

REMEMBER YOUR STRENGTH

*Willy Brandt's message
to the Berlin congress*

Dear friends,

Need I say how much I would have liked to have been with you today? But it was not to be - and so I must send you my greetings in writing.

Need I say how happy and proud I am that you are meeting in Berlin? Any number of venues in the new democracies in the East would have been worthy meeting places. But why not admit it? I was very moved when Felipe González suggested Berlin.

And why not add that I felt that if it was to be Berlin we should meet in the Riechstag: the place in Germany where war and peace in Europe has so often been at issue. The place where freedom and subjugation have so often been debated.

A while ago I asked that the leadership of our International be placed in younger hands. I had been at its head for sixteen years and I felt that this was a long time. But after all, what are sixteen years in the light of the centuries of tradition behind us?

And yet in that short time this city, this country and this whole continent have changed. In fact, the whole world is not the same world as it was in 1976 when I took up this office in Geneva.

To secure peace was not our only aim, but it was our first priority - peace between two blocs that were armed with nuclear weapons and which we thought were firmly entrenched; the peace without which freedom could not be attained.

Today, only one and a half decades later, we are no longer concerned about securing that peace; we are concerned about restoring any peace at all in many places in this extensively liberated and yet so disturbed world.

The parties gathered together in our community are committed to their countries and their countries have a commitment to the world - to their own part of the world and to the whole world. The fact that we have expanded beyond Europe and have become a truly worldwide and thus also a diverse community, affords me - and all of us - special satisfaction. However, the number of members we have and the number of those wishing to become members are not values in themselves. They are an obligation.

Wherever people are being caused great suffering it concerns us all. Do not forget, if injustice is allowed to continue for long this is opening the door to future injustice.

Strengthening the United Nations has been one of our old and familiar goals. Now that progress is beginning to be made and the UN is gaining influence, if not power, it is worth making a great effort. Let us help to provide the United Nations with the means it needs to exert influence.

Even after the start of the new era in 1989 and 1990 the world could not be only 'good'. However, now as at no other time in the past, a multitude of possibilities (both good and bad) are open to us. Nothing happens on its own - and few things last forever. So remember your strength and that all times call for their own answers. We must keep abreast of them if we are to achieve good.

I would like to thank everyone who has helped.

I hope that your deliberations will be fruitful. May my successor be blessed with the strength and good fortune he deserves.

Unkel, 14 September 1992

*Felipe González
opened the congress*

WE DEPEND ON EACH OTHER

Dear comrades and friends,

Willy Brandt, our comrade and president, has asked me to welcome you at the opening of the congress of the Socialist International, since he was unable to be here himself, to the great regret of us all. You will understand that I would have much preferred not to have to do so, but under the circumstances I could not refuse to welcome you in his name at the start of our work.

Willy Brandt no doubt thought that I was, as I will gladly admit, to a certain extent responsible for the choice of Berlin as venue for the congress. When we talked about this meeting a year ago and about the stance of social democracy in a changing world, I suggested that we should meet in Berlin, which for a number of widely varying reasons



Congress photos: Marc Darchinger

symbolically expressed the extent of those changes. We could hardly have found a more suitable place to hold our debates. I also realised the significance Berlin had had in the political career of Willy Brandt and what international social democracy owes to the work of our president.

Seen in this light, qualitatively speaking, Willy Brandt's absence becomes an enhanced presence.

Without the influence exerted by Willy Brandt since 1976 the Socialist International would not have attained either the proportions or the potential evidenced here today in this hall. Without his foresight, courage and integrity we would never have overcome Eurocentrism to achieve the worldwide affiliation that is so indispensable in the world in which we live.

I am sure that you will all join me in sending Willy Brandt our most cordial greetings, our affection and our solidarity.

It has rightly been said that the failure of the communist solution does not mean that the problems have ceased to exist.

We, as socialists and social democrats, have a stock of responses that have enabled the areas of the world in which the presence of social democracy has been strong to make progress towards justice, solidarity and liberty. Our contribution to the betterment of millions of people has included both successful solutions and errors.

However, we are aware that for many millions of others, in fact for most people in the world, there have been no such improvements, and that they continue to be subjected to gross inequalities and glaring injustices.

And we are also aware that there are new problems to which no answers have been found.

How can we organise the new world order after the dissolution of the old order, the balance of terror, the division into blocs?

How can we make the transition from the mere awareness of interdependence, whether it be economic or environment-related, to internationally coordinated action, so as to be able to confront the challenges involved?

How can we satisfy social needs in the new democracies, threatened as they are at times by the imbalances created by adjustment policies or the swing towards an economic model in which the role of the state in satisfying these needs is severely curtailed?

We are indeed living in a time of accelerated change. We need only think back to the circumstances in which the SI congress was held only three years ago in Stockholm. At the time it would not have been possible to hold it here in Berlin.

The thinking of the Socialist International must keep up with the speed of these historical changes. None of us would wish to return to a world divided into opposing blocs. However, none of us can close our eyes to the grave uncertainties inherent in the current situation. We have probably been too quick to talk of the peace dividend. We must recognise that, financially speaking at least, all we have done is to run up bills. The oft cited dividends have yet to be seen on the horizon.

While the idea of interdependence has gained worldwide acceptance, we have yet to act upon it. Phenomena such as the upsurge of nationalism or indeed the resistance to the process of European unification seem to be leading in the opposite direction. As social democrats we must find economic and social answers that take into account the interdependence of the regions in which we live and between the different regions of the world.

The world is becoming aware of the idea of interdependence as it begins to grasp that the gravest environmental problems do not stop at borders. As a result of the revolution in telecommunications the world is becoming smaller. We must develop a new concept of progress that allows for compatibility between development and the environment and we must make advances in the elaboration of decisive solutions.

The demise of communism and of the state-controlled economy has made us all aware of the advantages of a free economy and of the market. We must find effective economic answers and strongly defend the corrective role of the state in the reduction of the imbalances and social injustices that can never be eliminated by the market.

Willy Brandt has reminded us in his message that we have a dual allegiance, namely to our countries and to the world. This dual allegiance, which has always been one of the guiding principles of the Socialist International, has today, in the face of the changes we are experiencing, become an imperative for all politicians who are conscious of the changes we are presently witnessing.

To think in supranational or global terms is not to chase an illusion, but rather the logical consequence of the recognition of mutual interdependence. ■



*Björn Engholm's speech
of welcome to delegates at
the Berlin congress*

CHANGE THROUGH PARTNERSHIP

The German Social Democrats are proud and delighted to be the host of the XIXth Congress of the Socialist International. I would like to welcome you all to Berlin. Our sincere thanks are due to the President of the German Bundestag who made it possible for us to have this congress here in the old Reichstag. I would also like to thank the Mayor for his welcome to Berlin which is once again an undivided capital.

But above all your coming here is thanks to the one man who, like nobody else, personifies the freedom-loving Berlin, a Germany committed to a peaceful co-existence with its neighbours, the striving for conciliation between East and West, between North and South all over the world, and last but not least, our International, Willy Brandt.

It grieves us that Willy Brandt, who has led the SI for more than one and half decades and was at the helm of the German Social Democratic Party for a quarter of a century cannot be with us today. We all sincerely wish that he can be with us again soon - as we all respect and love him; "left and free". But judging from our experience of working with Willy for many years, he would not advise us today to look to the past. He would rather tell us to think and act Beyond the Day, as in the title of one of his books, particularly since we face unique challenges at the end of the cold war.

Never before were the opportunities and the risks in the world quite so close together as they are today.

Out of the unexpected stroke of luck in history, the end of the cold war, grows the motto and the commitment of the Socialist International to forge enduring, stable happiness in the "one world for all" that is now possible.

We find ourselves at the outset of a new era. Some say the end of the era of social democracy has come. I say the new era is a great opportunity for social democracy, in Europe as well as all over the world.

Our ideals have never had the same importance as they have today, freedom, justice and solidarity.

Only two years ago we could hope that the world would see a period of stability hitherto unknown. Today, as we know, the division of Germany has been overcome, but in the eastern part of Germany concern is growing.

The unification of Europe has now been given a new chance. Therefore we want to succeed with the Maastricht treaty despite all its shortcomings. It represents an important

new course for the future of Europe. There must be no regression into a new nationalism. The terrible war in Yugoslavia has shown us yet again where such things lead in the end.

The end of the concept of a world divided into blocs and the arms race open up fascinating perspectives. And indeed there is great progress being made in terms of democracy in many places in Asia, Africa and Central and South America. However, growing poverty and mounting debts in vast parts of the southern hemisphere are there to be seen. More than ten years after the 1981 North-South Summit in Cancun, which was initiated by the Brandt Commission, we are looking back on a decade which has largely been lost for development cooperation.

We are a long way from the sort of progress described by the Brundtland Commission, which "satisfies current needs without restricting future generations' opportunities to satisfy theirs". This cannot be achieved without leaving the old thinking behind.

The formula with which Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr contributed to the solution of the East-West conflict was Change by coming closer together. Today we are trying to achieve a Change through partnership.

Partnership must come between industrial and developing nations; between western and eastern Europe, without which this continent will have no future; between America and Russia, which remains indispensable in the atomic age; between the great cultures and religions of the world; and there must be a partnership with nature.

The fact that social democrats from over 130 countries are attending this congress alone shows how great the need for close cooperation really is. And there can be no doubt that the great appeal of the SI is based on the undogmatic principles of democratic socialism, in the modern sense liberal and brought up to date by the Stockholm declaration.

Today I put priority on five aims. The UN has to be strengthened and transformed into an authority of world peace with international monopoly on violence. And it has to be able to count on the support of regional collective security systems. We have at long last to relegate wars between states and nations to the dumping ground of history. The same energy and imagination which has been put into the military machinery over the years, must now be invested in a new civil order of world peace. Armaments must give place to investment in the future.

It is reassuring to know that the Secretary General of the UN used to be a vice-president of our International before he took over his difficult duties in New York. But that is not the only reason we wish to support Boutros-Ghali as much as we can. His 'agenda for peace' makes sense.

The ecological restructuring of our economies has to be approached far more coherently. If we don't manage to make our peace with nature at long last, nature will declare war on us.

There is a severe shortage of capital everywhere in the world. The nineties are characterised by a very scarce supply of savings and investment capital. We now have to secure adequate and reliable transfers to the South. It is a terrible scandal that for years now the transfers in real terms proceed from South to North, from poor to rich. The great challenges in Europe must not block the view of the global problems. Eurocentricity would indeed be the wrong answer for the "one world".

I would like to add clearly: dictatorships, especially those who are not interested in living with their neighbouring peoples and states in peace, or whose biggest expenditure is on arms, cannot be our partners. Poverty is often the worst where the most murderous battles are fought, where the most corrupt power elite and the most unscrupulous ruling cliques reside.

We are still facing the same connection that Willy Brandt outlined twelve years ago in the prologue to the first report of the North-South Commission:

"History has taught us that the consequence of war is hunger but we are less aware that mass poverty - and today I would like to add, the consequences of ecological destruction - can lead to war or end in chaos. If hunger reigns and if there is chaos with natural resources, peace can have no permanent basis".

Federico Mayor, General Secretary of UNESCO, has taught us that we can either allow crises to end in chaos or we can regard them as windows of opportunity. The Socialist International has always decided upon the latter.

As a bastion of peace and social justice it is therefore facing new immense challenges. I am certain it is also facing a new chapter in its activities. This should be the message that this congress conveys: We have not come to the end of a social democratic century. On the contrary, today we are only at the beginning of a new century of social democratic policy of reform - and this is true for all continents of this world. ■



At the congress Pierre Mauroy, the newly elected president of the Socialist International, looked to the future

GIVING FORM TO DREAMS

As newly elected president of the Socialist International, I send my greetings to you, your parties, and those millions of men and women who share our hope of changing the world. I pay tribute to our common hope, which binds us together irrespective of colour, race, continent or condition of life.

Dear Willy, we are in your city, Berlin. This congress, from which your illness has kept you away, is coming to its end. It is your congress. I would have liked to say what I have to say in your presence, as a sign of friendship and honour to someone who for sixteen years has been at the head of our socialist family.

Over these sixteen years, our fortunes have varied. We have lived through times of promise and hope, times when we were put to the test and found helpless. In the middle of the seventies, we had the feeling of being in a long waiting period, not knowing what would be the outcome of a cold war marked both by crises and by periods of detente. How could we halt the spread of a communism which was at the

height of its powers and which seemed at that time to represent the aspirations of peoples born in a time of de-colonisation? How could we face up to the economic and social crisis coming to pass in the most industrialised countries of the world?

In 1976 when everything conspired to discourage socialists, Willy Brandt spoke to us of a new departure for our International, and did so with all his conviction and experience as a statesman.

By so doing, he breathed into the International that sense of challenge which characterises his career as a human being and as an active politician. In politics, there are few indeed who are able to look beyond the horizon and accept the idea that we cannot yet foresee what is possible. Willy Brandt is among that number. Willy Brandt has always made his own that best sort of idealism. He made it his own from the time of his youth when he refused, as many other Germans did, to have any truck with nazism. When peace came, it was that refusal which made it impossible to identify the German people with the Nazi leadership. That refusal allowed a generation of young people, of whom I was one, to embrace the cause of Franco-German cooperation and thus contribute to the foundation of the European Community.

More than that, he challenged the possible by refusing to believe that a state of affairs based on a division of Europe could persist and by rejecting the idea of a permanent division between the two Germanies, and by never accepting the terrible reality of the Wall which, a few steps from here, made Berlin a symbol of historical absurdity.

As mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt took steps that no action should become irreparable. In 1989, when Gorbachev's policies were yielding their first-fruits, he would say to us, 'I was not sure that this generation would see the end of the Wall. I only wanted to make it easier to live with it'. But he was never tolerant of the unacceptable. And the sheer force

of his message turned John Kennedy's famous words into actions. For 25 years we all felt we were Berliners - in great part thanks to Willy Brandt.

14 *Ostpolitik* stands as the enduring symbol of this deliberate challenge. The breadth of his strategic view, the pragmatism of his methods, his tenacity in tackling obstacles - even the most difficult and painful obstacles - bear witness to his political vision. As Chancellor, Willy Brandt put into practice his own strategy. On its own, firmness towards the East would not have achieved anything but an exacerbation of the cold war, pregnant with risks for peace. The opposing strategy, dialogue with no firmness, would inevitably have been seen by Moscow as a sign of weakness. *Ostpolitik* was able to bring together firmness without provocation and a desire for dialogue without appeasement. No one who came after him changed the plan. History will say that without the shift that took place in those years our friend Gorbachev would not in his turn have been able to take his part in the work of liberation for which we are all so grateful.

It is in this context that in 1976 Willy Brandt brought the renown of a Nobel Peace Prize to the Socialist International - the renown, but also the inspiration. And in particular a will to take the message of our Socialist International to the whole world, when it had till then been almost exclusively confined to Europe. That work of rapprochement - or synthesis, to use an expression dear to Jean Jaurès - could not have been achieved if it had not sprung from a high aim. Just as the West could not ignore the East, so it had to carry on a dialogue with the South. It had to demonstrate that there was a common interest in simultaneous development in North and South, that the development of the non-aligned countries in the teeth of the developed countries was inconceivable, and the developed countries could not keep their wealth away from two thirds of the planet's inhabitants. This analysis led socialism to find once more its original strength and an impetus to go forward, first of all in Europe - in Spain and Portugal, in France - then also in Latin America and in Africa.

That global reach which is the strength and pride of our movement we owe to Willy Brandt, who throughout these long years has been able to share with us his dream, which we know today to be if not already realised at least within our grasp.

Such is the inspiration which I want to motivate my presidency of the International. I am fully conscious of the honour of being the first Frenchman to be given this responsibility and I want to respectfully acknowledge those who have preceded me in this office. When looking with satisfaction on our 111 parties and organisations, I must pay homage to the first socialist organisations, whose story we know. In more modern times, I must recall the outstanding work of the British Labour Party and the social democratic parties of Germany, Austria and Sweden who played such an active role. If I cannot list the names of all those who have played their part in the Socialist International, I want particularly to recall today Bruno Kreisky and Olof Palme.

I am conscious of the symbolism of receiving the presidency of the Socialist International here in Berlin where the SPD has in its welcome to us combined faultless organisation with that human warmth which is its hallmark. I am conscious too, after hearing such powerful speeches, of the size of the task we have to tackle together. This decision was taken by the presidium of the Socialist International in Madrid and I want to assure Felipe González of my gratitude and support.

Over the past two days, many speakers have underlined their worry with regard to the future. It is indeed difficult to do justice to hope. I cast my mind back to the disappointment of those who in the 1920s believed that there was at last a chance of peace and who were so cruelly disappointed by events. We will only overcome our difficulties by making plain our confidence and our optimism. For we know that it is urgent to take action.

It is urgent to take action first of all in favour of democratic socialism. History has cut short the debate which pitted us against communism. That dispute has been settled by events. The error of communism was to have believed that equality could be put above freedom; it was to have ignored the fact that a command economy must become dictatorship; it is to have thought that only capitalism led to imperialism. Until this historical analysis is brought to its conclusion - and we as socialists are the only ones who can do that - a conclusion will not be found where it is most needed, in the minds of men and women. It is nevertheless essential that we demonstrate the rightness of our argument. There exists still, particularly in eastern Europe, a regrettable confusion between democratic socialism and communism. That confusion is not aided by the confused nature of developments in the East. Is it not unbearable to see that Mr Milosevic's party has the effrontery to call itself the Serbian Socialist Party! But confusion is everywhere compounded by the Right, which sees in it a way of avoiding the necessary critique of capitalism as put into practice by the Right.

That is why it is so necessary to work on the identity and topicality of social democracy

within each member party, and of course within the Socialist International itself. The world we live in leads us to reflect on our identity, not because we want to deny what we stand for, but by our conscious choice to become ever more ourselves. By that I mean an organisation at work to a greater or lesser degree on every continent, bringing hope to people in the most diverse conditions of life. An attentive observer will have been able to sense in all the speeches from this platform how deep and real is our identity. Being ourselves means defining a socialism bent on continuing beyond the year 2000, on committing itself to the new century not as an exercise in pure opportunism but as a set of beliefs faithful to the fundamental and timeless values of peace, solidarity and democracy.

Much has been said about the end of ideology - but what if the decisive battle of the next century is the battle of ideologies? Surely the best way to combat the rise of racism, anti-semitism and all forms of extremism is to put in their place tolerance, respect for one another, freedom and individual development? Such is our response to all forms of extremism, all forms of reaction and even to those who in the name of so-called moral values insidiously put in question the freedom of the individual.

