanitarian agreements should be actively promoted by governments and international organisations. The right of international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out their humanitarian functions even in internal conflicts must be respected.

- The peace-building and peace-keeping role of the United Nations must be strengthened, eg. by lending support to the efforts of the secretary-general, in cooperation with the Security Council, to foster the UN system of collective security as defined by the Charter. The Security Council should use its powers more actively in the case of threats to peace, breaches of peace or acts of aggression. The possibilities of the UN machinery to resort to fact-finding, conciliation and other measures of conflicts settlement should be improved.

- Equally important is the strengthening of regional institutions in the settlement of conflicts. The peace-keeping role of regional organisations could, for instance, be developed in cooperation with the United Nations. Neutral and non-aligned countries as well as transregional fora and bodies could also make a significant contribution. In the European CSCE context the possibilities of designing new mechanisms for the settlement of disputes among the CSCE countries should be further explored.

- In order to give concrete substance to the idea of promoting development through disarmament, an international institution should be established. The Socialist International welcomes the French proposal to create an international disarmament for development fund. A preference of allocations from such a fund should be established, such as the favouring of the least developed countries, the heavily indebted countries and countries hit by regional conflicts and refugee problems.





# *Developing common economic approaches*

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At Lima, **MICHAEL MANLEY**, the former Jamaican prime minister and chair of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, introduced the SI's action programme on the world economy, based on the conclusions of the *Global Challenge* report.

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**I**n an analysis of the results of the work of the Committee on Economic Policy, it is important to remember the historical context in which the initiative came about, arising as it did from a series of developments in the 1970s. Firstly, there was the emergence of the radical right as a major political force, exploiting a misinterpretation of the causes of world inflation to put monetarism at the centre of the political agenda. Secondly, the 1970s began to see the countries of the third world identifying their continuing crisis as having structural causes related to the nature of the world economy. Then, of course, there was the Brandt Commission which emerged as a beacon of hope for mankind. For the first time an international body of such prestige identified the nature of interdependence in the world, and called for cooperation between the North and South to develop a joint response to the common crisis.

It was a tragedy of history that the work of the Brandt Commission fell foul of the historical forces dominating electoral politics at the end of the 1970s. However, this was a temporary reversal: as the 1980s unfold it is becoming clear that the essential vision of Willy Brandt will survive and that that of Reagan and Thatcher will perish.

After the Cancun conference which effectively halted the vision of the Brandt Commission, there were efforts in 1981 to find new ways to restart the North-South dialogue. Indeed, there was a conference in Kingston, the very pertinent initiative of Bruno Kreisky in Europe in 1982, looking at problems of European recovery, and so we came to Albufeira in 1983, which established the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy. Beginning its work in 1983, the Committee produced *Global Challenge* two years later. *Global Challenge* is the title given to the formal summary of two years of work examining these economic problems.

*Global Challenge* was not only based on the primary analysis of the Brandt Commission but also tried to extend it further by aiming to set ideas for cooperation in political motion. In 1985 the Bureau of the SI formally adopted *Global Challenge* in Bommersvik. The report has been translated into Spanish and Portuguese, and efforts are being made to translate it into other major languages. With a view to pressing political parties to commit themselves to put its recommendations into action, the Bureau also instructed the committee to extract a tight, precise action programme from *Global Challenge*.

Given that the problem of debt is a stumbling block and the most difficult single item in the international economic agenda, it was also decided at Bommersvik that a special task force be set up to take the broad ideas that were emerging in the movement about the handling of debt, and to give them a more precise elaboration.

There can be no doubt that *Global Challenge* is of genuine historic significance. For the first time the Socialist International has agreed on questions of economic policy and now proposes that we jointly commit ourselves to an action programme based on these policies. It is historic because it could open new avenues for international action and cooper-



ation in the future.

*Global Challenge* contains ten central aspects that are crucial to an intellectual and analytical understanding of it:

- Firstly, *Global Challenge* threw down a direct challenge to monetarism as an idea and deflation as a strategy.
- Secondly, it proposes a plan for joint recovery in the North and development in the South.
- Thirdly, it identifies three elements in such a plan: the recovery of spending in the North; the restructuring of the world economy, particularly in relation to the management of trade and finance; and also the redistribution of wealth towards poorer countries and peoples in the world.
- Fourthly, it rejects the idea that all change must await international consensus. Experience has shown that, while we remain absolutely committed to multilateralism, consensus can become the graveyard for hopes for change. Central to the strategic thinking of *Global Challenge*, then, is the idea that while we await firmer multilateral support, like-minded governments in North and South can already begin to cooperate in a common plan of action within their means.
- Fifthly, it asserts that general recovery will curtail and

control inflation because greater production for larger trade will reduce unit costs of production. This is of central importance to the type of debate in which we will have to engage if these programmes are to move forward politically.

- Sixthly, it rejects the 'trickle-down' theory and the false dichotomy between social and economic development and repudiates the sacrifice of human values, the sacrifice of medical care, of education, of care for the aged on the altar of monetarism.

- Seventhly, it recognises that debt is the result of an economic system that is unjust and is now becoming unworkable, and that debt has become the biggest single obstacle to recovery and development and as such requires a global solution.

- Eighthly, it calculates that an annual increase in spending of \$100 billions in the North, for example, could create millions of jobs and, within a period of ten years, could lead to a 5 percent annual growth in third-world exports as well as lay the foundation for an estimated 50 to 66 percent growth in the third-world GDP.

- Ninthly, it reminds us that this additional spending of \$100

*High spirits, high prospects?: Ghanaian village children*





billions a year must be seen alongside the fact that at present the world is spending \$1,000 billions a year on arms of death, regardless of all other considerations. We believe that the transferal of one tenth of the expenditure on death to expenditure on life could move the whole world forward in a new and positive direction. Disarmament is linked to economic recovery and disarmament and development must play their part in the building of justice and democracy in the world.

Jorge Sol once beguiled us with a comment on what is taking place in the world of international finance by saying that the world is currently playing an elaborate game of 'charades'. When there is a financial crisis, the country 'pretends' that it can meet a programme it has worked out with the IMF; the IMF 'pretends' that the country can meet the programme; the commercial banks, on whose behalf the IMF acts as a gendarme, 'pretends' that all this is going to work; and more importantly still, President Reagan 'pretends' it will work, so that he will not have to face a global solution to the problem. So we are all taking part in this elaborate game.

More often than not, we find that we can predict almost to the month when the next defaults are going to take place. Simultaneously, we watch how the democratic process and social progress are slowly undermined. We are grinding on the road downwards when we should be struggling to move upwards.

I say to my third-world friends, particularly my Latin American colleagues, that we are failing in our duty before history, when those of us who are debtors each try to pursue our own individual salvation in our private deals with the International Monetary Fund. It was Lord Keynes who reminded us, more than fifty years ago, that if you owe a man £100 you are in trouble; but if you owe him £1,000,000, he is

in trouble. Nobody is calling for unilateral default or irresponsible actions; what we are saying is that a common position would give the debt-ridden countries the power to force the world to deal with us all together and to demand a summit that would free us from the chains of this problem.

There can be no question that there is a vital need for an international conference on debt. Four principles are central to dealing with the problem.

- Firstly, the debts of the least developed countries, particularly the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, should be cancelled or converted into grants.

- Secondly, there should be a massive rescheduling of the remainder of the debt, involving thirty year terms and periods of moratorium, as well as a ceiling on interest rates.

- Thirdly, if the economies of the Third World are to get their breath back, there must be some form of relationship between debt servicing on the one hand, and export earnings on the other. The economies of the Third World need the oxygen of foreign exchange in their systems to be able to buy manufactured goods from the First World. Our proposal is for debt repayments of not more than 20 percent of export earnings in any one year. In this regard, Peru is the first country to be putting into practice the theories that we have been talking about for nearly two years and deserves our absolute support and cooperation.

- Fourthly, there is the proposal to raise special drawing rights to a total of \$150 billions by annual increases of \$30 billions over the next five years.

- Fifthly, an international debt organisation should be created.

By realising these ideas, we can start a whole new forward march to social democracy in the First World, the Third World, and, indeed, all of the world.

## Commitment to action

### Part 3 of the Action Programme on world economic recovery

We are and remain committed to the multilateral solutions to global problems recommended in the two reports of the Brandt Commission. This is the most genuinely global response to the crisis in world development. Recent economic developments have made the implementation of these recommendations even more necessary.

However, pending such a multilateral resolution of the global crisis, we commit ourselves to working jointly and with like-minded countries to prototype and pioneer the new model of development outlined in this Action Programme. In particular:

#### SI parties in general

undertake to:

- (a) promote among member parties awareness of and commitment to the analysis and recommendations which form the basis of the 'Global Challenge' report and, specifically, the proposals of the action programme;

- (b) ensure that reference to the Action Programme is contained in election manifestos and forms a basis for election campaigning;

- (c) create public support for the action programme and the positive view of the world and its possibilities upon which it is

based; this will be pursued within institutions, national and multilateral, with the press, and among the members of the public;

- (d) organise conferences, seminars, workshops and other forms of discussion to promote the Action Programme and the 'Global Challenge' report.

#### SI parties holding office

undertake to:

- (a) initiate joint action to implement this programme;

- (b) strengthen the multilateral system and its various institutions and particularly those of the UN;

- (c) initiate proposals within multilateral and regional institutions, such as the IMF, World Bank, regional development banks, OECD, the European Community and UN agencies, aimed at the implementation of the reforms proposed in this programme;

- (d) take action in cooperation with other like-minded governments, even where there is not yet international consensus on a particular point of the Action Programme, or in the face of opposition to multilateral action.

#### SI parties holding office in the developing world

undertake to work to establish, along with other like-minded governments, a Third World secretariat to facilitate the planning of South-South cooperation projects.



# ***The Manifesto of Lima***

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We reprint in full the text of the main resolution adopted  
on 23 June by the Seventeenth SI Congress.

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(1) This Lima Congress of the Socialist International commits itself to the struggle for peace, world economic development and the protection of the environment. These goals demand increased cooperation between the nations, not short-sighted selfishness and cynicism. The paradox of our time is that the peoples of the earth are more interdependent than ever before, yet there has not been an effective multinational response to this unprecedented reality. The post-war system is inadequate. It must be adjusted to cope with new realities.

(2) There will be far-reaching political, economic and social developments in the remaining years of the 1980s, and they will be truly global in their impact because of the unprecedented interdependence of the world economy in recent years.

(3) It is, then, particularly important that this historic first Congress of the Socialist International in Latin America should address these issues in Lima. President Alan García has pointed the way not simply to a future which will benefit Peru but toward a common solution to the common crisis of the world economy of the eighties. President García, and his party, the Peruvian Aprista Party, are the heirs of a vision of a continental struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of all Latin America first articulated by Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre. These are particularly fitting auspices for a new socialist manifesto whose essential focus is the global perspective of late twentieth and twenty-first century socialism.

(4) For the great new reality of these times is the unprecedented internationalisation of the human condition. That is the decisive military, economic, social and political fact which requires a creative restatement of the basic principles of democratic socialism. The socialist movement has always been internationalist in theory, but these conditions demand of us more of a practical commitment to that internationalism than ever before.

(5) We take the relationship between North and South as a dramatic example of the new interdependence of the globe in every sphere of life. Practical politicians have learned in the 1980s that even the debts of the poor nations are a threat to the wealth of the rich nations. Hunger and underdevelopment have always been a moral outrage, but they are now

elements in a common crisis, the result of a wrenching economic unification of the world which has far outstripped our political, social, and national institutions. A common solution is our only hope.

(6) This is particularly true since the assumption that the world has entered upon a new era of steady growth based on national and international anti-egalitarianism is in for a rude shock. And one of the key reasons is precisely that the austerity imposed upon the Third World in the eighties is a threat to the rich of this planet as well as a scourge for its poor. This raises the danger that unemployed producers will face hungry consumers, and threatened creditors will confront impoverished debtors.

(7) Many of the most threatening environmental and developmental problems today are caused, to a considerable extent, by the widespread poverty and the inequitable distribution of resources within individual nations and among nations and regions.

