

# *Towards a new Century*

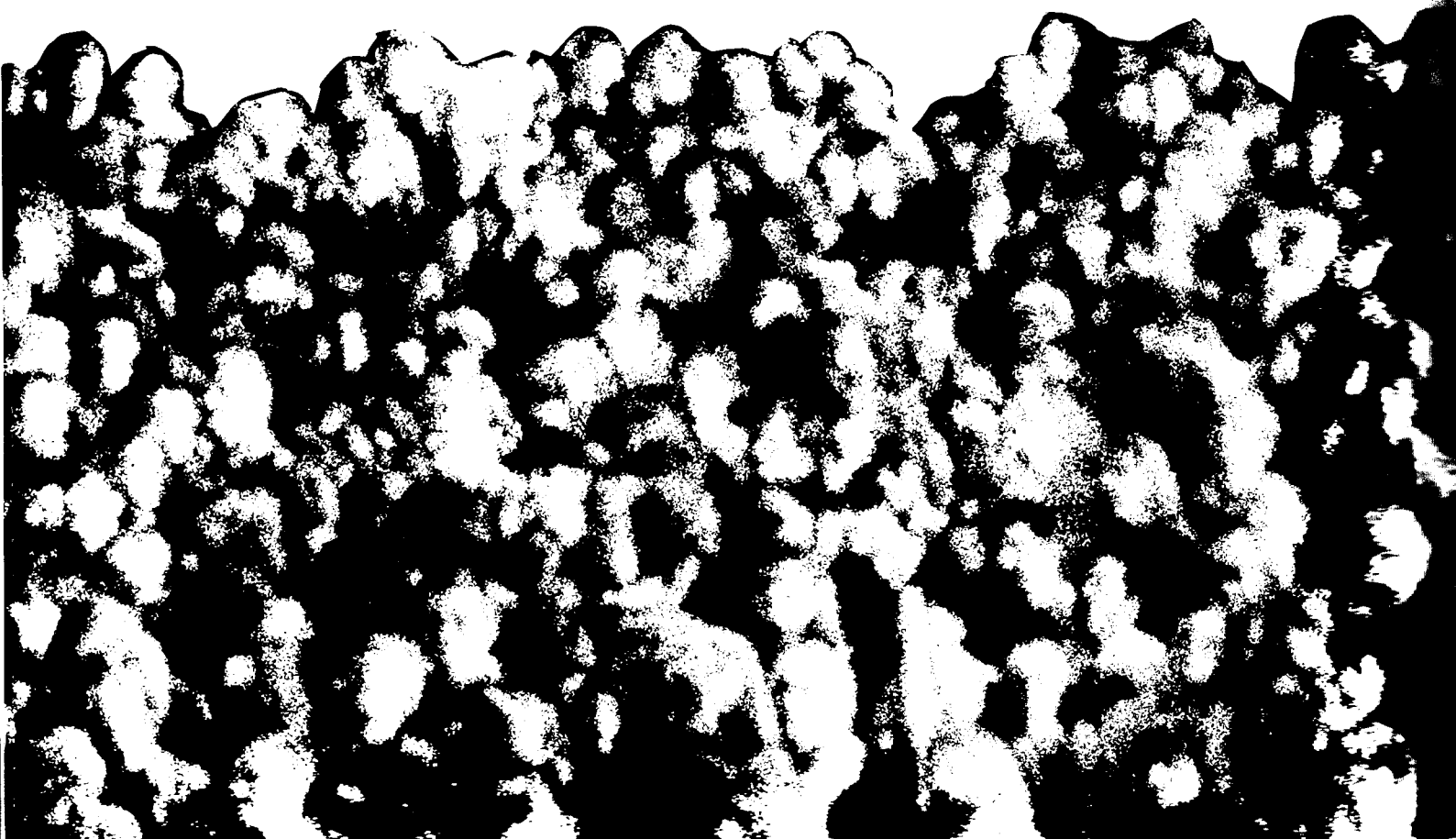
**T**he eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Stockholm on 20-22 June was a historic meeting. Held almost one hundred years after the founding of the Second International in Paris in July 1889, it marked the first centenary of the international socialist movement.