Short of any geo-strategic consideration, there are ideological choices to be made if we want to have shared clear perspectives. Several parties have felt the need to reach a better common definition of their identity and to adapt their ideology. We ourselves in Stockholm brought up to date our Declaration of Principles, and here today we are sitting down to reflect on the theme of Social Democracy in a Changing World.

We must not pause on our journey. The Socialist International must continue to deepen its reflection, with the help of its members. When the time is ripe, we will make known the essence of this work and thus respond to those who have thought they were able to say that social democracy was an old-fashioned model. That is how we want to throw out to the world the challenge of our ideas and analyses in order the better to commit ourselves to the fray. It is urgent to take action. It is urgent also, and perhaps particularly, to take action for a new world order. The world as it evolves is not without its doubts, its threats and its tragedies. But it is not my purpose to indulge in alarmism. What we have to preserve, and if possible broaden, is the admirable advance made by democracy over the last three years. It is on the basis of that unquestionable success that we must plan our future actions. And that is of course the sense of the General Congress Resolution that we have just adopted.

Our first commitment is to peace. The question of peace has very recently taken a more pressing topical and decisive turn. As has been said here, some among us hold in their hands the chance of world peace.

Despite the difficulties and the evident risks, I feel that the cause of peace has advanced in these past three years more rapidly than at any other period of contemporary history. It is always the case that the path of negotiation is a long and difficult one and our responsibility is to make sure progress is achieved.

The positions we adopted on the Middle East are well known and have not changed. Something new is developing in the Middle East with the return to power of our Labour Party comrades in Israel. Yitzhak Rabin has shown us that with much conviction and emotion; peace is no longer a dream. Peace is possible provided that on both sides confidence takes root, the will for peace is affirmed and courageous steps are taken. 'Let me begin', he has asked us.

We know how much patience and perseverance is required. And I speak for everyone here when I assure his government of our confidence and say to him as well, 'you have started, we hope that you will persevere. We hope that you will succeed in bringing about those developments we are waiting for'.

Alongside our ever-present concern with disarmament, there remain the threats linked to the very difficult question of nationalities. In this debate we are finding once more the question marks which hung above the newly born Second International. But it is clear that in the new international context ushered in by the decay of the Soviet empire the concepts that we forged over the years seem contradictory.

It is true, we do not confuse nationalism with nationalities. It is true there can be no question of muzzling demands for sovereignty when they are upheld by an entire people. It is true also that the UN Charter guarantees every nation its full and complete sovereignty.

But let us acknowledge that these rights to sovereignty, to self-determination and to national identity may become heavy with menace when they are expressed in an international context of instability. The world, as François Mitterrand himself has said, cannot be a world of tribes. Progress, the only progress that we are today able to effect, is the establishment of a recognised international authority which is both strong and

organised. The United Nations today represents the most advanced form of this universal legitimacy, even if it is not the world government which utopian socialists dreamed of.

16 I want here to salute the work accomplished by Boutros Boutros-Ghali and assure him of our support in his drive to reinforce the authority of the UN.

That strengthened authority will be the only one empowered to determine who is responsible for aggression, to set the terms of the debate and the eventual resort to force when the ways of negotiation have been exhausted.

I in fact profoundly believe that the natural way of resolving conflicts is through international negotiation. It is of course true that we are living through the Yugoslav tragedy, a flat contradiction to the notion of civilisation, a sort of anachronism. Everything points to strong action, the suffering of the victims - children, women, civilians - the methods employed, the camps, the deportations, the ideology in the last instance, that disgraceful doctrine of 'ethnic cleansing'. Nevertheless, just think what the uncontrolled intervention of the great powers would have triggered off at some other period of history. There is no solution other than the organisation of international society.

Without doubt, in the methods we adopt we must exhibit greater imagination than ever before. Some people talk of arming the world's conscience. It is something to be considered. Others, myself included, have long hoped for the creation of an international court of human rights. Doubtless progress has to be made in this direction. We will have to work on these questions and others with Ingvar Carlsson, to whom Boutros-Ghali has entrusted the task of thinking about the UN in the twenty-first century.

I am conscious that the generations in power at the end of this century have one essential responsibility - that of preventing the return to dominance of the nation states which brought the world to the tragedy of the First World War. There is no alternative to organising international society. There is no alternative to seeking new legal frameworks to prevent every demand of a minority necessarily bringing about the creation of a new state. The construction of Europe points the way to a possible solution. Whatever the circumstances of history, the new states created today must find ways to cooperate.

Our second undertaking is the fight against poverty. It is poverty that could bring about a reverse for democracy. It is solidarity that favours its progress. Would it ever be acceptable to build a little island of prosperity for the benefit of a mere fifth of humanity who consume four-fifths of the planet's resources? Would it ever be acceptable that this little island be mostly preoccupied with defending itself against the massive immigration which will be the incontrovertible reality of the twenty-first century, and not only in Europe? Would it ever be acceptable for democracy to be the preserve of the rich countries alone? The reply to these three questions must be no. But we have to accept that democracy must be extended to the poor world. We must all agree that the crucial question from now on is the link between democracy and poverty. Moreover, democracy is a stimulus to development. In the seventies the dictatorships of Latin America pocketed billions of dollars from loans theoretically earmarked for investment in their countries. And still today the tragedy of Somalia demonstrates how day after day a-thousand-and-one ways can be found to syphon off development aid. The democratic model is the only model which backs a fair division of wealth. For even the poor countries have their rich citizens. Democracy itself imposes a social control on transfers of resources and makes them more efficient.

Can democracy survive people's despair? How long will the former countries of the East, drawn into a model badly adapted to the circumstances of their development, impose drastic restrictions on their populations? How long will democracy in Latin America remain compatible with the sacrifices demanded by the adjustment policies imposed by those international organisations whose approach is still too much that of a financier or, as John Smith has said, of an accountant? How long will unemployment rates of 60 per cent be tolerated by populations who throughout their history have known only the most extreme indigence? Questions of aid, its nature, the means it employs and the political conditions for its efficiency have been posed for a long time past. We know what situations cry out for humanitarian aid. We control the means of international solidarity and we must draw inspiration from the example of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

We appeal to the industrialised nations to fulfil their commitment and in particular to raise the level of development aid to 0.7 per cent of GNP and to one per cent before the year 2000, a goal long announced but never achieved. It is not an unreasonable hope because in recent years great efforts have been made, particularly on the limiting of the debt burden on the poorest countries. But we must now go from a defensive role, which limits itself to keeping economies afloat, to a more offensive one, that is to say one which

allows them to secure the means of their own development and build their own future. A great step forward will be taken when the industrialised countries make the link between the difficulties they encounter from low growth rates and high unemployment, and the extraordinary boost that their economies could be given if a new effort in favour of the developing countries were undertaken.

We have talked in detail from this platform this morning of the globalisation of the economy. We are at one. From now on it is only at the international level that we can find new room for manoeuvre. Such is the sense that socialists give to the treaty of Maastricht on European Union. It is a question of building a political space which permits the definition of coordinated policies favouring greater growth. The beneficial effects will be felt in Europe. They will be felt too beyond Europe, I am sure. Because it would be absurd to believe that the growth of rich countries was not an indispensable condition for the economic take-off of poor countries. It is because the importance of this move is not limited to France, or even to the European Community, that you have in the past few days been so keen to express your feelings on the political results of the French referendum.

Furthermore, Gro Harlem Brundtland's report has raised at the Rio Conference the question of sustainable development. The environment cannot serve as a pretext for the rich countries to limit the development of poor countries. But the constraints imposed by ecology call on us to intensify our policies of solidarity. It is our responsibility as social democrats, who have always linked the effort for the protection of the environment to the defence of North-South solidarity and the reinforcement of democracy, to take up this new challenge. We must, in the happy phrase of Björn Engholm, 'make peace with nature, otherwise nature will make war on us'.

Comrades, each one of us understands that the wide implications of these options force our International to carry on the work of Willy Brandt while at the same time they oblige us to develop our methods and our organisation.

I now turn to our secretary general. I interpret your wishes when I sincerely congratu-



late Luis Ayala on his re-election and above all on the remarkable work that he has accomplished day by day. I associate all the staff with his success.

18 You will understand that as newly elected president I am not in a position to respond straight away to the very numerous proposals and suggestions which have been made in the course of this congress or in private conversations. It seems to me also opportune to ask our secretary general to put questions of organisation as an essential item on the agenda of our next Council. It goes without saying that any changes to be adopted - if there are any - stem from the increasingly global nature, that is to say the success, of our International.

We are honoured to have among us our fraternal organisations, including the Socialist International Women. I would like to express to their new president, Anne-Marie Lizin, our warm congratulations, our intention of helping her to take up the challenge of strengthening the role of women within our respective parties and to work throughout the world for women to see their condition bettered and to take their future into their own hands. Our good wishes also go to our young comrades in IUSY, whose energy I salute, and to the Falcons.

Our very success makes our discussion on new members more complex. Our duty is to welcome political organisations occupying a particular place at an extraordinary juncture in history. But we must give the highest meaning to membership of our International, that of membership of a political project, of respect for a collective will, of stamping on the future the fundamental values which for two centuries have made up the heritage of democratic socialism. It is also necessary to show great care and realism in the admission of new members. That makes us all the more proud to welcome today so many new members, to whom I send my good wishes for their activity within our community.

I feel I am expressing the general feeling when I say to Bettino Craxi that he hit exactly the right note when he talked of the indispensable role of our organisation in the convergence of the democratic forces in Italy. I realise that such an opening means the end of a long and difficult history. This opening necessarily calls in return for an evolution of the PDS, for concrete commitments which must be entered into and kept, and a firm plan for the historic march towards the unity of our three Italian member parties.

Thus for the first time we record the new socialist commitment of a great former communist party which, it must be said, had since the 1970s trodden its own path. That evolution is naturally full of symbolism. But it already raises new questions about the way in which we assist the evolution of parties no longer associated with communism. It seems to me that we have found a balanced solution for Hungary. But there are so many other parties knocking on our door that this will obviously be a topic for debate for a long time to come.

In his message to us, Willy Brandt said that it was necessary to move the International forward in time with historical change. That is what we have started to do in this debate on membership. Our Socialist International must be careful to favour rapprochement and political evolution. It is what we want for the peoples of the East, whom we assure of our solidarity and friendship. It is what we want everywhere in the world where we must give our support to those who are working day by day in a social democratic way for freedom and human rights.

In the period to come, we will have the opportunity of giving form to the dreams of the pioneering founders of our International and of all those who, down the years, in the name of democratic socialism, have had the responsibility of the future of humanity.

They were also conscious, without doubt, of the fragility of their efforts. But it is because they did not give up that we are here, that we in our turn are today capable of undertaking the same collective task.

Léon Blum said, 'the pessimists condemn themselves to be no more than spectators'. Socialists, for their part, aspire to action.

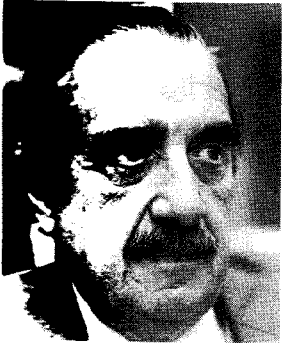
We know it is urgent to take action.

Let us work together for our ideals and our values of freedom and justice, which transcend our actions.

Our greetings to you, Willy Brandt.

Long live the Socialist International.

CONGRESS VOICES ...



Neo-conservatism today appears as the counter-image, a dangerous one, certainly, of that democracy which is based on solidarity, participation and the pursuit of equality... It proposes an elitist democracy which discourages participation and the pursuit of equality; it bases itself on the idea of the 'minimal state', which should only concern itself with questions of security; it draws on an economic principle whereby freedom of the individual is

synonymous with the free market; it disapproves of social expenditure, regarding it as unfair, useless and dangerous; it supports an education system which is discriminatory and conspires against social mobility, and finally, it accepts the manipulation of public opinion as the only way to promote regressive policies.

Raúl Alfonsín

Radical Civic Union, Argentina

It is right to conserve the natural environment, because without it life would be impossible; it is equally right to protect people, because without them there would one day be no eyes to contemplate the natural environment.

Hugo Batalla

General secretary of the Party for People's Government, Uruguay



With the dismantling of so-called authoritarian socialism the people's hope falls on us - the hope not just of the middle classes or organised labour but more especially the hopes of the vast multitudes of people on the margins of society who have no voice of their own. Thus it is important for us not to leave any political void on our left. We must not let there be any space in which movements grow up on our left, radical movements

which could cause us grave difficulties.

Leonel Brizola

Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Brazil

When so many of the forces influencing our future are operating on the international level, we must also lift democratic decision-making to that same level. There is no other way to deal with problems that can only be solved if countries work together. This is also why economic cooperation and integration will not

work without a clear strategy for sustained growth and full employment.

If we maintain the illusion that nations can act in isolation, we only risk postponing critical decisions which can only be made effective when states act in cooperation. We risk an increase in the growing scepticism towards democratic institutions and our political systems.

When results in every-day life do not meet expectations, people are quick to turn against democracy and the political system. The new and menacing anti-democratic trends and calls for the strongman in some countries are dangerous symptoms which we must take very seriously.



Gro Harlem Brundtland

Prime minister of Norway, first vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Norwegian Labour Party

On the subject of transport, all developed countries at present give a totally unjustified preference to individual over public transport. Furthermore, even in the context of public transport, road transport enjoys a quite unjustified preference over rail.

This preference is partly linked to energy policy. At present, the price of energy is not calculated to include all the costs incurred. When we burn fuel for transport purposes, the price of energy does not cover the price of renewal, or of polluting the atmosphere...

The price of road transport does not include the damage collectively inflicted on the quality of life. Emissions of carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide, other forms of air pollution, the deterioration of building stock and of forested areas are all elements which are not taken into consideration.

Philippe Busquin

Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Belgian Socialist Party

I see it as significant that we are meeting here in Germany, a country to which we owe so much of the origins of the political movement of Social Democracy. Germany is today a country of freedom and openness, a central partner in international cooperation for reason and humanism. German Social Democracy led the way in shaping Germany this way. And in the Socialist International we continue to look to German Social Democracy for inspiration and leadership... It has, however, been said that while the 20th century was the century of the Social Democrats, the next century will belong to other political forces. This gives us implicit recognition for what we have achieved, but it questions our ability to lead the way and find the answers to the new challenges.



I know this is wrong. I believe, on the contrary, that it is only a political movement centred around the visions and values of social democracy that can bring out the political strength to respond to the challenges of the coming century.

Ingvar Carlsson

Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Swedish Social Democratic Party



For the progressive political movements of Latin America and the Caribbean one priority is the creation of a welfare state in which the citizens can see their basic needs being attended to while their political and juridical rights are respected.

Humberto Celli

President of Democratic Action, Venezuela



We hope that our brothers and sisters in the Socialist International will appreciate the need for support and solidarity to be given to the struggling peoples in our countries... We hope the SI will rise to the occasion and that in the 21st century the SI will be in the forefront of the struggles of justice, equality, democracy and human rights, not only in Asia but everywhere else in the world.

We hope that the SI will make its presence felt in the Asia-Pacific region.

Chen Man Hin

Chair of the Democratic Action Party, Malaysia



Amid all these tasks of the first importance the European Parliament appears today in the role of a dwarf... Many forms of coordination needed today are in embryonic form. Renewed and integrated European democracy therefore needs a strengthening of its essential powers of political coordination and of the Parliament's decision-making powers

Bettino Craxi

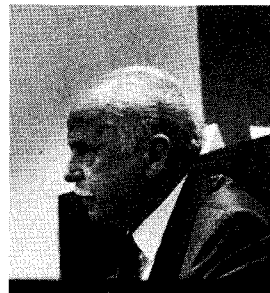
Vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party

Environment is closely related to justice. The greatest damage to the global environment is caused by wasteful production and technologies, opulent consumption patterns in the developed countries, and brutal exploitation of manpower and resources in the third world.

It is the poor who are the real victims of environmental degradation, especially in terms of the health hazards associated with poverty. Poverty means infected drinking water, hovels instead of homes, illiteracy instead of education. These are the conditions facing more than one billion human beings, fighting for their daily survival in rural areas and in squatter settlements.

Birgitta Dahl

Chair of the SI Committee on the Environment



Our (eastern European) governments are practising shock therapy. There is a shock but no therapy... Dear friends, don't forget. Helping democratic socialist parties in eastern Europe means helping yourselves.

Petar Dertliev

Chair of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party

The choice is for us remarkably clear: the African democracies must be helped economically. It is totally conceivable that additional resources be given to the young African democracies in the form of a bonus for freedom. For that, too, is a very good incentive for an irreversible democratisation of our institutions.

Message from Abdou Diouf

President of Senegal, vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal



The dominant orthodoxy of finance ministries and central banks see the links binding the world economy together as a restraint. They are not prepared to take positive coordinated action to revive the world economy and tackle the problems of the developing countries. Blaming foreigners for your own problems often seems an easier political option than working together internationally.

Enzo Frizo

General secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

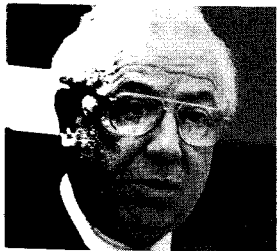
Issue 3/1992



The principles of justice and equality need to be the active and militant counterweight in a world which, with the loss of the counterweight there once was, seems to buckle under these new principles which seek the disappearance of society.

Alan García

Honorary president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party



Carlos González Márquez

Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of the Radical Party of Chile



At the time we considered there would be an improvement, a perfecting of the existing society in order to force the system to work. The difficult experience of our new policies and the gradual freeing of society from the structures and customs imposed on it by the totalitarian regime finally enabled us to understand that the changes we had started

could succeed only if the whole system was changed, the whole system established over 70 years.

The totalitarian monster crashed, the people recovered their freedom, a democratic process was started that could no longer be turned back. And the fact that the coup didn't work demonstrated this.

Mikhail Gorbachev

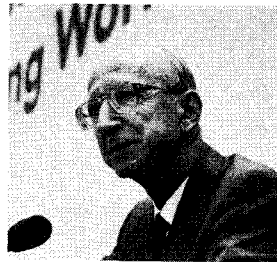


But, dear comrades, we must also be aware that we are not only the parties of the deprived. We must also address the dynamic sectors of our societies. Rejecting, as we do reject, nihilistic, post-modern, egotistical individualism, we have to combine more solidarity with more responsibility. We have to go on finding new

syntheses for freedom and equality. We have to fully realise the importance of personal self-fulfilment in our societies. We must accept the importance of initiative and creativity both at the individual and social level.

