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## Socialist International Council meeting, United Nations Geneva

Over three hundred leaders and representatives of more than a hundred parties and organisations assembled at the Palais des Nations, United Nations Geneva for the Council meeting of the Socialist International on 23-24 November. (See page 51 for the full list of delegates.) Participants met to focus on the themes 'Making global markets work for all: the role of governments and institutions in securing a sustainable world economy', and 'Putting peace and democracy first: the cases of the Middle East, Algeria, the Great Lakes region and Kosovo'.

Delegates were welcomed by Gérard Ramseyer, President of the State Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, who said that in Geneva 'human beings are at the heart of our concerns'. Ursula Koch, President of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, expressing her hopes for an excellent meeting, said that her party was open to the world and was looking forward to working with social democratic parties from all continents.

SI President Pierre Mauroy broke with the agenda to allow for a timely intervention by Isabel Allende of the Socialist Party, PS, Chile, who spoke days

before the first ruling in the United Kingdom regarding the extradition of former dictator Augusto Pinochet. She thanked the international community for the efforts to promote justice and solidarity, adding that: 'We believe that humanity has taken a step towards pointing the finger at those dictators who still continue and towards saying there shall be no more impunity'.

In his opening speech Pierre Mauroy said there were currently two causes for serious concern and both these issues were central to the meeting's agenda. Firstly, the financial crisis in the face of which the international community had to define new rules and 'reclaim the dominance of politics over the economy'. Secondly, the troubles in the African continent which, despite the great progress made in democratic consolidation over the past decade, presented a deeply worrying situation.

Mauroy welcomed developments in Europe towards greater regional and continental integration, and the signs of a 'new political will emerging'. He urged member parties of the SI to continue to develop, and to remain committed to our shared values: 'The globalisation of the economy is to be matched by a

globalisation of politics... in the fight for greater freedom, more justice, and greater human dignity'.

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala reported that messages had been received from the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and from the Director-General of the United Nations Geneva, Vladimir Petrovsky. Commenting on the timely and relevant nature of the meeting, Annan wrote: 'More than ever, we need to come together to manage this change; more than ever, the greatest challenge posed by globalisation is that of good governance in the broadest sense. More than ever, we need to display leadership at the global level. More than ever, we need to forge new partnerships'.

### **Making global markets work for all**

Introducing the first main theme, Prime Minister of Portugal António Guterres, leader of the Socialist Party, PS, stated that he believed the current financial situation to be a predictable and unavoidable result of a global economy based on unregulated global markets. Whereas at national level, market economies worked within the framework of a regulatory state and of an organised civil society, the same





## THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

## MESSAGE TO THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Geneva, 23-24 November 1998

The choice of theme for this meeting of the Council of the Socialist International - making global markets work for all - is exceptionally timely and relevant.

Globalisation puts a premium on good governance. Maximising the beneficial effects of market forces while minimising their negative consequences has always required that they be coupled with the effective exercise of public authority: instituting the political and legal frameworks that markets need, and providing the safeguards against the deleterious effects they can produce. As markets have become global, this challenge will bring our respective memberships and institutions together: for it will require the engagement of both governments and multilateral organisations such as the United Nations.

I believe that over the long term, globalisation will be positive. It draws peoples closer together and offers many of us choices that our grandparents could not even dream of. It enables us to produce more efficiently and allows some of us, at least, to improve our quality of life.

But these benefits are far from being felt equally by all. The long-term positive change is, for millions of our fellow human beings, simply too far off to be meaningful. Millions still live on the margins of the world economy. Millions more are experiencing globalisation not as an opportunity, but as a force of disruption or destruction, as an assault on their material standards of living or on their traditional way of life. And those who feel marginalised in this way are growing more and more numerous.

The global contagion has had devastating social consequences. Some of the most successful economies have been plunged into recession at a speed which has taken the whole international community by surprise.

As usual, it is the most vulnerable groups which are hardest hit. And the countries whose economies had taken only the first faltering steps on the road of recovery are the ones that now find themselves in greatest jeopardy. The crisis has now spread to Russia. Even the markets of North America and Europe are not immune.

While we accept change, therefore, we do not accept ourselves as helpless. The issues this crisis raises are not just financial or economic - nor, for that matter, purely social or political. They are all of those things at once. They must be addressed on all those fronts. They must be dealt with both locally and globally.

More than ever, we need to come together to manage this change: more than ever, the greatest challenge posed by globalisation is that of good governance in the broadest sense. More than ever, we need to display leadership at the global level. More than ever, we need to forge new partnerships.

And so, on behalf of the United Nations, I am pleased to convey my best wishes to this meeting of the Council of the Socialist International. As you gather under the same roof as the United Nations in the Palais des Nations this week, I add the hope that we will succeed in pooling our resources to help make global markets truly work for all.

could not be said of the world economy. Outlining the points for discussion in the declaration 'To Regulate Globalisation and to Globalise Regulation', prepared by the Committee on Economic Policy, Development and the Environment, SICEDE, which he chairs, Guterres concluded by emphasising that finding solutions to the current problems was a moral as well as political responsibility of the international community.

Juan Somavía, Director-elect of the International Labour Organisation, ILO, advocated developing 'a responsible and equitable framework for the management of the emerging global economy and its impact on our societies'. He referred to the dual challenge of promoting

equity and productivity at the same time, as well as promoting sustainable growth and social justice. Clearly, political values and decisions would play a key role in the development of solutions. He added that much greater multilateral cooperation between international institutions was needed to progressively develop integrated and innovative policies, concluding that: 'In the midst of the moral indifference of our days, we need passion and the will to make the world a better place for all'.

Many leaders added their contributions to the debate including the Prime Minister of Morocco, Abderrahman Youssef, First Secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular

Forces, USFP, who spoke of the need to find a collective response to the ongoing crisis at a time when speculative, financial dealings were having such a major impact on the real economy and on our societies. The new National Secretary of the Democrats of the Left, DS, Italy, Walter Veltroni, stated that he believed it was possible to act to avoid global recession. Without denying the ambiguous effects of globalisation, Veltroni maintained that the crisis we felt today was not of globalisation but of a 'certain model of globalisation... subordinate to the religion of unregulated markets'. François Hollande, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, PS, highlighted four priorities for reform:



transparency; regulation; a new financial architecture; and, the putting in place of an Economic Security Council. Only in this way, he suggested, would social democratic values be able to counter the inherent unfairness of capitalism. The General Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, Joaquín Almunia, tackled the impact of globalisation on the proper functioning of the State, governments and of supranational institutions, and the changing nature of national sovereignty. In a situation where financial markets were more able to judge the economic policies of governments than the electorate, he reflected, the need for defining new economic rules of play could not be clearer. Gyula Horn, former Prime Minister of Hungary and a Vice-President of the SI, emphasised the need for improving infrastructures and the importance of directing investment in human resources. Outlining the Asian perspective, Takako Doi, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, restated that the first victims of the economic difficulties had been the weakest and most vulnerable people whose rights the social democratic movement was committed to protecting. Jaime Paz Zamora, Chair of the Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR-New Majority, Bolivia, and an SI Vice-President, set out some Latin American concerns. Globalisation, he said, generated 'neo-necessities', such as the need for information, know-how, access to technology, to credit and to finance, which had to be met worldwide in order to avoid engendering a new type of poverty.

On behalf of the recently elected Social Democratic Party, SPD, Germany, Christoph Zöpel underlined the new points of emphasis required by present

world economic relations. Petre Roman, President of the Democratic Party, PD, Romania, addressed delegates on the impact of developments on Eastern Europe where globalisation had accentuated much needed structural reforms. Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, of the leadership of the Party of Democratic Revolution, PRD, of Mexico, considered the practicalities of the social democratic response to globalisation in financial, economic, social and demographic terms in order to optimise resources and fulfil commitments.

Examining the impact of economic globalisation on African society, Abdoulaye Makhtar Diop, Minister for the Modernisation of the State, Socialist Party of Senegal, PS, emphasised the need to prevent further economic distress and disaster in developing countries. All states had to concentrate their efforts in promoting their citizens' security and well-being. Yuri Petrov, Chair of the State Investment Corporation and a leader of the Russian Social Democratic Union, set out some elements of the situation in his country and expressed his hopes that the social democratic movement would successfully drive forward economic and political reforms there. Anna Diamantopoulou, Greek Deputy Minister of Development, Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, declared that any international economic rules and structures must not jeopardise the promotion of the social dimension of economic growth and globalisation. Expressing his fears that the economic crisis would spread to regions so far relatively unaffected, Tan Seng Giaw of the Democratic Action Party, DAP, Malaysia, did not however doubt that the East

Asian economy would recover and become even stronger, and that there would be no fundamental shift in the balance of economic power and the influence of the big corporations would continue to increase. Hocine Ait Ahmed, leader of the Socialist Forces Front, FFS, Algeria, agreed that the paradox of globalisation was that it concentrated power and wealth in the hands of so few, and that this phenomenon needed to be combatted by reasserting the social and human dimension of the process.

The Council adopted the declaration 'To regulate globalisation and to globalise regulation', (for the full text of all documents, refer to pages 35-45), which set out proposals for restructuring present imbalances in the world economy, by focusing on a framework for developing transitional economies, recasting development assistance, promoting sustainable growth by coordinating economic policies, and reforming the international framework for financial and economic regulation. The declaration concluded: 'To regulate globalisation and to globalise regulation is not only a matter of concern to international financial institutions. It should be the means for a new international order, which can reinforce democracy and promote solidarity. It is also a central responsibility for governments and political parties of the Socialist International'.

### **Putting peace and democracy first**

The second political theme on the agenda afforded the opportunity to examine developments in regions where the establishment of peace and the strengthening of democracy were severely threatened and where events



were moving swiftly. The Council focused on the cases of the Middle East, Algeria, the Great Lakes region and Kosovo.

Chair of the Middle East Committee, SIMEC, Bjørn Tore Godal, Norwegian Labour Party, DNA, presented the results of the meeting held prior to the Council. Welcoming the positive moves towards implementing the peace process, Godal warned that the 'psychology of delays' was still very much present. Shimon Peres, a Vice-President of the SI, spoke of the present domestic policies and economic expectations in the region, and suggested a national union government in Israel might be better suited to carry forward the peace process. Hani Al-Hassan, Chair of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Fatah, weighed up the positive and negative signals emerging in the Middle East, and referred to the Palestinian people's frustration at what they saw as unfulfilled commitments. Ephraim Snéh of the Israel Labour Party spoke of the faint glimmer of hope in his country, and went on to tackle further issues of concern in the Middle East region as a whole. Ester Mordoch, Meretz, Israel, considered the task of the opposition parties in Israel and their responsibilities to the peace process. The statement adopted by the Council on the Middle East welcomed the impetus given by the Wye River Agreement, and called among other things for a rapid follow-up of the provisions therein and urged increased involvement of the European community in the region.

Further resolutions on the Middle East region were adopted on the encouraging developments for peace in the Kurdish region in Northern Iraq; one expressing the Council's satisfaction that the latest crisis between the UN and Iraq had been overcome; and another condemning the grave

and numerous violations of human rights committed under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

Pauline Green, leader of the Parliamentary Group of the Party of European Socialists, and an SI Vice-President, introduced a statement related to the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan in Italy which declared its support for the Italian government and Prime Minister D'Alema. Erdal İnönü, Republican People's Party, CHP, Turkey, expressed his clear opposition to the Turkish government's line on this matter.

The Council, in a resolution on Morocco offered its support to the government there and affirmed the significance of the new political era in that country.

Philippe Busquin, leader of the Socialist Party, PS, Belgium, and Chair of the Committee on Local Authorities, reported to the Council on the successful Second World Conference of Mayors of the SI held in Fez, Morocco. (See *Socialist Affairs*, Issue 3, Vol. 47)

The Council turned its attention to the crises affecting Africa. Ousmane Tanor Dieng, First Secretary of the Senegalese Socialist Party, PS, and Chair of the Africa Committee, introduced the 'Declaration on conflicts in Africa', which was subsequently adopted by the Council. The declaration examined in detail the reasons and nature of the conflicts in the region, and offered ways of improving the situation. It was clear, Dieng concluded, that these crises could not be described as merely local and that sub-regional mechanisms for prevention, management and resolution of conflicts could offer one significant way of promoting a culture of peace in the region. Pedro Pires, leader of the African Party of Cape Verde's Independence, PAICV, and Vice-Chair of the Committee, stressed

the importance of cooperation between states and economic integration for Africa's future. The complexity of the region could not be ignored, and effective solutions required negotiations between all parties and a political framework to guarantee fundamental rights: 'A lasting peace does not mean only the absence of war; it means much more than this', he stated.