(8) Meanwhile, unless there is a drastic reversal of present trends, the arms race will become even more ominous as new weapons systems tend to subvert the very possibility of arms control.

(9) And regional conflicts – in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa, the Far East and elsewhere – will not only bring death and destruction to those areas but could become the occasion of superpower interventions and conflict.

(10) The advanced western economies, still trying to cope with the chronic instabilities which ended the post-war boom in the 1970s, will almost certainly be forced to structural transformations as the very uneven and contradictory recovery of the past three years comes to an end.

(11) Eastern bloc economies are still in a deep crisis rooted in undemocratic and excessively centralised planning, bureaucracy, and lack of individual motivation. The future will no doubt force them to deep conceptual and structural transformations in order to meet their own needs and to participate in a fruitful economic interaction between North and South. In a world which is more and more interdependent, these economies cannot isolate themselves



from the rest of the globe, nor should they be isolated by others. They must be part of the international effort to create a new economic order.

(12) We commit ourselves to work toward a strengthening of global cooperation in the multilateral framework of the United Nations, representing all peoples on the basis of a charter aimed at guaranteeing human rights, the provision of basic human needs and peace and security for all. The role of the UN should be strengthened both in the field of international economic cooperation and in that of peace and security. Present efforts to undermine the UN by unilaterally withdrawing funds or bypassing this multilateral system by concentrating decisions in small groups of countries should be countered by new initiatives to make the UN the main forum for international cooperation. Such initiatives should go beyond supporting the UN system in its present form and include renewed promises of consultation within the UN as well as efforts to improve its efficiency and effectiveness.

(13) It is within this basic framework of an analysis of the common crisis of the world economy and policy that we speak from Lima, with a sense of the renewed relevance of our socialist principles in a time when far-reaching change is on the agenda. We can obviously only outline in the briefest way some of the most urgent aspects of trends which could well make the end of the eighties as turbulent as its beginning. But even such a "tour d'horizon" suffices to show why we believe, not that we have the solution to all of these difficulties, but that we have a significant socialist contribution to make, in action as well as in thought, in resolving the present crisis.

(14) We adopt this Lima Manifesto as an International with a majority of its parties from the Third World, speaking to the North as well as the South, to the East as well as the West. We have an analysis which demonstrates how, more and more, humankind is implicated in a single common fate; and as socialists, we propose an international vision, a political direction, which can animate men and women in every corner of the globe.

## The common crisis

(15) The basic theme of the International's analysis of the world economy, clearly articulated in our Manifesto of Albufeira and *Global Challenge*, as well as in the two reports of the Brandt Commission, is the need for a common solution to the common crisis of the North and South. The destructive reality, and the even much greater destructive potential, of the global debt crisis is a confirmation of our worst fears.

(16) That crisis had its origins in the breakdown of the Bretton Woods financial system in 1971-73. This development coincided with the end of the decisive hegemony of the American economy in the post-war world. And it coincided with an ominous trend: between 1965 and 1970, the percentage of GNP from the OECD economies devoted to development assistance declined from 0.49 to 0.34, and the role of private cash flows started to increase.

(17) That trend was then accelerated by the quadrupling of oil prices in 1974. The major western banks rightly boasted that they had successfully recycled billions in oil profits and thus made it possible for the non-oil Third World to survive and the advanced economies themselves to avert a depression. In the short run, they were right and even unwittingly demonstrated the validity of one of our most basic proposals – that a massive transfer of funds from North to South is a critical part of the common solution to the world economic

crisis – but they also laid the foundations for the debt crisis of the eighties at the same time.

(18) We take it as evidence of the practicality and soundness of our own strategy of global reflation in the interest of the South and North that the banks strategy did in fact work in that short run. Between 1973 and 1981, the average annual rate of growth of the non-oil Third World was 5.1 percent (compared to 5.8 percent between 1967 and 1972). And this happened even with a huge jump in energy costs and despite the fact that the growth rate of the industrial countries dropped from 4.4 percent in 1967-72 to 2.8 percent between 1973 and 1981.

(19) Note well: the North gained from this debt-financed performance of the South since that growth in the developing nations provided export outlets for the rich powers. Our concept of a common solution is not, then, an abstraction. It took place in the seventies – but in a perverse, uncoordinated fashion that did not lead to balanced development.

(20) The key to that perversity was that the financing came from private banks rather than from official development lending. That meant that when the crisis came, profit-making institutions could not, economically or, in many cases, legally roll over the debt as official donors could. The debt solution of the seventies turned into the debt crisis of the eighties primarily because international cash flows between North and South had become hostage to private banking priorities.

(21) That crisis was then exacerbated by the monetarist assault on inflation in the United States which, in addition to helping create the worst recession in half a century in that country, raised the interest rates on the currency in which oil prices were denominated and thus set off a reverse flow of funds from the South to the North. And that trend was further accentuated by the increase in arms' sales to the South as well as by the flight of capital on the part of the rich in the developing countries.

(22) Commodity prices for third-world exporters had already begun to go down during the recession of 1974-75 in the advanced economies. And then there were the new OPEC increases of 1979, the soaring American interest rates which made those energy costs even greater and, above all, in 1981-1982, the deepest recession in the West since the Great Depression. These events were an economic disaster for the Third World. And, as oil prices began to fall, even the developing countries with that resource saw their incomes and, worse, their entire debt and investment structure become problematic. Indeed, northern concern with southern problems declined almost exactly parallel with commodity prices.

(23) These developments struck the regions of the Third World in different ways. Latin America was most seriously affected: four of the seven major borrowers in the world were found in that region, with debts of almost US\$300 billion. The Philippines contracted more than \$13 billion in debt. South Korea borrowed more than \$31 billion but the cruel success of its authoritarian, low-wage model of dependent economic development made it capable of dealing with that debt. Other Asian countries followed a similar model and were able to profit from a combination of anti-democratic repression and subordination to the priorities of the western transnationals.

(24) These problems were then made worse by the conventional capitalist wisdom, enforced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It insisted upon austerity, the reduction of domestic consumption, devaluation to promote





*Wealth gap: Construction workers on a housing and office-building site, in Bombay, India*

exports and limit imports, and government spending cuts at a time of grievous human suffering. In effect, the masses of the Third World, and of Latin America especially, had to pay with their living standards for debts which had often been undertaken by anti-democratic regimes and had, in any case, been artificially and unfairly increased by the anti-inflation policies of western conservatives.

(25) But if this crisis had its most brutal impact upon the poor of the world, it also had a very negative impact upon the rich. Since the debt was primarily owed to private banks rather than to governments, their repudiation, in fact and/or on principle, would precipitate a major financial crisis in the advanced economies, the United States first and foremost.

(26) At the same time, the reduction of living standards within the developing countries, and the related export-oriented devaluation strategies, meant that the major western powers lost foreign markets and faced a new wave of competition. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York calculates that, between 1981 and 1983, the United States lost nearly 250,000 jobs as a result of a 40 percent fall in exports to Latin America.

(27) Indeed, these consequences were so obvious to the governments of the advanced economies that they committed themselves, in a grudging, inadequate and ad hoc way, to seeing to it that the world financial system did not collapse. The United States came to the aid of Mexico in 1982 and other arrangements were made with other debtor nations. But nothing was done to deal with the underlying causes of the debt crisis.

(28) And yet, even before the dramatic fall in oil prices in 1986 opened up a new chapter in the crisis, it was clear that a international financial structure had been created which could not be saved by business as usual. For instance, even if the debtor countries were to follow successfully the anti-social priorities of the IMF, the abolition of their debt would require that the advanced nations run an enormous trade deficit with the Third World.

(29) It is in the context of the related goals of international justice and social democracy that we endorse the *Global Challenge* resolution and Action Programme adopted by this Congress.

(30) We most emphatically reject the notion that democracy is a privilege reserved to the advanced economies. Just as the struggle of the people from below has challenged the rule of the rich and powerful in the North, socialists in the South rely on the same popular forces, even if in a different historical and cultural context. We are, therefore, enormously heartened by the democratic victories of the past three years in the Third World. We hail our member parties and friends who participated in these events in a number of countries around the world. We are dedicated to the redistribution of income and wealth, to economic democracy, welfare and social justice in both the North and South. Therefore, we give priority to supporting those forces that are democratic or moving toward democracy, and that respect human rights.

(31) In the light of some of the special problems of the Third World we urge: the reduction in extreme differentials of income and wealth; a principled battle to implement the Forward Looking Programme of the UN Conference on Women adopted in Nairobi in 1985; and an end to all forms of racial and ethnic oppression. Each one of these points, we will show, has its analogue in the advanced democracies.

(32) We do not believe that human rights and democracy in the Third World are luxuries to be acquired by the people after they have been tutored in economic development by an elite, even by a national elite. We believe that the redistribution of income and wealth, women's rights and the combatting of racial and ethnic prejudice all free mighty forces which can speed economic development and guarantee that technological progress is a means of human liberation and not of new forms of oppression.

(33) Therefore, all of us, of the South and the North, meeting in Lima, pledge that the moral issue of justice and the common political interest of North and South in the Third



World are critical and imperative values which unite us, and that they must become animating principles of all our actions in the years ahead.

### The environment and natural resources

(34) We are now aware of the growing devastation of the environment and pressure on our limited natural resources. We have seen deforestation and desertification in the countries of the Third World; the increasing role of air pollution and acid rain in the death of our forests and their detrimental effects on human health; overcropping in agriculture; the spoliation of our seas; lakes and drinking water; and threats to the atmosphere and our genetic resources. Our attention has also been increasingly drawn to the effect on people's health of various external environmental factors and the risks inherent in our working environment.

(35) The Chernobyl disaster underlines the international nature of our environmental concerns. Radiation does not respect national frontiers. The disaster also points to the underlying dangers of nuclear energy. Although all member parties of the SI do not agree on nuclear energy, it is time to begin planning for energy production without nuclear energy, and all states have the obligation, and the right, to inform, and to be informed about developments and accidents concerning nuclear plants.

(36) Although we now face a host of environmental problems, at the same time we have the knowledge and the technological resources that provide a unique opportunity to remedy them.

(37) Our joint management of the biosphere is of importance for both national and international security. Human activities can seriously disturb the equilibrium of the ecological system. This entails a threat to the basic conditions for life on our planet and also a risk of international conflicts. The connection between interference with the environment on the one hand and political and social destabilisation on the other is so manifest that it cannot be disregarded. We are therefore faced by the important task of developing long-term strategies for protection of the environment and management of our natural resources. We must find a development strategy which is compatible both with the demands for economic and social development and those for a safe and enduring world.

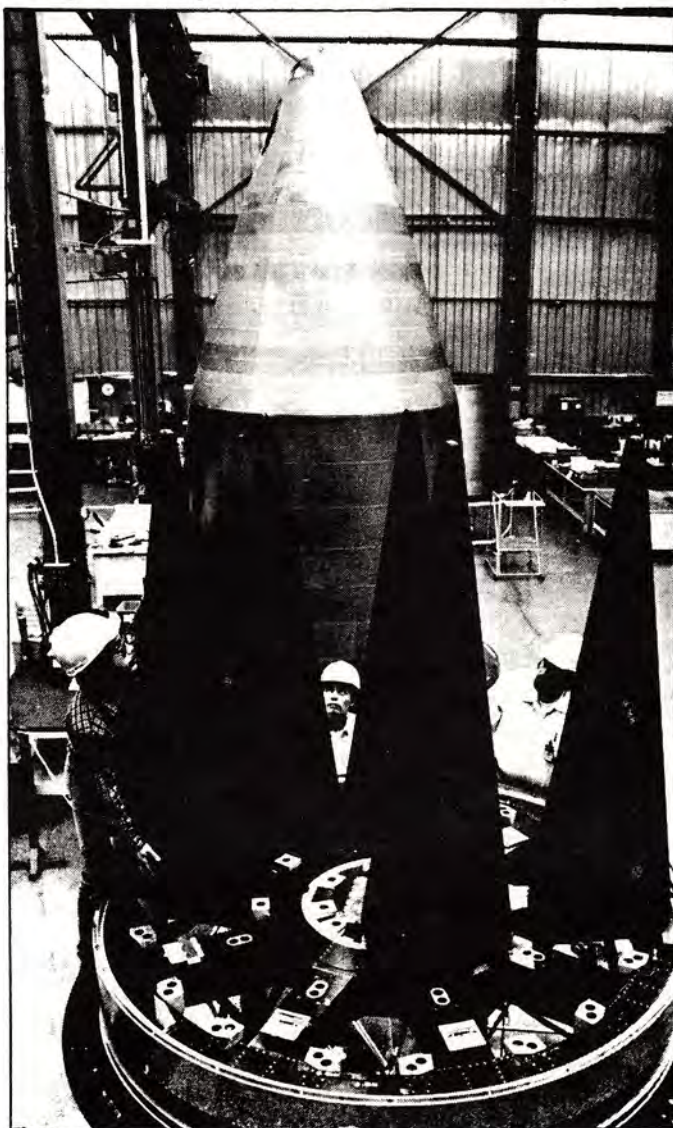
(38) Important steps have been taken, within the framework of the Brundtland Commission, to reactivate global acceptance of responsibility for management of the environment and natural resources. The industrial countries can play an important part in easing the pressure on global resources and also in developing and spreading technology which satisfies the requirements of sound management of our resources and the environment. The important conclusion to be drawn from the response to increased oil prices in the seventies is that this can be done. It is clearly possible to make far more stringent demands than those stipulated by national standards or international conventions today.