António Guterres

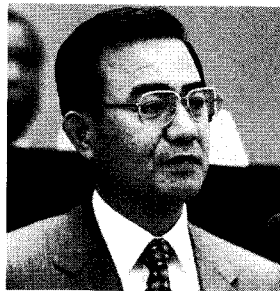
Vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Socialist Party, Portugal



There is no doubt that a lasting solution to any conflict can only be found through direct negotiation among the involved parties. No matter how long they take, one must have the patience to see it through, provided a way is found to stop the bloodshed in the meantime. As the shadow of nuclear catastrophe, the threat of a nuclear world war, has disappeared, for good we hope, the real challenge facing humanity is to find ways and means to resolve old local conflicts through negotiations and without resort to fighting.

Erdal İnönü

Deputy prime minister of Turkey, vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Social Democratic Populist Party



The Japan Democratic Socialist Party feels that it is Japan's duty to utilise the trade surplus for peacekeeping efforts in this world. Although Japan is the number one contributor financially to official development aid, it is important for us to scrutinise the quality of help which we offer. We need to aggressively increase our contribution through other

international channels. Japan should especially volunteer to take a leadership role when cooperation is required for humanitarian causes.

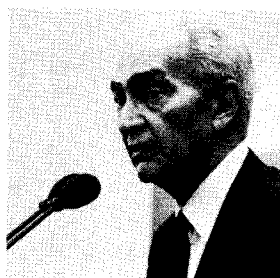
Eisei Ito

Director of the international bureau, Japan Democratic Socialist Party

Our beliefs, our attitudes, indeed our whole political philosophy is built on the knowledge that just and democratic societies, indeed the organisation of civilised life and the conduct of civilised political intercourse all depend on the realisation, protection and development of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Peter Jankowitsch

Chair of the SI Committee on Human Rights



We've had enough of destruction and wars in the Middle East. Let us look to the future. Let us turn the page of hatred, the page of war... Our intention is to have Israel in the Middle East on an equal footing with the other, Arab, countries and at the same time to guarantee not only the security of Israel but also of the other, Arab, countries.

Mostafa Khalil

Vice-president of the Socialist International, National Democratic Party, Egypt



One woman in twenty in Africa dies in childbirth, as against one in 8,000 in the industrialised countries.

Joseph Ki-Zerbo

General secretary of the Progressive Front of Upper Volta, Burkina Faso

Anxiety about the war in former Yugoslavia is compounded by developments in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. There is no need to speculate about the risks involved in the many potential areas of nationalist and ethnic conflict. For the message to western Europe is the same. A united, forceful and democratic European Community can use both its history and its experience, as well as its economic potential and trade opportunities, to offer concrete assistance, and thereby hope, for a better future.



Wim Kok

Deputy prime minister of the Netherlands, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Netherlands Labour Party



The Socialist International must carry forward the will to oppose apartheid against women, with the same force as it has used to oppose apartheid against black people.

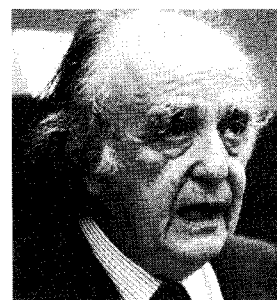
All women remember the Barcelona Olympic Games, where we celebrated the end of apartheid in welcoming the South African delegation, but no one spoke out against that new apartheid which was before our very eyes at that moment: six

national delegations refused to include women amongst their athletes.

This must not happen at the Atlanta Games, or we shall have to demand a boycott!

Anne-Marie Lizin

Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of Socialist International Women



We witness a selective implementation of international law - which is bound to lead to frustration and anomaly. We witness with concern the emergence of countries with the self-appointed role of international or regional policemen.

Vassos Lyssarides

President of EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus



The starting point for us, I believe, is to ask a fundamental question. What is the purpose of economic development? As social democrats, we believe the true purpose of economic development is human development. We believe that the economy is there to serve human needs, and with the fulfilment of these needs, human potential will flourish.

How then do we view international trade? We believe that a system of international trade should have as its first goal

human betterment. We believe that trade is there to serve the needs of the people and not the other way around.

If it does not do that - if it fails to raise living standards of working people, if it fails to bring with it better health care, education, environmental security, greater freedom - then we have to ask ourselves what we are doing.

Audrey McLaughlin

Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada

Democracy and human rights can be established only on the basis of a new and more just world order which protects the economies of poor countries... that is to say which protects human rights, the elementary human rights of health, education, housing and general welfare.

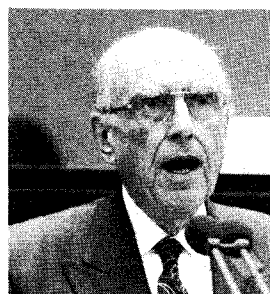
Chedli Neffati

General secretary of the Constitutional Democratic Assembly, Tunisia

We are in a state of semi-democratisation and we must try to overcome the present stalemate.

Boris Orlov

President of the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation



Most countries of the West are run by conservative, monetarist governments whose policy targets are dictated by a bank mentality. Inflation and debt are enemies; unemployment, high inequality in income distribution, environmental destruction are relegated to second-order concerns.

Gradually but surely social structures in the West are in the process of creating an underclass - the marginalised population that are under the poverty line, an underclass whose composition varies from case to case but which often includes groups distinguished by their colour, religion, refugee status and so on.

Andreas Papandreu

Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement PASOK, Greece

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Issue 3/1992



José Francisco Peña Gómez

Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic

Communism had to fail because, contrary to the prophecy of Karl Marx, it was not able to take power in one country of western Europe or of the industrialised world. And it could not do so because its potential political clientele, the workers and the poor, for whom its programme of transformations was intended, formed queues for social democracy, leaving the communist parties without a firm social base of support.



I'm sure that Israel this time under the present government will do its best to make sure that no stone will remain unturned on the road to achieve peace, peace with security.

Yitzhak Rabin

Prime minister of Israel, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Israel Labour Party

The masses in South Africa will continue to need your support until peace, democracy and justice have been achieved. And the ANC notes with pride and honour the tremendous work Willy Brandt and the SI did, in particular amongst those struggling for independence and self-determination all over the world. We recognise and appreciate greatly the efforts and solidarity for our struggle against apartheid and injustice. He is one of us and we love him.

Message from Cyril Ramaphosa

General secretary of the African National Congress



Someone said to me, "Poul, I doubt that we need the SI any more after the cold war". I have been convinced after being here and after seeing all my friends whom I'm very happy to have seen again that we do need the Socialist International more than we have ever needed it.

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen

Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Social Democratic Party, Denmark

The national issue and the problem of ethnic identity, regardless of the long history of statehood in Europe, remains burning in the old continent even today.

Aloyzas Sakalas

Chair of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party

The problem of environmental pollution in the Ukraine is not just a problem of the Ukraine, it's a problem for eastern Europe and, as Chernobyl has proved, for Europe as a whole.

Yurij Sbitnev

Social Democratic Party of the Ukraine



Redefining the role of the state, in its relations with the various social strata and classes; modernising and refining our concept of the common good; defining clearly what must form part of the common patrimony in order to safeguard its future development; confirming our irreversible commitment to freedom of the individual, including the right to individual initiative and private property; in short, we must provide a series of answers that our peoples are demanding and that I think we are well able to provide.

Enrique Silva Cimma

Minister of foreign affairs of Chile, honorary president of the Socialist International, Radical Party of Chile

I have always been a great fan and admirer of political cartoons...

In 1932 the British cartoonist David Low published a drawing which, for me, encapsulates what's wrong with world economic affairs today. In Low's cartoon there is a boat called the World Money Problem, sailing in a very rough sea and leaking very heavily. At one end of the boat sit the smaller nations with their heads barely above water. At the other end the 'big three' leading economic powers sit on the bow with not even their feet wet. One of the big three says: 'That's a nasty leak - thank goodness it's

not at our end of the boat'.

The same characteristics of complacency and short-sightedness are still with us sixty years on.

John Smith

Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Labour Party, Great Britain





Kalevi Sorsa

Vice-president of the Socialist International, Social Democratic Party of Finland

The efforts to find adequate responses to the new challenges have not been successful yet, but the political will to deal effectively with the new crises is clear. The United Nations has clearly improved its effectiveness when compared to its earlier paralysis, and the CSCE has gained new strength. At the same time in both for a meaningful division of labour with other relevant organisations in the field of peace and security has been explored. But it is a time also that the number and the suddenness of the conflicts have outpaced the actions of the international community.



After a four-decade-long cold war ends, a new opportunity is opening for the UN to play a pivotal role in promoting social progress and higher living standards in greater freedom, as stipulated in the UN Charter. Approaching the 21st century we must not allow ourselves to be confined within national interests, but embark on a fundamental reform of the international institution so that it would be able to contribute to the protection of human rights, the development of the third world, the preservation of the global environment and the maintenance of world peace. Taking this opportunity, I would like to propose setting up an independent commission on the reform of the UN, so as to start the reform in 1995 on its fiftieth anniversary, as concluded in the Stockholm Initiative.

Makoto Tanabe

Leader of the Social Democratic Party of Japan



Thorvald Stoltenberg

Foreign minister of Norway, Norwegian Labour Party

The peoples of former Yugoslavia are an integral part of our common history, our common future, our common humanity, for good and for ill. Even darkness carries the seeds of light.

The peoples of former Yugoslavia are as capable of love and compassion as we are and will sooner or later rediscover the spirit of compromise and cooperation.

They are as mindful of their needs as we are and will sooner or later rediscover that they need each other more than they hate each other.



entire planet, for the interdependency of the international system is bound to grow with time.

Carlo Vizzini

Leader of the Italian Social Democratic Party



Now, as a result of the political and moral collapse of international communism and as a result of the democratic revolutions in eastern and central Europe, we are in a new situation. The values of freedom, basic human rights, social justice and the rule of law, all of them upheld by our organisation throughout the difficult cold war years, were recognised as the cornerstone of a new world order.

Ulf Sundqvist

Leader of the Social Democratic Party of Finland.



What has happened since Cancún in 1981?... The answer has not been very encouraging. All economic and social indicators suggest that for the vast majority of the world's population the situation has not only not improved but has deteriorated.

Franz Vranitzky

Chancellor of Austria, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Austria

THE XIX CONGRESS

FREEDOM AND SOLIDARITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

The Congress of the Socialist International, held in Berlin on 15 - 17 September, and hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, brought together more than six hundred delegates from over one hundred and fifty parties and organisations worldwide.



When member parties and guests gathered in the historic parliament building of Berlin for the XIX congress of the Socialist International, they met in a world transformed since the last SI congress held in Stockholm in 1989, and in a city uniquely symbolic of that transformation.

The XIX congress was opened by SI Vice-President Felipe González, whose speech we publish in full (page 9). Delegates were welcomed to Berlin by Björn Engholm, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany,

whose words we also print in full (page 11).

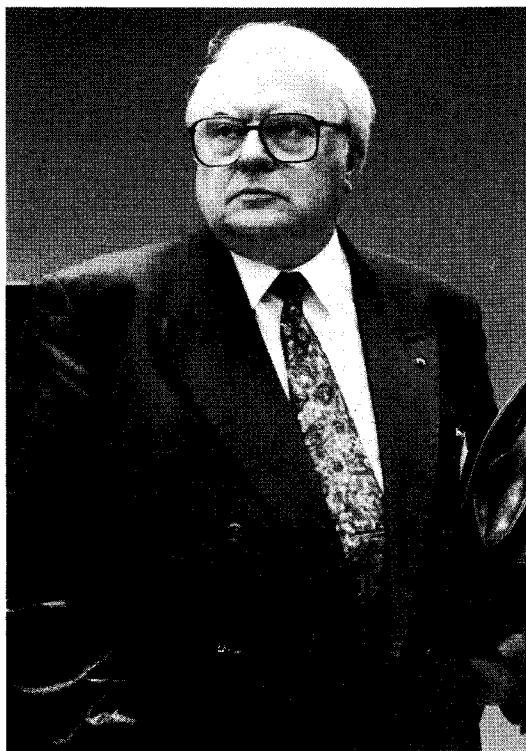
A message from SI President Willy Brandt, kept from the congress by his grave illness, was read to delegates by SI Vice-President Hans-Jochen Vogel. (*Willy Brandt's message to the SI congress is on page 8*).

After three days of debate under the overall theme of 'Freedom and Solidarity in a Changing World', and dealing with some of the great issues of concern to democratic socialists today, the congress adopted policy

documents which will guide the work of our International in the next three years.

The four declarations of the congress, corresponding to the main agenda items, focused on 'Social Democracy in a Changing World'; 'The World Economy'; 'The Environment and Sustainable Development', and 'Minorities and Human Rights'.

The congress also adopted a comprehensive resolution, outlining the views and affirming the commitment of the Socialist International on peace and



Pierre Mauroy was born on 5 July 1928 at Cartignies, not far from the northern French city of Lille, to Henry, a teacher, and his wife Adrienne. For a time after his studies at Cambrai and Paris the young Pierre planned to make a career like his father's in the teaching profession. He had however been a socialist since his early youth; he

THE INTERNATIONAL'S NEW PRESIDENT

joined the socialist youth movement when he was sixteen and within three years had been named its national secretary. Socialism was to be his life.

His qualities were noted by successive French socialist leaders and in 1963 he was appointed to the national executive of the SFIO, a predecessor of the present day French Socialist Party. He is most closely associated with François Mitterrand, who made his first bid for the French presidency in the mid-1960s. He played a key role in the emergence of a unified socialist movement, the French Socialist Party, at Epinay in 1973.

When Mitterrand finally became head of state in 1981, Mauroy became his first prime minister, a post in which he served till 1984. Considered to be on the social democrat wing of the French Socialist Party, Mauroy was able to achieve much during his time in the prime ministerial residence of the Palais Matignon. The list of measures he promoted goes from the fight against inflation to the decentralisation of decision-making and the abolition of the death penalty.

During his time as first secretary of the party from the middle of 1988 to

the beginning of this year he was keen to keep up to date the principles guiding French socialism. In 1990 the party's declaration of principles was revised.

His politics have always favoured bringing diverse currents of socialist opinion together: he is seen as a conciliator.

His publications include *Héritiers de l'avenir*, published in 1977, *C'est ici le chemin*, an account of the first year of his premiership which came out in 1982, and *A gauche*, which appeared three years later.

None of his national or international commitments have prised him away from his native region. He is mayor of Lille, where he is constantly to be seen, and where he has had the task of transforming a region badly affected by the decline of heavy industry.

Since January 1992, he has been president of the Fondation Jean Jaurès, his brainchild, which is devoted to strengthening democracy worldwide by aiding local political parties and assisting programmes of education in multi-party systems and the responsibility of the citizen.

armament, on human rights, on questions affecting different regions, and on strengthening international institutions.

The congress documents are printed in full at the end of this report.

SI party leaders from every continent made keynote speeches on the main congress themes. A

number of invited guests, including former Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, also addressed the congress. Some of their reflections are reprinted in this issue of our journal (*page 19*).

As the highest statutory body of the Socialist International, the congress approves applications for membership. The number of

countries represented at the XIX congress reflected the ever-growing worldwide interest in our work and the many parties today seeking closer contacts with the International, and on this occasion the congress admitted a number of new parties to membership, as well as granting full membership to some consultative parties. The congress also agreed to establish a new category of observer. (*see box for full details of membership changes*).

The XIX congress saw the retirement of Willy Brandt, SI

ELECTED BY THE XIX CONGRESS

PRESIDENT

Pierre Mauroy

SECRETARY GENERAL

Luis Ayala

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Gro Harlem Brundtland
(First Vice-President)
Leonel Brizola
Philippe Busquin
Ingvar Carlsson
Bettino Craxi
Abdou Diouf
Björn Engholm
Laurent Fabius
Felipe González
Carlos González Márquez
António Guterres
Erdal İnönü
Mostafa Khalil
Wim Kok
Audrey McLaughlin
Andreas Papandreu
Jaime Paz Zamora
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Yitzhak Rabin
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen
John Smith
Mario Solórzano
Kalevi Sorsa
Makoto Tanabe
Franz Vranitzky

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

Gonzalo Barrios
Rodrigo Borja
Ed Broadbent
Alan García
Anita Gradin
Elazar Granot
Anker Jørgensen
Lionel Jospin
Neil Kinnock
Michael Manley
Sicco Mansholt
Eiichi Nagasue
Irène Pétry
Ramón Rubial
Leopold Senghor
Enrique Silva Cimma
Mario Soares
Guy Spitaels
Hans-Jochen Vogel

Ex-Officio

Willy Claes (CSPEC)
Jean-Pierre Cot
(Socialist Group, European
Parliament)
Alfred Gusenbauer
(IUSY/IFM-SEI)
Anne-Marie Lizin (SIW)
José Francisco Peña Gómez
(SICLAC)



Luis Ayala

president for 16 years, and the election of Pierre Mauroy, former prime minister of France, as our new president. In his acceptance speech, which we have printed in full (*page 13*), Pierre Mauroy set out his vision of the Socialist International today and his priorities for our work in the coming years, and paid tribute to the great achievements of his predecessor.

Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland was elected by the congress as first vice-president of the International, and the Congress elected twenty-four other vice-presidents (*see box for full details*).

The congress re-elected as SI secretary general Luis Ayala, who has served as secretary general since the Stockholm congress in 1989.



Closing the XIX congress of the Socialist International, Felipe González said, 'this meeting hall today expresses as never before the international dimension of our organisation... as well as the extraordinary complexity of our task. We live in corners of the world which are extraordinarily

diverse... but that diversity also demonstrates the fundamental point of our reflections at this congress, our interdependence... With the fall of the wall which divided our world into two blocs, there has been an explosion, and the inescapable manifestation of that interdependence'.

Above all, as his successor Pierre Mauroy stressed, although he could not be there, the Berlin congress was the congress of Willy Brandt, held in his city. Sadly, his friends were to meet again in the same great hall of the Reichstag just a few weeks later to say their final farewells to him.

DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE XIX SI CONGRESS WITH REGARD TO MEMBERSHIP

CHANGE OF STATUS FROM CONSULTATIVE TO FULL MEMBER PARTY:

ARUBA, Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo, MEP
BOLIVIA, Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR
CYPRUS, EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
HAITI, Pati Nasyonalis Pwogresis Revolisyonè Ayisyen, PANPRA
MOROCCO, Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires, USFP
PUERTO RICO, Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP

FULL MEMBERS:

ARGENTINA, Partido Socialista Popular, PSP
CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERATIVE
REPUBLIC, Social Democratic
Party of Slovakia
ITALY, Partito Democratico della
Sinistra, PDS

CONSULTATIVE STATUS:

ALBANIA, Social Democratic Party of Albania, PSD
ALGERIA, Front des Forces Socialistes, FFS
CAPE VERDE, Partido Africano da Independencia de Cabo Verde, PAICV
CHILE, Partido Por la Democracia, PPD
CHILE, Partido Socialista, PS
COLOMBIA, Partido Liberal, PL
FIJI, Fiji Labour Party
HAITI, National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM
IVORY COAST, Front Populaire Ivoirien, FPI
MONGOLIA, Mongolian Social Democratic Party, MSDP
PHILIPPINES, Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP
ST KITT'S-NEVIS, St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party
ST LUCIA, St. Lucia Labour Party, SLP
URUGUAY, Partido por el Gobierno del Pueblo, PGP

OBSERVER STATUS:

BENIN, Union Démocratique des Forces du Progrès, UDFP
BENIN, Mouvement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social, MDPS
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, Front Patriotique Pour le Progrès, FPP
COLOMBIA, Alianza Democrática M-19
HUNGARY, Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSZDP
HUNGARY, Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP
NICARAGUA, Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, FSLN
SLOVENIA, Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, SDSS

THE CONGRESS CEASED THE MEMBERSHIP OF:

ST LUCIA, Progressive Labour Party of St Lucia
TURKEY, Democratic Left Party, DSP

DECLARATIONS

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN A CHANGING WORLD

We are gathered in Berlin, a symbol of the changes for which democratic socialists are struggling all over the world: peaceful transition from authoritarian rule to democracy and the removal of barriers which prevent the uniting of people for a common cause. The division of Berlin, of Germany and of Europe was overcome because of the popular demand for freedom, the failure of repressive regimes to meet the economic and social needs of the people, and international solidarity. The challenge today is to safeguard what has been achieved and to ensure that freedom and the promise of a better life become a reality for all peoples of the world.

We are aware of the many obstacles ahead, and there are new and formidable challenges to be met in our increasingly interdependent world. But our fundamental values remain unchanged. In the spirit of the guiding principles of the Socialist International - freedom, solidarity, and democracy with social justice - we therefore will continue to strive for a world, one world, living in peace and in harmony with nature.

Freedom and democracy

We are heartened that democracy is gaining ground around the world: a decade of re-democratisation in Latin America, free elections in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and strides toward democratic government in Asia and Africa.

Yet we remain concerned by setbacks: the violent crackdown in Tiananmen Square; the tanks in the streets of Moscow during the coup that fortunately failed; the continuing repression and lack of respect for the will of the people in Burma; the coup d'état against the freely elected president of Haiti; renewed violence which threatens to derail the reform process in South Africa; the attempted coup against the democratic government of Venezuela; and the relapse into authoritarian rule in Peru... In far too many countries, human rights have not been respected, and demo-

crats have been harassed, imprisoned and killed.

We call on all democratic forces to maintain active opposition to dictatorial regimes. Democrats should give firm support, across party and national borders, to democratic movements struggling for fundamental freedoms and accountable government. The parties of the Socialist International remain committed to active solidarity, and we are ready to join forces with other democratic parties worldwide in defending the free choice of the people and political pluralism based on universal suffrage.

Young democracies in developing countries are threatened by former military and economic elites, by corruption, and by the fragile state of democratic institutions. Suffocating debt burdens, insufficient flows of foreign aid, and unfavorable export opportunities threaten to prolong the economic crisis new democratic governments have inherited.

While difficult economic reforms may be necessary, social programmes must be developed to balance economic inequities. In this regard, the Socialist International must continue

to urge the industrialised countries to provide sufficient and timely development assistance.

In eastern Europe, the new democracies face enormous challenges. They have to make the unprecedented transition from centrally planned to market economies, and must be encouraged to build legal and administrative institutions that will guarantee social justice and preservation of the environment.

Establishing a democratic culture is an equally formidable task. Today there is a proliferation of parties, an often confusing political language - with former communists calling themselves democratic or socialist - and widespread scepticism about politics in general. Perhaps the most dangerous threat is from former power elites, who exploit the uncertainties of the transformation process and use intolerant populist and nationalistic rhetoric to regain an authoritarian position. Although social democrats suffered the most under communism, they are again having to bear a heavy burden today. In this turbulent period, we must redouble our solidarity with social democratic parties, labour unions and civic movements that share the visions and values of the Socialist International.

Intolerance and ignorance are also a grave threat to democracy. We are concerned about growing nationalist tendencies, declining mutual respect among political opponents, and waning public confidence in democratic institutions, even in the more mature



democracies. Social democrats must demonstrate that the true purpose of politics is to improve the human condition, that politics is not a mere power game but a trusted public service.

Focusing on social justice

Social democrats have been the driving force behind the building of social welfare structures. Today we cannot be complacent in the face of ultra-liberal forces which threaten to undermine the historical achievements of the labour movement. The extremes of market deregulation have already resulted in more uneven distribution of income and work opportunities, and further concentration of assets. The alleged magic of the market-place has given rise to increased unemployment and too many low-paying jobs.

Markets are indispensable for an efficient allocation of economic resources, but it is also true that market forces require basic regulation in order for competition to be fair. Since domestic regulation can no longer control markets whose reach is global, we urgently need an international framework for fairer competition in the world market. GATT should serve as such a legal and institutional framework, but it is not yet in a position to enforce fair trade and respect for labour rights. Protectionism is unfair, as is social dumping; we oppose both, while economic liberalism is blind to the social aspects.

Economic fair play requires social politics, since deregulated markets have no 'invisible hand' to ensure equal opportunities and social justice. Strong trade unions are needed to counter the power of capital, and both labour and capital need legal protection and government support in order to achieve a balanced society. Social justice means increased economic democracy in all production and service sectors, from shop-floor and plant level to regional and national levels.

Our welfare-based approach to policies affecting the productive forces is certainly less costly to society than conservative reliance on monetarist recipes. Social democrats know that inflation must be kept low, but we also know that high interest rates deter investors and only result in higher unemployment and holes in the 'safety net' of social security for the jobless, the sick and the old. Investment in people through health programmes, social services and fair salaries is more productive than short-term monetarist policies.

Social democrats and the labour movement are committed to economic efficiency as well as to social justice. Our countries need a social consensus which sets out fair standards for wages and working conditions, and for wealth and income distribution. Reducing unemployment must be the

first item. Individual efforts to adapt to labour markets must be matched by public efforts to create employment.

Education and vocational training are essential for securing and increasing employment and for achieving equality of opportunity in a world of rapid technological and structural change. Education is a necessity not only for the young but also for adults at every stage of their lives, since knowledge is the key to innovation, social responsibility and active participation in modern society. There must be equal opportunities for men and women in education in order to overcome the gender bias in working life. Social democracy stands for the right to education for all regardless of family background or personal wealth.

The stimulation of domestic growth has been regarded as a means for achieving higher productivity, larger markets and increased employment. While these goals remain valid, economic growth can no longer be pursued without restriction. Inflation and taxation rates, the risk of capital flight, and environmental considerations must be taken into account. With trade-offs and fierce international competition, all countries are faced with the complex task of achieving sustainable development in such a way that current needs are met without jeopardising the prospects of generations to come. The quality and the sustainability of growth, and the equitable distribution of the benefits, are the standards by which modern society should be measured. The challenge can be met only through concerted international action, not by individual countries alone.

In our world - facing population growth, endemic poverty, unemployment and the risk that the forces of technology, finance and electronic communication may increasingly be taking over the powers which are vested in democracy to shape our future - there is no alternative to stronger international cooperation, based on solidarity with present and future generations. We urge all industrialised countries who have not yet done so to meet the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP in development assistance without delay.

Strengthening international cooperation and solidarity

Given the narrowing margin of manoeuvre for single states in an increasingly interdependent world, international and regional cooperation is critically important for achieving peace, promoting development and preserving the environment. National security must be based on shared efforts for common security. We therefore strongly support both regional secu-

rity structures and all endeavours for collective security centred on the United Nations. We need to address the root causes of conflict and tension, and include economic, social and demographic elements in a new and wider concept of security. We need to build on and strengthen the role of the United Nations and of regional organisations. Moreover, the United Nations must be provided with sufficient resources in order to fulfil its increasing responsibilities.

The end of the Cold War has created great opportunities and new aims for regional and international cooperation. Now that the ideological and military confrontation has been overcome, governments, business, trades unions and voluntary organisations should concentrate on bridging the North-South and East-West socio-economic divides. The OECD countries have the best opportunities and the greatest responsibility in this regard.

Common environmental concerns and the challenge of large-scale migration require increased financial and technological assistance to the countries in the South and in the East.

The peace dividend could provide financial leeway for increasing such assistance. Recipient countries who maintain high military spending must be prepared to have their priorities examined by donor countries.

The IMF and the World Bank have become truly global organisations, but they need to be reformed in order to better reflect democratic principles and a better balance of interest between the rich and the poor. They also need to become more sensitive to the social effects of economic adjustment requirements.

We are today witnessing an unfortunate revival of nationalism and fundamentalism which are detrimental to peaceful cooperation. Strengthening democratic institutions at the national level and cooperation among countries at the international level can help to lessen the threats posed by this disturbing trend.

While the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro represented enlightened progress in global cooperation, it is only a first step in addressing a looming crisis of potentially disastrous dimensions. At the same time, the human tragedies in Somalia and former Yugoslavia indicate that the international community must strengthen its mechanisms for responding to crisis.

Visionary and effective leadership and much greater concerted effort are required if we are to establish a world order based on global security, shared responsibility and international cooperation. The Socialist International, in the spirit of solidarity which is the great strength of our movement, remains committed to that task.

THE WORLD ECONOMY

A Global Partnership for Sustainable Development

At its 1990 Council meeting in New York, the Socialist International emphasised the need for a more equitable, democratic and predictable global order. As borders between East and West have faded, a new, both politically and economically multipolar world has emerged. Improvement of the global order must take into account this multipolarity, and especially the growing divide between the countries which are benefiting from ongoing economic progress and those which threaten to be increasingly marginalised. Unequal development puts democracy into jeopardy, can lead to political nationalism and xenophobia, and forms the basis of poverty and environmental degradation.

The reforming economies cannot afford a decade with negative growth and investment rates. The recent increased concern of the World Bank to address poverty issues and UNICEF's ambition to assure 'adjustment with a human face' are welcomed. These issues must be brought to the forefront of the development agenda. Sustainable growth and anti-poverty programmes should be implemented for all reforming countries, specifically addressing internal and external financing gaps and the requirement for adequate development finance through public agencies and private entities.

The tradition of social democracy, based on a mixed economy, a welfare state that provides a basic safety net, and strong international cooperation, can guide the way in tackling these urgent problems.

2. First of all it should be acknowledged that there is an essential role for governments to play in eliminating the disparity between rich and poor and in fostering the human development process. Market forces are in the main more efficient in allocating resources, and in the direct production of goods and services. At the same time, there is a limited but crucial role for governments to play - at both national and international levels - to correct market failures, to set up an efficient and equitable system of taxation and regulation, to support public infrastructure, to promote human development, to improve social justice by a system of good and efficient domestic governance and to support worldwide sustainable development

through additional finance and other measures.

3. The role of governments should develop according to democratic principles. Human rights, including civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights, are universal values for all continents of the world.

4. National democracy is crucial in the fight against the personalisation of power, against the denial of fundamental freedoms and human rights, and against the prevalence of unelected and unaccountable governments which have deleterious consequences for human development and economic efficiency. Maximum support by external agencies and governments should be given to all the emergent democracies in the world.

International democracy is essential to integrate all countries into the world economy on an equal footing, taking credible international decisions on global issues such as trade, sustaining development, replenishing international financial institutions, and increasing the accountability of the more advanced economies in international relations. The task ahead is to obtain growth through sustainable development, measured by the two imperatives of equity and environmental integrity, not only within na-

tions but also among nations. As human development can be seen as the central concern for the 1990s, long-term policies are needed in the field of trade and additional finance.

5. Trade issues are extremely important for global development and for the elimination of negative resource transfers. The SI appeals to the European Community and to the USA to finally set aside their (neo) protectionist policies and conclude a substantial agreement for a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. A strengthening of GATT, a more open trade order and the stabilisation of the prices of primary products require urgent attention. A plan of action is called for. It is necessary to use compensatory finance for solving structural problems in the supply field. Tariffs and quota reductions made under structural adjustment programmes should be recognised in the Uruguay Round. The international community should agree that the design of unified markets should make reasonable provision for preserving, and indeed expanding, the preferential access of developing countries to the markets of the North. Particular attention ought to be given to trade-related investment measures considered to have significant trade-distorting effect. Ecological considerations should be linked to the liberal trade order in the interest



ESTONIA

of sustainable development. Ecological protection measures should be clearly monitored and sanctioned by a strengthened GATT. In addition, UNCTAD can serve as a unique forum to overview North-South relations. The SI supports its member parties in Canada and the United States in their opposition to the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and calls on member parties to reject any similar neo-conservative multinational corporation-driven trade and economic integration arrangements.

6. In the field of finance, the international community will need to ensure that all countries have sufficient resources and the right conditions to carry out their restructuring and modernisation programmes. A severe shortage of finance could cripple the major thrust of development strategy for the East and the South. The market mechanism will not automatically provide the flows of long-term international investment funds that are required for global efficiency, nor will it necessarily result in an adequate balance in the distribution of these funds.

This situation can be improved through debt relief, enhanced policy coordination, a strengthened role of the IMF/World Bank (in cooperation with regional development banks) in stimulating surplus countries to adjust (i.e. by a tax penalty on surplus accounts), as well as through the creation of multilateral investment trusts to ensure adequate levels of finance for the middle-income and poorest countries. In order to avoid the sequence of inflationary and recessionary tendencies which are especially negative for developing countries, new incentives will be required, as well as institutional mechanisms which provide better security against the risks involved for borrowers and lenders. The way in which aid flows are financed has global implications. Tax-financed increases in aid have less repercussions for world interest rates and therefore less negative consequences for developing countries than finance through increased lending. SDR (Special Drawing Rights) creating should be given a new impetus by limiting it to less credit-worthy countries and in amounts equal to the negative resource transfer of these countries to the industrialised world.

The development agenda requires much greater levels of investment, as it has to cover the requirements of the developing countries, the restructuring of the former communist economies, as well as the reactivation of the industrialised economies and the costs of environmentally sound sustainable development.

Economic and political reform in developing countries and in the economies in transition can only be successful if public and private investments grow at significantly above present levels.

In making decisions on exchange

and interest rates, the decision-making governments should take into account the interests of the developing countries. The fiscal deficits in the US and other countries, raising overall interest rate levels and causing erratic exchange rate movements all over the world, require a stronger disciplinary role for the Bretton Woods institutions with regard to the Western economies in order to create a more stable, predictable and equitable international monetary order.

7. Major and rapid reductions in military expenditure, taking into account both legitimate expenditure for peace-keeping and peace-making operations in the framework of the UN, and in agricultural subsidies, constitute the two most important ways to reallocate significant resources to activities more productive for development. As a first priority, the SI calls for a steady reduction in defence expenditure by all countries. These and additional funds should be used in part for a substantial increase in the replenishment of the World Bank's International Development Agency (IDA-10), which provides virtually interest-free loans to low income countries to fight poverty and promote human development. Furthermore, the IMF Quota Increase should be fully accorded by all member countries, and we call on donor countries to pledge an increase to a minimum of 0.7 per cent of GNP in Overseas Development Aid, excluding the ecological increment. By the year 2000, 1 per cent of GNP of the developed world should be spent on ODA, with a special focus on efficient and effective human development policies. Additional finance is a vital prerequisite for the successful implementation of the sustainable development agenda.

8. The SI is especially concerned that the outcome of the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, should not be jeopardised by the lack of will to supply 'new and additional' resources to implement Agenda 21 and to fight poverty, and calls on all industrialised nations to accept the need for increased resources beyond existing foreign aid budgets.

9. In many countries, the debt crisis has receded from the forefront of public attention. Although the situation has improved in many countries, debt itself is still an integral element in intensifying the vicious circle of decreasing performance and marginalisation in many nations around the world.

As a first priority, decision-makers should adopt a coherent debt strategy which would provide substantial relief commensurate with their level of economic distress and include all types of debt - owed to bilateral, multilateral and private creditors. Prompt action

on providing debt relief for Poland and Egypt well beyond the Toronto Terms demonstrates that large and rapid state debt reduction for low income countries, especially Africa, must be equally possible if the same political will is exercised.

New SDR allocations should be agreed upon in order to assist developing countries facing particularly serious negative resource transfers.

As a further priority, industrialised countries should agree to fully implement the Trinidad Terms as a next important step to reduce bilateral debt levels and as an expression of clear political will to substantially reduce African debt levels.

Debt relief is a necessary precondition for political and economic reform around the world.

10. Most countries in the world have embarked on varying difficult economic reform and recovery programmes, making better use of the strengths of the market to achieve national goals. This is true of many stagnant economies in Western Europe, of many crisis-ridden countries in Latin America and Africa and elsewhere in the Third World, and also, for the last few years, of the economies of central and eastern Europe which are in a process of extreme transition.

What appears as a general lesson from the initial period of this process is very clear. In order for economic transformation to succeed, there is need for a more developed international partnership, a framework of global or regional character as a foundation from which to work through the difficult aspects of reform. This is both a matter of a political commitment, of solidarity, and of specific contributions such as the provision of financial resources and the introduction of liberalised trade and labour market policies to accommodate the reforming economies.

But more important still than outside assistance is the need to ensure that the crucial decentralisation of economic power is carried out by a state strong enough to fulfil two central tasks: firstly, to guarantee the degree of redistribution which is necessary to ensure social cohesion; and secondly, to accelerate the human development (manpower development/training) which is necessary to increase productivity. Should the state, and society as a whole, fail in this, there will be an increasing risk that economic decentralisation will be followed by a deterioration of the social fabric, leading to acute suffering and endangering the reform process itself. That process could become a serious threat to security.

The parties of the Socialist International therefore view with great concern the difficulties in achieving such a broad partnership of nations. Even though the responsibility of reform rests on the reforming countries, the community of nations must not shrink

THE ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: PRIORITIES FOR ACTION

from its responsibility. The belated and generally inadequate response to the international debt crisis has been detrimental to the development of many nations, unnecessarily prolonging the suffering of already hard pressed populations. It is appalling that the creative initiatives in many international fora, including the World Bank, were repeatedly held up by conservative governments in the North.

11. Democratic socialists have a long tradition of supporting social justice, internationalism and the United Nations.

International economic decision-making should be confined to the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions. Global economic governance should be based on a set of rules and procedures that all nations accept, as well as on a fair and effective system for enforcing such rules among nation states. The UN system should include strengthened international organisations - especially in the field of finance and trade - to maintain price and exchange stability, to channel global surpluses and deficits, to provide adequate development finance to the poorest and to ensure free and equal access to all forms of global trade. Reform policies should focus on poverty alleviation and sustainable development. The Bretton Woods system will need to focus its work on these issues if it is to make a constructive contribution in the 1990s.