Chair of the Mediterranean Committee, Raimon Obiols, PSOE, Spain, spoke on issues of concern in the Mediterranean region, and introduced a resolution on the case of Algeria where the economic crisis served to exacerbate the ongoing threats to peace. Hocine Aït Ahmed, FFS, Algeria, reaffirmed that the continued conflict was causing unprecedented impoverishment and a risk of uncontrollable social explosions. The resolution was adopted by the Council which hoped that the presidential elections in April 1999 would 'provide a new opportunity to strengthen the political process of emerging from the crisis'.

In response to the situation in Equatorial Guinea, a statement was issued expressing solidarity with those representatives of SI-member the Convergence for Social Democracy who had been arrested on the eve of parliamentary elections. Dealing with the case of Western Sahara, the Council called on all parties involved to fully cooperate in the holding of a free, fair and democratic referendum.

László Kovács, Chair of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP, and Co-Chair of the Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, outlined the deliberations of the Committee's meeting on the eve of the Council which had prepared the 'Declaration on South-East



Europe', with special reference to the situation in Kosovo, which was adopted by the Council. Further statements on the region were also adopted: one emphasising the importance of stability in Russia for the European continent, and another on the Caucasus, welcoming the continuing consolidation of democracy in the region.

Considering the issues of peace and democracy in the Asia-Pacific region, a resolution was adopted expressing the Council's grave concern at the incarceration of Lim Guan Eng, DAP Deputy Secretary General; one in support of the Committee representing the People's Parliament in Burma; and, another on East Timor which called on the Indonesian authorities to respect human rights and the right to self-determination of that territory.

The Council also adopted a statement in response to the events concerning the former dictator Augusto Pinochet which reiterated the SI's solidarity with the victims of human rights violations in Chile, and a resolution on democracy in Peru, reflecting the dismay of the SI following the imposition of a third unconstitutional election of Fujimori.

Horacio Serpa Uribe, President of the Liberal Party of Colombia, PLC, presented a resolution to the Council on peace in his country, which called for concrete actions to reinforce the dialogue process. A resolution on Central America in solidarity with the countries in the region who were victims of Hurricane Mitch was also adopted and Enmanuel Esquea, President of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, took the floor to address the points in a resolution, subsequently adopted, dealing with the current threat to the democratic process in the Dominican Republic.

### **Decisions of the Council**

Luis Ayala, SI Secretary General, reported to the Council on the activities of the International during the previous period. (Printed in full on pages 46-49.) It was, he said, a source of great pride for the International to be holding this meeting in the United Nations, Geneva. He also presented many future planned activities, including the XXI SI Congress to be held in Paris on 8-10 November 1999, and the next Council meeting, in Buenos Aires, to be hosted jointly by SI Argentine member parties, the Popular Socialist Party, PSP, a member of Frepaso, and the Radical Civic Union, UCR, which is scheduled for 25-26 June, days before the first Summit of Heads of State and Government of Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union in Rio de Janeiro. Regional meetings of the Global Progress Commission will include one in Africa on 25-26 January in Dakar, and one in Latin America and the Caribbean set for 22-23 March in Mexico City. SICEE will meet in Bucharest on 5-6 February in cooperation with the Democratic Party, PD, and the Romanian Social Democratic Party, PSDR. The SI Africa Committee will meet next at the end of March in Bamako hosted by ADEMA-PASJ. The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, will gather to address key issues in the region in advance of the Council in Buenos Aires, and, under the recommendation of the Presidium, the Committee will be co-chaired in the pre-Congress period by Rubén Berríos, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, and Anselmo Sule, leader of the Social Democratic Radical Party, PRSD, Chile. A forthcoming meeting of SICEDE will focus on the economy in

Africa, and subsequent meetings on economic issues in Asia and in Latin America and the Caribbean. The next meeting of the SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Committee, SIPSAD, will focus on current issues concerning disarmament and will be held in collaboration with relevant bodies of the United Nations in the first part of next year. Also proposed for the first half of next year is a meeting of the SI Asia-Pacific Committee, which it was agreed Lim Kit Siang, General Secretary of DAP, Malaysia, would chair in the pre-Congress period. SIMEC, having just held a meeting in Geneva, will continue to contribute to the peace process and has been invited by the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, to meet next in Morocco. The SIMEC Working Group on the Kurdish Question will visit Northern Iraq, and the Committee has also extended its focus to Afghanistan by forming a special group to follow developments there. With regard to the activities of the SI Mediterranean Committee, the strengthening of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership will be a principal focus of a forthcoming meeting. The SI Committee on Local Authorities will meet in the Netherlands in the first half of next year.

The Chair of the Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC, Gunnar Stenarv, of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, presented on behalf of the Committee the budget for the next year which was adopted.



## Declarations and resolutions

### To regulate globalisation and to globalise regulation

Globalisation is a powerful driving force which can promote growth and development. However, it can also increase social and regional inequalities and vulnerability to crisis.

As the Socialist International declared at its 1996 XX Congress "globalisation has increased the power of multinational corporations, manipulators of foreign exchange markets and international organisations at the expense of governments, electors and the democratic process... We need a new system of collective responsibility offsetting the negative effects of globalisation."

The recent turmoil in financial markets is a clear example. In Asia, two fifths of the global economy is in recession, with negative repercussions already evident in the rest of the world. While its origins were complex, the lack of democracy, of transparency, of social rights, common phenomena in most of the countries where the crisis began, cannot be ignored. The deregulation of capital markets was also a catalyst for the Asian crisis.

While this is not in itself a case for the general re-introduction of capital controls, the Asian crisis illustrates the need to restructure the present imbalance between the ascendant power of financial markets and the diminished power of governments to hold them to account. Not least, while most foreign exchange transactions used to be to finance trade, now most of them are speculative.

Globalisation emerged when most of the governments in Europe were dominated by right wing political forces and the ultra-liberal paradigm was dominant. The concerns about democracy, social solidarity and environment were considered minor issues in the liberal agenda. Globalisation, specially the increasingly integrated financial markets, was seen as a process or the ability to do "anything anywhere" in order to obtain more profits. Deregulation was the key word.

After the Asian crisis, this blind faith in the markets is losing the support of public opinion. Gradually, in view of what happened, and how and where it happened, Democracy, Transparency, and Social Cohesion are recognised as precious assets in this new age of globalisation. They are essential for

economic and social stability, which are important comparative advantages in the long run.

Now regulation is increasingly the key word heard in international fora and institutions. The very international nature of the current financial crisis calls for the cooperation and coordination of the international community efforts.

How is it possible to limit the negative aspects and to improve the positive effects of globalisation? In a global economy the answer can only be by globalising regulation itself. This means resolving a paradox: that trade and financial markets now are global but governance and regulation are mainly national.

In turn, this implies a choice between two main approaches to globalisation. As argued in the 1996 Socialist International XX Congress Declaration on the World Economy, there is:

- The responsible way, taking into consideration diverse regional realities and the social cohesion of different societies, thereby contributing to the global improvement of economic and social well-being and preserving the environment. This is the SI approach: globalisation, in order to be an element of progress, must be regulated.
- The ultra-liberal way, without social and environmental concerns, which will globalise poverty, not only in the developing countries but also increasingly in the developed countries, tending to standardise social rights at their lowest level.

Our actions now must be urgently focused on three main issues:

- a. to reduce the present risks of deepened financial crisis and of global recession and to support countries which have been hit or threatened;
- b. to improve the coordination of economic and social policies in order to gain sustainable growth with greater social cohesion at world level;
- c. to reform the international framework for financial and economic regulation including the functions and roles of the IMF and the World Bank as called for by President Clinton in 1994 at the Naples G7 meeting, and the more recent call by the French Socialist Government for a New Bretton Woods agreement.

### 1. Crisis in the Context of Globalisation

Now, rather than with more delay, is the time to act. It also is time to recognise that we face a new kind of crisis in the context of globalisation.

a. Capital markets now are more controlled by market operators than by central banks. Leadership has been transferred from industrial capital and services to finance seeking short run benefits and speculative gains rather than long-term investment.

b. The liberalisation of foreign exchange and opening of stock markets recently undertaken by several reforming or developing countries both under pressure from the IMF and to attract foreign investment was precipitous and lacked an adequate institutional base. The banking system, stock market organisation and the rules for credit provision were insecure. In Asia, denominating borrowing in dollars increased debt repayment when currencies depreciated. Liberalised capital markets meant that decreased confidence unleashed a massive capital withdrawal and lead to dramatic depreciations, a severe reduction of credit, a strong increase in the debt burden and a fall in national production and employment.

c. Without conviction that governments, by joint action, can stem recession, a crisis in one group of countries can be immediately transmitted by speculation to others, even if their economic base is sound.

d. Contagion from negative expectations can lead to a general shrinking of credit, especially for smaller firms, slowing down investment and growth. As stock markets fall, the income of pensions funds is reduced and diminishes the possibilities for firms to raise new finance. Investment and consumer demand slows, reinforcing the reduction of global demand and the risks of depression. The risk of beggar-my-neighbour deflation is aggravated by increased interdependence in globalised trade. Japan is already in recession. Other key economies, such as those of the United States and European Union, are not immune.

e. The risks of global deflation are higher because all these dynamics have occurred within a general framework of macro-economic



policies targeted at price stability, despite the fact that prices have gone negative for many key commodities world-wide and the risks of a global inflationary problem are negligible.

f. In a multinational economy, competition for direct investment has meant that governments have tended to tax capital less and shift the burden of direct or indirect taxation onto labour. There have also been demands to reduce the social costs of labour without recognition of the degree to which these have in many cases been outstripped by increases in labour productivity. A competitive lowering of social benefits degrades labour and the quality of life, and also will further reduce demand unless compensated in other ways. Only some action in some countries has been taken to use fiscal policy to stem the degradation of the environment.

g. The slowdown of demand in developed countries and the contraction of world trade reduce the prospects for growth in less developed countries. This makes it more difficult to improve social standards. Social dumping then becomes common as a means of maintaining competitiveness and employment. This is compounded by widespread neglect or rejection of social rights, including the rights for women and ethnic minorities, and the right to trade union organisation and negotiation. Without such rights a pluralist democracy either withers, or cannot flourish.

h. The paradox of such negative effects of globalisation is that the blocking of growth in less developed countries hinders prosperity in developed countries themselves. This is compounded by the degree to which the allegedly global economy is not truly global. In terms of foreign direct investment, other than for minerals and raw materials, sub-Saharan Africa is virtually excluded from any gains from globalisation.

i. Meanwhile the less developed countries with the highest growth potential lack the resources to develop, and the gains for the mature economies of investing in them are neglected.

A direct conclusion can be drawn from these trends. If we want to maximise gains and minimise losses from globalisation, we need to restructure the global imbalance between public and private financial power. If we want financial markets to serve people rather than master

governments, we need to ensure that they can maximise employment and welfare and minimise risks to the environment. They need rules of the game which can promote positive outcomes, for themselves and the world economy, rather than their recent record of zero or negative sum outcomes. This implies a governance framework for the global economy and to safeguard the global environment.

## 2. A framework for developing transitional economies

The general framework for supporting developing and transitional economies must be re-examined and re-focused and some urgent actions taken:

a. Both at national and global levels we need a stronger emphasis on transparency, adequate financial supervision and accountability, and adequate minimum standards for operators. Strengthening national supervision systems is a must.

b. The massive power and volatility of foreign exchange markets needs to be countervailed by further increases in IMF contingency funds to deter speculative attacks on, and to support, emergent markets in the developing and transitional economies. The recent example of Brazil shows the importance of such intervention. Others also may shortly need support. But IMF support should not necessarily mean deflation, devaluation and further deregulation on such economies.

c. In specific cases, not least to avoid costly bailouts, capital controls could be temporarily adopted under restricted conditions, and especially for short-term speculative flows. Long-term portfolio investment and direct investment should not be restricted.

d. Action should be taken to reduce the debt payments of those countries committed to economic and social reform. They must be helped to escape the trap of more debt to meet current debt repayments. This not only would help them since reducing debt payments could free funds for domestic investment.