But this was no nostalgic celebration.

Called with the theme of 'One Hundred Years of Struggle for Peace and Freedom — Towards a New Century', the Congress not only discussed the achievements and traditions of democratic socialism worldwide.

It also carried out a thorough analysis of the changes that have occurred in the world in recent decades, addressing the challenges faced by democratic socialists as they stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

Reflecting such deliberations, the Congress adopted a new platform of action in the form of the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International.



---

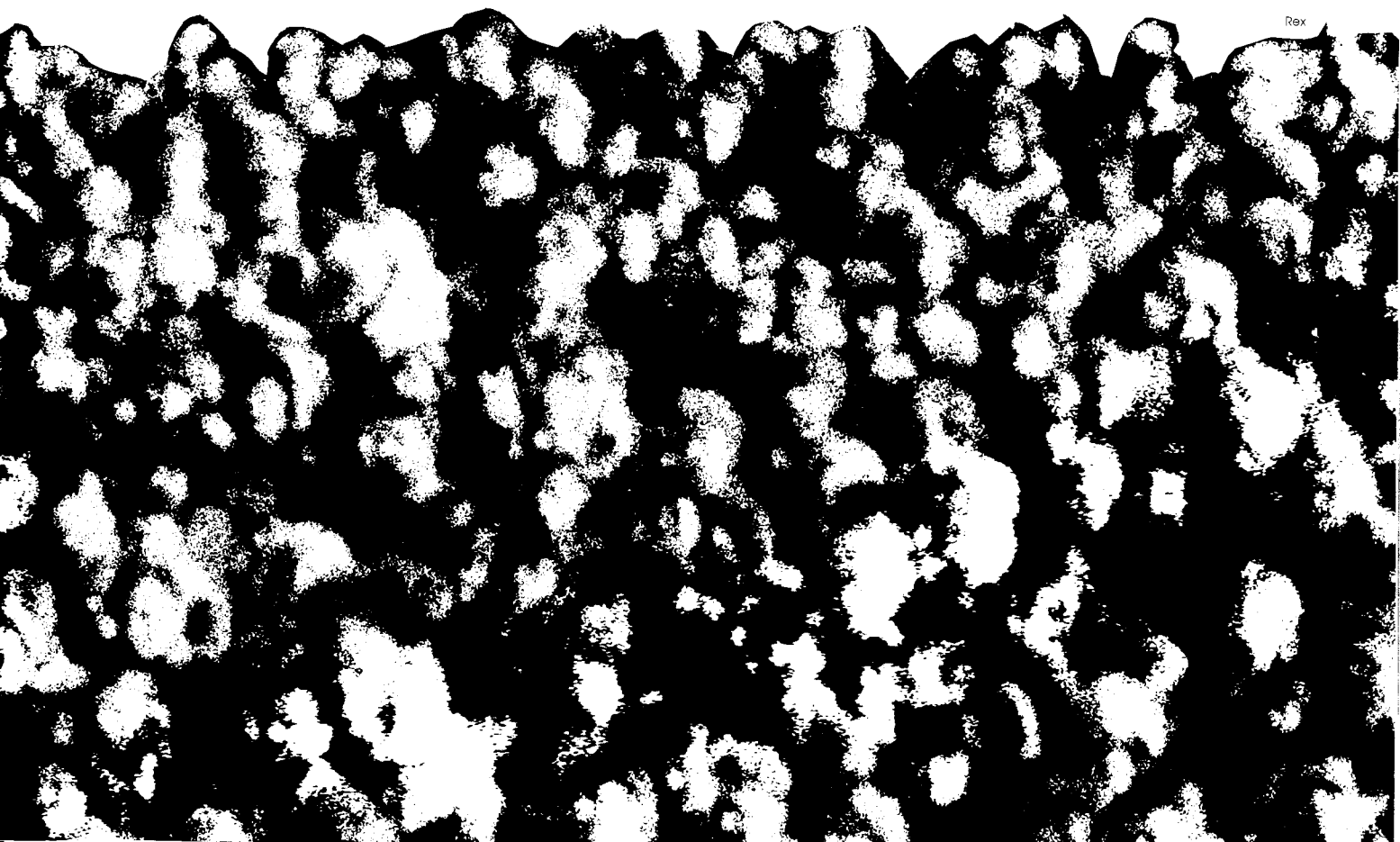
After years of rigorous discussion and preparation, the new declaration supersedes the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951. We reprint the document in full.