In these ways we can move to a world in which, by the year 2000, poverty and misery will have been greatly reduced, economic degradation radically diminished, and the security of all peoples substantially increased.

12. In the tradition of the Brandt and Manley reports, the SI will prepare a report and a political strategy for the integration of the former second and the third world into such a reformed Bretton Woods system, based on predictability, equity and efficiency. Adequate levels of development-financing, combined with structural transformation policies focused on poverty alleviation and sustainable development, are a prerequisite for the success of reforms in the former communist bloc, as well as in many developing countries. A focus merely on market forces will lead to further disintegration of the world economy. The international institutions will have to be changed in order to integrate all countries of the world into a more just international order.

Sustainable and equitable development is a major challenge of our time.

Increasing inequity in development between the South and the North; the excessive spending on arms; the uneven distribution of resources between the rich and the poor; the debt crisis; the climate change; ozone depletion; loss of species, desertification, and unbalanced growth of population are major threats to the Earth and humankind.

The Rio Summit has focused attention on the plight of tens of millions of people in developing countries who suffer from the effects of unsustainable development and extreme poverty. It also highlighted the responsibilities of the richest 20 percent of the world who consume 80 percent of the world's resources.

As democratic socialists we must continue to work for a framework for international, regional and local action to bring about sustainable development and equity in the world.

The Rio Conference on the Environment and Development was a continuation of the process from the Stockholm Conference, albeit still insufficient. Increased aid flows, social and family planning policies for reducing debt, and improved trade opportunities must still be important and essential goals. The responsibility rests especially on the industrialised countries. They are the worst polluters, some more culpable than others. One-fifth of the world's population is responsible for four-fifths of the environmental damage. The greatest damage to the global environment is caused by wasteful production and technologies, opulent consumption patterns in the developed countries, and brutal exploitation of the manpower and resources of the Third World.

But there are opportunities for improving the situation for individuals and nations, and for reversing the trend. The ending of the Cold War has created the possibility of transforming resources previously devoted to armaments into development. It also opens new avenues for democratic socialism. Our belief in the concepts of freedom, justice and democratic decision-making is essential in the struggle against the threat to humanity and nature.

The Rio Conference must be the starting point of concerted and vigorous action by governments and the United Nations. Global negotiations must continue in order to secure commitments at a level which corresponds to the needs of human health and sustainable development.

The implementation of the results of the Rio Conference is a challenge to the entire world community. How well the recommendations adopted and the agreements entered into can be translated into practical action will depend partly on us democratic socialists, either because we are governing parties or because, as parties in opposition, we can motivate or implement that action.

We are convinced that the follow-up of those results must be kept under continuous scrutiny. The various commitments must be set through new patterns of regional cooperation on rivers, inland seas and heavily damaged regions, or within a variety of international associations. As parties we must act in concert within the fora to accelerate developments.

Democracy is a precondition for sustainable development. It must be voiced through public participation and regular consultation between governments, environmental organisations, trade unions and the public.

Preventing environmental degradation, encouraging environmental protection and the management of natural resources on the basis of sustainable development have to constitute the foundations of social and economic progress. The principles of prevention and restoration are substantial for environmental protection. Clean and efficient solutions have to be chosen when designing products and infrastructures. The principle of 'the polluter pays' must be applied more vigorously as an instrument for internalisation of environmental costs.

We must enthuse men and women, our children, our countries, to meet the challenge. In order to protect the environment, attitudes and behaviour must change. Education, initiatives and information are fundamental to achieving lasting changes of values and standards in a society.

Women's perspective and participation on the environment and development is also fundamental for achieving these goals. Women and children have, in particular, been the victims of poverty and a degraded environment.

Crucial for the success or failure of the implementation of the results of the Rio Conference will be how the burden and the challenge of our common efforts to beat global threats is shared among the rich and the poor.

Poor countries must be assured of healthy development. Often this is frustrated by subsidies or trade barriers perverting the course of trade. We must help to abolish such impediments.

ments. World trade relations must be changed for the Third World countries. Access to new and environmentally friendly technologies must be improved. Within the GATT, environmental questions have to be properly considered in a more efficient way. This could be achieved by introducing different positions for sustainable and non-sustainable goods produced within the code of practice as a basis for different treatment by export and import regulations.

Financial and technical resources released in the global process of reductions of military expenditure must be allocated to active support for sustainable development, i.e. to increase the flow of new and additional financial resources in support of sustainable development in the developing countries and to facilitate global sharing of environmental data.

Work on international and coordinated actions for reducing or writing off debts - both official and commercial - of the poor countries must continue. The fora already established must be activated, and the parties obstructing this kind of development must be prevailed upon to honour these aims.

The rich countries must adopt their own timetables for achieving, before the year 2000, the UN target of at least 0.7 per cent of the developed countries' GNP being devoted to development cooperation. In addition, these countries must contribute to an immediate and substantial replenishment of existing financial institutions like IDA and IFAD, the GEF and regional banks. A transparent and democratic management of these funds must also be assured.

We need ideas and institutions to handle the great challenges of a sustainable world, at national and international level. This includes the reform of the UN system and the functioning of existing institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF, and building up transparent democratic financial institutions. This will also require a change in lifestyles and in the way we produce and consume goods.

As parties, we will give priority to programmes aimed at achieving permanently sustainable development. This will affect virtually all policy fields and departments of government. Programmes and plans must be analysed for their compatibility with sustainable development. Institutional barriers, taxes, etc, standing in the way of such development must be systematically removed.

We have to establish an annual report in each country on environment and development concerning the commitments made in Rio. This should include specific targets and timetables.

Our national book-keeping should be performed by means of formulating sustainable national income so as to take environmental damage into



account. Taxation systems should include energy and environmental tax, without losing the idea of redistribution of wealth.

We have to immediately begin the implementation of the Climate Convention, and start work to strengthen commitments in countries, groups of countries and globally, so that per capita levels of 'greenhouse' gases that are sustainable and equitable in the long term can be reached. It is not acceptable to have solutions whereby affluent countries buy themselves free of measures within their own borders, e.g. through promises of so-called carbon sinks.

A coordinated energy and traffic strategy will reduce local, regional and global pollutants at the same time.

Decisive changes are necessary in the traffic sector, including the reduction of transport where needed. All types of traffic and all vehicles have to bear their own costs. Investments in public transport and infrastructure, especially in urban areas, have to be increased. The role of active social planning must be increased in order to minimise transport work. New stricter requirements on cars and fuels must be introduced regionally and globally.

Energy saving should be at the top of the agenda. More efficient use of energy and use of renewables have to be promoted. These activities have to be properly resourced and supported. A UN institution must be established with responsibility for conservation, renewables and clean infrastructure in the fields of transport and energy.

The industrial nations must not weaken their efforts to advance the development of sustainable technologies and to make them available worldwide. Environmentally sound tech-

niques, implementing energy-saving and resource-reducing production processes and products, and integrating environmental protection in all fields of policies must be developed and applied. Emissions from industrial processes must be reduced to harmless levels in the foreseeable future.

The role of multinational or transnational companies in their policies toward developing countries must be reviewed. Too often exports of products which are considered harmful in industrialised countries are promoted within developing countries. Policies which protect people in industrialised countries must equally apply worldwide. An international commission or agency must monitor and arbitrate on these matters.

Far-reaching harmonisation of goods, flowing across national borders, with strict environmental standards, is essential. Action plans for phasing out the use of hazardous substances have to be implemented nationally, regionally and globally. Separation of waste at source must be stimulated by local investment and activities.

Viewed within the North-South relationship, the export of waste, especially hazardous and toxic waste, to poor countries which are in urgent need of hard currency must be banned. The handling of all fissile material from military and civilian use should be put under strict international control on a global level. This must include safe storage of nuclear waste.

The agreements for the protection of biological diversity must be accompanied by concrete follow-ups at country and regional level, along with additional resources for conservation, research etc.

In most industrialised nations, agri-

MINORITIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

cultural policy has been dependent on an extensive price subsidy system. This has increased surplus production and the threats to biological diversity. The variety of the cultivated landscape, virgin areas and biological diversity has to be maintained. Export subsidies must be significantly lowered and use of chemical pesticides and fertilisers must be reduced, i.e. by economic incentives. Such policies must be accompanied by measures to secure adequate rural incomes.

Extensive farming has to be made more attractive. Farmers should be involved in programmes for sustainable use of soils.

Human activity has radically reduced forests and wooded areas, replacing them with excessive pastoral zones. Increased animal husbandry and inadequate management of farming areas has led to soil erosion. The main consequences are this soil erosion and desertification of large areas of the earth. One of the main issues in a strategy for sustainable development must be to protect the soil so that it can be used in a long-term perspective.

Long-term forestry policy implies that forestry must be carried out in ways compatible with natural prerequisites. This means using forestry methods that suit the natural conditions in a forest area. Forestry methods must be adjusted in order to protect biological diversity.

Scarcity of water is the main environmental and development problem for many areas on earth. The question of the supply and management of water, within and across borders, must be based on discussions between water users, planners and those entrusted with decision-making at all levels.

One of the greatest priorities for the preservation of the environment is the improvement of people's living and working conditions, especially in the outskirts of big towns and in rural areas. Adequate measures have to be taken to eradicate poverty and to stimulate rural and urban development.

A more equitable relationship between rich countries and poor countries is urgently called for. The positive feelings that everyone has towards keeping the Earth healthy and sustainable for us now and for future generations must go hand in hand with the attitude that the huge gap between rich and poor must be shortened progressively, year by year. There is no hope for Earth if there is not an ending to inequality among people and between nations. Twenty years from now, we all want to share a new reality in which the Earth is preserved and the people of all nations feel closer together.

1. Introduction: Minorities - a new challenge to international politics in the transition to the 21st century

Differences in culture, ethnic heritage and nationalities are both assets and hazards in a world becoming technically smaller every day. After the cold war, both dynamics work at great speed, the necessity to do things jointly and the urge of peoples and minorities to separate or even create new boundaries. Most of the feuds and wars of the nineties - all of them catastrophes to millions of people - are linked to cultural, ethnic or religious tensions.

The SI has an obligation to meet this challenge and offer guidelines in a world marked so much by the necessity to establish global responsibility and by the same token to meet local or regional cultural or religious aspirations.

1. The SI included the protection of minorities in its Declarations of Principles in 1951 and 1989.

The 1951 Declaration acknowledges 'government by the majority while safeguarding the rights of the minority' as an important form of democratic order, calls for equality 'without regard to birth, sex, belief, language or race' and grants 'groups with their own language the right to cultural autonomy'. (I. 3.)

In the Declaration of Principles of 1989 these ideas are again taken up, and the statement added that: 'full rights for individuals and for organised minority opinions' must be provided in order for a political system to be qualified as democratic. (Point 21, cf. also 14, 18, 19).

2. With this Declaration the SI again underlines: Minority rights represent a fundamental principle of free, democratic societies. Their protection is one of the basic principles of human rights. Member parties are called upon to have this discussion put on the agenda of the forthcoming International Conference on Human Rights in Vienna 1993. Women's human rights have to be discussed as a separate point on its agenda.

3. Safeguarding the rights of minorities means to observe the freedom of the individual as one of the core values of democracy. The SI principles maintain the central role of the freedom of the individual to be part of or

to depart from a cultural or religious minority. This remains a matter of individual choice, which must under no circumstances lead to disadvantages. The SI firmly believes in the strict separation of state and religion and rejects attempts to use religion as a pretext to curtail human rights. The SI welcomes efforts to address the problems of the communal and ethnic concepts with regard to land and water titles.

4. Democracy means the temporarily legitimated rule of the majority, on condition that the basic rights of minorities are safeguarded and certain procedures are accepted. There are principles which may not be recast by majority decision, in particular the observation of human rights, pluralism and tolerance.

Members of minorities must accept these values if they wish their differences to be acknowledged by others.

5. The peaceful resolution of all conflicts, within a democratic order, is an important goal of the SI.

Even critical clashes between different interests and harsh conflicts must be recognised as confrontations with a democratic opponent - not battles with an enemy.

This important distinction must be made, in particular when discussing minority rights.

6. The SI supports the initiatives of the CSCE, the Council of Europe and the UN. In particular, we welcome the decision of the CSCE not to view dealings with minorities exclusively as a national affair.

We will work towards the implementation of the principles of minority protection already formulated.

We wish to participate intensively in the discussion on the further development of International Law, which has reached a new level - the point of intersection between the primarily individual human rights codified until now and the question of up to what point and how group rights (such as collective rights for minorities) could and should be anchored in international community relations. We welcome various attempts at strengthening mechanisms at the international level, as well as early warning systems on violations of the rights of minorities, for example, the new High Commissioner on National Minorities within the CSCE, the Moscow CSCE rapporteur-mechanism on the human dimension, and the current work for an inter-American convention for the protection of indigenous people.



II. Universal human rights and the rights of minorities

7. There is still today no comprehensive legally binding charter of minority rights, though attempts at one are being made under the aegis of the Council of Europe and the UN. To date there is basically only one legally binding article, Article 27 of the 1966 UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The main existing authoritative charter of minority rights is Chapter IV of the seminal Copenhagen Document of the CSCE Conference of the Human Dimension (1990), which, though not strictly speaking a legal document, is politically and morally binding on the CSCE participating states, now 52 in number, and the additional protocol of the American Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Document of Copenhagen, if read in conjunction with the CSCE Geneva Report and the relevant paragraphs in the momentous Charter of Paris for a New Europe and the recent CSCE Helsinki Documents, offers an impressive list of minority rights and the obligation of states to respect/promote minority identity.

8. In accordance with the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, which was signed by the member states of the CSCE in November 1990, minority rights will have to be made compatible with the right of peoples to self-determination, as laid down in the United Nations Charter, the respect of territorial integrity of states, the non-modification of borders by the use of force, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state.

9. The right to self-determination of peoples has always been a basic concern of the social democratic movement. It has been the basis of the independence struggle of many lib-

eration movements in the twentieth century. The Socialist International is aware that a balance must be found between the three principles so often in conflict: the sovereignty of nations, the rights of minorities, and the basic rights of the individual. Parliamentary and social democracy are the internal means, international ties and institutions should be the external means to achieve this balance.

10. Minority problems can be intensified by social and material inequality, turning battles for economic distribution into ethnic and cultural conflicts. If it were possible to stem structural disadvantages and gross deficiencies, many possible conflicts between different groups could be averted.

11. The Socialist International does not aim to give the political reality of minorities a final definition, but the message must be clear: it is none other than non-discrimination, tolerance, and the protection of minority cultural, ethnic, and religious groups on the part of majorities or other minorities.

12. Minorities are characterised as representing a smaller portion of the population, having non-dominant status and in some respect differing from the total population: there are national, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious minorities and international minorities (such as the Sinti and the Roma). They can either be scattered or live relatively close together in one region.

13. The livelihood of many indigenous peoples, whose traditional way of life stands in contrast to the social norm of their surroundings, is often threatened by change and industrialisation.

Second or third generation immigrants, who wish to remain in the country which their parents entered as migrant workers, often exist in a quandary between the cultures of their families and the society in which they have grown up.

Girls are adversely affected because of patriarchal, religious and traditional attitudes of parents and others which restrict their personal freedoms.

14. The SI urges the international community to ratify and implement the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to this Covenant in order to improve the international legal protection of minorities by Articles 13 and 26, and especially Article 27 of this Covenant.

15. In principle, in accordance with the UN Pact on civil and political rights, members of minorities have the right, individually or as a group, to freely express, preserve and further develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities, free from all attempts to assimilate them against their will.

They must be able to exercise their human rights and basic liberties without any discrimination and in full equality in the eyes of the law.

It is unacceptable that violations of individuals' human rights are inflicted under the pretext of tradition by minority groups (e.g. wife-battering, forced marriages, sexual mutilation of girls).

16. The prohibition of any form of expulsion or forced resettlement is an indispensable prerequisite, as stated in the recent CSCE Helsinki Document signed by the CSCE participating states and in Article 13 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The SI will encourage any move for a United Nations Convention against any form of expulsion of minorities.

17. Minority protection requires active political steps: public programmes in fields like education, professional training; special measures to protect individuals, property and institutions of threatened minorities. In certain cases affirmative actions, such as minimum representation in elected bodies, can help to compensate for political discrimination. The freedom to organise politically must be guaranteed on the basis of the rule of law.

18. The rights of minorities to political participation can be legally or constitutionally guaranteed in many ways. Provisions in election laws can ensure that members of minorities or their organisations are represented in important political bodies. They must always be given the opportunity to organise themselves in political alliances or parties.

In a country where a minority is sizeable and forms the large majority by living compactly in a fairly distinct and integrated region, possibilities for self-administration may be considered so long as they do not jeopardise the rights of other minorities or of members of the majority.

19. Language is a key element in multilingual societies. The right to use their own language, names of people and places in private and public communication must be guaranteed. By the same token members of cultural and religious minorities should never be cut off from learning and using the official language of the majority culture. Other forms of cultural identification and expression, not only in the areas of the arts (literature, music, dance, drama and film) but also in the means of communication and religious expression (newspaper, books, radio and TV) must be open to minorities.

20. Members of minorities or their organisations must be given the legal or constitutional assurance of being able to institute proceedings in international courts of law.

III. Outlook

21. Internal peace among different ethnic or religious groups must become part of the new international order. Member states of supranational institutions have to accept this. States who want to establish any form of special relations to their kin groups in other states have to comply equally with the principle of sovereignty of that state and the requirements of international peace.

22. Democracy thrives on discourse. The integration of society, of the majority and minorities, can only be achieved through political dialogue whereby both sides must respect the basic principles of pluralistic democracy and the constitutional state.

23. The balance between central administration and regional authorities is a key element for future reform strategies. Political participation will become more and more linked to a deliberate policy of decentralisation.

24. The Socialist International, to which social democratic and socialist parties from all continents belong because they pursue common political goals, has set itself the task of regularly and formally dealing with problems concerning the rights and protection of minorities. Therefore, Council should consider establishing a group to compile information on issues and experiences and submit a report to every SI congress.

25. This Declaration will serve as the basic platform of the member parties of the Socialist International on all matters regarding the rights of minorities. Member parties agree to observe the principles laid down in this Declaration.

RESOLUTION

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Introduction

The Berlin Congress of the Socialist International is dedicated to addressing the challenges of a new historical epoch. This new epoch is one of revolutionary changes in the political, social and technological order.

The fall of the Berlin Wall marked the end of a long period of bitter ideological conflict and unprecedented suffering, and inaugurated the greatest expansion of freedom in history. The Socialist International, whose ideals of liberty, justice, and solidarity placed it at the forefront in the triumph of the democratic idea, now undertakes the complex task of sustaining the democratic revolution and ensuring that its benefits are extended to all.