It also would help creditor countries by increasing other countries' imports from them.

## 3. Recasting Development Assistance

More resources should be provided for multilateral cooperation, such as the issuing by the World Bank of

Development Bonds, while a levy on foreign exchange transactions could raise revenues for IMF Contingency Reserves and slow down purely speculative transactions.

It is evident that structural adjustment policies, reinforced by cross conditionality, have in large part been paid for by the poor, and that trickle-down rarely occurs while upwards income shifts have been marked. To break this circle means taking a Gordian knot approach to cutting poverty by a global programme for direct expenditures on nutrition, housing, sanitation, health and education for the poorest people in both the less and the least developed countries.

A new approach should start with a careful examination of the specific local conditions in order to make adequate proposals. Such social investments should be monitored and subject to social conditionality, i.e. good projects would be rewarded and could be extended; inadequate projects would not, and misallocated funds would be penalised.

All projects undertaken by the World Bank should be subject to the condition that they protect or enhance the environment, i.e. environmental conditionality.

More emphasis should be put on expanding domestic demand and meeting basic needs rather than on export-led growth.

Development deficits on trade should be expected for many of the developing countries pursuing investment in the social sector, and exempted from financial conditionality.

All this implies that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are provided with more resources, new terms of reference and clearer roles. In particular, there was merit in the original distinction that the Fund was an agency for short-term balance of payments support as a means of avoiding unwanted devaluation or unnecessary deflation, while the Bank was conceived as a long-term development agency. These roles became confused from the 1980's when the Bank insisted on cross conditionality by the IMF before it would undertake development programmes. World Bank President Wolfensohn recently called for such a redefinition of roles and stressed that the central concern of the Bank should be with social development. He



should be supported in this.

One reason for the low level of institutional investment in many developing countries is both the internal weakness of their own financial intermediaries and the associated risk. This was evident also in some of the newly industrialised countries in Asia. But in the less developed countries this could be offset by strengthening local institutions in cooperation with the multilateral agencies. In particular, institutional investors are attracted to public bond issues at a time when stock markets have declined and their future is uncertain. It is in this sense that the World Bank should be a major player in the issue of Development Bonds which could co-finance a range of diversified investments in less developed countries. To offset the credit squeeze and strengthen business capacity, it also should introduce a Global Venture Fund to co-finance venture capital markets for small and medium firms in developing countries.

#### 4. Promoting sustainable growth by coordinating economic policies

Stable and expanding demand is essential to sustain growth. As stressed in the preamble to the WTO treaty, trade liberalisation and an opening of developed countries' markets, need to be complemented by effective demand to achieve full employment. The further opening of developed countries must be encouraged with some guarantees against the risks of unfair competition due to social dumping. Free trade should also be fair trade.

To effect this, the World Trade Organisation should adopt a system of preferences favourable to less developed countries, combined with the adoption of a social clause, forbidding forced and child labour and including equal opportunities for men and women, trade union freedoms and collective bargaining.

But the central responsibility remains with the developed countries, in the general interest and in their own interest. They are the core of the world system. By their economic policies they determine global demand. Their role in defining global long-term interest rates should be to sustain a virtuous cycle between savings and growth and to trade-off the current low risk of inflation against the higher risk of underproduction and unemployment.

Several governments already understand that the main danger now

is not inflation, but deflation, depression and unemployment. To tackle these dangers, it is necessary:

a. both to reduce the interest rates and to ensure that the exchange rates of the major currencies either are stable or can be adjusted in a coordinated way;

b. to increase investment in both infrastructure and human resources, with new financial instruments for public-private partnerships in investment;

c. to increase investment in the social sector, including health and education, as well as urban renewal and protection and enhancement of the environment;

d. to focus supply side policies on process and product innovations, and innovative services in meeting social needs, as well as extending the skills of and retraining unemployed workers. Special attention should be paid to the basic education of low skilled workers in order to promote their employability.

Such policies, should reduce unemployment, social exclusion and improve welfare.

These issues are particularly crucial to the European Union. On the eve of the single currency, the EU Member States must improve their coordination and define their policy mix to achieve a strategy for growth and employment. This new policy mix should exploit the increased strength that will emerge from the single currency and increase the feasibility of macro-economic policies coordination between the main global economies. In particular, with a single monetary policy, the Euro Zone should play an active role in international regulation and make a major contribution to a new global financial order.

The new policy mix should favour internal demand growth to promote employment and increase international trade.

With those aims, the European Union should:

- pursue an exchange rate policy which enhances Euro credibility but avoids its over evaluation;
- call for a monetary policy which keeps inflation low but promotes investment, growth and employment;
- match the common market and a common currency by common financial instruments such as European bonds as a means of shifting savings into new investment;

- draw on the model of US Treasury bonds - which financed the American New Deal - to finance European Investment Programmes by Eurobonds;

- adopt a fiscal policy which allows more resources for social investment and structural policies;

- promote a sustained European growth programme on these lines to contribute to offsetting recession in the rest of the world economy.

#### 5. To reform the international framework for financial and economic regulation

International financial institutions were created more than 50 years ago, in a macro-economic context that has drastically changed. They are not equipped to deal with the challenges that the developing countries and transitional economies face today, and accordingly, they have not served their needs adequately. This should be remedied by a substantial review of the functioning of the Bretton Woods institutions. Developing countries should play a major role in the reform discussion process.

To reform and improve on the Bretton Woods framework, both governments and the multi-lateral institutions must be able to promote sustainable global growth and development, reinforce social rights and welfare, protect and enhance the environment, and ensure regulation and accountability of financial markets at world level. This, in turn, requires a new balance between collective security and individual responsibility. It should:

- define and enforce a code of conduct among operators in financial markets and sanctions for 'moral hazard';

- organise a world-wide system for monitoring financial and economic risks, including the international exposures of investment banks, hedge funds and other institutional investors;

- examine the practicality of a turnover tax on foreign exchange transactions in order to discourage speculative capital flows, raise revenue for IMF currency support and World Bank development programmes;

- increase the Contingency Fund of the International Monetary Fund and define a new allocation of 'Special Drawing Rights' in favour of developing countries and countries in



transition;

- introduce in the IMF a system whereby there would be a moratorium for creditors and lenders during a liquidity crisis which would allow both sides to agree on a strategy for consolidation without inducing large capital outflows;
- improve the political accountability of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation and the International Labour Organisation and in particular transform the IMF Interim Committee into a Political Council with decision-making, rather than consultative powers, as foreseen in Article XII, Section I of the Articles of Agreement;
- encourage regional integration at economic, financial and political levels both to strengthen cooperation between countries and to facilitate the consistency of macro-economic coordination;
- promote a policy dialogue and closer cooperation between the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Development Group of the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation and the International Labour Organisation;
- encourage the International Labour Organisation, with its unique tripartite structure to promote workers' rights, more and better employment, appropriate social protection and social dialogue for sustainable growth and investment.

A stronger institutional framework is needed to achieve such a new system of collective responsibility. That is why we propose the creation of an Economic Security Council (an enlarged G7) within the UN framework, as a way to effectively coordinate international economic policy and to address global issues such as the stability of exchange rates and international capital flows, the avoidance of fiscal competition and action on global programmes to reduce unemployment and stimulate economic recovery. This forum is also required to increase the cooperation of international financial institutions within the UN framework. Negotiations to create such a Council should be launched immediately, involving relevant partners of both developed and developing countries.

The form of such an Economic Security Council could combine a given number of additional permanent members with a variable membership of smaller countries. A

new structure on these lines would be both more representative of global realities and constitute a manageable forum for the exercise of collective responsibility.

At the top of its agenda, this Council should include not only the redefinition of the role of the Bretton Woods institutions but also a global recovery programme promoting investment, trade, income, and employment.

To regulate globalisation and to globalise regulation is not only a matter of concern to international financial institutions. It should be the means for a new international order, which can reinforce democracy and promote solidarity. It is also a central responsibility for governments and political parties of the Socialist International.

#### **Statement on the Middle East**

The Council of the Socialist International meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998, to review the very serious conditions still prevailing in the Middle East:

*welcomes* the Wye River Agreement between the government of Israel and the PLO on redeployment, security and other issues, while still expressing its grave concern over the many serious delays in the peace process, which make it all the more important to have an expedient follow-up of the Agreement;

*congratulates* President Clinton and his administration on their persistent efforts to assist the parties in reaching the Agreement;

*rejects* any unilateral initiative by any party to impose conditions or reservations related to the Wye River Agreement;

*asks* that the European Union should play a greater role, including in the implementation of the Agreement;

*reaffirms* its general support for the efforts by the USA, EU, Egypt, Jordan, Norway and others to assist the parties in embarking upon final status negotiations with the aim of a permanent agreement concerning, inter alia, Jerusalem, settlements, refugees, water and borders without delay;

*underlines* the importance of the full implementation by both parties of all relevant decisions and agreements to achieve a durable and mutually acceptable peace between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, on the basis

of the UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which embody the principle of Land for Peace;

*reaffirms* that these principles and agreements provide for Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian territories, allowing the Palestinians to practice their inalienable right to self-determination and the setting up of an independent Palestinian state;

*calls* for Israel and Syria to resume negotiations on the Syrian track on the basis of UN Resolutions and the terms of reference of the Madrid Conference; while appreciating that the Israeli-Lebanese track of the peace process is embedded in a wider context, the Socialist International insists that it be treated as an issue in its own right and with full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon;

*calls upon* Israel to bring the settlement policies that aim at establishing a de facto situation in the occupied territories, to an immediate close;

*condemns* terrorism, killing and maiming of innocent civilians by any organisation or individual who opposes the peace process, and urges the parties to enhance and strengthen security cooperation;

*appeals* to the international, and particularly to the European community to rally economic support for the Palestinian Authority. The Palestinian Authority under the leadership of President Yasser Arafat is displaying enormous efforts to build up Palestinian society and achieve peace. It is an urgent necessity to extend assistance to the Palestinian people to relieve their living conditions under the present hardships and contribute to the establishment of a sound economy for the Palestinian state.

#### **Statement on the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan in Italy**

The Council of the Socialist International reiterates its total repudiation of terrorism. In recent years it has become ever clearer that terrorism cannot solve conflicts within countries or between them. From Northern Ireland to the Middle East; from South Africa to the Basque country, political dialogue is showing the way to conflict resolution.

The arrest of Abdullah Ocalan, President of the PKK, and his request for political asylum must be dealt with according to the rule of law. The SI



endorses that all those that are accused of crimes of terrorism should be judged in fair trials.

Italy is constitutionally bound to deny extradition of any person to any country which maintains the death penalty. In this sense, we believe Italy embodies the values of both the European Union and of our international socialist family.

The Socialist International cannot accept the aggressive response of the Turkish authorities to the democratic and constitutional processes now underway in Italy.

As an aspiring member of the European Union it is unacceptable that the Government of Turkey should call a boycott of Italian products, and encourage harassment and public manifestations against Italy, both in Turkey and elsewhere in the world.

The difficulty stemming from the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan is not just an Italian problem. It is a European problem given the integration of the European Union, the operation of the Single European Market and the Customs Union between the EU and Turkey. An attack on the Government of Italy in this way is an attack on the European Union - on the values underlining European societies, on the solidarity and partnership which is fundamental to the concept of European integration.

The Socialist International expresses its strong support to the government and Prime Minister of Italy to continue, despite the harassment, dealing with this issue according to the demands of the Italian constitution.

The Socialist International declares that it is prepared to play its part in establishing and supporting a political dialogue to resolve the conflict.

#### **Resolution on the Kurdish region in Northern Iraq**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva, expresses its satisfaction on the agreement reached in Washington between the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, to resolve their conflict and to promote peace and democracy in the Kurdish region of Northern Iraq. The Council believes the agreement will help toward the security and stability of the area and will enhance the prospects for democracy in Iraq as a whole. A delegation of the SI Middle East Committee Working Group on the

Kurdish Question will soon visit Northern Iraq as part of the International's continuing role in promoting peace and democracy there. The Council urges rapid implementation of the agreement and will in every way possible support the planned elections for a regional assembly due next summer.