(39) In the name of international cooperation it is therefore essential that:

- technological development and exploitation of natural resources comply with the demands made by the global system;
- the industrial countries take greater responsibility for the transfer to the Third World of technology which is effective, in harmony with environmental needs and economical in terms of resources;

- greater attention be paid to the environmental aspect in development assistance programmes;
- a ban be placed on the exportation to other countries of activities involving environmental hazards which are not acceptable in a domestic context;
- greater resources to made available and political instruments elaborated to save the world's forests, i.e. to prevent clear-felling of the rain forests, deforestation in third-world countries and the accelerating death of the forests in the industrial countries;
- greater efforts be made to reduce air pollution across national borders;
- activities involving a risk of polluting seas, lakes or drinking water be prohibited by international conventions;
- greater attention be paid to endangered species of plants and animals;
- and greater attention be paid to the problems connected with the working environment and health and welfare both in

*Doublespeak?: The MX 'Peacekeeper' missile, which will be able to deliver up to twelve warheads against military targets (the photograph shows the fitting of reentry vehicles onto the MX 'bus')*





the industrial countries and in the developing countries.

## Controlling the new insecurity

(40) Peace and disarmament are essential for survival, development and freedom. The arms race threatens the very existence of humanity. It hinders effective action for economic and social development. It poisons human relationships.

(41) As individuals and nations we are being deprived of our right to life and survival; our right to fully develop our societies; and our right to live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.

(42) Nuclear war would devastate our whole planet and annihilate humanity. Let there be no misunderstanding: nuclear war would be the ultimate crime against humanity.

(43) The arms race is not restricted to nuclear weapons. More and more effort is spent in creating new and more destructive conventional weapons. The arms race is beginning to escape human control. It is not enough to prevent the outbreak of wars. The arms race spiral itself must be broken. There are no winners, only losers, in both nuclear war and the arms race.

(44) Governments must realise that their security needs cannot properly be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms build-up. It is not the quality of weapons but the quality of politics which must be improved.

(45) True security is common security. It can only be built in partnership, taking into account the security requirements of all countries and aspirations of all peoples. We need a new policy of cooperation, trust and openness, and thus a new detente.

(46) In our view all states, particularly the major military powers, are under a firm political, moral as well as legal obligation to stop the present madness. There is an alarming contradiction between this obligation and the state of disarmament negotiations. The Socialist International condemns the failure of the governments concerned to come to terms with the most pressing imperative of our times. All states have to prove that they are not just trying to cover militarisation by speaking about arms control and deferring tangible results, which must include effective verification arrangements.

(47) The Soviet Union and the United States have both declared their readiness to eliminate their nuclear arsenals, beginning with a 50 percent cut. The Socialist International welcomes this readiness but calls for these words to be turned into deeds. World public opinion would be completely disillusioned if it turned out that they did not mean what they said. Therefore, it is imperative that the limits set by SALT I and II should be scrupulously upheld by both parties, and deep cuts, with appropriate verification arrangements, made into the existing arsenals.

(48) The halting and then final prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests would show that the governments concerned are serious about arms control. In fact, all nuclear tests should be halted. The Socialist International strongly appeals to the US government to abandon its negative stand on the question of a comprehensive test ban. The negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) must be immediately resumed, and a verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and applied to all nuclear-weapons powers.

(49) The Socialist International also stresses the importance of verifiable unilateral and bilateral measures in the service of peace and detente. Any offer of arms limitation or arms reduction, any offer of any other measure aimed at slowing down the arms race and reducing tension, must be seriously considered and positively answered. Any off-hand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace, and stability.

(50) It is also important to prevent the development of anti-missiles and anti-satellite systems, whether ground-, air or space-based. The 1972 ABM Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States must be preserved and strengthened. Outer space must be used for peaceful purposes only.

(51) Strategic nuclear disarmament will also strengthen the nonproliferation regimes. In order to enhance non-proliferation, the non-stationing and removal of nuclear weapons, as well as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and corridors, should be actively pursued.

(52)\* The Socialist International notes with satisfaction the Treaty of Tlatelolco establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty of 1985. The SI invites all states that have not done so to join these treaties, and calls upon all nuclear powers to respect the treaties by signing the respective protocols.

(53) The Socialist International welcomes the Five Continents' Peace Initiative of six heads of state or government from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The aim of this initiative is to ensure that the fate of disarmament is not left to the nuclear superpowers alone.

(54) Pending the final elimination of chemical weapons, everything should be done to halt their further development and deployment. The proposal for an agreement to establish a zone in Europe free from chemical weapons, jointly elaborated by the SPD of the Federal Republic of Germany and the SED of the German Democratic Republic, can be considered as a model of a bilateral and regional plan for arms reduction, crossing as it does the frontiers of blocs and being based on the notion of detente and common security.

(55) In view of the Geneva negotiations on a global ban on chemical weapons, the Socialist International appeals to the United States of America and other powers not to produce new types of chemical weapons such as binary nerve gas. We condemn the use of any such weapons and all breaches of the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

(56) The Soviet Union and the United States should immediately halt further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and agree on reducing and eliminating existing systems on both sides, including those systems which were deployed in Eastern Europe in response to the placing of the new US intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe.

(57) Nuclear arms control should not be allowed to legitimise a build-up in conventional arms. The interrelation between nuclear and conventional weapons and forces and the increased destructiveness of modern conventional arms calls for renewed and more resolute efforts at conventional disarmament. All the governments concerned should take immediate steps to ensure that, in Europe, the Stockholm

\* The Socialist Party, PS, France, expressed a reservation on paragraph 52.



Conference and the Vienna talks produce positive results initiating a process of European disarmament. Similar processes should be initiated in other regions.

(58) The limitation of arms transfers should be brought back to the arms control agenda. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru in restricting the inflow of arms to the region.

(59) The United Nations, during its forty years of existence, has become a major and permanent factor in international relations. But the UN has not received enough support in its primary task – the safeguarding of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. There must be a real will for countries to join forces under the auspices of the UN in order to stop ongoing regional wars and to prevent new conflicts from emerging.

(60) The Socialist International condemns any use of force contrary to the UN Charter. The Socialist International is alarmed by the growing acceptance of military interventions as a means of solving international, regional and national conflicts. The world must not be led along a path of vengeance, hatred and reliance on military might. To a degree never before apparent, acts of terrorism have come to disturb and destabilise national and international life. Terrorism cannot be considered as just another form of war or armed struggle. Its indiscriminate threat is directed at the very fabric of civilised national and international life and hits most directly at those who are defenceless. Terrorism breeds more terrorism and thus is directly responsible for the spiralling of violence. It obstructs rather than facilitates political solutions. Democratic socialists therefore voice their categorical rejection of this murderous means of action. They affirm that under no circumstances can acts of terrorism, whether performed or supported by individuals, groups or governments, be justified. They therefore launch an energetic appeal for a return to peaceful and non-violent means of political action and for the isolation and condemnation of those who continue to resort to terrorism as a means to further their political aims.

(61) The major problems of today, such as starvation, unemployment and threats to the environment, can only be solved by patient and determined negotiations aimed at significant measures of arms control and disarmament, and the diversion of resources which are now wasted on armaments. These resources must be redirected to economic and social development and the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(62) The Socialist International believes that there can be no finer memorial to our comrade Olof Palme than to regain our right to live in peace, freedom and solidarity.

### Regional conflicts

(63) Some of the most important struggles for freedom are taking place in Latin America and the Caribbean. We favour peace in the region, the right to national self-determination and sovereignty and respect for the principle of non-intervention. We endorse the specific applications of these principles set forth in the resolution adopted by this Congress on Latin America and the Caribbean.

(64) The Middle East is clearly an area of bitter conflicts which involve not simply the immediate parties but other nations in the region and the big powers as well. The resolution of these hostilities is, therefore, critical for the work of regional and international peace as well as putting an end to the bloodshed.

(65) The SI welcomes the efforts of its member parties in Israel to try to reach a just and lasting peace in the region. It considers that this can only be attained by political negotiations between all the parties concerned, including the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. This peace must be founded on the fundamental right of all states in the region to live in peace and security within recognised borders, and according to fundamental rights, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own national homeland. This should mean at some point a mutual and simultaneous recognition of each other by Israelis and Palestinians, and a cessation of all violence.

(66) The SI sees the role of the United Nations, and any other appropriate international agency, as positive in helping this process. The SI expresses its deep concern over the continuing stalemate in efforts to make progress towards just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It reaffirms its belief that peace in the region and peace amongst and within its nations can only be attained through a patient search for new foundations of coexistence between Israel, the Palestinian people and their Arab neighbours. In a spirit of solidarity with the peoples of the region, the SI appeals to all parties to the conflict as well as to the UN to pursue any alternatives towards the resumption of a political dialogue, renouncing violence and terrorism and building a framework for peace.

(67) The SI expresses its concern about the existence of settlements in the occupied territories, which is contrary to international law and to United Nations resolutions, and which contribute to reducing the basis for negotiations.

(68) The road towards peace is long and difficult. The SI recognises the proposals of the government headed by Shimon Peres as positive and useful steps. It also keeps in mind the Arab Fez plan.

(69) Since the previous Congress in 1983, the situation in Lebanon has been marked by further suffering for the Lebanese people, the Palestinian refugees who have sought refuge there, and for the foreign victims of terrorism. Reaffirming its resolute support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of this country, the SI appeals to all Lebanese to unite around a programme for national reconstruction and development and for a strengthening of its democratic institutions which alone are capable of finally bringing civil peace; and to oppose terrorism and violence. The SI considers that the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory would help to reduce the grave tension prevailing in Lebanon.

(70) The SI, having adopted a resolution on Cyprus at its Slangerup Bureau meeting in April 1984, and having sent two missions to the island, the most recent being in August 1984, reiterates its previous resolution on Cyprus, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the implementation of UN resolutions on Cyprus, and supports the effort of the UN secretary-general to reach a settlement of the Cyprus issue.

(71) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the war which has lasted nearly six years between Iraq and Iran. There is no justification for its continuation. This conflict endangers the stability of the region and is the cause of immense human and material losses for two countries which have been diverted from the course of development. It is not for the SI to apportion blame for the start and continuation of this war. But, faithful to the determined action of its vice-president, the late Olof Palme, it condemns all violations of the Geneva Convention (prohibition of chemical weapons, respect for the rights of prisoners of war) and appeals to both



sides to proclaim a lasting ceasefire, and to search for peace based on the respect of treaties and international borders, and on non-interference in the internal affairs of nations free to choose their own government. It supports the efforts of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference and all other parties striving for peace.

(72) The future peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region is dependant on the establishment of stable and democratic political systems in the Philippines and Korea.