The momentous events of 1989 in the now united city of Berlin continue to inspire those still fighting against oppression. Dictatorial regimes hold out defiantly in a number of countries. Torture, lawlessness and the violation of basic rights and freedoms persist in many countries struggling to make the transition to democracy. Democratic socialists must, therefore, remain steadfast in defending human rights wherever they are denied, and firm in our support for committed democrats in their efforts to build better societies.

The end of the cold war has brought into clearer focus a fast-changing and increasingly interdependent world in which the principles of democratic socialism are more vital than ever. The global economy has wrought wrenching structural changes and fostered a breed of raw capitalism indifferent to human values. These developments threaten fragile democracies and undermine the quality of life in industrialised nations.

The celebration of freedom's recent progress must be tempered by the fact that societies in most newly democratised nations are no more equitable than they were a decade ago. Governments face the enormous expectations of citizens, yet are constrained by the legacy of state-controlled economies, massive foreign debts, and the austerity requirements of international financial institutions. The temptation to use authoritarian means to modernise economies has already resulted in setbacks to democracy in some coun-

tries. Even within the industrialised democracies, democratic institutions and the good society are being eroded by the dislocation of jobs and people, and the increasing emphasis on commercial over human values. The current trend, if continued, would commit the vast majority of the world's people to a global underclass. Such an outcome is not only unjust, it is inimical to the survival of democracy and extremely dangerous in a world of ecological interdependence, waves of mass migration, and proliferating weaponry.

The Socialist International, with member parties in nearly every country on every continent, promotes better understanding and greater cooperation among nations that face common global problems. Moreover, our values link together all sectors of increasingly complex societies. Social democratic solidarity is based on a shared commitment to the fundamental principles reasserted and refined at the Stockholm Congress three years ago. It derives strength from diversity, both within and among nations, and provides an essential antidote to resurgent racism, ethnic discrimination and xenophobia.

Democracy as we define it - with political rights, social justice and equal economic opportunity - is the only form of democracy that will endure. While it is true that market mechanisms and competition are required for economic growth and development, it is also true that free markets do not ensure justice. Democratic socialism therefore recognises the state as a necessary servant of the people in guaranteeing a just and equitable society. Governments must be efficient and held accountable for their conduct through democratic debate and decision rooted in a strong and representative civil society. The preservation of rights - and the reconciling of individual rights with the collective rights of workers, women, ethnic groups and indigenous communities - depends on responsibility shared by governments and citizens.

As the world approaches the year 2000 one of the central tasks is to democratise economic change. The failure of communism is not the victory of pure capitalism. The past decade has provided ample proof that 'trickle down' does not happen, and that capitalism without oversight is

also prone to corruption and the degradation of the environment.

We therefore cannot allow the forces that have been crucial in the fight for freedom - labour unions, civic movements, rights groups - to be elbowed aside. They are indispensable instruments in building just and equitable societies. Any trade or economic integration agreement among nations must include a charter on labour, social and economic rights, and an accord on preserving the environment. Labour standards, in particular, must be established so that worker exploitation is not the primary focus of economic competition.

In addition, developmental aid from industrialised nations must not be contingent merely upon economic reform. It must also be linked to building democratic institutions, and it must address the basic needs of the poorest portions of populations, with special attention to women and the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples.

The Socialist International remains a leading voice in asserting the link between disarmament and development. As the prospects for achieving international peace improve, so do the opportunities for more constructive use of the world's resources. International organisations, particularly the United Nations, must redouble their efforts to resolve regional and civil conflicts, and to promote reductions in both nuclear and conventional weaponry.

The technological revolution has brought profound changes to the world, changes that extend well beyond the collapse of totalitarian ideology. We must meet the challenge and grasp the opportunities presented by that revolution to develop new strategies for achieving social democratic goals. We must shape policies that will adapt new information and broadcasting technology to the enhancement of education, literacy, worker skills, and civic participation. Young people, in particular, are seeking opportunities both to develop as individuals and to contribute to society. They must be given the necessary tools and training to realise their potential.

We democratic socialists, aware of the complex and daunting challenges presented by this new stage of history, are confident in our approach to the urgent tasks before us. Unwavering solidarity on behalf of freedom and fundamental rights everywhere, and long held commitments to justice, peace and human well-being, have been our strength in overcoming obstacles in the past. Today, the promise of freedom and the aspirations of all peoples for a better life depend on the establishment of lasting democracy. With renewed dedication and initiative, the Socialist International has set that as our goal.

Peace and Disarmament

The end of the cold war has promised to facilitate the building of a stable, just and secure world order in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and international law. The decades of East-West divide, of political, ideological, economic and military confrontation are over. Now it is time to seize the opportunity, to redirect our energies and our resources, to heal old wounds and to build a new order based on common security, on freedom, social justice and solidarity.

But while this is a time of promise and opportunities, it is also a time of instability and insecurity. As stated in the Helsinki Document, economic decline, social tension, aggressive nationalism, intolerance, xenophobia and ethnic conflicts threaten stability and peace. For the first time in decades we are witnessing warfare in Europe. New armed conflicts and massive use of force continue to occur, in flagrant violation of international law. Torture, executions and detention camps conjure up fatal memories. The ongoing murderous conflicts in the former Yugoslavia represent a serious danger of escalation into full-blown war.

It would be tragic for the whole international community if the opportunities created by the ending of the cold war were lost and clocks were turned back to old antagonisms, hatreds, national, ethnic and religious rivalries and armed conflicts. Our world cannot afford such a course. Therefore the Socialist International appeals to all governments, social movements and individuals to work together, beyond national, ethnic and religious barriers, to achieve peace, freedom and justice.

It is most welcome that the relations between the former rival powers have developed positively and become more peaceful and friendly. It is not only in the best interest of the peoples concerned, but of international society as a whole. Due to the special responsibilities of the great powers a number of regional conflicts have moved closer to political solutions, major reductions in military expenditure have come within reach, and the United Nations as well as other multilateral institutions have been revitalised.

The most concrete advances have been made in Europe, the continent that was severely hurt by cold war confrontation. The Berlin Wall has been torn down, Germany has been united, former members of the Soviet bloc have undergone profound democratic revolutions, being now among the family of free and democratic nations. The Baltic states have regained their independence, and in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, its successor states have committed themselves in their joint agreements to the same principles and provisions

as all the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) states.

Much of the groundwork for these fundamental changes was made by the adoption of *Ostpolitik* in the 1960s, the early phases of détente, and later by the process of the CSCE, designed to overcome the division of Europe on the basis of principles adopted together in Helsinki in 1975. The peoples of Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union played a critical role in this positive development.

The Charter of Paris, adopted in 1990, marks the end of the cold war and the opening of a new era in the continent, an era based on democracy, human rights and the rule of law. All states participating in the CSCE process have committed themselves to these same values and standards. The decisions made in the Helsinki follow-up conference in 1992 to strengthen the CSCE institutions and structures, to introduce CSCE peace-keeping activities, to underline the character of the CSCE as a regional arrangement to the United Nations, to establish a High Commissioner on National Minorities and to create a new forum for security cooperation are all indications of the joint political will to get rid of old animosities and build a new Europe.

The new international situation, mainly in Europe but also in other areas, urgently requires the assumption of new responsibilities by the international community. The new climate arising from the end of the cold war offers a dramatic opportunity for developing the partnership of existing institutions and security organisations into a comprehensive system for the maintenance of world peace and strengthening of mutual and collective security. The CSCE has also pointed out the need for a global view of security, linking détente and disarmament to comprehensive cooperation in order to contribute to development and to overcome ethnic and cultural barriers.

Now that the political confrontation is over, further moves to radical disarmament, reductions in military spending and the abolition of some old military structures, doctrines and equipment are a logical imperative, and the change in that direction has begun. Instead of nuclear deterrence, the arms race and overmilitarisation of our societies, the world now has to seek peace and security in the implementation of the ideas of common and comprehensive security. In order to achieve these goals we have to work for the strengthening of democracy in all countries, to initiate peace education programmes everywhere and to ensure the right to conscientious objection and an alternative service.

The Russian-American agreement to reduce radically the number of strategic nuclear weapons is a most welcome decision in the right direction. Thereby the two most heavily armed states come further down from the

are agreed within the START framework, and complement earlier well-grounded decisions to eliminate most categories of tactical nuclear weapons. While the Socialist International considers these decisions to be necessary and in accordance with the wishes and demands of the international community, we continue to demand further steps toward nuclear disarmament; still deeper cuts by the two; the prevention of a new anti-ballistic missile race; an end to the development of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) by the USA and Russia, and Arctic demilitarisation; a comprehensive nuclear test ban at last - now that the positive commitments by the governments of Russia and France as well as by the US Senate have brought that long overdue goal within reach; and the decision in the forthcoming Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference to make the non-proliferation regime a permanent and effective element in the overall arrangement guaranteeing nuclear disarmament. We now call on all nuclear weapon states to contribute to the strategic nuclear disarmament process by reducing their own capabilities and joining disarmament talks.

In Europe the most important disarmament agreement that has been reached is the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, negotiated within the CSCE framework. When implemented, the treaty will bring about the most radical cuts in major categories of conventional weapons. Although the agreement was negotiated in the final phases of the period characterised by the cold war confrontation, and although the political realities have changed with the democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, it is imperative that this treaty be implemented. We welcome the understanding reached in the consultations between the CIS, the former Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) states and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) about the implementation of the treaty and of the responsibilities of each. In this context, the Open Skies Treaty, signed in the framework of the CSCE, establishes a new set of confidence-building measures.

The disarmament impact of the CFE Treaty is most concrete in central Europe, where the withdrawal of the former Soviet troops to Russia complements the positive transformation of the security order. The positive political impact is felt elsewhere in Europe as well. However, since the independence of earlier Soviet republics new local and regional imbalances, can be the result. It is imperative that the transfer of troops and armaments to certain military districts in Russia and other CIS states does not create new security imbalances. Equally important as has been agreement on the withdrawal of ex-Soviet troops from Central Europe, is agreement without delay on their early, orderly and com-

plete withdrawal from the three independent Baltic republics. Only the removal of all grounds for security concerns and for military speculation can create a good basis for peaceful cooperation to the benefit of all. Therefore, the Socialist International favours regional stability arrangements to be agreed upon in the framework of the new forum for security cooperation of the CSCE.

The end of the period of global confrontation has created favourable conditions for all arms control and disarmament agreements. The treaty on the complete ban on all chemical weapons, the text of which has now finally been agreed, must be signed and ratified by all states and its implementation has to be started as soon as possible. All arms trade has to be curbed through national and international measures. As a first step a global information system, an arms transfer register, has to be established within the United Nations framework, which then can be developed into an effective verification agency. The most urgent challenge is to control in a most effective way all transfers related to nuclear materials, missile technologies, as well as to other sensitive technologies, whether applicable to weapons of mass destruction or so-called conventional weapons. The need to control and reduce arms transfers is underlined by recent experiences of escalation of regional conflicts due to unhampered arms transfers.

Regional agreements that were inhibited during the Cold War must now be pursued in order to contribute to the political settlement of regional conflicts. In this respect the CSCE experience encourages us to recommend the emulation of crisis prevention, confidence building and cooperation in other regions as well, especially where tensions have been at a high level. Regions such as the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, East and South-East Asia and Latin America might benefit from such experiences in the efforts to achieve stable peace, security and development. The Secretary General of the UN is quite right in emphasising that no corner of murderous misery must be neglected by the world community.

The time is now ripe to implement an international security regime based on the Charter of the United Nations. We want improved UN capabilities for anticipating and preventing conflicts, in particular the establishment of a global emergency system. We want the elaboration of a global law enforcement arrangement, in accordance with the UN Charter, focusing on the role of sanctions. The Socialist International strongly supports organisational and financial measures to strengthen the UN capabilities for preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peace-keeping as proposed by the UN Secretary General. The UN should play a larger role in emergency operations

for humanitarian assistance. In a new UN role, the earmarking of troops and material as on-call forces for the Secretary General should be contemplated. The Socialist International endorses the suggestion of the Secretary General of the UN for contributions from national military budgets to the creation of a UN Peacekeeping Fund.

While much progress has been made and can further be made by international disarmament agreements both globally and regionally, the Socialist International emphasises the importance of national decisions to curtail the levels of armaments and military spending as well as military R&D.

For several decades the world has spent enormous sums in military expenditure and missed the constructive alternative uses of those resources. It has been drifting further and further from the goals and ideals set down in the UN Charter of maintaining peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. The time has come to change direction, to convert our national societies and our international order from one dominated by military considerations to one designed to serve the peoples of the world. Realistic and effective conversion programmes have to be planned and implemented everywhere and at all levels of our societies, with full consciousness of certain difficulties in the transition period, but in awareness of the fact that civilian economy is not only designed to serve constructive purposes but also has a more positive employment impact than military production.

Funds saved through arms limitations must be used for bridging the North-South gap and halting the ongoing social and ecological disasters, the root causes of international conflicts. The rich countries have to commit themselves effectively to a level of development assistance of at least 0.7 per cent of their GNP. The developing countries would be better able to direct public expenditure to social needs and productive investments with debt-relief and improved development assistance from the North. The challenge in the building of a new world order is to link efforts aimed at disarmament, development and human rights in an effective manner. Common and comprehensive security is the key to the attainment of this goal. The Socialist International is participating in this effort with all its energy.

Human Rights

The Socialist International reaffirms that human rights and fundamental freedoms have universal validity and are an essential part of any new global order based on liberty and justice. Rights and freedoms must be respected among all peoples and nations, and there must be constant vigilance, and condemnation wherever they are vio-

lated or denied. The SI believes that the right of people to choose their governments through free and fair elections is fundamental. We call on the United Nations to demand that its member states grant to all their citizens the right to vote and to be elected.

At the same time, the Socialist International recognises the inter-relationship between various categories of rights and freedoms. Only a careful balance of political and civil rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other, can give a democratic system its full meaning and meet the needs of all sectors of society.

Since the formation of the Socialist International, access to adequate food, shelter, health care and education has greatly widened and is, in some countries, close to universal. International standards of civil and political freedom have been established and, despite continuing widespread violations, have contributed to greater freedom of political debate and improvements in the quality of life. The SI has made a significant contribution to these developments and will continue to do so.

At the Stockholm Congress in 1989 the Socialist International set out a detailed platform on human rights. It embraces civil, political, social and economic, as well as cultural rights - pertaining equally to women and men. Furthermore, the rights of future generations are integral to our vision. The platform stresses that human rights are indivisible and that when they are violated, democracy itself is endangered. It states that true social welfare cannot be attained where individuals are deprived of their human rights, that fundamental rights and freedoms must be respected in every society regardless of its degree of development. Moreover, where social inequality threatens peace, human rights are jeopardised.

Since then, political changes worldwide have given rise to new challenges in the field of human rights - demonstrating the dynamic relationship between individual and collective rights, and their interaction with other critical international issues, such as sustainable development, disarmament, environmental protection and social justice.

In many countries authoritarian regimes have been forced to give way to democratic forces and governments more respectful of human rights. But the progress of democratic transition has been uneven. While improvement in respect for human rights has been achieved in some countries, in others progress has been painfully slow.

Armed conflicts and the continued proliferation of weapons of all types still bring fear and horror to millions and are directly related to continuing widespread violations of human rights, especially the rights of children. Even as racism becomes recognised for the destructive force it is and steps are

taken to dismantle apartheid, new forms of racial tension, rooted in neo-fascism and xenophobia, are rising and finding expression in violence. In addition, poverty, disease, lack of social justice, and famine undermine progress on human rights. There are now over 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons, and mass migrations of people within and beyond national boundaries. These challenges must be confronted.

The forthcoming United Nations Second World Conference on Human Rights, to be held in Vienna in June 1993, presents a major opportunity for promoting human rights. In this regard, we welcome the political will expressed by the members of the Non-Aligned Movement in their Jakarta Declaration of September 1992 to contribute fully to this important conference and help it to 'address all aspects of human rights on the basis of universality, indivisibility, impartiality and non-selectivity'.

The SI urges the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference to focus particularly on the implementation and observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other conventions and covenants. We believe that all violations of human rights must be rigorously investigated, and appropriate sanctions implemented against perpetrators of abuse. The UN Conference must also consider ways of strengthening human rights mechanisms at the global and regional levels. The effectiveness of multilateral, governmental and non-governmental action in protecting and promoting human rights must be improved. All governments must be held accountable for their human rights records, and human rights must be a key factor in determining the level of economic and political relations between nations.

Methods for enhancing international cooperation for cultural, social and economic rights must be further developed. The root causes of human rights violations must be examined, and measures to improve the situation of the most vulnerable and reduce the gap between the rich and poor must remain a priority.

The rights of asylum seekers and refugees must be protected. The SI calls for an amendment to the Geneva Convention on Refugees, and for member states to implement legislation giving women who are persecuted because they are women the right to asylum and refugee status. The SI appeals to the United Nations to implement special care and assistance programmes for women refugees and displaced persons who, together with their children, constitute 80 per cent of the refugees and displaced persons in the world.

The SI recognises the rights of minorities and ethnic and indigenous groups in their desire to preserve their cultural, linguistic or religious identity.

The SI calls on the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) to make special efforts to eradicate illiteracy. We believe that since more than six out of every ten illiterate persons in the world are women, targeted adult education programmes for women must be supported.

The SI also calls on the United Nations to include in its Charter for Human Rights a provision that no person be persecuted, criminalised or discriminated against because of his or her sexual orientation. We also appeal to all member parties to comply with UN Resolution 1990/65 which concerns 'Discrimination against people infected with HIV or people with AIDS' and to introduce relevant anti-discriminatory legislation. And we call on all member parties to denounce human rights violations such as rape, sexual abuse and sexual harassment. Perpetrators of such crimes must be brought to justice irrespective of their status and whether they are civilians or military.

The SI reiterates its total rejection of the death penalty and again calls on its member parties to work towards the abolition of this practice wherever it still exists.

The struggle for human rights is the task of this generation and every generation to come. To facilitate this struggle, we believe that a comprehensive programme of information and education about human rights and how to defend them should be disseminated in all countries, particularly among the young. The SI supports all initiatives to assist this process.

Europe

Progress towards greater European cooperation supported by socialist and social democratic parties continues, amid debate and pending the outcome of momentous decision-making processes in some countries.

The destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 served as a powerful symbol of the end of the physical divisions in the continent which were created by the cold war. The demise of Soviet communism has meant that the ideological battles which absorbed so much attention and so many of the resources of Europe for so long are happily today things of the past.

The consequent opportunities offered to the cause of democratic socialism must be seized.

In eastern and western Europe some of the money that was spent in military defence is now available for productive investment and social goals.