#### **Resolution on Iraq**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

*expresses* its profound satisfaction that the latest crisis between the UN and Iraq provoked by the attitude of the Iraqi government, has been overcome peacefully;

*urges* the Iraqi government to cooperate constructively with the UNSCOM and IAEA representatives in the best and most expeditious manner so as to eliminate any danger of weapons of mass destruction, and

*looks forward* to the ending of sanctions and the reintegration of Iraq into the international community once it has fully complied with all relevant UN resolutions.

#### **Resolution on Afghanistan**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998, strongly condemns the grave and numerous violations of human rights committed under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

It decides to set up a working group on Afghanistan to monitor developments in and around that country and to examine the possibilities of assisting in the efforts to restore internal peace and civil rule.

It fully supports the campaign launched by European Commissioner Emma Bonino on the plight of the women of Afghanistan. This campaign is intended to put the atrocious violation of women's human rights in Afghanistan on the public agenda so as to enlist public opinion in order to end this massive discrimination.

#### **Resolution on Morocco**

The Socialist International Council meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

*Offers* its unqualified support to the Government Manifesto of the Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Abderrahman Youssoufi, in

which it is reiterated a deep commitment to the strengthening of the democratic process, the consolidation of the rule of Law, the fight against unemployment and the improvement of the citizens' standard of living.

*Recalls* that this process of reforms is not free from risks due to the particularities of the democratic transition in Morocco which encompass political, economic and social factors. The reduction of these risks will determine in great part the success of the political evolution in this country at the end of the century.

*Affirms* the significance of this new political era, which has been legitimately established by the will of the people, and in which an ambitious reform package, designed to achieve the economic and social development of Morocco, is being implemented.

*Urges* that those pledges which were undertaken at the Barcelona Conference in November 1995 by the governments of the European Union and the countries belonging to the Mediterranean Partnership, and which have implications on three separate but related fronts - the political, the economic and the social/human - are honoured.

*Stresses* that there is an undeniable link between promoting economic development on the one hand and maintaining those conditions which are conducive to social stability on the other, and that this link is essential for progress towards a more just and balanced society.

*Calls* on the respective parliaments of the member states of the Barcelona Conference to ratify the Agreements on the Association with Morocco, which will be a much-needed support for the new Government, the USFP, and the democratic forces.

#### **Declaration on the conflicts in Africa**

Africa's natural resources and great economic promise are precious assets in its determined efforts towards progress and development. But success in this endeavour requires an end to the instability which today threatens most of its regions as a result of the proliferation of tensions and conflicts. This situation is to a great extent due to causes clearly identifiable in many zones of conflict: the absence of democracy, challenges to constitutional order, electoral



fraud and foreign influence dictated by political, economic or geo-strategic interests. It is often aggravated by the resurgence of ethnic rivalry and a return to the politics of national identity.

These evils not only tarnish the image of the continent, but also impede its economic growth and destroy the social fabric of the African countries.

An examination of a number of African conflicts reveals the importance to be accorded to the close relationship between peace, democracy and development. At the same time it gives a clearer picture of their negative consequences and allows solutions to be sought.

## I. SOME AFRICAN CONFLICTS

### A. The Great Lakes Region

Rich in water, and blessed with substantial mineral and energy resources, the Great Lakes Region is of great economic and strategic interest.

It has thus for some time been suffering serious disturbances and an unprecedented instability.

#### 1. The situation in Burundi

Despite all the efforts made, in particular by the International Mission of Protection and Observation for the Restoration of Confidence in Burundi, the situation in the country deteriorated rapidly in March 1995, which led the UN Security Council to adopt on 9 March 1995 a Declaration condemning the activities of those inside and outside the country attempting to obstruct the implementation of the points of agreement contained in the Governmental Convention.

The government of Major Buyoya, established by the coup d'état of 25 July 1996, is still the subject of an embargo by the surrounding countries. Political parties are still banned and violence still occurs among the population. Faced with this situation the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has attempted to restart the Arusha negotiations and has invited the Bujumbura authorities to become more actively involved in the process of national reconciliation by establishing an inclusive dialogue with all concerned.

On the basis of information about the progressive re-establishment of peace, security and stability provided by the Burundian representative at the last session of the OAU Council of

Ministers, an OAU commission has visited the country to assess the situation. Advances are also being made in the peace process intended to bring about a comprehensive national reconciliation that would enable the lifting of the embargo. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the facilitator, is playing an important role in this peace process.

#### 2. The situation in the Congo

The complexity of its origins, the scale of its repercussions and its human and economic costs make the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo one of the most serious that Africa has ever seen.

The current rebellion is strangely similar to the rebellion of the Banyamulenge Tutsis who were involved in the campaign of the former Zaire to help President Kabila. To grasp the issues at stake, it is necessary to recall the origins of the Banyamulenge.

They are Tutsis of Rwandan and Burundian origin who over many generations have settled in the border area between Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), Rwanda and Burundi. This region of plateau and plain, watered by Lake Kivu, enjoys an agreeable climate and abundant rainfall and possesses lands well suited to agriculture and to the raising of cattle.

The Banyamulenge, who have farmed the Kivu lands and made this a prosperous region, intend to remain there.

Behind this geo-political issue one can also detect the struggles for influence and position in this key region of Africa.

At least nine countries are confronting each other in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Sudan, Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo itself.

The international community has mobilised to deal with the crisis; in particular the OAU, the USA and South Africa.

Any solution must take account of certain principles:

- respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Congo;
- the strict application of the principles of democracy and legality;
- the involvement of all parties concerned and interested;

- respect for the frontiers inherited from the colonial era (*uti possedetis juris*), a fundamental principle of the OAU.

On this basis the UN Security Council must work for a comprehensive and lasting solution to the crisis.

## B. The Horn of Africa

### 1. Somalia

Since the fall of Siad Barre in January 1991, the result of the alliance between the United Somali Congress (mostly Hawiye - a southern clan) and the Somaliland National Movement (made up of Issaks), Somalia has regularly suffered serious upheavals.

It is clear that peace will remain illusory in Somalia if in the search for a solution account is not taken of the principles established by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

In fact, at the first ordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the OAU Mechanism for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflict on 6 and 7 December 1993, the OAU approach was redefined on the basis of four fundamental principles:

- a) the Somali conflict must be considered as an internal Somali affair whose solution depends primarily on the Somalis themselves, with no exclusions;
- b) the Addis Ababa Agreement provides a framework for the solution of the conflict acceptable to all sides;
- c) peace will not be possible without the general, complete and simultaneous disarmament of all forces engaged in conflict;
- d) any settlement of the conflict must take account of the strictly humanitarian aspects.

The above principles seem to have been accepted by the twelve Somali political currents who drew up a programme of action following a series of meetings held in Cairo between 1 and 7 March 1994.

While promoting reconciliation between the different political currents, the programme includes, amongst others, three important decisions:

- the establishment of a 'Provisional Council of Public Safety', made up of seventeen (17) members, to be chaired alternately by the presidents of the National Movement and of the National Somali Alliance;
- the formation of a balanced



government;

- the drafting of a new constitution and the organisation of free and democratic elections within 2 years.

In the meantime, UNISOM II withdrew from Somalia on 2 March 1995.

In an exceptional display of solidarity, on 10 March 1995 the main political currents agreed an 11-point pact strengthening an agreement signed between General Adid and Alki Mahdi.

In practice, however, it is disappointing to observe that the leaders of the Somali political currents have not honoured the undertakings they have given on numerous occasions.

## 2. The Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict

This conflict concerns the demarcation of the boundary at Bada Ali and Buric, and also in the Badme area. Badme was originally the name of a plain crossed by the frontier between the two countries.

Diplomatic initiatives by the OAU, the United States, Rwanda and Djibouti have not as yet led to a settlement of differences on the basic issues.

The meeting of OAU Heads of State in Burkina Faso on 8 and 9 November 1998 drew up a 4-point proposal for a settlement of the conflict.

The Eritreans' rejection of the point concerning the withdrawal of their troops has once again produced an impasse and the threat of a renewal of hostilities.

## C. West Africa

### 1. Sierra Leone

The civil war which broke out in Sierra Leone following the overthrow on 25 May 1997 of its democratically elected President, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, by a military junta led by Major Paul Koroma, led to long months of activity by the international community.

Here it is appropriate to congratulate the West African Economic Community on the important role it played in the settlement of the crisis in Sierra Leone.

Ousted from power, the junta has taken to the provinces, where it continues to foment instability, causing suffering and the displacement of thousands of civilians.

It is necessary, then, to support with determination the efforts of the ECOMOG to neutralise the rebels who

are committing atrocities against the civilian population. It is also necessary to help in the consolidation of the rule of law in Sierra Leone, with an independent judicial system that respects human rights, to put an end to acts of vengeance and to promote a real policy of national reconciliation.

### 2. Guinea-Bissau

On 7 June 1998, elements of the Guinea-Bissau Army organised a mutiny from the BRA military base.

This mutiny was led by Brigadier-General Ansuman Mane, following his suspension as Chief of the General Staff.

In the very early hours of the rebellion, on the request of the Head of State of Guinea-Bissau, and under the provisions of the bilateral agreements between the two countries, Senegal sent troops into Guinea-Bissau to defend the constitutional order and to help ensure stability and security in the sub-region. The Republic of Guinea did the same.

Since the outbreak of the crisis, many attempts at mediation have been made.

In this context, it is appropriate to signal the active role played by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in coordination with the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries. With the support of the international community, the joint action of these two organisations has led to the signature of a memorandum of agreement.

Following the outbreak of renewed hostilities, the ECOWAS succeeded on 1 November 1991 in persuading the parties to sign a peace agreement which took into account the regional character of the conflict.

The Abuja Agreement cleared the ground for a comprehensive and lasting settlement to the crisis in Guinea-Bissau and the re-establishment of stability and security in the region.

It is now necessary for the international community to act quickly to assist in the implementation in their entirety of the decisions arrived at, which is the only way to block attempts to call this important agreement into question.

## D. Southern Africa

### The Angolan conflict

After a long struggle and many attempts at a settlement to the crisis, the signature of the Lusaka Protocol marked a new and significant step towards a final and comprehensive settlement of the crisis.

Recent developments in Angola, the result of UNITA's refusal to honour its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, in particular the complete and unconditional demobilisation of its troops, are causing concern to the UN, the Troika (Russia, the US and Portugal) and the other countries of the region.

The war in the Democratic Republic of Congo is having a negative effect on the geopolitics of the region, and thus on the Angolan conflict. This shows how important it is to grasp all the inter-related parameters of this conflict in order to find a comprehensive solution.

Be that as it may, the Lusaka Agreement offers an appropriate framework for the definitive settlement of the Angolan crisis, and thus deserves the support of the international community in general and of the UN in particular.

## II. THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF CONFLICT

Africa's image in the media is marked by poverty and suffering, the consequence of civil war, genocide, famine, the displacement of populations, the flight of refugees and violations of human rights. In 1992, 2.5% of Africans were in exile as a result of political violence.

At the political level, conflicts lead to the breakdown of the democratic process, the disintegration of the rule of law, corruption, and the rise of intolerance.

The material and economic costs of violence include in particular the high costs of the military machine, losses in terms of tourism and the destruction of economic infrastructure.

At the ecological level, deforestation, the destruction of fauna and the presence of anti-personnel mines are wreaking untold havoc.

And finally, conflict engenders a culture of violence, the collapse of moral values, the disappearance of social norms, and a loss of humanity.



### III. PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTIONS

- To establish sub-regional mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict: given that there is no crisis, however circumscribed, that can be truly described as merely local, it would be of great importance to establish mechanisms at the sub-regional level to provide early warning, to manage conflict, and to maintain peace, security and stability.
- To promote a culture of peace: it is absolutely necessary not to lose sight of the importance of the culture of peace in the prevention of conflict. Such a culture must be promoted at school, in the family and in the media.
- Encourage the establishment of neutral mechanisms for the organisation of free and open elections.
- To encourage free democratic expression, based on respect for legality and the constitutional order.
- Request that international sponsors stop providing aid to countries violating human rights and that they reject the establishment of the rule of law.
- In this spirit, to search for just and lasting solutions to crises and conflicts. These solutions must respect the will of the majority and the interests of minorities.
- To promote African economic integration, which will lessen the importance of the rigid frontiers inherited from the colonial era and foster understanding between the peoples.
- To struggle energetically, and in concert, against the sale and distribution of hand-guns and light weapons.
- To encourage a greater involvement of civil society, and of women in particular, in the management and resolution of conflicts.
- To strengthen partnership with the developed countries in the search for solutions to crises and conflicts in Africa.
- A more active role for the Socialist International: given the recurrence and gravity of conflicts in Africa, it is desirable that the SI establish a Committee to aid in their settlement. It would also be appropriate for the SI to offer teams to mediate in zones of conflict.
- To maintain a proper sense of the relationship between poverty, bad government and abuse of human rights, on the one hand, and violent conflict on

the other. This is why, in order to reduce the threats to international security, we should not only pay more attention to the deeper causes of violence but also intensify cooperation between different sectors of the international community. Such cooperation is not only of value to countries in the throes of conflict, but also to humanity as a whole. Democratic socialism, embodying as it does the essential values of freedom, generosity and solidarity, has a fundamental role to play in this noble struggle.