(73) The SI therefore welcomes the movement towards more democratic government in the Philippines. The application of 'people power' in the Philippines has provided the opportunity for meaningful political reform. The SI hopes that the new president, Corazon Aquino, can now establish a stable democratic system in the Philippines based on a successful economic reconstruction.

(74) The SI sees as encouraging the increased pressure for democratic reform in South Korea and the growth of alternative democratic forces in the face of very difficult circumstances.

(75) The SI supports moves to find a political solution which will facilitate the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

(76) We strongly reaffirm our support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa as it was highlighted by the special conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in September 1984, and reaffirmed by the special meeting of the International in Gaborone, Botswana, in April 1986. There can be no compromise with apartheid. It must be abolished. It cannot be reformed.

(77) We look to the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the emergent trade unions and all the progressive forces of whatever racial origin as the hope of South Africa and indeed of humanity itself. We strenuously condemn the recent attacks by South Africa on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

(78) South Africa continues to destabilise and put illicit pressure on the front line states. South Africa wants to weaken and bleed them by all means, including actual attacks on neighbouring countries. South Africa is willing to cause an enormous human and economic sacrifice of the population and of refugees in order to remain master of the region.

(79) The SI believes that Namibia should immediately be liberated according to UN Resolution 435. There is no other way to a truly independent Namibia. There can be no doubt that SWAPO is the most representative force in Namibia. Linkage between the question of Namibian independence and the possible withdrawal of Cuban troops is unjustified. Support for UNITA in Angola further complicates any settlement and means in fact nothing else than supporting South African domination of Namibia.

(80) On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising in 1976 the South African regime stepped up repression and violence by declaring a state of emergency. Each day non-white children are being killed by state terrorism. South Africa continues to destabilise and attack neighbouring states. The world at large has a responsibility to stop this outrageous system. (81) International sanctions might be the last chance for peaceful change. The opposition in South Africa supports them. Therefore, the SI calls for: – halting investments in South Africa and ending government

*Making a point for freedom: SWAPO activist addressing a rally in Angola*





insurance of credits to South Africa;

- strengthening the oil embargo by the oilproducing countries by banning the export and transport of oil to South Africa, and embargoing the export of coal from South Africa;
- cutting air and shipping links with South Africa;
- and banning the import of South African agricultural products.

(82) If international bodies such as the UN and the European Community are unable to define a policy towards South Africa with real mandatory sanctions, countries alone and in concert should pursue these actions.

(83) The SI also reaffirms its support of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. We reiterate our support for the initiation of direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco to achieve a just, definitive solution to this conflict.

(84) The SI believes that the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination, which has persisted for thirty years, must be settled by the principles upheld by the United Nations and the OAU.

(85) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the protracted Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The SI is deeply concerned about the grave violations of human rights perpetrated by the Soviet/Kabul forces against both the resistance fighters and the civilian population, and about the situation of the four million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran. The SI supports the UN-sponsored efforts to achieve a political solution to the war, and considers that such a settlement should essentially be based upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the restoration of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to their national self-determination. The SI calls upon all member parties to work for increased humanitarian aid to the Afghan population, both in the refugee camps and inside the country.

(86) We are also very concerned about continuing violations of human rights, particularly by actions that run counter to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on 'the free circulation of all people and ideas'. We are therefore in solidarity with all democratic movements in Eastern Europe, like Solidarnosc, with the struggle for basic freedoms, including trade union rights, religious liberty and the defence of the rights of national minorities. Indeed, we believe that our commitment to disarmament and detente will create a more favourable situation for these movements.

(87) At the same time, the SI is keenly aware of the deteriorating situation of the Jews of the Soviet Union, and, in particular, of the halting of the emigration of the Soviet Jews despite their desire to leave for Israel. We are also aware of the continuing harassment of those Jews seeking their internationally guaranteed right of emigration. We call upon the Soviet government to release those Jews currently imprisoned simply because of their effort to secure exit permits, and to allow all Jews seeking to leave the Soviet Union to do so without hindrance. We are also gravely concerned about the denial of such basic cultural rights to the Jews as their right to study and teach their own language.

(88) Given the death and destruction, the violation of human rights and the subversion of economic development, which are the common characteristic of the regional conflicts we have noted, it is well to end this brief, and selective, review on a more positive note. The situation in Northern Ireland has continued to result in terrorism, death, destruction and division. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland must be

seen as a positive and potentially hopeful achievement, designed to bring about stability and ultimate reconciliation on the basis of mutual respect for political and cultural traditions in Ireland. Both governments, and our member parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic, deserve full support in their efforts to achieve peace and communal harmony. In particular, European socialists can provide practical support and help in tackling the grave economic crisis within Northern Ireland.

### From Geneva to Lima

(89) In Geneva in 1976, when Willy Brandt took over the leadership of the International, we committed ourselves to build a truly worldwide organisation. We have not completely achieved that goal but we can say, with pride and accuracy, that more than most political movements, we have succeeded in what we set out to do.

(90) Yet we cannot be complacent. We must redouble our ongoing efforts to reach out to emerging socialist and progressive forces around the world. To that end we hope to develop fraternal relations with the fledgling labour and socialist parties in the small island states of the South Pacific.

(91) And in the work of elaborating the Declaration of Lima, our new statement of principles, we must frankly confront our failures and disappointments as well as our successes.

(92) In terms of our own internal organisation, we believe that the emergence, both within the International and without, of a dynamic women's movement requires that we transform our organisation from a male-centred organisation to an integrated one, giving justice to a very large part of our membership and electorate. Such an initiative would be welcomed by women all over the world. As a sign of our determination in this area, we must follow the lead of a growing number of our member parties which have adopted quota regulations for encouraging and assuring the full participation of women in decision-making bodies. These quota regulations range from a very modest 15 percent to 50 percent. The ideal figure would, of course, be that of the percentage of the female population.

(93) The World Action Programme for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women stresses the desirability of promoting women's participation in political organs. The Socialist International invites its member organisations to work for the establishment of machinery, preferably a ministry or secretariat of state, for implementing programmes to ensure equality between women and men. The Socialist International calls upon its member parties to facilitate women's participation in political life on an equal footing with men, ensuring women's representation on all party levels; as candidates for local, regional and national elections; and on all delegations to meetings of the Socialist International.

(94) The Socialist International to this end declares its full support for the goals of the 'Socialist Decade for Women', announced by the Socialist International Women at their Lima Conference.

(95) In particular, we feel it appropriate to include such new departures in a Manifesto of Lima, as a declaration of the first congress of the SI in the Third World.

(96) From Lima, then, the Socialist International reaffirms its determination to work for the principles in this resolution: for a world in which people will live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.





## *First congress in the Third World*

# Peace and economic solidarity – the SI's alternative to war and misery

**'H**unger and under-development have always been a moral outrage, but they are now elements in a common crisis, the result of a wrenching economic unification of the world which has far outstripped our political, social and national institutions. A common solution is our only hope.' (Manifesto of Lima)

This in a nutshell was the message of the seventeenth congress of the Socialist International, the first to be held in the Third World. Aply, in view of the SI's expansion of membership and activities in Latin America over the last ten years,

it was convened in Lima, Peru, on 20-23 June, at the invitation of the ruling Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP).

The Congress was held almost exactly ten years since the memorable conference of Latin American and European socialists in Caracas, Venezuela, in May 1976. That meeting, as former Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez pointed out, marked the beginning of a 'new and remarkable' stage in the history of the International. By branching out in this way, the SI became aware – perhaps far earlier than other organisations – of what the Manifesto of Lima,

the main resolution adopted by the congress, called 'the great new reality of these times ... the unprecedented internationalisation of the human condition'.

To illustrate this interdependence, the Manifesto cites the example of how the reduction of living standards in the developing countries precipitates the loss of export markets for the major industrial countries. For instance, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York has calcu-

lated that between 1981 and 1983, nearly 250,000 jobs were lost in the United States as a result of a 40 percent fall in exports to Latin America. Dealing with the common crisis, the environment and natural resources, controlling the new insecurity, regional conflicts and the development of the SI in the last ten years, the five sections of

*Challenge: President Alan García addresses the opening session of the congress*





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the Manifesto illustrate the breadth of the International's interests and the great number of initiatives which it either supports or in some cases has made decisive contributions to. (For the full text of the Manifesto of Lima, see the Focus section, pages 17-24.)

### Tragic events

The nearly seven hundred delegates and guests from all continents must have known before their arrival in Peru that they were travelling to a country beset by the all too typical problems of underdevelopment, chronic economic crisis and crippling debt. The slum quarters which ring Lima provide an unforgettable reminder of the extent of the task of eradicating poverty.

But what delegates could not have known was the extent to which the events surrounding the Congress would emphasise how arduous the task of establishing democratic government in a developing country really is.

The Lima Congress was partly intended to express the support of the Socialist International for

the efforts of its Peruvian member party and its leader, President Alan García, to emancipate the Peruvian people from poverty and despair through a 'democratic revolution'.

But that project was put under serious threat when two days before the opening of the congress, convicted and alleged members of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) guerrilla movement – an extreme-left group which in recent years has been responsible for bombing campaigns and other terrorist acts claiming the lives of hundreds of Peruvians, and one of whose members attempted to launch a mortar attack on the congress venue during the opening session – staged a violent uprising in three prisons near Lima.

President García, in his welcoming address to the Congress, described these dramatic events as follows:

'when preparations were underway for this meeting of socialists from all over the world, in the presence of journalists from



Margherita Boniver, Anita Gradin

many different countries, criminal terrorists organised the seizure of several prisoners, took hostages and captured arms.

'Numerous citizens and members of the security forces were also assassinated in the past few days.

'All this was done so as to blackmail our democracy in front of the peoples of the world...

'The government ... urged the rebels to surrender. A peace commission made up of men of good faith went to the prisons to beg, to implore the prisoners to avoid bloodshed. This attempt failed, and the state was forced to impose its authority.'

President García thus instructed the armed forces to put down the uprising and free the hostages. In the course of the operation, members of the armed forces committed horrific excesses, the most glaring of which – it emerged later – was the killing in cold blood of hundreds of Sendero members who had already surrendered. Subsequently the president announced that several inquiries would be set up to investigate possible excesses.

SI President Willy Brandt responded in his opening address with an expression of solidarity with the new Peruvian democracy during this difficult time. He also announced that a group of SI vice-presidents would hold discussions with Peruvian comrades. The fruit of these was a statement adopted by the Congress on 22 June. (For

the full text of the statement on events in Peru, see page 27.)

### Increasing effectiveness

Willy Brandt in his opening address and SI general secretary Pentti Väänänen evaluated the work of the International in the three-year period since the Albufeira congress. The latter described it as a 'steady continuation of the political lines and activities we adopted at the Geneva congress ten years ago'.

Both stressed the fact that because the SI is today a global organisation, and is involved to some extent in most of the major political developments throughout the world, it must further develop its effectiveness so as to be able to react to any crisis. (For the full text of Brandt's opening address, see the Focus section, pages 6-9.)

### Peace and economic solidarity

But the SI does not just react to international developments and crises. It initiates policies, measures and actions with the aim of steering the world towards the realisation of democratic socialist ideals. The 1986 Disarmament Report and the Action Programme on world economic recovery, adopted by the Congress at the end of the debate on the main theme, provide two telling examples of this.

Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), introduced the new Disarmament Report. This report is not merely an

## Decisions at Lima

The following is a summary of the main decisions taken by the seventeenth congress of the Socialist International, held in Lima, Peru, on 20-23 June 1986

The Congress adopted two resolutions:

- Manifesto of Lima
- Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean

The Congress adopted two reports:

- Action Programme drawn from the 'Global Challenge' report on world economic recovery, submitted by the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP)
- 1986 Report on Disarmament, submitted by the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC)

The Congress adopted the Mandate of Lima, the basis for the new declaration of principles of the Socialist International

The Congress took note of the preliminary paper submitted by the Working Group on Debt

The Congress approved the admission of six parties as consultative members of the Socialist International, and of one organisation as an associated organisation.

The Congress elected a new presidium of the Socialist International

The Congress adopted new statutes of the Socialist International

The Congress issued a statement on recent events in Peru





**Carlos Andrés Pérez, Armando Villanueva, Willy Brandt**

updated version of the first report adopted at the 1980 Madrid congress. It is also an attempt to take a fresh look at, for instance, the need to prevent the militarisation of outer space.