From the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival, the Stockholm Congress had a wideranging agenda. It has not therefore been possible to include every contribution within the scope of this Focus. The meeting was attended by SI member parties, guests and observers from over 100 countries.

But to give a revealing insight into the debates which took place, this Focus carries edited versions of two key speeches: one by Willy Brandt, the SI president, and the other by Ingvar Carlsson, the prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (which hosted the Congress).

We also carry selected extracts of speeches made by SI leaders and guests, and reproduce the final resolution of the Congress on the current world situation.

The challenges facing the democratic socialist movement as it moves into a new age are without doubt daunting. But the mood at Stockholm was one of optimism. As SI President Willy Brandt said: 'It is hope rather than resignation that is the driving force of our movement; and that is why we will succeed.'



## SI Congress Stockholm

# The will for a new age

Addressing the eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International in Stockholm on 20-22 June — 100 years after the founding of the Second International in 1889 — SI President **WILLY BRANDT** set out the challenges facing democratic socialists in the period ahead.

**A**s humanity stands on the threshold of the new millenium, who can tell what the world will look like in the years to come? Who can safely predict, at this time of rapid and contradictory change, what will remain from the present age to accompany humanity into the future? Where will the answers to the challenges ahead come from?

With over 100 years of solid traditions and practical experience to its name, democratic socialism is hardly the worst alternative on offer. On the contrary, in many areas of the world increasing importance is attached to the contribution that our movement can make. Cries the world over for peace, freedom and justice mean that our efforts must last for more than a century; and the concrete tasks of international cooperation — aimed at easing the strain of many people's lives — represent a new challenge every day.

### Socialism and democracy

Even in countries where such a claim was fanatically denied, it is now being realised that socialism without democracy does not work. Indeed, that it is not actually socialism at all. This does not necessarily herald the beginning of a new era; but it does mark the passage from one chapter to another, especially when those willing to turn a new page in the other half of Europe are looking for points of reference.

They know that bureaucratic planners have failed to keep up with technological change; that spoon-feeding from the top suffocates individual creativity and initiative; and that political and cultural pluralism and a more market-oriented economic approach will have to be allowed. But many are afraid of the consequences of giving the individual more freedom to choose. The dilemma facing the reformists in communist countries is obvious: they do not know if it is possible to do what is necessary,

particularly when stubborn 'hard-liners' never step aside voluntarily.

No one has a magic formula for achieving social change without conflict. And nor do democratic socialists. We know how difficult it is to ensure social justice in a market economy and how much strength it takes to preserve and develop democracy and the rule of law. Thus, while democratic socialists are willing to offer our considerable experience to those who look to us as points of reference, we cannot offer ready-made recipes.

The challenge for democratic socialists is to remain alert and open-minded. Some of those who have been kept apart from us may soon return to their place in our ranks, thus creating opportunities for cooperation that were simply not there in the past. We are prepared to cooperate in all kinds of ways, providing that initiatives are useful, sincere and realistic. However, it would be an illusion to believe that this can develop smoothly without setbacks.

Today, there is much talk about a new approach to peace negotiations, both in Europe and on a global scale. But the Socialist International (SI) has been instrumental in this process, promoting initiatives that could become practical policies in the years to come. We should not be afraid of claiming credit for this. It was Olof Palme (and the international commission he chaired) who was a major pioneer of the concept of 'common security'.

### The role of the SI

Moreover, the SI has triggered off developments which go way beyond the confines of Europe and have improved international cooperation.

The contact in recent years between the SI's member parties in

Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean has been particularly important in this respect. The role of Latin America in the SI is in no way inferior to that of Europe, and our support for the consolidation of democracy in the continent must continue, as must our solidarity with those countries that are denied the right to self-determination.