#### Resolution on Algeria

The Socialist International Council meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

notes that for the past seven years the men and women of Algeria have been living through a tragedy made up of acts of terrorism, massacres and violations of human rights. This tragedy is made worse by a social situation which runs the risk of producing new crises and social explosions;

emphasises that the announcement of the early departure of President Zeroual is the result of divisions in the military hierarchy on the fringes of representative institutions, a fact which shows up the limitations of the process of transferring power to those institutions;

considers that the calling of presidential elections in April 1999 can provide a new opportunity to strengthen the political process of emerging from the crisis;

considers that this event should be the occasion for a wide-ranging act of consensus by the diverse actors on the Algerian political scene favouring a drive towards peace and national reconciliation;

emphasises the importance of guaranteeing freedom of expression and pluralism for the media and the need to put an end to every practice, direct or indirect, of censorship, in particular of television;

emphasises the need for transparency in the planned elections, reaffirms its support for its member party, the FFS, in its struggle for the establishment of peace and democracy in Algeria and assures it of its active solidarity;

asks the international organisations which are Algeria's partners, in particular the European Union, to support in a significant and lasting way the building in Algeria of a state based on the rule of law and democracy.

#### Resolution on Western Sahara

The Socialist International, considering the situation in Western Sahara, reaffirms its resolutions, including the one adopted at its Council in Oslo, and supports a just, peaceful and lasting solution of the Western Sahara conflict.

Welcomes and encourages the current efforts by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, in his attempts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Western Sahara and the full implementation of the UN resolutions and the Houston Agreements, and

Calls upon all parties involved, in particular Morocco and Polisario, to fully cooperate with the UN in the holding of a free, fair and democratic referendum in Western Sahara.

#### Statement on Equatorial Guinea

The Council of the Socialist International has learned that on the eve of parliamentary elections in Equatorial Guinea arrests and jailings of members of legal parties continue to take place for political reasons.

The arrest has taken place of Amancio Gabriel Nze, secretary for organisation and civil society of the Convergence for Social Democracy, CPDS, and of Nicolas Mañana, general secretary of the Rio Muni regional group of that party.

The Socialist International expresses its solidarity with its member party, the CPDS, in particular, and with the democratic parties of Equatorial Guinea in general who are experiencing great difficulty in developing their political activities and encourages them to continue their peaceful struggle for free and fair elections.

The Socialist International urges the government of Equatorial Guinea to respect the democratic freedoms of the political parties and their members.

#### Declaration on South-East Europe

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva, after analysing the crisis in Kosovo:

expresses its concern for the persistence of a situation of violence, instability and tension in Kosovo which has serious consequences for the living conditions of hundreds of thousands of people and reiterates that the protection of human rights and the mitigation of suffering must become a priority of any action undertaken by any of the parties



concerned;

*stresses* that the international community should facilitate agreement within the Albanian community on the course and content of negotiations and discourage all parties from restarting armed conflict;

*calls* on both the Serbian forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) to cease all military activities and all oppression of citizens in Kosovo, ensuring the safe return of the refugees, recognising that the way forward is through peaceful and democratic means;

*considers* the understanding promoted by Richard Holbrooke's action as a first and useful step to start negotiations between Pristina and Belgrade and urges the parties to continue with full commitment along the same lines;

*stresses* once more that the crisis in Kosovo can find a lasting solution only on the basis of a recognition of forms of self-government for Kosovo within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

*underlines* the importance of international actions to oblige the Yugoslav authorities to immediately open Kosovo and Montenegro to all humanitarian organisations helping the refugees and their safe return;

*similarly underlines* the importance of the presence in Kosovo of 2,000 OSCE observers and appeals to the Serbian authorities to fulfil their commitments to provide security for the observer mission allowing, in cases of immediate threat, actions by the NATO Extraction Force based in Macedonia.

After analysing the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

*notes* with satisfaction that parliamentary and presidential elections were held in a proper manner in Bosnia and Herzegovina and stresses the good results achieved by social democratic forces. All of this encourages and strengthens the action of those who believe in the Dayton Accords and in a united, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural Bosnia and Herzegovina;

*stresses* the commitment of all signatories of the Dayton Accords to recognise the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to strengthen the unity of the state and the cohesion among the communities and entities that constitute it;

*emphasises* the responsibility of Bosnian authorities and communities to continue with determination and consistency to implement the Dayton

Accords and to promote, in particular, the return of refugees in conditions of safety and dignity. Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural living together should also be increased and strengthened in every possible way through the urgent establishment of governmental institutions at all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

*urges* the international financial institutions to implement aid and reconstruction programmes for Bosnia and Herzegovina and urges the European Union to implement the cooperation programmes agreed upon and signed by the EU and Bosnia;

*gives* full support for the development of the social-democratic option and social democratic forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina in each entity and will give support for the establishment of closer relations among all parties fighting for a united, independent, free, democratic and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After analysing the situation in South-East Europe more generally:

*expresses* concern about some authoritarian tendencies and urges development towards full democracy in Croatia which would ensure the application of the democratic standards recommended by the Council of Europe, and guarantee freedom by the media against every form of limitation to its actions;

*expresses* its deep concern about political developments in Serbia, and the oppressive actions of the Milosevic regime and the growth of the influence of extremist forces within the Serbian government, and expresses its support of democratic forces and the independent media and the universities against any form of repression;

*welcomes* the result of the elections in Montenegro and the formation of a new government of which the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro is part, and expresses its hope that will have a positive influence on political developments in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

*expresses* its satisfaction at the overcoming of the September crisis in Albania and at the positive result of the constitutional referendum, and urges all Albanian political forces to act in a more consistent and useful way in order to stabilise democracy;

*urges* the international community to fulfil, in the timescale agreed, the commitments taken on during the

Ministerial and Donors Conferences;

*highlights* the importance of encouraging stability in Macedonia;

*stresses* the usefulness of fostering every form of regional cooperation - such as the Central Europe Initiative, South-Eastern Cooperation Initiative (SECI), Royaumont, and the Black Sea Cooperation Council - with the aim of creating an increasing number of occasions for interdependence and integration among peoples and countries which have been historically in conflict.

Finally, the Council:

*stresses* that political stabilisation in Central and Eastern Europe is a prerequisite for stability and security of the whole continent;

*underlines* the strategic nature of European integration which can offer Central and Eastern Europe an essential reference point to aid the completion of its political and economic transformation in a Europe which will be democratic, peaceful, socially just and based on principles of mutual solidarity and cooperation among regions;

*welcomes* the beginning of negotiations with Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia and Cyprus, and urges that negotiations be started as soon as possible with Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania and the Slovak Republic, and emphasises that the European Union must pursue an integration strategy also with countries which are not yet candidates through the signing of a cooperation agreement;

*stresses* its commitment to supporting all social democratic political forces in Central and Eastern Europe and urges the member parties of the SI to continue to support the development of the democratic process in the region through all possible technical and political means.

#### **Statement on Russia**

The Council of the Socialist International meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

*recalls* with concern the persistence of a difficult political and economic situation in Russia;

*emphasises* that every time Russia was unstable the entire continent of Europe suffered the repercussions, and stresses that the assurance of stability to Russia is decisive to the assurance of stability and security to the whole of Europe;



*emphasises* in particular that in recent months there has emerged in Russia a worrying fragility which indicates that the strengthening of the political transition and the stabilisation of institutions must be a priority;

*draws* the attention of the Russian authorities to the important fact that legislation, the judicial system, public administration and relations between citizens and the state must be brought to the standards applied by democratic nations.

Therefore,  
*urges* the international community not to limit its aid merely to the economic field but to implement a vast programme of assistance to the building of democratic institutions;

*reiterates* at the same time, the need to proceed with the implementation of economic reforms leading to an effective market economy, to the implementation of an efficient fiscal system and to a regulated financial market;

*underlines* at the same time the need to implement a switch to a market inspired by criteria of social solidarity which correspond to the needs of the poorer strata of the population;

*urges* the Russian authorities at all levels to take up a determined fight against all forms of corruption, the illegal economy and organised crime including politically motivated crime which risk undermining the faith of citizens and international credibility in the reforms;

*emphasises* the serious consequences of a reduction of the international community's commitment and urges all states and financial institutions to carry through their assistance and support programmes of aid to Russia;

*emphasises* the decisive role that the European Union should play in its implementation of all the possibilities contained in the Cooperation Agreement, and in its assumption of the leadership in the provision of international assistance;

*urges* the Russian authorities to pursue political solutions to the conflicts underway in some republics of the Russian Federation, and thus positively assist in the solution of conflicts which are causing concern in the Caucasus and Central Asia;

*notes* that many political and social forces are inspired by social democratic values and principles, even if this does not yet ensure the emergence of strong and well organised social democratic parties;

*stresses* the priority commitment of the Socialist International and its member parties to the support of these forces and to operations enabling them to work and operate to their full potential.

#### **Statement on the Caucasus**

The Council of the Socialist International meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

Recognising that the Caucasus is a region of constant attention,  
noting that the successful implementation of local elections in Georgia gave a positive signal towards democratisation in the region,

welcomes the positive changes in the direction of a consolidation of democracy in the region and calls on the authorities of all countries of the region to fully implement the democratic rules and standards recognised by the international community and urges all concerned regional governments and communities to set aside the conflicts of recent years on the basis of negotiations and the principles set out by the OSCE.

#### **Resolution on Malaysia**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva, expresses its grave concern at the incarceration of Lim Guan Eng, an elected Member of Parliament and Deputy Secretary General of the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia, a member party of the Socialist International, which is playing an important role in the movement for democratic reform in that country. Lim Guan Eng was convicted under the Sedition Act and the Printing Presses and Publications Act for having printed a pamphlet which reflected public concerns regarding the Malaysian Government's handling of a statutory rape case involving a former government minister. The Socialist International believes that his imprisonment indicates the Government's intention to stifle dissent at a time when growing numbers of Malaysians are demonstrating their desire for greater democracy. It therefore strongly urges that Lim Guan Eng be released from prison, and that he be free to carry out his responsibilities as a Member of Parliament, pending a reconsideration of laws used to deny the fundamental right of free expression.

#### **Resolution on Burma**

The Council of the Socialist International meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

*Recognises* the Committee representing the People's Parliament, formed by the National League for Democracy on 16 September 1998 acquiring the legal authority of 251 MPs and support of the four non-Burmese ethnic political parties, as the legitimate instrument of the will of the People of Burma;

*Strongly condemns* the regime for the recent illegal and arbitrary arrests of more than one thousand members of the National League for Democracy including about 200 elected representatives;

*Condemns* the regime's policy of racially-motivated genocide against the ethnic peoples, especially those in Karen, Karenni and Shan States;

*Deplores* the regime's persecution of Christians and Muslims as well as the continuing repression of Buddhist monks;

*Welcomes* the finding by UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Burma that human rights abuses in Burma were likely "the result of policy at the highest level" and that therefore, the regime's officials bear "political and legal responsibility" for their crimes;<sup>1</sup>

*Urges* the United Nations General Assembly and UNCHR to adopt consensus resolutions on Burma that accurately reflect the severity of the repression in Burma and adequately reflect the international outrage at the regime's policies;

*Calls on* the United Nations General Assembly and organisations to authorise member states to take individual actions to pressure the regime to abide by its UN treaty obligations;

*Appeals* to the UN Secretary General to bring more pressure to bear on the military junta by using his good offices, in consultation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, to make significant advances towards the democratisation of Burma;

*Calls on* the international community, and Japan in particular, not to provide any form of financial assistance that directly or indirectly benefits the regime in Burma;

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, United Nations General Assembly, doc A/53/364, 10 September 1998.