Sorsa stressed the importance of not leaving the fate of the world to the major military powers alone. 'We now live in a more complicated, multilateral world, and we must strengthen the mass movement for disarmament', he said, and SI member parties 'must do more to help correct the present situation, and must pledge to be as vigilant in government as in opposition'. (For the full text of Sorsa's introduction and the main conclusions of the 1986 Disarmament Report, see the Focus section, pages 10-13.)

The debate that followed did provide an indication of the range of initiatives on security and disarmament in which SI member parties have played a prominent role. Among those discussed were regional nuclear-weapons-free zones (in the South Pacific and the Nordic areas in particular); chemical-weapons-free zones and nuclear corridors (in Central Europe); restrictions on regional arms trade and cuts in defence budgets; taxation of arms sales (the proceeds of which would be paid into a development fund; verification mechanisms for nuclear-test bans; and confidence-building measures regarding troop movement and manoeuvres.

The second part of the main

theme, 'economic solidarity', was introduced by Michael Manley, the leader of the People's National Party (PNP) of Jamaica and chair of the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP).

He regarded the results of SICEP's three years of work – the 'Global Challenge' report and the Action Programme drawn from it, as well as the preliminary paper on debt – as a forceful rejoinder to the radical right, which had exploited the misinterpretation of world inflation to put monetarism at the centre of the political agenda; he also considered it as a powerful reinforcement of the realisation by the countries of the South that their continuing crisis has its roots in the structural crisis of the world economy.

But, as Manley pointed out, having found agreement on issues of global economic policy within the SI, the crucial question of followup action arose. There were two choices. Either the report and action programme would be allowed to become museum pieces, gathering dust in the archives of research departments, or whether SI member parties, in government or opposition, could seize the initiative and develop common approaches. This would mean taking an international perspective and looking realistically at what is proposed in the policy papers on economic recovery and the debt crisis.

That was now the challenge for

the International. (For the full text of Manley's introduction and excerpts from the Action Programme, see the Focus section, pages 14-16; and for a report on the paper submitted by Working Group on Debt, see page 31.)

A detailed account of the host country's efforts to overcome the injustices inherent in the present world economic system was provided by Luis Alva Castro, the Peruvian prime minister.

### Gains for democracy

In view of the venue of the present Congress, the debate on peace, democracy and human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean took on added significance. It highlighted the advance of democratic rule (in particular in the Southern Cone, where dictatorships remain only in Chile and Paraguay), the debt crisis and the conflict in Central America. (For the full text of the Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean, see Documents,

page 32.)

As an indication of the political turnaround in the region, José Francisco Peña Gómez, the leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), pointed out that when the SI's Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), of which he is chair, was set up in Santo Domingo in 1978 the political situation in the region was such that it could only meet in a handful of countries. That had changed dramatically in a matter of eight years.

He and other speakers also stressed that although great strides had been made in establishing political democracy, the region was still at the early stage of building an economic and social democracy. It was imperative to add social and economic rights to political and civil rights.

Apart from that of Olof Palme, the legacy most often invoked at the congress was that of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the founder in 1924 of what is

### Statement of the Socialist International on the events in Lima, Peru

The Socialist International reasserts that the universal application of human rights is one of its fundamental principles. Human rights have to be respected in any situation by any government. We also reassert that terrorism cannot be allowed to destroy the democratic state. The democratic state has the right and the obligation to defend itself against terrorist activities with adequate means.

The Congress of the Socialist International declares, before the government and the people of Peru, our consternation and sorrow resulting from the events which have taken place in Lima.

During the Congress, a mutiny in three prisons in Lima has been suppressed. Serious concerns have been raised about the methods used and the number of inmates killed, described as being excessive by the communique issued by the government of President Alan García.

President García has recognised the gravity of these events by giving his assurances that there will be several investigations, including one by parliament. He has given his assurances of the complete independence of such investigations into the possible violation of human rights. There is a clear determination to learn all the facts and to guarantee punishment of all those found responsible for any wrongdoing.

President García has also stated that the doors of Peru are open for international human rights organisations to probe this matter.

We welcome these decisions as another sign of the desire of the government to strengthen democracy in Peru.

Lima, 22 June 1986



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now the Aprista Party. He was the first to articulate a uniquely Latin American socialist perception of the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the continent, and was a seminal influence in the development of a Latin American democratic socialism based on the general principles of European socialism but applying them to the historical and social circumstances prevailing in the region.

### Solidarity action for Southern Africa

An area in which the SI has been in the forefront of developments in recent years has been the anti-apartheid struggle in Southern Africa. Abdel Kader Fall, the international secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal went so far as to say that he knew of no organisation which had taken as advanced a position on sanctions as the International had at its special meeting in Gaborone, Botswana, in April this year.

The question was no longer whether or not to apply sanctions against the apartheid regime, but to select ones that would achieve the quickest results, as Joop den Uyl, the leader of the Dutch Labour Party observed. The argument about effectiveness has been drowned in blood of the thousands of deaths for which the regime is responsible. The suffering caused by sanctions can never be worse than the current ever-increasing repression.

Speakers did stress, though, that a position in favour of effective sanctions also required real and direct support for the front-line states, which would indeed be in the front line of the regional economic confrontation – if not worse – that would invariably follow the imposition of sanctions. As den Uyl put it, 'Sanctions must be applied. We must do our utmost to change the present course of events. We must show that solidarity is not just a word.'

### Mandate for new declaration

As Michael Harrington, the secretary of the New Declarations of Principles Committee (SINDEC) reported to Congress, that the work on an update of the 1951 Frankfurt

Declaration had been extended. The committee's chair, Felipe González, was unable to attend the Congress, as he was leading his party to a second successive victory in the Spanish elections on the very day that it was drawing to a close.

But since there was general agreement that the new declaration should be a text adopted in the Third World, so as to stress the importance of the Third World in the future work and perspectives of the International, the Congress voted to adopt the Mandate of Lima, which contained the basic common principles of democratic socialism and would act as a guideline for the future work on the new declaration. (*For the full text of the Mandate of Lima, see Documents, page 35.*)

### Solidarity in times of crisis

It was undeniable that the tragic events in Lima had a great impact.

At the concluding press conference, Willy Brandt spoke for many delegates when he said that 'We could not justify to ourselves abandoning the democratically elected government of Alan García ... as he embarks on the ambitious project of securing democratic rule in his country'. That project 'is put in danger by an indirect conjunction of extreme left and extreme right forces', he said in an interview after his return from Lima.

Brandt said that he could not exclude the possibility that groups such as the Sendero Luminoso or elements within the Peruvian armed forces opposed to democracy had tried to use the presence of the Socialist International in Lima to attract attention to themselves or to embarrass the Aprista government. 'But the question is whether one allows oneself to be used. We did not run away.'

It was not an easy decision. But in the defence of democracy, sometimes very great risks and very difficult decisions have to be taken. And assurances that an enquiry into the events would take place provided the guarantee sought by delegates that those responsible for the killings would be brought to justice.

## New and old names

The Congress, as the highest statutory body of the Socialist International, approves applications of membership and elects the organisation's officers (president, honorary presidents, vice-presidents, general secretary).

The Congress accepted the following parties as consultative members of the SI:

Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia  
Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil  
Forward Party, Siumut, Greenland  
Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama  
Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey  
Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey

It accepted the following as an associated organisation of the SI:  
Socialist Group of the European Parliament

The Congress elected the following presidium of the Socialist International:

*President*  
Willy Brandt

### Honorary presidents

González Barrios (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)  
Jos van Eynde (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)  
Michael Foot (The Labour Party, Great Britain)\*  
Bruno Kalnins (Social Democratic Party of Latvia, LSDP)  
Sicco Mansholt (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)  
Ian Mikardo (The Labour Party, Great Britain)  
Sandro Pertini (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)\*  
Irène Pétry (Socialist Party, PS, Belgium)\*  
Ramón Rubial (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)  
Giuseppe Saragat (Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI)  
Léopold Senghor (Socialist Party of Senegal)\*  
Fernando Vera (Febrerista Revolutionary Party, PRF, Paraguay)\*  
Gough Whitlam (Australian Labor Party, ALP)

### Vice-presidents

Rodrigo Borja (Democratic Left Party, ID, Ecuador)\*  
Ed Broadbent (New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada)  
Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norwegian Labour Party, DNA)\*  
Ingvar Carlsson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP)\*  
Bettino Craxi (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)  
Abdou Diouf (Socialist Party of Senegal)\*  
Felipe González (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)  
Anita Gradin (Socialist International Women, SIW)\*  
Bob Hawke (Australian Labor Party, ALP)  
Anker Jørgensen (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)  
Lionel Jospin (Socialist Party, PS, France)  
Walid Jumblatt (Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon)  
Neil Kinnock (The Labour Party, Great Britain)\*  
Bruno Kreisky (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ)  
David Lange (New Zealand Labour Party)\*  
Michael Manley (People's National Party, PNP, Jamaica)  
Karel van Miert (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)\*  
Eiichi Nagasue (Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP)\*  
Daniel Oduber (National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica)  
José Francisco Peña Gómez (Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic)  
Shimon Peres (Israel Labour Party)  
Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)  
Lydie Schmit (Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/ POSL)  
Enrique Silva Cimma (Radical Party of Chile, PR)\*  
Mário Soares (Socialist Party, PS, Portugal)  
Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democratic Party of Finland, DSP)  
Guillermo Ungo (National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador)  
Joop den Uyl (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)

*General secretary*  
Pentti Väänänen  
\*newly elected



# XVII PAZ Y SOLIDARIDAD PEACE AND ECONOMIC PAIX ET SOLIDARITE EC LIMA PERU 86



## Bureau hears mission reports

Reports from the three SI missions to Central America, the Philippines and Haiti, which took place in the first six months of this year, were the main items on the agenda of the meeting of the SI Bureau held in Lima on 19 June, the eve of the Congress.

The meeting – historic if only because it would be the last gathering of the *Bureau* – made a number of recommendations to the forthcoming Congress on such matters as applications for membership, nominations for the presidium and the adoption of the new statutes.

The Bureau also discussed arrangements surrounding the proposed mission to Chile (agreed at the previous Bureau meeting in Vienna in October 1985) and heard a report from the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) on a conference of Mediterranean socialist parties on the crisis in the region and terrorism.

The delegates were welcomed by Carlos Roca Cáceres, the chair of the international commission of the host Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP), who thanked them for the solidarity shown by the International in the difficult circumstances faced by the PAP and the Peruvian government at the present time. He reaffirmed

the government's determination to continue its democratic revolution and to face the terrorist threat.

### Mission reports

In accordance with the SI's policy of supporting the efforts for peace in the region, the Vienna Bureau had decided to send a mission to **Central America** and to other countries with the aim of making contact with governments, political parties and other interested organisations in favour of negotiation and dialogue.

Led by Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela), the mission visited Caracas, San Jose, Managua, Guatemala City, Mexico City and Washington between 3-10 February (see *SI NEWS* 1/86, page 26).

In his report, Pérez reviewed recent developments in the Contadora peace process and internal developments in the region. He referred specifically to the presidential elections in Costa Rica (won by Óscar Arias Sánchez, the candidate of the National Liberation Party, PLN), Guatemala and Honduras in the two months preceding the mission as positive developments. Against that, however, there had been 'very discouraging'

developments in the peace process in the weeks leading up to the Bureau meeting, in particular during and following the meeting of the Contadora Group in Panama on 6 June. He also expressed his deep concern over the Reagan administration's apparent determination to bring about a war-like solution to the problems of the region.

Conny Frederiksson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP) introduced the report on the situation in the **Philippines**. An SI delegation visited the country from 2-11 February to observe the presidential elections held on 7 February and to explore the possibilities for the development of democratic socialist forces in the post-Marcos era (see *SI NEWS* 1/86, page 25).

The election of Cory Aquino had raised hopes for the implementation of major changes, he noted. Many opposition groups were now able to work freely, and a new constitution was being drafted. But, he noted, the basic political structure erected during the Marcos dictatorship still remained in place – until now, for instance, provincial governors and village authorities appointed by Marcos had not yet been replaced.