The SI has also developed closer relations with Africa, both with comrades in West Africa and friends from North Africa. The latter are involved in efforts to find a solid peace settlement in the Middle East and we will be forging closer mutual ties in the future. Then there are our fraternal relations with the Frontline States and the ANC and Swapo liberation movements in Southern Africa. The SI sticks to the words of Olof Palme: 'Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.'

Be it Africa, Asia, Latin America or anywhere else in the world, the SI is open to political cooperation, provided that we share roughly the same aims. And as I stated earlier, this certainly applies to that part of the world where grey uniformity now has the chance to be replaced by colourful pluralism.

The international democratic socialist movement has had a long history and various organisational forms. But we are far from the end of the road. In fact, we are just at the *beginning* of what we want to accomplish internationally.

At the SI Congress in Geneva in 1976, three initiatives were launched: one for peace, the second for the reconciliation of interests between North and South, and the third for human rights. We have done our best in all areas. We have pinpointed the interdependence between disarmament and development; and we have finally devoted proper attention to environmental issues, the subject of the highly regarded report by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway. But the bulk of the work still lies ahead.

Given the region's increasingly important role in the world, the SI must develop closer links with progressive forces in Asia and Oceania over the next decade. Indeed, the thrust of economic development in the area is bound to shift the balance of the world economy more than it has already. And the countries have a great cultural heritage. All this means that the highly populated countries in Asia will be expressing themselves with increasing self-confidence in world politics in the coming decades. The Pacific Rim will be a major challenge.

Whatever the tasks that lie ahead, however, the SI has at least made some progress. As an alliance of independent parties which share common ideals and work on the principle of



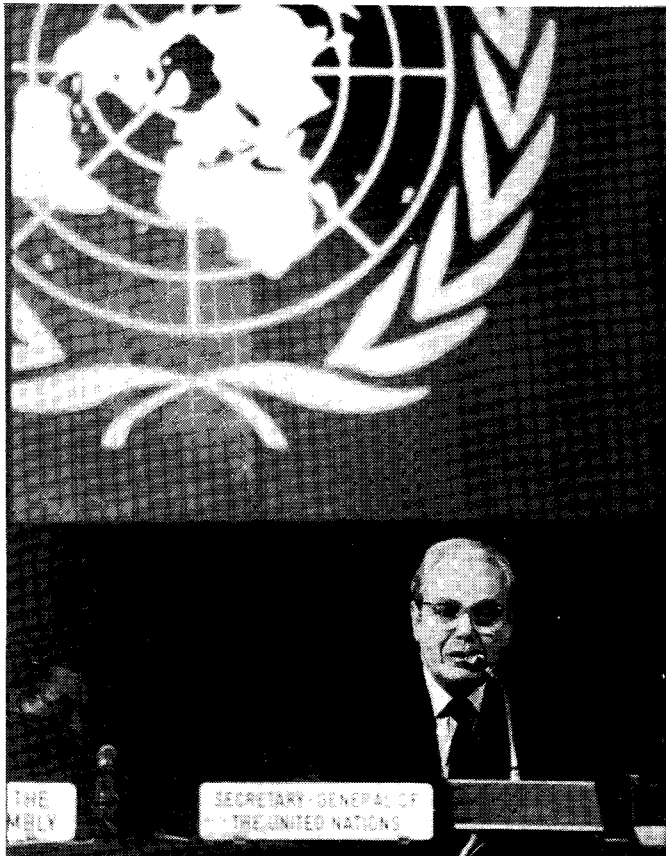
**Fighting proposals: SI president, Willy Brandt**

consensus, we continue to be taken seriously as a political force; and if we have managed to be opinion leaders on key issues that are now on the world agenda, there is no reason why this should not be the case tomorrow.

### **Global problems**

World problems increasingly affect all of humanity. As such, they can only be solved by a 'world politics' that goes way beyond the limited horizon of national borders. But many governments are reacting to this challenge at less than a snail's pace and persist in the pursuit of narrow individual interests.