The focus of European cooperation remains the European Community whose continuing development, far from preventing progress towards the ideals of our International, provides a framework for them. The European ideal of society, avoiding as it does the

stifling presence of a too-powerful state on the one hand and a sense of forced individualism on the other, is one which is embraced by democratic socialists.

The driving force for the establishment of the European Community was the desire of its founders, many of them socialists, to make the prospect of war between its members impossible. Such an objective is no less valid today for being so deeply rooted.

The structures of the European Community, while still far short of perfection, do offer fora for democratic debate and decision-making. In such a context, the European Parliament to whose development socialists have made a large contribution, must play an increasingly important role in decision-making by the member nations.

The socialist vision of the European Community must be that of combining economic efficiency with cooperation and social justice.

Within its present boundaries the European Community has an obligation to deal sensitively with the least privileged sectors of society and allot development funds to its least developed regions.

Farmers depend on the resources of the European Community and can expect it to assist them in the preservation of their livelihood. Those industrial workers who have suffered from the declining fortunes of the enterprises where they worked must also benefit from European Community aid.

The European Community must also maintain an open attitude to its partners in the European Economic Area and welcome as full members all those countries who accept its objectives and the means to achieve them.

No less crucial is the European Community's attitude towards eastern Europe. The already appreciable flow of economic aid to the countries of that region must be maintained.

At the same time the more advanced western European states must refrain from any activity likely to exacerbate the already serious clash of nationalisms in the East.

For the past the states of eastern Europe must be encouraged to maintain and not destroy those links amongst themselves which can further their political cooperation and economic prosperity.

As they push forward along the path towards further cooperation European countries of East and West will be wise to remember their global responsibilities towards the poorer regions of the world. The demands of international solidarity - not to mention powerful motives of self-interest - dictate that trade and aid policies negotiated with developing countries must be fair and generous.

Europe will continue to be a pole of attraction for immigrants from less privileged countries. This phenomenon has already generated xenophobia and racial tensions. Socialists, in

Europe as elsewhere, are committed to fighting in the most unyielding way against racism of all kinds.

Central and Eastern Europe

At the Socialist International's last Congress, held in Stockholm in June 1989, it was already apparent that communism would collapse entirely in Europe. What was not discernible at the time, however, in all its details, was the large number of problems which the communist system would leave behind.

At the party leaders' conference in Sydney (March 1991) and at the Council meeting in Santiago (November 1991) as well as on many other occasions, the SI discussed these questions and issued detailed statements about them.

We welcome and support the progress made with regard to the establishment and development of democratic structures in Central and eastern Europe, i.e. in the countries formerly under communist rule, and we reaffirm that the pluralistic democracies which are in the process of developing must be protected from, and defended against, threats from all directions. In this context, it is also important that principles of law and order are applied by the inhabitants of the countries concerned when reappraising their own past.

The member parties of the SI are willing to engage in an intensive exchange of views, in a dialogue and in cooperation with all the democratic forces in these young democracies.

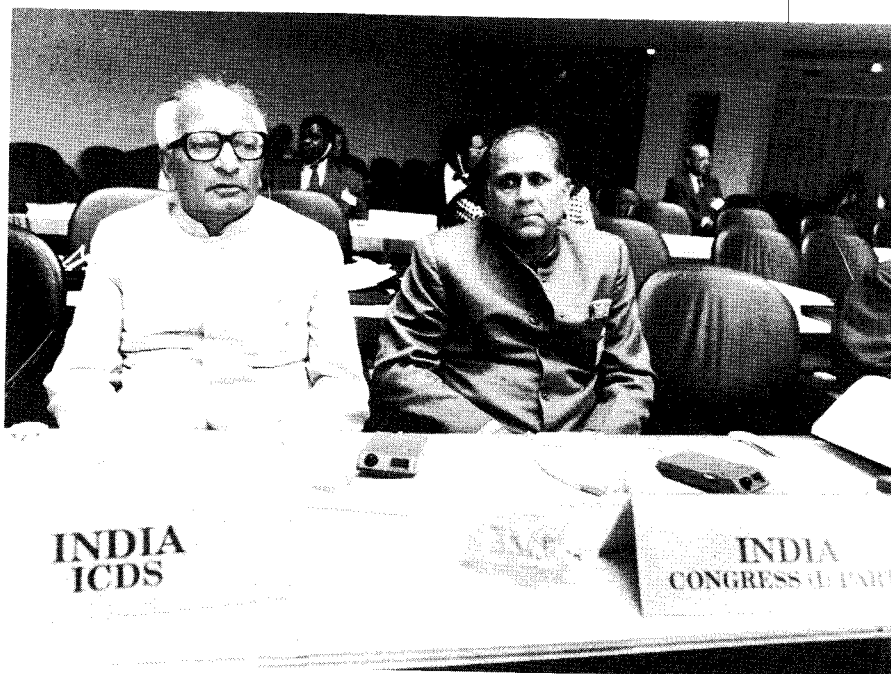
We know that the stability of these democracies - and this applies in particular to the states of the former Soviet Union - will depend to a large extent on the success of their economic efforts.

In this context we consider the conversion of the military industry in the former Warsaw Pact countries and the complete withdrawal of the former Soviet troops a necessity, which helps to pave the way for democratic reform and political stability.

There is a need for, amongst other things, coordinated support for the reform efforts made, not only through providing financial aid but also through the exchange of know-how and experience and offering training opportunities for managers. In addition, the aid promises made by the international community will have to be put into practice and economic cooperation will have to be intensified.

However, the governments of the countries whose economies are currently being transformed from central planning to market economy structures should realise that fair income distribution, social security, the achievements of the welfare state and strong democratic trades unions are indispensable to the stability and functioning of such a system.

Since the early days of the labour movement, the Socialist International has had to deal with the problems and risks of nationalism. It has learned how important the historical and cultural identity of a nation is, and how important it is to protect the rights of specific ethnic groups, and the SI vehemently defends the right of nations to self-determination, laid down in



the Charter of the United Nations; however, now as in the past, the SI categorically rejects nationalism which leads to hatred, discord and war.

The Socialist International reaffirms the necessity of combining the right to self-determination with strict respect for internationally established and recognised borders, and no modification of those borders by the use of force. In this connection the Socialist International supports the position of the Czechoslovak Social Democrats who are critical of the separation of the country without a referendum.

Emphasising one's own identity and ethnic origin must under no circumstances lead to violence or to the violation of fundamental and human rights.

Against this background, we are deeply concerned in particular about the developments in the former Yugoslavia, and we are outraged at the manifest war crimes committed there.

We appeal to all the parties and persons involved in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, in particular to the leadership of Serbia, to abstain from using force. War crimes and crimes against humanity which are now being committed must be punished by legal proceedings in court. Detention centres must be immediately opened to inspection by the International Red Cross, and institutions resembling concentration camps must be closed at once.

Whilst every possibility of ending this bloody war as quickly as possible should be carefully studied, the Socialist International expresses its hope that a military intervention can be avoided in this context; instead, it supports the use of peace-keeping forces of the United Nations, the implementation of the recommendations of the London Conference, the consistent enforcement without exception of the embargo imposed by the United Nations as a means to counteract military escalation, and political solutions as a basis for preventing further military escalation in the Balkans.

It is particularly important that intensified preventive crisis management be used by the UN to prevent the war from spreading to Kosovo.

The tragedy in Yugoslavia has thus far forced over two million people to become refugees. With this in mind, the Socialist International appeals to all European governments to uphold humanitarian traditions and show solidarity with regard to the admission of refugees. In this context, they should work out an equitable system for the admission of refugees, who should be enabled to return to their home countries as early as possible.

The dramatic developments in Yugoslavia pose the risk that violent conflict might spread to other parts of Europe and the former Soviet Union. In this context, it is particularly important to ensure the proper carrying out of the disarmament agreements

and to prevent proliferation of nuclear arms.

Now that the precarious stability of the cold war era has been replaced by a period of equally precarious instability following the demise of communism, the Socialist International calls for the development of a defensive pan-European security system to guarantee security and stability for the European nations on the basis of common principles.

Middle East

The Socialist International champions the peaceful living together of all peoples of the Middle East. This requires the observance of the following principles: willingness for peaceful conflict resolution, respect for human rights, and commitment to pluralism in political, ethnic and religious questions.

The Socialist International congratulates the Israel Labour Party and MAPAM on their historic victory in the June 23 election.

The Socialist International welcomes the new mood and impetus provided by the new Israeli government for the global peace process instituted with the Madrid initiative.

We welcome with great satisfaction the active participation and clear willingness of the Palestinians and Arab States in the endeavour to make the peace talks succeed.

The acceptance by all interested parties, including the League of Arab States and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 provides a basis for the success of the peace negotiations.

We welcome the measures taken by the Israeli government to build confidence internationally, among Arab countries, and among the Palestinians in the occupied territories, including freezing of some settlement and road-building activity, cancelling of some deportations, and release of political prisoners.

We reaffirm our opposition to settlements in the occupied territories and look forward to further confidence-building measures from all sides, since increased confidence in the peace process among Palestinians and all others is essential for the success, not simply of the negotiations, but of any agreement that might be reached.

All interim arrangements, including confidence-building measures and Palestinian autonomy, should be regarded as part of a process leading to permanent arrangements and peace.

We believe that for any agreement to have a chance of success, it must have as its basis an end to all states of war in the region, security for the state of Israel within recognised borders, and acceptance of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future.

A peace agreement must include, well, an end to internal conflict and external intervention in Lebanon where a sister party is active, and full restoration of that country's unity and sovereignty.

In order to achieve peace in the Middle East, there is need for full support by the world community, including the European Community, which has shown how historic enmities can give way to economic and political cooperation.

A peace agreement will provide an essential opportunity for the countries of the Middle East to end the arms race, to use their resources positively and equitably for the construction of their economies, the defeat of poverty, and for cooperation to use the resources of the region for the common good.

The Socialist International, with its Israeli and Arab member parties, will - as it has in the past - continue to make an active and constructive contribution towards the elimination of tension, the establishment of peace and good-neighbourliness in the Middle East, and the assertion of the paramount importance of affirming and honouring human rights and democracy throughout the region.

The Socialist International calls for political pluralism and respect for human rights, particularly the rights of minorities throughout the region. We condemn all human rights violations by the regime of Iran. In Iraq, the plight of the Kurds and Shias suffering repression continues to be a major cause for concern. In Turkey steps to enhance the cultural rights of the Kurdish people are welcome. Further strengthening of democratic and human rights is necessary. The SI reiterates that it is against all kinds of violence, including terrorism.

The Kurdish people in Iraq recently held peaceful, free general elections for a regional assembly and a local government. This first democratic experience needs to be supported by the SI in line with the spirit of the XIX Congress. The Kurdish people's right to federative status in a democratic united Iraq must be supported for a lasting peace.

The Socialist International reiterates its longstanding commitment to the need to find a just, viable and lasting solution to the dispute in Cyprus. We note the recent efforts of the UN Secretary General in this regard. We call on the world community, including the European Community, to actively support a solution securing the fundamental democratic principles and the human rights of all communities, based on the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Not even a year ago, Latin America and the Caribbean presented an optimistic political picture: nearly all military regimes and dictatorships had disappeared as a result of their inability to master the severe economic and social problems in their countries and because of popular demands for the establishment of a democratic system as the only way to promote sustainable development.

Democratisation raised expectations and offered opportunities for ensuring freedom and well-being. There was a sense that a process which could bring about lasting changes was under way. Although the political structures and the economic, social and cultural institutions of most of the countries in the region were flawed by major deficiencies and imperfections, civilian governments were determined to undertake the necessary reforms in order to harmonise the exercise of freedom with the collective need for progress and prosperity. Growing solidarity and cooperation between elected governments, and the opening for greater citizen participation in the political process, enhanced the prospects for strengthening democratic culture and consolidating democracy.

Unfortunately, old vices and new dangers now threaten to undermine the democratic process. Coups in Surinam, Haiti and Peru; institutional crises in Brazil and Venezuela; continued threats to peace in Colombia and Central America; increases in violations of human rights; the expansion of narcotic trafficking and drug-related violence; weak judicial systems and pervasive corruption; declining standards of living and the unabated spread of poverty - these are phenomena that indicate the fragility of democracy in the region.

A major obstacle to the strengthening of democracy is the continuing economic crisis. Governments must struggle to control inflation, reduce high unemployment, balance budgets, and generate economic growth. Yet they are nearly overwhelmed by the weight of foreign debts, conditions imposed by international financial agencies, falling commodity prices, and the protectionism of the industrialised nations. Moreover, radically neo-liberal adjustment programmes and privatisation policies have resulted in severe reductions in spending on education, health care, housing and other desperately needed social services.

As a result, popular expectations are not being met and too many citizens are losing faith in the political process. Political parties have experienced a marked decline in membership and influence, governmental institutions have weakened, and voter abstention has risen. This deterioration has



opened the door to manipulation by anti-democratic forces and has already led to severe setbacks in some countries.

Matters have been complicated further by the global rise of a neo-conservative form of liberalism rooted in the Reagan-Thatcher era.

In view of this overall situation, the Socialist International recognises the need in Latin America and the Caribbean for redoubled efforts on the part of our members for strengthening democratic institutions and building a more viable civil society. Citizens of the region have shown they are willing to participate in the democratic process, but they must be provided with the means and the opportunity. The state must be made more responsive to the needs of the citizen in line with the aim of creating more efficient and effective government.

The Socialist International also realises the need for greater and sustained solidarity in defence of democratic systems and fundamental human rights in the region, as well as the creation of programmes to ensure economic, social, and cultural rights.

In this regard, the Socialist International calls for the full restoration of the constitutional order and respect for human rights in Haiti and Peru. It also calls for the full respect of the constitution regarding the presidential mandate in Venezuela and supports the reform process undertaken by the government. In El Salvador, the Socialist International recognises the achievements of the Peace Accord and encourages all sides to make every effort to ensure full compliance. In Guatemala, the International calls for redoubled efforts to achieve a peace agreement and greater respect for human rights. In Puerto Rico, we exhort the US government to continue efforts in favour of the right to self-determination in the context of decolonisation and sovereignty.

The continuing economic crisis, in turn, demands greater cooperation between governments of the region toward regional economic integration. There must also be more coordination in formulating a common approach to improving the terms of global trade and reducing the burden of the foreign debt, and we must ensure that

international trade agreements defend the rights of workers and strengthen the protection of the environment.

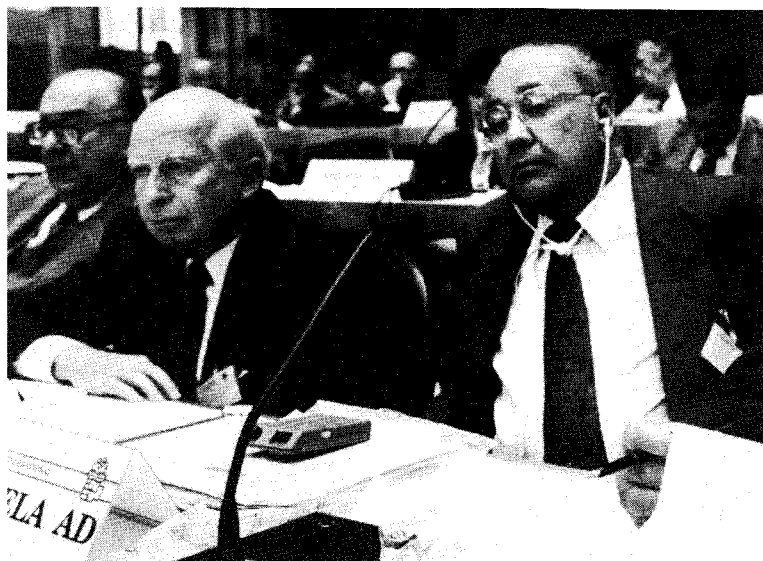
Our message of freedom and social justice as the pillars of democracy must be made clear throughout the region, and the message must be strong at all levels of society.

Africa

Since our last Congress, there have been significant advances. Domination by authoritarian regimes has been rejected in many countries. Many new political parties have been formed, the press and other media have begun to have greater influence on governments, power has begun to be decentralised and civil society strengthened. Elections have been held recently in Cape Verde, Zambia, Benin, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Seychelles, Burkina Faso and Congo. Multi-party elections are scheduled in Angola, Lesotho, Ghana and Togo. The process of electoral planning is also under way in Mozambique, Cameroon, Kenya and Zaire. Moreover, following free and fair elections, Namibia is now an independent, democratic nation.

Progress, however, has been uneven. The SI condemned the unconstitutional manner in which the final stage of the Algerian elections was indefinitely postponed. It is urgent that the democratic process can resume, otherwise the influence of Islamic extremists will continue to grow. In countries such as Malawi opposition parties remain banned and human rights violations continue. Serious threats to the emerging African democracies remain - from the military, ethnic conflict, secessionism, poverty and the growth of religious and other forms of fundamentalism. The SI expresses a special concern with the situation in Togo, where the security of persons has to be ensured and the democratic agenda respected.

In South Africa the SI welcomes the resumption of talks between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk. We call on the South African government to take action to prevent a repetition of the events at Boipatong and in Ciskei. We also call on the South Afri-



can government to ensure that the process of democratisation encompasses all the homelands. The SI believes that for the CODESA negotiations to succeed, the South African government must convince the people of South Africa of its genuine commitment to impartial policing and law and order enforcement, effective action to end violence and swift transition to democratic and non-racial rule. We believe that our friends, the ANC, have shown great patience and courage by their conduct in a very volatile situation.

The SI also calls on the international community to impose maximum pressure on South Africa to ensure that the South African government understands that, if it fails to take the necessary action to demonstrate the required good faith, those economic and other sanctions which have been lifted may have to be reimposed.

The current crisis in the Horn of Africa is unparalleled in the region's history. In Somalia the continuing conflict has resulted in countless deaths, thousands of civilians injured, hundreds of thousands displaced, and the prospect of an entire generation of young people starving to death.

The SI believes that a comprehensive response from the international community is urgently needed. We call on the United Nations and the international community to respond generously to the immediate needs for food, shelter and seeds, as well as the longer-term needs for rebuilding society. The SI demands that all parties to the conflict in Somalia agree to an immediate ceasefire. International (if necessary, military) guarantees for the safe transport and distribution of food, medical and other aid as a prerequisite for effective international assistance, and the political will for peaceful conflict resolution are also required.

The SI believes that the possibility

of convening a conference of reconciliation between the parties involved in the conflict in Somalia must be fully explored as soon as possible.

In Liberia, Sudan, Ethiopia and elsewhere war and civil strife continue to undermine development efforts. Declining prices for the continent's main exports and a large debt burden pose further obstacles. Many governments have cut public spending in their efforts to repay debts, and this has seriously undermined infrastructure, health, education and services crucial for development.