Carlos Andrés Pérez also presented the report on the

mission to **Haiti**, which took place on 13-14 May (see *SI NEWS* 2/86, page 19). Having met representatives from all shades of the country's political spectrum, the mission had found a number of political parties and groups keen to establish themselves after twenty-nine years of repression under the Duvalier dictatorship.

But, Pérez warned, there was a serious danger of violence and instability if the transition to democracy was thwarted and if massive economic help for the Americas' poorest country was not forthcoming. For this reason the report stressed that (a) the democratic process must be supported and (b) economic aid is indispensable to ensure the success of democracy in Haiti.

The Bureau adopted the three reports unanimously and without amendment.

### From Bureau to Council

Concluding the meeting, Willy Brandt confirmed that the next Bureau meeting would be held in Bonn, Federal Germany, on 16-17 October at the invitation of his party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The main theme of the meeting – which, since the Congress subsequently adopted a revision of the statutes, will be the first SI Council meeting – would be 'Economy and the Environment'.



## New member hosts SICLAC meeting

The conflict in Central America, the democratisation process in the continent, the fulfilment of the Panama Canal treaties and the region's foreign debt problem were the main items on the agenda of a meeting of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC), held in Panama City on 25-26 September.

Hosted by the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), one of the International's six new consultative member parties, the meeting was attended by over fifty representatives of SI member parties and guests.

The committee adopted resolutions on Panama, Chile, Paraguay and Central America, which will form the basis of its report to the forthcoming SI Council meeting in Bonn on 16-17 October.

### Solidarity with Panama

In the resolution on the situation in Panama, SICLAC affirmed its solidarity with the Panamanian people and the PRD in their efforts to ensure that the United States government fulfils its obligations under the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the Panama Canal. It condemned the 'slandorous campaign' against Panama 'orchestrated by ultra-conservative sectors in the United States which aim to destabilise the country and prevent the total

reversion of the Canal to Panama'.

(The US commitment to these treaties, which regulate the canal's phased return to full Panamanian control by the year 2000, has increasingly come into question under the Reagan administration.)

The committee also supported Panamanian authorities in their refusal to allow 'the training of Nicaraguan contra units or any other irregular or foreign forces in the foreign military bases temporarily located in Panama'. The headquarters of the US military and intelligence operations for Central America are located in the Canal Zone.

### Solidarity with Chile, Paraguay

SICLAC demanded an end to the repressive measures of the military regime in Chile, an end to the state of siege, and the immediate agreement on a timetable for the return to democracy. It also expressed its solidarity with the democratic forces in Paraguay in their efforts to bring to an end the oldest dictatorship on the continent.

### Central America

Regarding the present situation in Central America, SICLAC expressed its concern over the difficulties affecting the peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

It condemned the violations of human Rights in El Salvador, and demanded a resumption of the dialogue between the government and the Revolution-

ary Democratic Front / Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front 'in conditions of continuity, seriousness and mutual security'.

## China visit

SI general secretary Pentti Väänänen visited China on 11-23 September at the invitation of the international liaison department of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) central committee. He was accompanied by his wife and Harry Drost, the editor of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

The visit marked a further development in relations between the International and the Chinese Communist Party. First informal contacts between the two sides began in 1982, and delegations from the CCP had attended the SI Disarmament Conference in Vienna in October 1985 and the Lima Congress in June.

At a meeting with Hu Qili, a member of the political bureau and the secretariat of the CCP central committee, on 20 September, Väänänen said that he was encouraged by the results of the discussions with his hosts on peace, development and many other issues. 'Although we have our obvious historical and ideological differences', it was clear that 'our views are quite similar' in a number of

areas, in particular peace and security. This would provide a basis for further bilateral relations, he added.

Hu expressed the CCP's strong interest in exchanging more information and promoting mutual understanding with the International.

The delegation also had extensive discussions with the head of the international liaison department, Zhu Liang, and members of his staff.

Reflecting the area of greatest mutual interest, the delegation exchanged views on disarmament and security issues with Li Daoyu, the head of the foreign ministry's department of international organisations and conferences. And the nature of China's economic reforms and development policies were explained by Xu Lu, a former bureau chief of the state economic commission.

During its twelve-day stay, the delegation visited a number of local industrial enterprises, a television factory, the country's largest chemical complex, sites of historical interest and cultural events in Beijing, Xi'an, Shanghai, Wuxi and Nanjing.

## First Council meeting in Bonn

'Economy and the Environment' will be the main theme of the first meeting of the SI Council (formerly called the Bureau) to be held in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, on 16-17 October, at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

The meeting will be opened by SI President Willy Brandt, who is also the chairman of the SPD; and the welcoming address will be given by Johannes Rau, prime minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen and the party's candidate for the chancellorship in next January's federal elections.

In addition to the main theme, which will be introduced by Neil Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, other items on the agenda include Southern Africa, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as disarmament and European security.

There will also be a number of organisational matters to be decided, since the first major meeting following a Congress traditionally establishes the SI's committees and study groups.

A full report of the meeting will appear in the next issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS.

*Solidarity with Panama: Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela); Luis Ayala (SI assistant general secretary); José Francisco Peña Gómez (SICLAC chair); and Hector Oqueli (SICLAC secretary)*





## Debt Group urges concerted action

The Working Group on Debt, a subcommittee on the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP), has called for the setting up of an international debt agency to promote a coordinated approach to solving the debt crisis. In a paper submitted to the Lima Congress, it made specific proposals on just terms for restructuring debts and on policies to be adopted by debtor and creditor countries.

The subcommittee, which brought together a small group of financial experts, was set up by the Bureau at its meeting in Vienna in October 1985, with a brief to analyse the foreign debt crisis – described by SICEP chair Michael Manley as ‘the great economic imperative of our time’ – and to elaborate on the principles of action and procedure outlined in SICEP’s ‘Global Challenge’ report on world economic recovery.

The Lima Congress took note of the Working Group’s preliminary paper, and directed it to present a further report at the next Council meeting.

### Detailed recommendations

The Working Group’s paper highlights the following five measures recommended in the ‘Global Challenge’ report as of ‘key’ importance in tackling the debt crisis within the context of global recovery. These are: (i)

the conversion into grants (ie. cancellation) of the debts of the least developed countries, in particular those in Sub-Saharan Africa, and part-conversion of the debts of other developing countries; (ii) the rescheduling of debts through extending the time periods for repayment, in particular for the major debtor countries of Latin America; (iii) a ceiling on interest rates; (iv) a fixing of the ratio of debt repayments to export earnings; and (v) an increase in the availability of special drawing rights (SDRs) over a five-year period to an equivalent of US\$150 billion, to support the process of debt readjustment, recovery and development.

On this basis, the paper makes a number of specific recommendations, including:

- maturities should be extended to at least thirty years;
- debt service should not exceed 20 percent of export earnings;
- interest rates below the market level should be accepted;
- debts should be repayable in currencies other than the originally agreed currency, so as to enable developing countries to achieve a better matching of their debt service with their export relations;
- and debts should be considered to constitute full worth, so that no provisions for bad debts need be made.

The proposed international

debt organisation (IDO) would serve to negotiate, along the terms suggested, ‘an agreement with each individual debtor country concerning repayment of existing debts, fixing instalments, interest rates and maturities, as well as administer and supervise such agreements’.

The organisation should be set up at a joint conference of debtor and creditor countries, including representatives of the banks. Its decision-making procedures should be radically different from those of the present multilateral financial institutions; its decisions should reflect a balance between the interests of debtors and creditors.

### Development policies

In further recommendations, the Working Group argues that debtor countries ‘should undertake policies which permit them to adhere to the agreed terms of the arrangements’. Such terms must allow for fulfilment of the basic needs development needs of the peoples and countries concerned. Conditions should not be imposed that impair the debtor country’s sovereignty in shaping its economic system, particularly as regards the distribution of functions between the private and public sectors.

Debtor countries should also take measures to introduce minimum social standards, limit arms expenditure and combat flight of capital. The latter is described as a major problem, which inhibits new lending. The Working Group urges debtor and creditor countries to give priority attention to instituting joint information and double taxation agreements to deter such capital outflows.

The developed creditor countries, in turn, should open their markets to the products of developing countries and support measures to stabilise world raw material prices. They should also increase their official development assistance to 0.7 percent of gross national product and take measures to encourage increased investment and transfer of technology to developing countries.

## New statutes take account of changes

The Lima Congress approved a number of changes to the statutes of the Socialist International.

Proposing the new provisions, the SI general secretary, Pentti Väänänen, said that the old statutes – last revised at the 1978 Vancouver Congress – had been drawn up for a much smaller organisation than the present International, and there was therefore a need for updating them to correspond to present realities and practices.

In the new statutes approved at Lima, the name ‘Bureau’, which suggests a relatively small body, is changed to ‘Council’. The Council remains the main decision-making body of the International between meetings of the Congress.

The new statutes also further clarify the position of the president as the political leader of the International. In future, the president will be able to convene meetings of either the presidium – president, honorary presidents, vice-presidents and the general secretary – or of party leaders at his or her discretion. The presidium becomes a legal body of the SI, while party leaders’ conferences will not need to be held each year.

In another change, the Congress of the SI will now meet every three years, rather than every second year.

### New SIMEC chair

Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, a former deputy chair and treasurer of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), was elected the new chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC) at the Lima Bureau meeting on 19 June.

The post had been vacant since the resignation Mário Soares, the then general secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS), following his election as president of the republic on 16 February.

## Joint session of SIDAC and SICEP on disarmament and development

The Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) and Economic Policy Committee (SICEP) will hold a joint meeting in Helsinki, Finland, on 19-20 October. The first of its kind, the Helsinki meeting will focus on the relationship between disarmament and development, and will try to find ways of increasing security through disarmament while at the same time freeing resources for economic and social progress. It will also prepare recommendations for future activities and meetings of the

International in this field.

The discussion will be based on SIDAC’s 1986 Report on Disarmament and on SICEP’s ‘Global Challenge’ report and the Action Programme drawn from it, all three of which were adopted by the Lima Congress.

The meeting will be co-chaired by Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister and chair of SIDAC, and Michael Manley, the former Jamaican prime minister and chair of SICEP, and will be hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Finland (SDP).





## DOCUMENTS

### Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean

The Socialist International expresses its deep satisfaction at holding its congress, for the first time in its history, in Latin America – in Lima, Peru, with the Peruvian Aprista Party (PAP) and its leader, the president of the republic, comrade

Alan García Pérez, as host.

The Aprista government, the first in Peru's history, reflects the will for change and transformation that is being expressed throughout the Latin American continent.

The Congress of the Socialist

International appreciates the action taken by the government of Peru to surmount the problems stemming from unjust international economic structures.

The Congress of the Socialist International also reaffirms its condemnation of terrorist acts and expressed its solidarity with the democratic government of Peru in its efforts to maintain and defend the rights and freedoms of its people.

Democracy is today a reality in most of the countries of the region. The contributions made by the

parties and governments of the Socialist International to the heroic struggle of the Latin American people have been decisive.

The struggles conducted by Latin Americans against dictatorships, to ensure a respect for human rights and in support of the economic and social demands of the majority of the people, have opened the way to new possibilities for political progress in the region.