*Calls on* the European Union to impose tough trade and investment sanctions on the regime until there is genuine progress in restoring democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights in Burma;

*Calls on* TOTAL of France, UNOCAL of the United States, PREMIER of the United Kingdom, and MITSUBISHI and NIPPON OIL of Japan to withdraw or suspend their pipeline operations in Burma and to make amends for the forced labour and human rights abuses caused by their projects against the ethnic peoples of Burma;

*Strongly urges* the military regime in Burma to immediately initiate a substantive dialogue with the Committee Representing the People's Parliament before it is too late to prevent another violent social and political upheaval in Burma, and

*Urges* the regime to release all political prisoners, to repeal all repressive laws, and to stop all the violations of human rights and all unlawful harassment on NLD members leading to the surrendering of their membership and closing down of NLD offices.

#### **Resolution on East Timor**

The Council of the Socialist International meeting in Geneva on 23-24 November 1998:

*expresses* its concern at the latest events in the territory of East Timor and deplores the loss of human lives;

*urges* the Indonesian authorities to facilitate the access of human rights and humanitarian organisations to the territory;

*calls on* the Indonesian authorities to respect human rights and the right to self-determination;

*reaffirms* all its previous resolutions on the same matter.

#### **Statement on Chile**

The Council of the Socialist International, in the light of the arrest of the former dictator Augusto Pinochet in London on charges related to massive and systematic violations of human rights, including the forced disappearances of persons and acts of state terrorism in Chile and abroad:

*Values*, for what it represents for the whole of humanity, the development of international law for the protection of human rights.

*Declares* that the international community is strengthened through the exercise of the legitimate right to

bring to trial those responsible for crimes against humanity.

*Gives* its decided support to the creation of the International Criminal Court;

*Recognises* that the exercise of justice is inherent to the strengthening of all democratic systems;

*Reiterates* its solidarity with the victims of human rights violations in Chile, and commends the efforts by the Chilean government and the parties of the Concertación in pursuit of truth and justice, the only effective way to make reconciliation and the consolidation of democracy a reality in Chile.

#### **Statement on democracy in Peru**

The Council of the Socialist International:

*expresses* its concern at the decision of the Peruvian government to impose in an unconstitutional manner the third consecutive election of Alberto Fujimori as president;

*regrets* that to such an end the independence of the judicial and the electoral powers has disappeared and that the proposal tabled by one and a half million Peruvians that this re-election be put to a referendum has been rejected in an illegal fashion;

*asks* its member parties to demand through their legislators and governments the re-establishment of democracy in Peru, and

*expresses* its solidarity with the struggle of the Peruvian Aprista Party, a member of the International.

#### **Statement on peace in Colombia**

The Council of the Socialist International in the context of the increased levels of armed conflict in the Republic of Colombia:

*observes with satisfaction* the process of dialogue that is due to start between the government and the guerrillas with a view to reaching agreements for a lasting peace;

*trusts* in a broad participation of civil society and supports a cease-fire, respect for human rights and the full observance of international human rights conventions;

*considers* that the existence of a real desire for dialogue and the acceptance and observance of the rules and conditions which make that possible must be accompanied by concrete actions for peace and not by violent actions which foment persecution and mistrust and gravely damage attempts at reconciliation.

#### **Statement on Central America**

In recent days Hurricane Mitch has caused great damage in Central America with the destruction of infrastructure and the loss of much human life. The hurricane has brought in its wake hunger, poverty and illness which will set the region back for generations. Sadly, the countries affected have been the poorest in the region.

The Socialist International will, through its member parties in government, seek to promote initiatives with the international financial institutions for the cancelling of the foreign debt of Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador and the granting of soft loans for the extensive reconstruction in the countries of the Central American region in the shortest possible time.

#### **Statement on the Dominican Republic**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva on 23 and 24 November 1998:

*condemns* the damage to the democratic process being inflicted by the present government of the Dominican Republic through its retention of the funds assigned by law to the Central Electoral Board, the body charged with preparing the elections due to take place in May 2000 to choose the next president of that country;

*rejects* the acts of bribery and threats, that the government is carrying out against members of the national legislature and municipal councils with a view to controlling those bodies, and

*expresses* its concern at the attempts by the executive power to limit the independence of the judicial power by promoting the approval of an unconstitutional law which abolishes the permanent tenure of judges who deliver verdicts against the interests of the party in power.



## Secretary General's report

I am pleased to present my report to this SI Council in Geneva and would like to thank United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan for the message of encouragement that he has sent to us here as we begin our work. I would like, as well, to express my gratitude to Vladimir Petrovsky, Director-General of the United Nations Geneva. Not only have he and his staff welcomed us here at their excellent facilities, they were able to do so on short notice after our President Pierre Mauroy, recognising the urgency of addressing current global developments, proposed to bring forward the date of our Council. Our continuing close cooperation with the United Nations underlines our shared commitment to solidarity within the international community.

I would like to add that as part of the preparations for this Council, I was pleased to attend in October the conference of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland where I was able to observe its strong and continuing importance in the affairs of the Confederation. I am therefore pleased that Switzerland's Minister of Home Affairs Ruth Dreifuss, a federal councillor and a member of the party, will join us during our stay in Geneva, and that Ursula Koch, President of the Social Democratic Party, and Jean-François Steiert, the party's new Secretary General, together with other representatives of the party, are with us in our Council.

We meet in Geneva as the world economy has reached a stage of uncertainty and risk, which calls for and at the same time affords the opportunity for concerted social democratic initiatives. The global financial situation remains precarious, as turbulence in capital flows threatens the well-being of entire nations in the developing world. In addition, economic development continues to be increasingly unequal, both between and within countries.

The challenge, then, is in 'Making global markets work for all', the principal theme of our Council here in Geneva. Market mechanisms are required for economic growth, but unfettered markets are a source of insecurity and injustice. We in the Socialist International believe that revitalising the role of governments and rethinking the approach of global financial institutions are crucial in securing a sustainable world economy.

The electoral successes of our member parties in Europe and elsewhere show that by emphasising political action in favour of equitable growth and employment for all, our International is at the forefront in addressing citizens' true concerns.

Our ongoing efforts in tackling global economic issues are manifest in the work of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and the Environment, SICEDE, which met last week and is presenting a draft declaration for discussion by the Council, as well as by the Global Progress Commission, which in June held a meeting in Berlin to address the theme, 'Shaping globalisation'. The SI Committee on Local Authorities and the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, at the same time, have recently been developing social democratic approaches to globalisation at the municipal and regional levels.

Sustainable economic development depends, too, on the establishment of peace and the strengthening of democracy. The second theme of our Council therefore focuses on areas where they are severely threatened and where events are moving swiftly: the Middle East, Algeria, the Great Lakes region of Africa and Kosovo. We organised a meeting of those responsible for the SI Africa Committee last week in Dakar where they addressed the crisis of Africa and prepared a draft declaration for our Council. The SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, and the SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, have met here in Geneva so that we will have timely reports to inform our discussions. Along with our Committees, we recognise the role played by our member parties in furthering resolution of conflicts and greater citizen participation, most recently in Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Putting peace and democracy first assures that the Socialist International will continue to be instrumental in achieving a more just and stable world.

### II

As noted, the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and the Environment, SICEDE, convened in Sintra, near Lisbon, on 16 November. The meeting was chaired by Prime Minister António Guterres, an SI Vice-President and Chair of

SICEDE. The Committee prepared for the Council a draft declaration, 'To Regulate Globalisation and to Globalise Regulation', which provides a framework for political action to limit the negative characteristics and enhance the positive effects of global markets.

On 17-18 June, detailed discussions of various aspects of globalisation were undertaken at the European regional meeting of the Global Progress Commission which was held in collaboration with the Ebert Foundation at Willy-Brandt Haus in Berlin. A number of SI leaders, political thinkers and other specialists addressed the issues of: 'Technological change, innovation and the environment'; 'Economic growth and employment policy'; and 'The outlook of social democratic politics in Europe'. This first regional meeting of the Commission centred on incorporating the European view of globalisation into the overall debate led by the Commission, and discussions focused on the need for a common project for Europe.

The Commission will be continuing its work in an Africa regional meeting which in collaboration with our friends in the region we have set for 25-26 January in Dakar, and in a Latin America and Caribbean regional meeting scheduled for 22-23 March in Mexico City.

The issues of changing global markets and their effects on regional economies were also part of the full agenda at the meeting of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, held in Caracas on 25-26 September. The meeting, hosted by our member party in Venezuela, Democratic Action, AD, was held in advance of the recent congressional elections there and the presidential elections scheduled for December. The gathering opened with a tribute to our departed friend and comrade José Francisco Peña Gómez, who chaired the Committee for almost twenty years. His unwavering solidarity was evident only a year ago when, despite already failing health, he travelled to New Delhi to participate in the work of our Council there.

One principal theme of the meeting was 'Common approaches and perspectives on the changes in world markets and the effects on regional economies'. The Committee concluded that a social democratic economic



strategy for Latin America was required to respond in a more decisive way to global changes. The Committee also noted the need for policies which promote exports as well as the development of national markets, whilst at the same time stimulating internal consumption to enhance economic well-being. A Latin American economic area with a common currency, common capital markets and a common technological base was viewed as the best option for the future economic development of the region.

The other main theme of the meeting in Caracas was 'Democracy, State and Governability: social democratic proposals for addressing the new challenges', and the Committee agreed on a number of resolutions in support of deepening democracy, for example, in Venezuela, Haiti, and Peru.

SICLAC also expressed in a statement its hopes for peace in the Basque Country and throughout Spain following the truce declared by ETA on 18 September.

### III

On 5-6 October we assembled two hundred and fifty mayors, members of municipal governments and organisations, and experts in the city of Fez to take part in the Second World Conference of Mayors of the SI hosted by our member party in Morocco, the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP. Delegates were addressed at the opening session by our Vice-President, the Prime Minister of Morocco, Abderrahman Youssoufi; SI President Pierre Mauroy; the Chair of the SI Committee on Local Authorities and leader of the Belgian Socialist Party, PS, Philippe Busquin; and the Mayor of Fez, Abderrahim Filali Baba.

Delegates divided into working groups. The first, chaired by the Mayor of Barcelona Joan Clos of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, discussed 'Globalisation and Solidarity: The role played by local authorities' and 'Cities in conflict'. A second working group focused on 'New partnerships: the State and local authorities' and was chaired by Marie Augustine Houangni Ambouroué, Mayor of Port-Gentil, of the Gabonese Party for Progress, PGP. The third working group, chaired by Ricardo Pascoe, representing the Mayor of Mexico City, from the Party of Democratic Revolution, PRD, took as its theme 'The future of cities: quality

of life and the information society, the socialist response'.

The deliberations of the working groups culminated in the 'The Fez Declaration' which was adopted by the Conference at its closure. The Declaration set out four concrete proposals for the future. Firstly, the adoption of a Charter of the Local Authorities as a reaffirmation of ethical principles in public administration. Secondly, increased decentralised and interactive cooperation in practical forms such as democratic twinning among cities and towns. Thirdly, the creation of a network for the exchange of knowledge and experience for local government representatives. And finally, supporting the creation of a single international organisation of local authorities.

### IV

The SI Middle East Committee Working Group on the Kurdish Question, under its Chair Carl Lidbom of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, met in Paris on 5 June at the invitation of the French Socialist Party, PS. The Working Group heard reports from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, on the latest developments in Northern Iraq. The Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, PDKI, a member of the SI, reported on the situation in Iranian Kurdistan.

In mid-September, delegations from the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, led by Massoud Barzani, and from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, led by Jalal Talabani, met in Washington for bilateral talks which led to an agreement to end the years of fighting and set out arrangements for sharing power and economic resources.

I am pleased to report that the Working Group, together with the KDP and the PUK leaders, decided on a visit to Northern Iraq of SI representatives soon to take place before the end of the year. Both leaders subsequently came to the Secretariat in London where we began preparations. The focus of the visit will be on the latest situation on the ground and the continuing role of the International in promoting peace and supporting the planned elections for a regional assembly due next summer.

### V

SI President Pierre Mauroy and I

visited China from 14 to 21 September. We held a series of high-level talks, including a meeting with the President of the Republic of China, Jiang Zemin, which allowed for a wide-ranging exchange of opinions and provided an opportunity to achieve a better understanding of current points of view of the Chinese Communist Party on the issues of globalisation and the development of political forces.