Plans to stabilise and improve the prices of primary products are urgently required. These must be complemented by full implementation of the original Trinidad Terms and additional measures to significantly reduce or cancel foreign debts. Ways of improving the effectiveness of aid and supporting the work of non-governmental organisations must be explored.

The SI believes that African governments have a critical role to play in the development process - by following sound policies for economic management, fostering the growth of mixed economies, instituting democratic accountability, respecting human rights, devoting increased resources and attention to tackling poverty - and in particular by paying special attention to the needs of women, youth and children, and encouraging initiatives for regional political, economic and social cooperation.

Throughout much of Southern and Eastern Africa hopes of accelerating economic growth have been dashed by the widespread drought which has killed tens of thousands and destroyed the livelihoods of millions more. The SI notes with great concern that widespread poverty has led to a rapid increase of prostitution among adolescents of both sexes and among women. Over 40 million people in 16 countries currently face famine and the

effects of drought are undermining already difficult economic and political reform efforts. The SI calls on donors to honour their pledges to emergency appeals for the region and for urgent social programmes in support of households headed by women and of children orphaned through the rapid spread of AIDS.

The SI welcomes the United Nations Peace Plan for Western Sahara. We are however concerned about the delay in implementing the referendum. We urge the Secretary General of the UN to redouble his efforts for the full and rapid implementation of the UN Peace Plan. We appeal to the Moroccans and the Polisario Front to fully respect the ceasefire agreement, and actively support the efforts of the United Nations. The SI reiterates its support for the right to self-determination for the people of Western Sahara.

The task in Africa is to establish effective multi-party structures, regular and transparent elections, freedom from persecution and violence, genuine freedom of the press and real power for grassroots organisations.

The SI has a longstanding involvement in the struggle against apartheid, dictatorship, economic oppression, injustice and hunger. Our commitment to Africa was further strengthened at our historic meeting in Senegal in May 1992. The shared social democratic vision among many long-established and new political forces in Africa, and the significant role of social democracy in securing freedom, human rights, democratic change, economic progress, and the full and equal participation of women in the shaping of democratic processes must be strengthened. We call on all SI member parties to strengthen their efforts to achieve these aims.

Asia-Pacific

The importance of the Asia-Pacific region in the global economy has never been greater. Economic growth rates have been amongst the highest in the world and trade has boomed. Yet this growth has not been equitably distributed among the countries of the region, much less within their respective societies.

Along with such economic development the Asia-Pacific region is entering a new era of post-cold war détente and regional cooperation. Recent normalisation of relations between South Korea and China is a clear illustration of such a trend.

The regional outlook, however, is clouded by widespread abuses of political and human rights. Despite the end of the cold war and the closing of many foreign military bases in the area, there is a growing distrust among governments, compounded by the risk of a regional arms race.

On the positive side we hail the

emergence of multi-party democracy in Nepal, but in many other countries the news is of continuing assaults on democracy.

In China, the world's most populous country, those who were responsible for the killings in Tiananmen Square have neither stepped down nor shown remorse for their action, and the government continues to deny basic political rights and civil liberties.

Nevertheless, continuous efforts should be made by the countries of the region to urge China to keep to the present course of open and reforming policies.

As regards Mongolia, where the democratisation process is slowing down, more international support is needed to accelerate this process.

In the Korean peninsula, despite growing concern over nuclear issues, positive developments are taking place for the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas. The international community, especially the neighbouring countries, need to make a concerted effort to facilitate this process.

We welcome the recent positive developments in Cambodia, especially the strenuous efforts of the UNTAC to bring back peace to this war-torn country. We reaffirm our commitment to helping the Cambodian people implement a peaceful and democratic election under the auspices of the UNTAC.

With regard to Vietnam and Laos, we are concerned about the absence of human rights and political freedom in these countries.

Electorate rights have been denied or restricted in Burma/Myanmar. Thailand has just emerged from military dominance as the result of a heroic struggle by citizens last May. The occupation of East Timor by Indonesian troops continues, an occupation which has cost the lives of some 200,000 Timorese and which led to the most recent massacre of scores of peaceful demonstrators in Dili last year.

In Pakistan in August 1990 the elected government of Benazir Bhutto was ended with the aid of General Beg. New elections were stolen from the Pakistan People's Party. In Singapore the government continues to be intolerant of the democratic opposition and of freedom of expression. In Sri Lanka the security forces are charged with multiple human rights abuses. Afghanistan continues to be plagued by civil conflict, intolerance and human rights abuses.

In Malaysia, democratic and human rights have been systematically eroded by the Mahathir regime. The Internal Security Act permits imprisonment without trial and the leader of the opposition, Lim Kit Siang, has been suspended from parliament in circumstances in which his party is effectively silenced.

International support must be provided to the Fiji Labour Party in its continuing struggle for a review of the undemocratic, discriminatory, feudal-

istic and authoritarian constitution of Fiji which was imposed on the people by the military regime.

In the Philippines, where democracy was reborn in February 1989, only continued support for, and the political participation of, people's organisations will guarantee the empowerment of people and meaningful democracy.

We hail a decision made by the French government to stop underground nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll, which had long been a serious environmental and security concern for the people of the Asia-Pacific region. We strongly hope that no more nuclear testing takes place in this region.

A regional arms race must not be allowed to proceed and people's rights must be restored. Consequently the Socialist International declares its firm resolve to redouble its efforts in the Asia-Pacific region in the cause of peace, effective democracy and the advancement of democratic socialism. It calls on its member parties worldwide to assist the democratic forces in the region which are engaged in that cause.

International Institutions

Today we are faced with global challenges that can be addressed only through international cooperation. Securing peace, sustainable development and democracy requires that nations, in their common interest, establish an effective system of global governance and security.

The end of the cold war has freed minds and resources, and provides an opportunity for building a safer and more just world. Nevertheless, the road ahead is fraught with dangers and uncertainties.

While the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro represented an enlightened step forward in global cooperation, the current situations, especially in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, indicate a lack of foresight among the nations of the world and an inability to respond in a timely manner to developing human tragedies.

In an increasingly interdependent world, we must find new ways to live - both within our own countries and on a global level - that are socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. Only by reinforcing a sense of common responsibility and solidarity can humankind survive and realise its potential.

Such a new world order can be achieved only on the basis of new concepts of security and sovereignty. The security of nations must depend less on the power of weapons, and more on solutions negotiated in an atmosphere of mutual respect. Sovereignty can no longer be asserted in isolation, but in the context of greater

international integration which guarantees national self-expression.

The old world order, based on the exercise of power, must now give way to a new order in which nations respond to the pressing needs of humankind. Clearly, the role of the United Nations must be central if that goal is to be achieved.

The UN has made significant strides in the areas of peace and security and its achievements around the globe in the last three years must be recognised. But there is much to be done to improve the work of the UN in preventing conflicts and resolving them once they have broken out. The UN has also developed important initiatives for addressing economic and social issues, but new and more effective programmes are needed.

For the UN to be able to meet the challenges it has assumed, nations must see to it that the body is properly funded. The human and material resources freed by the end of the Cold War must be channelled into international cooperation. The peace dividend must not be wasted.

New thinking must also be applied to the administration of the UN. To ensure that the UN is not dominated, as it has been in the past, by the world's most powerful nations, a more democratic framework must be implemented, in which all nations are both accounted for and held accountable.

Strengthening the UN and other key international and regional organisations, to provide the foundation for a new system of global security and governance, requires far-sighted and effective political leadership. The Socialist International, with its long tradition of international cooperation and solidarity, is committed to being at the forefront in achieving a more secure and democratic world.

Willy Brandt and our International

This Congress, meeting in a Berlin united once again after decades of division, salutes its outgoing President, Willy Brandt. He was once the mayor of this historic city, a man who defended it when it was under threat. He remains the permanent symbol of its liberty.

Willy Brandt's name will for ever be linked to the history of our Socialist International. During his years in the presidency he displayed the vision, the wisdom and the determination of a great leader. He has been the creative force which planted and nurtured the ideals of social democracy and solidarity throughout the globe. He leaves us a solid legacy upon which we will continue to build.

We honour him for his work and we render him our heartfelt thanks.

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Mitsuo Tomizuka
Kenichi Yamada
Tsuneto Kobayashi
Masaru Hayakawa
Manae Kubota
Yoshito Sengoku
Kosue Kitsukawa
Hisao Ikeuchi

LATVIA

Latvian Social Democratic
Workers' Party, LSDSP
Uldis Berzins
Aivars Bernans
Peter Termanis

LEBANON

Progressive Socialist Party,
PSP
Walid Jumblatt
Doueid Yaghi
Nora Jumblatt

LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Social
Democratic Party, LSDP
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Vytenis Andriukaitis
Audrys Rudys
Birute Vesaite
Irma Kliciuviene
Raimonda Pauraite
Daiva Jakaite
Kazimieras Antanavicius
Andreas Bylaitis

LUXEMBOURG

Luxembourg Socialist
Workers' Party,
LSAP/POSL
Ben Fayot
Raymond Becker

MALAYSIA

Democratic Action Party,
DAP
Chen Man Hin
Kua Kia Soong
Gooi Hock Seng

MALTA

Malta Labour Party
Alfred Sant
Leo Brincat

MAURITIUS

Mauritius Labour Party
Navin Ramgoolam
Veena Ramgoolam
Anwar Bhayat

MOROCCO

Socialist Union of Popular
Forces, USFP
Larbi Jaidi
Aicha Belarbi
Mohamed Elyazghi

NETHERLANDS

Labour Party, PvdA
Wim Kok
Piet Zelissen
Jan Marinus Wiersma
Bert Koenders
Dick Toornstra
Rinke van den Brink

NORWAY

Norwegian Labour Party,
DNA
Gro Harlem Brundtland
Thorvald Stoltenberg
Thorbjørn Jagland
Siri Bjerke
Frode Forfang
Britt Schultz

PORTUGAL

Socialist Party, PS
António Guterres
José Lamego
António Almeida Santos
João Proença
António José Seguro

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rican Independence
Party, PIP
Rubén Berríos
Pedro Parrilla

SAN MARINO

San Marino Socialist Party,
PSS
Fiorenzo Stolfi
Marina Faetanini

SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal
Mamadou Faye
Cheikh Tidiane Dièye
Alioune Badara Diagne
Mata Sy Diallo
Aminata Mbengue

SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers'
Party, PSOE
Felipe González
Alfonso Guerra
José María Benegas
Elena Flores
Raimón Obiols
Miguel Angel Martínez
Luis Planas
Rafael Estrella
Leopoldo Torres

SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic
Party, SAP
Ingvar Carlsson
Mona Sahlin
Birgitta Dahl
Pierre Schori
Mats Hellström
Margareta Winberg
Conny Fredriksson
Monica Andersson
Enn Kock

SWITZERLAND

Social Democratic Party of
Switzerland
Ursula Ulrich-Voegtlin
Jean Ziegler
Heinrich Buchbinder

TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic
Assembly, RCD
Chedly Neffati
Hechmi Amri
Hedi Limam
Emna Aouij
Abjeljelil Fazaa

TURKEY

Social Democratic Populist
Party, SHP
Erdal İnönü
Türkan Akyol
Erol Agagil
Ercan Karakas
Üstün Küseföglu
Algan Hacaloglu
Etem Ete

USA

Democratic Socialists of
America, DSA
Bogdan Denitch
Motl Zelmanowicz
Jo-Ann Mort
Jose LaLuz
Penny Schantz
Christine Riddiough
Michael Lighty

USA

Social Democrats, SDUSA
Don Slaiman
Joel Freedman
Rita Freedman
Bruce Miller

VENEZUELA

Democratic Action, AD
Humberto Celli
Carlos Canache Mata
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli
José Francisco Sucre
Ixora Rojas
Fernando Báez Duarte

CONSULTATIVE PARTIES

ALBANIA

Social Democratic Party of Albania, PSD
Skënder Gjinushi
Haxhi Aliko
Paskal Milo
Shaquir Roxhvelaj
Valbona Veterniku

ALGERIA

Socialist Forces Front, FFS
Hocine Ait Ahmed
Amokrane Cherifi

CAPE VERDE

African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV
Pedro Pires
Ramos Arnaldo Andrade

CHILE

Party for Democracy, PPD
Sergio Bitar
José Goñi

CHILE

Socialist Party, PS
Ricardo Núñez
Isabel Allende
Hugo Calderón

COLOMBIA

Liberal Party, PL
José Blackburn
César Pérez
Carlos Espinosa
Rodrigo Garavito
Luis Carlos Villegas
Armando Estrada
Rodrigo Turbay
Miguel Motoa
Luis Fernando Londoño
Juan Guillermo Angel

FIJI

Fiji Labour Party
Navin Maharaj
Kushma Maharaj

HAITI

Party of the National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM
Victor Benoit
Jean-Claude Bajeux

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI
Laurent Gbagbo
Gnoangui Dore Valérie
Mamadou Konate
Jules Gnadjué

MONGOLIA

Mongolian Social Democratic Party
Bat-Erdeneen Batbayar
Adiyagin Ganbaatar
Puntsagiin Ulaanhuu
Rincingnin Narangerel
Losolyn Bjambadgargal

NEPAL

Nepali Congress Party
K P Bhattarai
Khem Raj Shedain
S S Rana
Arjun Thapa
Mr Pokhrel
P L Singh

PAKISTAN

Pakistan People's Party, PPP
Syed Yousuf Raza Gillani
Syed Zafar Ali Shah
Zafar Ali Laghari
Jahangir Badar

PERU

Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
Alán García
José Ore León

PHILIPPINES

Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP
Chaco Molina
Elizabeth Angsioco

ST KITTS-NEVIS

St Kitts-Nevis Labour Party
Roselyn E Hazelle

ST LUCIA

St Lucia Labour Party, SLP
Julian Hunte

TUNISIA

Popular Unity Movement, MUP
Ahmed Chenoufi
Ali Mahdhaoui
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URUGUAY

People's Government Party, PGP
Hugo Batalla
Yamandú Fau
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OBSERVER PARTIES

BENIN

Democratic Union of Forces for Progress, UDFP
Abraham Zinzindohoue

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP
Abel Goumba
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COLOMBIA

Democratic Alliance, M-19
Antonio Navarro
Rafael Vergara

HUNGARY

Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSZDP
Endre Borbély
Ilona György
Lazlo Kapolyi

HUNGARY

Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP
Gyula Horn
László Kovács

NICARAGUA

Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN
José Pasos
Ramón Estrada

SLOVENIA

Social Democratic Party
Jose Pucnik

FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IFM/SEI

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Jordi Williams
Arve Mannfjord
Ofer Sela
Fuad El Aref
Alejandro Moraga
Stefan Guthof

International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY

Alfred Gusenbauer
Roger Hällhag
Ricard Torrell
Rubén Giustiniani
Turid Birkeland
Luca Cefisi
Lamine Goudiaby
Michael Rüter
Anna Terrón

Socialist International Women, SIW

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Anita Gradin
Karin Stasius
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ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

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Democratic & Socialist Interafrican

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Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, PDKI

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Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP

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Hoshyar Zebari
Shirin Agrawi

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK

Jalal Talabani
Kosrat Rasul
Salah Rashid

POLISARIO Front

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Jamal Zakaria
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Christian Democrat International

André Louis

Liberal International

Julius Maaten

AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan Social
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ANGOLA

Popular Movement for the
Liberation of Angola, MPLA
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ANGOLA

Party for Democratic
Renewal, PRD
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ARGENTINA

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Mario Negri
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ARGENTINA

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ARMENIA

Socialist Party of Armenia
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AZERBAIJAN

Social Democratic Party of
Azerbaijan, SDP
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Arzu Abdulajewa

BELARUS

Social Democratic Party
Michail Tkatschow

BOTSWANA

Botswana Democratic Party,
BDP
Aobakwe Mothusi
Sekgwa

CAPE VERDE

Movement for Democracy,
MPD
Daniel Lobo
Gomes Da Veiga

CROATIA

Social Democratic Party
Antun Vujic

EAST TIMOR

East Timor Liberation Front,
FRETILIN
Abílio Araújo

EL SALVADOR

Farabundo Marti National
Liberation Front, FMLN
Schafik Jorge Handal
Manuel Cornejo
Othon Sigfrido Reyes

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Socialist Party, PSGE
Damián Mikó Anaba

GABON

Socialist Party of Gabon,
PSG
Mbumbe-King
Moussavou-King
Stéphanie Bagnena

GEORGIA

Social Democratic Party of
Georgia, SDP
Guram Muchaidze

GUINEA

People's Assembly of
Guinea, RPG
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Karam Kondé
Tidjani Cissé

GUINEA BISSAU

African Party of
Independence, PAIGC
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GUINEA BISSAU

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Imre Mécs

INDIA

Congress (I) Party
Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi

INDIA

Indian Centre for
Democratic Socialism, ICDS
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Pradip Bose

KAZAKHSTAN

Social Democratic Party of
Kazakhstan
Eugene Zhovtis

KIRGHIZSTAN

Social Democrats of
Kirghizstan
Mark Matus

MADAGASCAR

National Council of
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MALI

African Party for Solidarity
and Justice, ADEMA
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Cisse Aminata Diarra

MEXICO

Democratic Revolutionary
Party, PRD
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Ricardo Valero

MEXICO

Institutional Revolutionary
Party, PRI
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MOLDOVA

Social Democratic Party of
Moldova
Oasu Nantoj

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO
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NAMIBIA

SWAPO
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RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Social Democratic Party
Boris Orlov

SOUTH AFRICA

African National Congress,
ANC
Sankie Nkondo
Eleanor Khanyile

SUDAN

Democratic Unionist Party,
DUP
M E Elwasila

THAILAND

Social Democratic Party
Pramote Nakornthab

TOGO

African People's Democratic
Convention, CDPA
Messan Gnininvi

TOGO

Togolese Union for
Democracy, UTD
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TUNISIA

Socialist Democratic
Movement, MDS
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UKRAINE

United Social Democratic
Party of the Ukraine,
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UKRAINE

Social Democratic Party
Yurij Sbitnev

UKRAINE

Democratic Renewal Party
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Vladimir Filenko

URUGUAY

Colorado Party
Walter Belvisi

URUGUAY

Socialist Party
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Aldo Guerrini

ZAIRE

Union for Democracy &
Social Progress, UDPS
M Tshisuaka
Mrs Kabasela

ZAIRE

Congolese National
Movement/Lumumba,
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P Tutwemoto
Kinghi Kawayia

ZAMBIA

Movement for Multiparty
Democracy, MMD
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ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe African National
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George Payne Kaha

GUESTS - INDIVIDUALS

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Hanna Sinióra
Faiz Abu Rahme
Zbigniew Bujak
Diva de Múcio Teixeira
Demetrio Boersner
Dieter Koniecki
Sertac Bucak
Petre Roman