The strides made by democracy have resulted in the recent overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Jean Claude Duvalier in Haiti, the

## List of participants

### Congress of the Socialist International Lima, Peru, 20-23 June 1986

#### Socialist International

Willy Brandt  
Pentti Väänänen  
Luis Ayala

#### Fraternal Organisations

##### IFM/SEI

*International Falcon Movement / Socialist Educational International*  
Nic Nilsson  
Jacqui Cottyn  
Enrique Tello Molina

##### IUSY

*International Union of Socialist Youth*  
Joan Calabuig  
Dirk Drijbooms  
Jaime Bedón Gil  
Percy Palomino  
Donald Méndez  
Hugo Passalacqua  
Rubén Giustiniani  
Ignacio Ferreyra

##### SIW

*Socialist International Women*  
María Rodríguez-Jonas  
Mercedes Cabanillas  
Ana Margarita Gasteazoro  
Miriam Jara  
Nora Maluenda

#### Member Parties

##### Australia

*Australian Labor Party, ALP*  
Ian McLean  
Joan Taggart

##### Austria

*Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ*  
Fritz Marsch  
Imtraut Karlsson  
Walter Hacker  
Udo Ehrlich-Adam

##### Belgium

*Socialist Party, PS*  
Étienne Godin  
Raymonde Dury  
Anne-Marie Lizin

##### Belgium

*Socialist Party, SP*  
Karel van Miert  
Oscar Deburnne

##### Canada

*New Democratic Party, NDP/ NPD*  
Ed Broadbent  
Marion Dewar  
Tessa Hebb  
Jean-Paul Hamey  
Rick Jackson  
Liisa North

##### Chile

*Radical Party, PR*  
Enrique Silva Cimma  
Anselmo Sule  
Luis Fernando Luengo  
Carlos González  
Camilo Salvo  
Heriberto Benkis  
Hermes Valenzuela

##### Costa Rica

*National Liberation Party, PLN*  
Daniel Óduber  
Rolando Araya  
Elias Shadid  
Enrique Carreras  
Ennio Rodríguez

##### Denmark

*Social Democratic Party*  
Anker Jørgensen  
Steen Christensen  
Lasse Budtz  
Gitte Hansen  
Jens Christiansen

##### Dominican Republic

*Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD*  
José Francisco Peña Gómez  
Hatuey de Camps  
Camilo Lluberes  
Luz del Alba Thévenin

##### Ecuador

*Democratic Left Party, ID*  
Rodrigo Borja  
Edmundo Vera  
Pedro Saad  
Rafael Córdova  
Mariano Bustamante  
Eduardo Madrinán  
Gonzalo Araus  
Gustavo Espinosa

Colón Ortega  
María Rosa Rodríguez  
Martha Ochoa de Pérez  
Teresa de Mosquera  
Solon Villa Vicencio  
Fredy Elehrs

##### El Salvador

*National Revolutionary Movement, MNR*  
Guillermo Ungo  
Héctor Oqueli  
Jorge Sol

##### Finland

*Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP*  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Lauri Kangas  
Allan Rosas  
Marianne Laxén  
Tuulikki Hamalainen  
Riitta Korhonen

##### France

*Socialist Party, PS*  
Lionel Jospin  
Michel Rocard  
Yvette Roudy  
Louis Le Pensec  
Jean-Bernard Curial  
Stephane Piletich  
Armelle Glavary  
Maria-Dolores Rodas

##### Germany, Federal Republic

*Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD*  
Hans Koschnick  
Egon Bahr  
Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul  
Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski  
Norbert Wiczorek  
Hans-Eberhard Dingels  
Christa Randzio-Plath

##### Great Britain

*The Labour Party*  
Gwyneth Dunwoody  
Jenny Little

##### Guatemala

*Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD*  
Mario Solórzano Martínez  
Enrique de León  
Amílcar Alvarez  
Floridama Tellez

##### Iceland

*Social Democratic Party*  
Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson

##### Ireland

*The Labour Party*  
Tony Brown  
Tony Kinsella

##### Israel

*Israel Labour Party*  
Uzi Baram  
Nava Arad  
Israel Gat  
Avraham Hatzamri  
Boris Kransny  
Efraim Zinger

##### Israel

*United Workers' Party, MAPAM*  
Avraham Rozenkier  
Arie Jaffe  
Dov Avital  
Moshe Rosen

##### Italy

*Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI*  
Antonio Cariglia  
Mario Melani  
Ivanka Corti  
Amorina Patrizi

##### Italy

*Italian Socialist Party, PSI*  
Margherita Boniver  
Valdo Spini  
Giorgio Benvenuto  
Ottaviano Del Turco  
Elena Marinucci  
Paolo Vittorelli  
Giorgio Gangi  
Francesco Simone  
Francesco Gozzano  
Walter Marossi  
Silvio Ruffini  
Angela Sale  
Giuseppe Scanni  
Francesco Villari

##### Jamaica

*People's National Party, PNP*  
Michael Manley  
Carl Rattray  
Richard Bernal

##### Japan

*Democratic Socialist Party, DSP*  
Yoshihiko Seki  
Sachiko Taguchi

##### Japan

*Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ*  
Eiji Yasui

##### Lebanon

*Progressive Socialist Party, PSP*  
Doureid Yaghi

##### Luxembourg

*Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL*  
Lydie Schmit

##### Malta

*Malta Labour Party*  
Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici  
Alfred Sant

##### Netherlands

*Labour Party, PvdA*  
Joop den Uyl  
Maarten van Traa  
Geke Faber  
Jan Pronk

##### New Zealand

*New Zealand Labour Party*  
Margaret Wilson  
Helen Clark

##### Norway

*Norwegian Labour Party, DNA*  
Thorvald Stoltenberg  
Grete Knudsen

##### Paraguay

*Febrerista Revolutionary Party, PRF*  
Fernando Vera  
Nils Candia Gini  
César Baez Samaniego  
Arnaldo Valdovinos

##### Senegal

*Socialist Party of Senegal*  
Abdel Kader Fall  
Mamadou Faye  
Ibra Mamadou Wane  
Caroline Diop

##### Spain

*Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE*  
Elena Flores  
Ludolfo Paramio  
Enrique Barón

##### Sweden

*Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP*  
Anita Gradin  
Maj Lis Lööv  
Gunnar Stenarv  
Conny Fredriksson  
Margareta Grape-Lantz  
Ingrid Bergander



# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS DOCUMENTS

earlier establishment of democratic governments in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, and the struggles to achieve democracy by the people of Paraguay and Chile who, with their courageous demonstrations, herald the imminent demise of the last two dictatorships in the continent.

Latin America, however, must face up to and surmount a dual challenge in order to advance in the building of a more just and society: to consolidate political democracy and ensure the economic and social progress of its people.

To firmly establish democracy in Latin America, it is necessary that it be implemented at all levels of society. Only a true economic and social democracy can guarantee a lasting political democracy.

The existence in Latin American societies of deeply rooted inequalities, together with oligarchically oriented economic groups and interests, have prevented the fulfilment of the aspirations for justice and freedom of people in those countries. Unjust international economic relations have also resulted in Latin America and the Caribbean

suffering the consequences of an unbalanced trade and financial conditions which seriously affect the region.

In consolidating democracy, the forces which are holding back the progress of freedom, both nationally and internationally, must be defeated. It is imperative to establish a new international economic order which would eliminate the injustices of the unbalanced trade between the developed and the developing nations.

The reaffirmation of the political and economic independence of the

people of Latin America and the Caribbean today requires that their right to development, self-determination and sovereignty be defended.

The Socialist International is committed to supporting the struggle for democracy and social justice in Latin America and the Caribbean. Today democratic socialism, through the action and dedication of its member parties in the region, is furthering the task of building free, just and solidary societies on the continent.

## USA Democratic Socialists of America, DSA

Michael Harrington  
Motti Zelmanowicz  
Tim Sears  
Judith van Allan

## USA Social Democrats USA, SDUSA

Bayard Rustin  
Rita Freedman  
Joel Freedman  
Eric Chenoweth  
Sam Shube

## Venezuela Democratic Action, AD

Carlos Andrés Pérez  
Reinaldo Figueredo  
Beatrice Rangel  
Marco Tulio Baunice  
Elena Mora

## Consultative Parties

**Bolivia**  
Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR  
Jaime Paz Zamora  
Oscar Eid Franco  
Julio Aliaga  
Carmen Pereira

**Brazil**  
Democratic Left Party, PDT  
Leonel Brizola  
Darcy Ribeiro  
Bocayuva Cunha  
Eduardo Chuahy

Matheus Schmidt  
Miguel Bodea

**Cyprus**  
EDEK Socialist Party  
Takis Hadjidemetriou

**Guyana**  
Working People's Alliance, WPA  
Rupert Roopnaraine

**Panama**  
Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD  
Carlos Ozoers  
Nils Castro  
Sonia Gaytan  
Pablo Arosemena

**Peru**  
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP  
Armando Villanueva del Campo  
Luis Negreiros Criado

Hilda Urizar  
Carlos Enrique Melgar  
Carlos Roca Cáceres  
Fernando León de Viviero  
Luis Alberto Sánchez  
Luis Alva Castro  
Gustavo Sabarbein  
Alfonso Ramos Alva  
Orestes Rodríguez  
Ramiro Priale

**Puerto Rico**  
Puerto Rico Independence Party, PIP  
Fernando Martín

**Turkey**  
Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP  
Türker Alkan

## Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE

**Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSP**  
Stefan Tabakoff  
Dobrin Stamenov

**Estonian Socialist Party, ESP**  
Ursula Wallberg

**Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP**  
Jonas Valaitis  
Kozma Balkus

**Polish Socialist Party, PPS**  
Tadeusz Prokopowicz

## Associated Organisations

**CSPEC**  
Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community  
Mauro Giallombardo

**European Parliament Socialist Group**  
Rudi Arndt  
Henri Saby  
Alf Lomas

**JLB**  
Jewish Labor Bund  
Mitchell Lokiec  
Arthur Lerm

**WLZM**  
World Labour Zionist Movement  
Alberto Crupnicof

## Guests - trade union organisations

**ICFTU/ORIT**  
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/Inter American Regional Organisation of Workers  
Luis Anderson

**IFFTU**  
International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions  
Alberto Díaz Heredia

## Guests - international organisations

**Commission on US-Central America Relations**  
Robert White  
Melinda Roerick

**Latin America Human Rights Association, ALDHU**  
César Verduga  
Apolinar Díaz Callejas  
Frank La Rue

## Guests - parties

**Algeria**  
Front de Libération Nationale, FLN  
Saddek Zouaten  
Hattabi Sid Ali

**Argentina**  
Unión Cívica Radical, UCR  
Adolfo Gass  
Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen

**Argentina**  
Mesa de Unidad Socialista  
Guillermo Estévez Boero  
Hector Cavallero  
Raul Rosciani  
Anibal Lopez Blanco

**Brazil**  
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, PMDB  
Fernando Gasparian  
Fernando Enrique Cardoso  
Wellington Morgeira Franco

**Canada**  
Parti Québécois  
Nadia Assimopoulos

**Cape Verde**  
Partido Africano de Independência de Cabo Verde, PAICV  
José Luis Fernandes

**Chile**  
Alianza Democrática, AD  
Ricardo Nuñez

**El Salvador**  
Frente Democrático Revolucionario, FDR  
Eduardo Calles

**Eritrea**  
Eritrean Liberation Front, ELF  
Tackle Izaz  
Omer el Sourí Alim

**Eritrea**  
Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF  
Jibril Yusuf

**Greece**  
Panellinion Sotsialistikou Kinema, PASOK  
Christos Papoutsis  
Perikles Nearchou

**Honduras**  
Movimiento Liberal Democrático Revolucionario, MOLIDER  
Jorge Arturo Reina

**India**  
Congress (I)  
B. Chaturvedi  
R. Kumaramangalam

**Iran**  
National Council of Resistance  
Kazem Rajavi  
Bahman Etemad  
Seyed Ali Sadr  
Hamid Entezam

**Korea**  
Alliance for Democracy & Reunification of Korea, Han Min Ryun  
Kwak Tong-Ui  
Rim Min-Sik  
Choi Ki-Hwan  
Yang Byung-Ryong

**Kurdistan**  
Democratic Party  
Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou

**Mexico**  
Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI  
Porfirio Muñoz Ledo  
Edgar Montiel

**Morocco**  
Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires, USFP  
Abderrahman Youssefoufi

**Namibia**  
SWAPO  
Aaron Shihepo

**Nicaragua**  
Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, FSLN  
Bayardo Arce  
Maria Teller  
José Pasos  
Bolívar Díaz

**Philippines**  
Democratic Socialist Party, DSP  
Ramon Pedrosa

**Tanzania**  
Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM  
Lucy Lamack

**Tunisia**  
Parti Socialiste Destourien, PSD  
Ferid Mahresi  
Sadok Fayala

**Tunisia**  
Mouvement de l'Unité Populaire, MUP  
Gahibiche Abdeljelil

**Uruguay**  
Partido Colorado  
Roberto Asiain  
Eduardo Paz Aguirre

**Uruguay**  
Partido Socialista  
José Díaz

**USA**  
Democratic Party  
Gabriel Guerra  
Peter Emerson  
Alvin Rosenbaum  
Vivian Derryck

**Western Sahara**  
Polisario Front  
Boukhari Ahmed  
Guejmoula Ebbi

**Yugoslavia**  
Socialist Alliance  
Ivan Zivkovic

## Guests - individuals

**Sweden**  
Bert Carlsson

## Observers

**China**  
Li Shuzheng  
Yu Yiwen  
Liu Yunying



# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS DOCUMENTS

In working towards the consolidation of democracy it is essential to face up to the present debt crisis stemming from an unjust international economic order which generates a continuing cycle of exploitation and poverty for the countries of the region.