As our President has said, the SI and the Chinese Communist Party continue to differ on a number of matters, but dialogue remains the only way to overcome ideological differences, at a time when joint reflection on the great contemporary issues is so important for all those concerned.

### VI

I would like to take the opportunity at this Council to sincerely congratulate our good friend John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo on 16 October jointly with David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and First Minister of Northern Ireland. We remember that John Hume addressed our Council in Oslo last May. The Nobel Committee's recognition of the commitment of Hume and Trimble to a cessation of the violence was well deserved, and in the case of John Hume underlined, not for the first time, the efforts of the members of our International in promoting peaceful, democratic solutions to conflict in all parts of the world.

The referendum on peace in Northern Ireland was held days after our Council in Oslo last May, and resulted in a resounding 'yes' vote as 71.1 per cent of the people of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland voted in favour of the peace agreement. In elections held on 25 June for the new 108-seat assembly the SDLP emerged as the second strongest party by winning 24 seats. The Ulster Unionist Party won 28 seats. Pro-agreement parties shared a further 28 seats, whilst parties against the agreement took only 28 seats in total.

I would also like to note the signing on 22 July of the treaty for the United Nations international criminal court, an institution long advocated by the Socialist International and



whose creation involved the direct efforts of many of our member parties. Some 120 countries voted in favour of establishing this permanent court based on the principle that government leaders and officials are to be held accountable when genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes are committed. In the words of the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the court is a 'present for future generations'.

## VII

Since our last Council, SI member parties and parties associated with our organisation have achieved considerable success at the polls in many parts of the world, particularly in Europe where social democratic and labour parties are in government in thirteen out of fifteen EU member-states.

In Senegal, the Socialist Party, PS, won 93 seats in the enlarged 140-seat assembly in parliamentary elections held on 24 May.

The San Marino Socialist Party, PSS, won 23.2 per cent of the votes cast in the election held on 31 May and was confirmed again as the leading party of the left in the republic which it will govern in coalition.

Numerous elections for state governor and local authorities are being held this year in Mexico and thus far both of our member parties, the Party of Democratic Revolution, PRD, and the Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI, have had successes. For example, the PRI regained the governorship in the state of Chihuahua after having selected its candidate for the first time in an open primary, whilst the PRD won its first governorship in the state of Zacatecas.

Milos Zeman, leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD, a member of the SI, was appointed Prime Minister of the Czech Republic on 17 July, following elections in June in which the party won 74 seats with 32.3 per cent of the vote. Cabinet appointments included Jan Kavan as foreign minister, Václav Grulich as interior minister, and Ivo Svoboda as finance minister.

In Brazil, the alliance of the left, which includes SI-member the Democratic Labour Party, PDT, gained three additional seats in elections for Congress held on 4 October. The left opposition now numbers 112 deputies in the 513-seat chamber.

In the Brazilian presidential race the

incumbent, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, took 53.06 per cent of the vote and Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva, supported by the opposition parties, won 31.71 per cent with Leonel Brizola, President of the PDT, as his vice-presidential running mate.

In the run-off election for state governor in Rio de Janeiro on 25 October, Anthony Garotinho of the PDT won a comfortable victory with 58 per cent of the vote.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, was returned to power and remained the largest single party following national elections held on 20 September. The Social Democrats won 36.6 per cent of the vote. The new government of Prime Minister Göran Persson now includes the Left Party, which obtained 12 per cent of the vote, and the Green Party, which took 4.5 per cent.

Massimo D'Alema, leader of the Democrats of the Left, DS, was sworn in as Prime Minister of Italy on 21 October, following a negotiated reconstitution of left and centre forces in that country. At the heart of his government are an unprecedented six women in ministries. In his speech to parliament, he set out a path which would include pursuing the 'good policies of those who went before us' as well as incentives to increase employment by restructuring the tax system and helping to bring down labour costs.

Gerhard Schröder was sworn in on 27 October as Federal Chancellor of Germany. The Social Democratic Party, SPD, and the Green Party signed a coalition pact in Bonn on 20 October following federal elections in September. The SPD won 40.9 per cent of the vote, 6 percent more than the Christian Democratic Party, CDU, thus ending sixteen years of CDU-led government. The Green Party took 6.7 per cent of the vote.

The priority for the new government is to tackle unemployment, fiscal reform and progressive abandonment of nuclear power.

In the Slovak Republic a new government, including the SI-member Party of the Democratic Left, SDL, the Slovak Democratic Coalition, SDK, Civic Understanding, SOP, and the ethnically-based Hungarian Coalition Party, SMK, took office on 30 October following general elections in September. The coalition members obtained 58 per cent of the vote and

took 93 out of 150 seats in Parliament amidst an impressive voter turnout of 84 per cent. The formerly ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, and its partners won 38 per cent of the vote and 57 seats.

The new Slovak government immediately acted to end the country's political isolation by asking the European Union and NATO to reconsider its applications for membership.

## VIII

Since our last Council I have attended a number of gatherings of our member parties, which gave me the opportunity to observe the work they are carrying out on their home ground and to note the milestones which some of them have recently reached.

In Chile I represented our International at the XIV General Council of the Chilean Party for Democracy, PPD, held from 22 to 24 May in Santiago, and at the extraordinary Congress of the Socialist Party, PS, held from 29 to 31 May, which was dedicated to Clodomiro Almeyda Medina, the former foreign minister of Chile and influential Socialist leader who died in August 1997. PS delegates gathered to reflect on the political transition in Chile and consider the direction of the party and its role in the governmental coalition.

I was pleased to attend in San Juan the International Conference in Support of Puerto Rican Independence which was organised by the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, on 23-26 July on the centennial of the invasion of Puerto Rico by the United States.

Also in the Caribbean, the People's National Party, PNP, of Jamaica marked the historic occasion of its sixtieth anniversary during a week of activities from 13 to 20 September, the highpoint of year-long celebrations.

I was pleased to be present at the annual conference held in Blackpool at the end of September by the British Labour Party, which has been working to build upon the achievements of its first year and a half in office.

The Socialist Party of Senegal, PS, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in late October. At a meeting held in the city of Thies, the Senegalese President, Abdou Diouf, leader of the Socialist Party, and First Secretary, Ousmane Tanor Dieng, addressed tens of thousands of party members and supporters. A two-day symposium



covering different aspects of the Party's policies and history followed in Dakar. I was pleased to participate in these meetings on behalf of the International.

# IX

22 December will mark the tenth anniversary of the untimely death of our former Secretary General Bernt Carlsson, and, in remembrance, a plaque will be placed in Lockerbie by the SI Secretariat and a few of his former close colleagues.

In 1976 he came to London as Secretary General of the SI where he worked with Willy Brandt, during his first years as President, to extend the ambit of our International especially to Latin America but also to other parts of the world where its presence was just beginning.

Another region to which he gave close attention was Southern Africa. He attracted the enmity of the Pretoria authorities who did their best - without success, it must be said - to make his life uncomfortable in London.

The Middle East was also firmly on his agenda and in his time as Secretary General a start was made in transforming the SI into a quiet forum where Palestinians and Israelis could meet and discuss problems in a fraternal manner.

In July 1987 he was appointed United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and not long after his appointment his new initiatives succeeded in transforming a stagnating situation. He was on his way to a ceremony for the signing of the instruments for the emergence of a new nation when he was killed, alongside many others, in a terrorist action whose authors have still to be brought to justice.

He has been sorely missed by us all over the past decade.

# X

Looking ahead, I can report that working with our comrades in the French Socialist Party, and in accordance with what we decided in Oslo, we have planned the XXI SI Congress to be held in Paris on 8-10 November 1999. Our next Council meeting, in Buenos Aires, is being set for 25-26 June, days before the first Summit of Heads of State and Government of Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union in Rio de Janeiro. The Council in Buenos Aires will be hosted jointly by our Argentine member parties, the Popular

Socialist Party, PSP, a member of Frepaso, and the Radical Civic Union, UCR. I have already mentioned some of our upcoming activities, but numerous others are planned as well.

The SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, will meet in Bucharest on 5-6 February in cooperation with our member parties, the Democratic Party, PD, and the Romanian Social Democratic Party, PSDR. The Committee will meet again in the second week of September in Warsaw hosted by our members in Poland.

The SI Africa Committee will meet next at the end of March in Bamako, the capital of Mali, hosted by our friends in ADEMA, and in the first week of September will gather again in Maputo with the collaboration of FRELIMO.

In Latin America and the Caribbean we will be very active in the months leading up to our next Council in Buenos Aires. The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, will be gathering to address key issues in the region in advance of the Council and, as I noted, a regional meeting of the Global Progress Commission will take place on 22-23 March in Mexico City.

Following the recent meeting in Sintra of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and the Environment, SICEDE, we are planning, in collaboration with Committee Chair António Guterres, a forthcoming meeting which will focus on the economy in Africa, and subsequent meetings on economic issues in Asia and in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The next meeting of the SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Committee, SIPSAD, chaired by Günter Verheugen, SPD of Germany, will focus on current issues concerning disarmament and will be held in collaboration with relevant bodies of the United Nations in the first part of next year.

Also on our calendar for the first half of next year is a meeting of the SI Asia-Pacific Committee. As crisis affects people and economies, our contacts with our member parties in the region must be a matter of priority. The advance toward real democracy is gathering strength, as we see, for example, in the streets of Indonesia and Malaysia, where SI-member Democratic Action Party, DAP, is playing a key role in the movement

for reform.

The SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, having just held a meeting here in Geneva, will continue to contribute in all possible ways to the peace process. Regarding forthcoming activities, we have received an invitation from SI-member Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, to meet next in Morocco. As I noted, it has been decided that the SIMEC Working Group on the Kurdish Question will soon be visiting Northern Iraq. The Committee has also extended its focus to Afghanistan by forming a special group to follow developments there.

With regard to the activities of the SI Mediterranean Committee, the strengthening of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership will be a principal focus in a forthcoming meeting to be held in Brussels.

# XI

As is evident in my report our activities are becoming particularly intensive as we move toward our Congress next year. There is no doubt that in the coming months we must harness the full potential of all our member parties to ensure that our Congress enhances the strength of our ideas and our organisation.

The Council will be asked in Geneva to approve a budget for 1999. The prompt payment of dues by many of our member parties is certainly appreciated, and as ever I appeal to those parties in arrears to ensure that our budget is achieved. Beyond that, however, we should recognise that even as the scope of our activities continues to increase, so do the pace of global developments and the need for social democratic initiatives. The determination of our member parties and the fact that a growing number of them are in government mean that the Socialist International has the opportunity to make an even more substantial and positive difference in the lives of citizens around the world. I feel that we can be proud of what we have accomplished thus far within a very modest budget. Nevertheless, I strongly believe that no one can be satisfied that we continue to have so few resources at our disposal. Therefore, with a sense of common responsibility we must make sure that we have the means to accomplish what needs to be done.



## Participants

### Socialist International

Pierre Mauroy  
Luis Ayala

### FULL MEMBER PARTIES

#### ALGERIA

Socialist Forces Front, FFS  
Hocine Ait-Ahmed  
Ahmed Djeddaï  
Hakim Bouagache  
Sonia Djeddaï

#### ARGENTINA

Popular Socialist Party, PSP  
Guillermo Estévez Boero  
María de Carmen Viñas

#### AUSTRIA

Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ  
Heinz Fischer  
Alfred Gusenbauer  
Albrecht Konecny  
Susanne Gaugl

#### BELGIUM

Socialist Party, PS  
Philippe Busquin  
Etienne Godin

#### BELGIUM

Socialist Party, SP  
Dirk Van Der Maelen  
Milan Rutten

#### BOLIVIA

Revolutionary Left Movement,  
MIR-New Majority  
Jaime Paz Zamora  
Carmen Pereira  
Silvia Avila  
Benoit Tourcat

#### BRAZIL

Democratic Labour Party, PDT  
Leonel Brizola  
Luiz A. Salomão  
Anthony Garotinho  
Vivaldo Barbosa  
Ligia Doutel de Andrade  
Marília Pinheiro  
Carlos H. de Vasconcelos  
Rosângela Oliveira  
Elane Barbosa

#### BULGARIA

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party,  
BSPD  
Krstyo Iliev Petkov

#### CAPE VERDE

African Party of Cape Verde's  
Independence, PAICV  
Pedro Pires  
Silvino da Luz

#### CHILE

Party for Democracy, PPD  
José Goñi

#### CHILE

Social Democratic Radical Party,  
PRSD  
Anselmo Sule  
Iván Mesías Lehu  
Héctor Sánchez  
Carlos Parra

#### CHILE

Socialist Party of Chile, PS  
Isabel Allende  
Juan Pablo Letelier

#### COSTA RICA

National Liberation Party, PLN  
Rolando Araya Monge

#### CURACAO

Movement for a New Antilles, MAN  
Magda Martina

#### CYPRUS

EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus  
Panos Hadjiyannis  
Marcia Alexaki

#### CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Social Democratic Party,  
CSSD  
Svetlana Navarova  
Anna Curdova

#### DENMARK

Social Democratic Party  
Steen Christensen

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dominican Revolutionary Party,  
PRD  
Enmanuel Cristián Esquea  
Hatuey de Camps  
Peggy Cabral de Peña Gómez  
Tirso Mejia-Ricart  
Leonor Sánchez Baret  
Fausto Liz  
Fantina Sosa  
Ana María Acevedo

Betzaida Santana  
Gianilda Vásquez  
Jorge Luis Rolas Gómez  
Osva Saldivar

#### ESTONIA

Möödukad  
Mart Tarmak

#### FINLAND

Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Kari Laitinen  
Tero Shemeikka  
Marja-Liisa Kiljunen

#### FRANCE

Socialist Party, PS  
François Hollande  
Pierre Guidoni  
Anne-Catherine Frank  
Alain Bergounioux  
Henri Weber  
Sylvie Guillaume  
Stephane Le Foll  
Guy Labertit  
Jean-Louis Péninou

#### GERMANY

Social Democratic Party of Germany,  
SPD  
Christoph Zöpel  
Gernot Erler  
Christoph Moosbacher  
Michael Hofmann  
Wolfgang Weege  
Gisela Nauk  
Peter Treichel

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The Labour Party  
Nick Sigler  
Rosemary Nuamah

#### GREECE

Panhellenic Socialist Movement,  
PASOK  
Anna Diamantopoulou  
Thanasis Ganotis  
Elias Natsios  
Olga Fotinou

#### HUNGARY

Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP  
Gyula Horn  
László Kovacs  
Vilmos Szabó



**ISRAEL**

Israel Labour Party  
Shimon Peres  
Ephraim Snéh  
Israel Gat  
Isaac Herzog  
Dov Peer  
Esther Peer

**ISRAEL**

Meretz  
Chanan Eres  
Monica Pollack  
Ester Mordoch

**ITALY**

Democrats of the Left, DS  
Massimo D'Alema  
Walter Veltroni  
Piero Fassino  
Umberto Ranieri  
Ugo Papi  
Nicola Zingaretti  
Donato Di Santo  
Francesca Puglisi  
Lucia Palmerino

**ITALY**

Italian Democratic Socialists, SDI  
Enrico Boselli  
Angelo Piazza  
Pia Locatelli  
Riccardo Nencini  
Luca Cefisi

**IVORY COAST**

Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI  
Laurent Gbagbo  
Odette Likikouet

**JAPAN**

Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Takako Doi  
Kiyomi Tsujimoto  
Masako Goto  
Masako Owaki  
Takuya Kawai

**LITHUANIA**

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party,  
LSDP  
Aloyzas Sakalas

**MALAYSIA**

Democratic Action Party, DAP  
S. G. Tan  
H.G. Oon

**MALTA**

Malta Labour Party  
Michael Falzon

**MAURITIUS**

Mauritius Labour Party  
Monique Ohsan Bellepeau

**MEXICO**

Party of Democratic Revolution,  
PRD  
Porfirio Muñoz Ledo

**MONGOLIA**

Mongolian Social Democratic Party  
Rinchin Narangere

**MOROCCO**

Socialist Union of Popular Forces,  
USFP  
Abderrahman Yousoufi  
Khalid Alioua  
Nouzha Chekrouni  
Abdessalam Eddabbagh

**NETHERLANDS**

Labour Party, PvdA  
Ellen van Koppen

**NICARAGUA**

Sandinista National Liberation Front,  
FSLN  
José Pasos  
Margarita Zapata  
Ali Ndiaye

**NORWAY**

The Norwegian Labour Party, DNA  
Bjørn Tore Godal  
Tonje Westby  
Kari Manger

**POLAND**

Social Democracy of the Republic  
of Poland, SdRP  
Tadeusz Iwinski  
Jerzy Jaskiernia

**PORTUGAL**

Socialist Party, PS  
António Guterres  
José Lamego  
José Conde Rodrigues  
Filipe Santos Costa

**PUERTO RICO**

Puerto Rican Independence Party,  
PIP  
Rubén Berríos

**SAN MARINO**

San Marino Socialist Party, PSS  
Maurizio Rattini  
Paride Andreoli

**SENEGAL**

Socialist Party of Senegal  
Ousmane Tanor Dieng  
Abdoulaye Makhtar Diop  
Papa Amath Dieng  
Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye  
Abibatou Mbaye  
Dié Maty Fall  
Mouhamadou Dia

**SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Party of the Democratic Left, SDL  
Peter Weiss  
Pavel Meleg

**SLOVENIA**

United List of Social Democrats of  
Slovenia, ZL  
Natasa Kovac

**SPAIN**

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party,  
PSOE  
Joaquín Almunia  
Raimon Obiols  
Micaela Navarro  
Dolors Renau  
Ricard Torrell  
Isabel Martínez

**SWEDEN**

Swedish Social Democratic Party,  
SAP  
Lena Hjelm Wallén  
Monica Andersson  
Gunnar Stenarv  
Birgitta Silén  
Jerry Wiklund  
Inger Segelström  
Camila Buzaglo

**SWITZERLAND**

Social Democratic Party of  
Switzerland  
Ursula Koch  
Mortiz Leuenberger  
Pierre Aeby  
Jean-François Steiert  
Jean Ziegler  
Christian Brunier  
Mario Carera



**TUNISIA**

Constitutional Democratic Assembly,  
RCD  
Hechmi Amri

**TURKEY**

Republican People's Party, CHP  
Erdal İnönü  
Sule Bucak

**USA**

Democratic Socialists of America, DSA  
Bogdan Denitch  
Motl Zelmanowicz

**USA**

Social Democrats USA, SDUSA  
Joel Freedman

**CONSULTATIVE PARTIES**

**CAMEROON**

Social Democratic Front, SDF  
John Fru Ndi  
Evariste Fopoussi Fotso

**COLOMBIA**

Liberal Party of Colombia, PLC  
Horacio Serpa Uribe  
María Emma Mejía  
Alfonso Garzón  
León Valencia

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA**

Convergence for Social Democracy,  
CPDS  
Santiago Obama

**GABON**

Gabonese Party of Progress, PGP  
Benôit Mouity-Nzamba

**MALI**

African Party for Solidarity and Justice,  
ADEMA-PASJ  
Dioncounda Traoré  
Oumou Sangaré  
Rokiatou Keita

**MAURITIUS**

Mauritius Militant Movement, MMM  
Jayen Cuttaree

**MEXICO**

Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI  
Gustavo Carvajal Moreno  
Laura Pavón Jaramillo  
Gloria Guadarrama Sánchez  
Esteban Maqueo Coral  
María Luisa Rojas Johnson

**MOZAMBIQUE**

Frelimo Party  
Amélia Matos Sumbana

**PAKISTAN**

Pakistan People's Party, PPP  
Syed Sajjad Bokhari  
Fayyaz Chaudhry  
Pervaiz Chaudhry

**PANAMA**

Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD  
Mitchell Doens  
Francisco Sánchez  
Leonardo Kam  
Juan Castillero

**PERU**

Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP  
Alan García  
Mauricio Mulder  
Andrés de los Ríos

**PHILIPPINES**

Philippines Democratic Socialist Party,  
PDSP  
Elizabeth Angsioco

**ROMANIA**

Democratic Party, PD  
Petre Roman  
Radu Berceanu  
Cristian Dumitrescu  
Alexandru Sassu  
Victor Bostinaru  
Maria Liviu  
Cornel Nistorescu

**ROMANIA**

Romanian Social Democratic Party,  
PSDR  
Sergiu Cunesco  
Ioan Sorin Marinescu  
Radu Berceanu

**OBSERVER PARTIES**

**ANGOLA**

Popular Movement for the  
Liberation of Angola, MPLA  
Leovigildo da Costa e Silva  
Mário Constantino de Azevedo

**ARMENIA**

ARF Armenian Socialist Party  
Beniamin Tontian  
Mario Nalpatian  
Vahan Hovhannesian  
Hilda Tchoboian

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Social Democrats of B&H, SD BiH  
Sejfudin Tokic  
Zdenko Martinovic

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Social Democratic Party of B&H, SDP  
BiH  
Zlatko Lagumdžija

**GEORGIA**

Citizens' Union of Georgia, CUG  
Michael Machavariani

**HUNGARY**

Social Democratic Party of Hungary,  
MSzDP  
László Kapolyi

**IRAN**

Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan,  
PDKI  
Mehrparvar Ali  
Khosrow Abdollahi  
Khosrow Bahrami  
Taimoor Alpasi

**MONTENEGRO**

Social Democratic Party of  
Montenegro,  
SDP  
Milorad Jovic

**TERRITORIES UNDER PALESTINIAN  
AUTHORITIES, PALESTINE**

Fatah  
Hani Al-Hassan  
Ilan Halevi  
Mohamed Tenah  
Hanna Siniora

**Office of SI President**

Michel Thauvin  
Hans-Eberhard Dingels



# **FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS**

**International Falcon Movement/  
Socialist Education International,  
IFM/SEI**

Robert Vertenueil

**Socialist International Women, SIW**

Audrey McLaughlin  
Marlene Haas

# **ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS**

**International League of Religious  
Socialists, ILRS**

Andrew Hammer  
Irene Haberle  
Gertrud Wirz

**Parliamentary Group of the PES**

Pauline Green  
David Harley  
Hannes Swoboda  
Luigi Colajanni  
Rob van de Water

**Party of European Socialists, PES**

Jean-François Vallin

# **GUESTS- INDIVIDUALS/PARTIES/ ORGANISATIONS**

## **INDIVIDUALS**

**President of the United Nations  
Economic and Social Council,  
ECOSOC, and Director-elect of the  
International Labour Organisation**

Juan Somavía

## **PARTIES**

### **BRAZIL**

Labour Party, PT  
José Dirceu de Oliveira  
Luiz Favre

### **BULGARIA**

European Left  
Alexander Tomov

### **BURMA**

National League for Democracy, NLD  
Win Khet  
U Maung Maung Aye

### **CROATIA**

Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Mirjana Feric-Vac

### **IRAQ**

Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP  
Dilshad Miran  
Fauzi Kaddur

### **IRAQ**

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK  
Latif Rashid  
Mohammad Ismail  
Ahmad Berwari  
Shanaz Rashid

### **JAPAN**

Democratic Party  
Banri Kaieda  
Akihiro Ohata  
Kozue Kitzukawa

### **JORDAN**

Rajai Kossous

### **KENYA**

National Development Party, NDP  
Raila Amolo Odinga

### **MALAWI**

Alliance for Democracy, AFORD  
Greene-Lulilo Mwamondwe

### **MONGOLIA**

Mongolian People's Revolutionary  
Party, MPRP  
Enebish Lkhamsuren  
Enkhbold Nyamaa

### **RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Russian Social Democratic Union, RSDU  
Yuri Petrov  
Vassily Lipitsky  
Yuri Grishin

### **RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Socialist Party of the Russian  
Federation  
Yury Deryabin  
Alexey Mzareulov  
Oleg Paramonov  
Konstantin Achourov  
Tamara Chapvalova  
Maxim. Bochkor

### **URUGUAY**

New Space Party  
Felipe Michelini  
Antonio Gallicchio  
Iván Posada

## **ORGANISATIONS**

**European Forum for Democracy and  
Solidarity**

Conny Fredriksson

**Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, FES**

Reinhard Keune

**Jean Jaurès Foundation**

Claudette Bardou  
Axel Queval  
Véra Matthias  
Ghislaine Toutain

**Polisario Front**

Mohamed Sidati  
Abdhoum Fadil  
Fatma Sidi Nafi