In Chile the Pinochet dictatorship responds with increasing violence to the peaceful mobilisation of the people who demand with ever more strength the immediate reestablishment of democracy. The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle to regain political freedom and put an end to the violations of human rights, and expresses its full support for the Radical Party (PR) of Chile and for other democratic forces in their efforts to overthrow the dictatorship.

In Paraguay, the struggle for democracy and against the dictatorship of Stroessner signals an end to the oldest dictatorship in the continent. The efforts of the Paraguayan people, along with the mobilisation of the democratic parties, strengthens the possibilities of achieving freedom. The Socialist International expresses its solidarity with the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (PRF) and with the other democratic forces of Paraguay and decided to send a mission in order to establish direct contacts with those forces and to gather information on the current situation in that country.

Central America continues to be threatened by a deepening of the present crisis which compromises the peace and stability of the region. The worsening of that crisis also represents a threat to international peace and security.

The achievement of a lasting peace in that region must continue to be a priority for the international community in order to consolidate the progress towards democracy and to solve its serious economic and social problems.

The proposals of the Latin American foreign ministers calling for: a Latin American solution, self-determination, non-interference in the affairs of other states, territorial integrity, pluralist democracy, a ban on foreign troops or advisers, non-support for subversive groups and respect for human rights, constitute essential elements in the

search for peace in Central America.

The Socialist International expresses its firm support for the Contadora Group initiative and its efforts for peace, security, political pluralism and development in Central America, and in particular the fundamental aims announced by the Latin American foreign ministers:

- an end to foreign support for the irregular forces and subversive groups operating in the region;
- a freeze on the acquisition of arms and their programmed reduction;
- elimination of international military manoeuvres;
- elimination of the presence of foreign military advisers and foreign military installations;
- a commitment to non-aggression by the five Central American countries;
- effective steps leading to national reconciliation and the full achievement of human rights and individual freedoms;
- a furthering of regional and international cooperation to alleviate the pressing economic and social problems afflicting the Central American region.

With regard to Nicaragua, we reject the Reagan administration's policy of destabilisation, economic blockade and support for military assistance to the irregular forces that are operating against that independent and sovereign nation. That policy, which has been increasingly criticised both within the United States and by other countries of the world, enhances the possibilities of a generalised military conflict in the region and runs counter to a negotiated political solution to the Central American crisis.

In the case of Nicaragua, it is also noted that the institutionalisation, development and implementation of the Sandinista revolution's declared objectives of non-alignment, pluralism and a mixed economy have not yet been accomplished.

These objectives have been and will be supported by the Socialist International, and we shall continue to work towards the achievement of a peaceful solution in Nicaragua.

The use of Honduran territory as a base for military actions in Central America not only threatens its sovereignty, but also extends

the regional conflict and endangers the development of democracy in that country, worsening its economic and social problems. The existence of those bases also constitutes a threat to the achievement of political solutions to the conflicts in the region.

In El Salvador, we hope that the recent proposals for a dialogue between the government and the Revolutionary Democratic Front / Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) will lead to serious talks that would put an end to the armed conflict, with its dramatic consequences of human rights violations and an increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons.

Our member party in El Salvador, the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the people of that country and the international community insist on respect for human rights and the existence of full political freedoms. The government of the United States should not insist on placing this conflict in the context of the East-West confrontation, so that a solution can be sought and found through Latin American channels and perspectives.

In Guatemala, the transition to civilian government has initiated a process for the democratisation of Guatemalan society after years of military rule. The Socialist International supports the efforts of those democratic organisations in Guatemala working to further this process, in particular its member party, the Democratic Socialist Party (PSD).

The policy announced by the new president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias Sánchez, reaffirming his country's vocation for peace and neutrality, constitutes a decisive contribution towards strengthening democracy and encouraging the creation of a favourable climate for the solution to the crisis in Central America.

Confronted by the evident intensification of the Central American conflict and the dangers posed to peace in the hemisphere by an armed conflagration, involving the presence of military forces of the major powers, the Socialist International demands of the Reagan administration and the United States Congress that they put forward constructive solutions which would make it possible to reestablish peace.

With regard to Panama, the fulfillment of the Canal Treaties and the respect for the neutrality of that zone must be guaranteed so that the waterway fully reverts to the Panamanian nation. Latin American and international solidarity with the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the people of Panama must be broadened until these aims are fully accomplished, particularly in view of the attempt to demerit Panamanian involvement and to prolong the military and administrative presence of the United States in the Canal Zone.

In the case of Puerto Rico, the Socialist International supports the resolution of the Special Committee of the United Nations of 14 August 1985, and extends a fraternal and solidary greeting to the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

The Socialist International has viewed with serious concern several recent developments in the English-speaking Caribbean which endanger the maintenance of that region as a zone of peace. The invasion of Grenada in 1983 constituted a dangerous precedent which must not be repeated. The militarisation of that region must be strongly denounced, as must any attempt to involve this zone in the East-West conflict.

The Socialist International supports the holding of elections in Haiti as soon as possible in answer to the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people.

We call upon the government of Great Britain to initiate immediately negotiations with the government of Argentina on all aspects relating to the future of the Falklands/Malvinas, Georgias and South Atlantic Islands, with special emphasis on sovereignty, in the open spirit reflected in the joint declaration signed by President Raúl Alfonsín and the British Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, at the Paris meeting in September 1985.

Finally, the Socialist International warmly welcomes the affiliation as consultative members of our organisation, of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) of Brazil, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Panama and the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) of Bolivia.

Adopted by the SI Congress, Lima, Peru, 20-23 June 1986.



## The Lima Mandate

In this historic first meeting of the Socialist International in Latin America, we mandate our organisation to adopt a new statement of principles, to be called the Lima Declaration, on the basis of the following.

(1) In 1951, the Socialist International was reconstituted after the enormous disruptions of the second world war. At that point, decolonisation had only begun and our movement was primarily European in membership and outlook. However, it was, and is, one of the enduring achievements of the International's Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 that it clearly insisted upon the critical importance of freedom, as means and end, in our principles.

(2) It is once again time that we reformulate those principles. The world has changed since 1951, and so have we. We have lived through the unprecedented internationalisation of the global economy; we have participated in democratic governments and revolutionary transformations, seeking to achieve national autonomy or progress toward socialism, and we must make every effort to draw the lessons from both our victories and our defeats.

(3) We have had to confront the political implications of weapons that can destroy the world; we have understood the physical preconditions of life could be destroyed by the uncontrolled industrialisation of the North or by an exploitation of the environment in the South arising out of attempts to live within the intolerable constraints of the world market. We have seen the attempts of African socialists to build upon their communal traditions in a transition to an authentically African socialism. And, particularly since 1976, our own International has expanded dramatically in the Third World, both in terms of membership and activity.

(4) It is our task to define the truly global relevance of democratic socialism in a world which is daily becoming more unified by brute economic facts and desperately needs an international vision which will enable it to become one in freedom, justice, and solidarity as well. And that is why we now

commit ourselves to draw up the Declaration of Lima on the basis of the principles that follow.

(5) Socialism is a movement for human liberation by means of the democratisation of the political, economic, social and cultural structures of national and world society.

(6) One can say: socialism is democracy in its most profound, comprehensive and international expression.

(7) As such, socialism cannot be thought of as a luxury for the citizens of the advanced economies but as a universal human right to individual and communal self-determination in a world in which power and domination are increasingly international.

(8) In the nineteenth century, we were told that the workers and peasants of the emergent capitalist societies were not yet capable of democracy. We exploded that lie in theory and in struggle. Now there are those - and not only the white racists of South Africa - who say that the people of the Third World cannot successfully rule themselves. We will help to explode that lie in theory and in struggle.

(9) We obviously take this stand out of solidarity with people fighting for their freedom everywhere in the world. But there is another reason for it: since the structures of power are increasingly international, no national movement for socialism can truly succeed on its own. Capital is more global than ever before and the poverty of the Third World is even now being used as a weapon to nullify the social gains of the people in the advanced economies. Our internationalism is a practical necessity as well as a moral ideal for the North as well as the South.

(10) So is our commitment to democracy, for there can be no socialism without freedom. We fight political oppression as well as economic exploitation for many reasons but one of the most important is this: democracy is the essential mechanism for the control by the people over the economic and social conditions of their own lives, nationally and throughout the world. It is not an element of the political 'superstructure' to be added after the achievement of socialism. It is the indispensable basis of popular power itself. So we reject all class dictatorships, and every class of

dictatorship.

(11) That power can assert itself in many different ways, some of them yet to be created. For democratic socialism is not simply socialised property or government planning, though both may well be means to its ends. And it is certainly not a fixed blueprint of an economic system. It is, rather, the implementation of the basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity by means of a process of democratisation which seeks, precisely, to free the spontaneous creativity of the people at the base. It will, therefore, be enriched by the contributions of different cultures and traditions in a worldwide movement.

(12) But, however diverse the forms of socialism may be, all socialists are committed to a society in which every citizen can freely participate in the making of political, economic and social decisions; in which ever new modes of that participation can be explored and developed; in which social problems and political differences are settled by open and critical discussion.

(13) Clearly, such a conception of democracy requires, at a minimum, the election of the people's representatives by universal, direct and secret ballot; the protection of individual rights, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of education, of voluntary association, of religion and of minority rights; and a system of justice dependent on the law alone, from which no one is exempt.

(14) These rights are both individual and collective, guarantees of personal freedom which are also the precondition of popular and democratic power over the economy and society. And they are the foundation of new departures, like direct democracy in economic enterprises or local communities, which will give them even greater social content.

(15) Political democracy, then, is a critically important, but not a sufficient, condition for the socialist transformation we seek. We must also dismantle the economic and social structures of domination which can frustrate, and even annul, democratic political rights. That basic truth of our movement has been deepened by the struggle of women in recent decades. They have made it clear that we must be as dedicated to the fight against

exploitation based on gender as we are to the struggle against exploitation on the basis of race, nation and class. Indeed, each of those commitments is an integral and related part of our goal of human liberation.

(16) The roots of oppression and inequality are not simply economic. To be sure, the domination of women by men, the most ancient form of social oppression, has economic manifestations, like wage discrimination and the segregation of women in inferior positions in the labour market. But this is a specific and historic phenomenon, the generalisation of the principle of the patriarchal family and of the organisation of society on the basis of a gender hierarchy. The equality of men and women will thus not be the result of a merely formal and juridical change but demands a veritable revolution in daily life itself.

(17) Socialists struggle for human emancipation in the economy and for effective national independence from political and economic domination, for the same reason that we battle for the emancipation of women, their real equality with men in every area of social life, beginning with daily life. The richness, variety, and also the complexity of our movement, are the result of the fact that we seek to combine all of these struggles and to give expression to all the emancipatory movements in the framework of dialogue and political democracy.

(18) For all these reasons, there is no one model for socialism, but there are basic values and fundamental conceptions of political, economic and social rights which are common to all the parties in the International. We are a profoundly pluralist movement which does not identify with any one philosophical interpretation of socialism. And we believe that socialist theories must be adapted to a changing world society so that each people and each generation can set their own stamp on the reality of their time and place.

(19) The Declaration of Lima must redefine democratic socialism on the basis of these principles set forth at this historic first congress of the Socialist International in Latin America.

Adopted by the SI Congress, Lima, Peru, 20-23 June 1986.