Democratic socialists, on the other hand, are aware of the global nature of these problems. We want to remove the



**Reforming framework?: United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar**

differences between the rich and the poor, both *within* countries and *between* nations. We are against the cynics who wish to undermine the welfare state wherever it exists, and for whom international solidarity is a swear-word. For them, foreign policy should focus on a few economically or politically 'strong' countries, with the rest of the world being offered modest development assistance. In the pursuit of Thatcherism on a global scale, welfare is reduced to charity, both nationally and internationally.

As well as the moral objections and the dangerous economic and political consequences of this approach, its disastrous long-term ecological effects must also be pointed out. The magnitude of the problem is illustrated by the damage to the ozone layer.

The threat to the environment everywhere has led to a late but explosive change in public awareness. A growing realisation

**'The next decade will be dominated by efforts to bridge the gap between different political and economic systems, since the problems facing humanity cut right across them.'**

exists that ecological disasters are not the unfortunate result of mismanagement or faulty production, but rather of particular forms of development. And since further attacks could be fatal for thousands if not millions of people, it is crucial that the political will to overrule such short-term and short-sighted economic interests be mobilised worldwide. There is probably not much time left to change behaviour patterns before it is too late.

The next decade will be dominated by efforts to bridge the gap between different political and economic systems, since the problems facing humanity cut right across them.

**'... gone are the days when the two dominant powers could set the international "rules of the game". As the era of bipolarity gives way to a multipolar world, new centres of gravity are forming.'**

### Multilateral cooperation

The normalisation of east-west relations and the emergence of new superpower leaderships have finally opened up new opportunities for multilateral cooperation.

However, the superpowers are less and less in a position to shape the world all by themselves. They could end the arms race. (Long since an SI demand, this would be of major importance in that it would release funds for international development.) They could end their involvement in regional conflicts in the third world. (There are signs that this is happening.) But gone are the days when the two dominant powers could set the international 'rules of the game'. As the era of bipolarity gives way to a multipolar world, new centres of gravity are forming.

But what forms could and should multilateral cooperation take, given the number of assertive players involved? One of the major issues of the 1990s will be over the powers that should be conferred on international and regional institutions. The debate is already underway over environmental and development policies. But it is equally necessary in the case of arms control: and in other important fields, such as business and finance, and therefore law and social security. The 1990s could be a decade of negotiations and democratic socialists should give more thought to which problems should be tackled internationally.

It is also time to examine thoroughly the ability of the current institutional framework to provide effective multilateral action. Set up in the wake of the horrors of the second world war, it was a milestone of progress at the time. But as conditions have changed, it has become an obstacle to advance. It is therefore both useless and naive for democratic socialists to continue directing our recommendations for solutions to world problems to the same bodies, even though it would appear that the great powers of the 1960s and 1970s have to a large extent now lost their power to act. Meanwhile, those who could make an important contribution are reluctant to do so because they are still treated like secondary players.

It is time that an international commission was set up to take a completely fresh approach to the world, the aim being to design a new institutional framework for the 1990s and beyond.

Democratic socialists have made no end of contributions to creating awareness on issues such as security, development and ecology. But our approach to the institutional and legal reforms required to implement our proposals has been far too conventional. We must have the courage and imagination to make fundamental changes, similar to the steps taken by the founding fathers of the Bretton Woods framework, where figures like Keynes were the driving force.

The old right of veto, for example, must be challenged and regional and international bodies must be strengthened by the extension of their monitoring powers. We clearly need a more effective organisation to deal with ecological problems — an ecological security council, for example.

All changes and reforms will require a new understanding of sovereignty if the aim of a democratic world society of truly united nations (in outlook and practice) is to be achieved. We must examine how governments can be made responsible for the international effects of national decisions they take. The implementation of agreements reached at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe could offer some ideas in this respect.

Democratic socialists have always been against domination;

and while the SI supports autonomy, it wants democratic structures and effective policies in international affairs.

### Optimism of the will

The long-term trend towards a 'world domestic policy' approach will require SI member parties to gain a new understanding of internationalism. Common problems call for coordinated policy responses. Moreover, the decreasing scope for manoeuvre at the individual, national level makes international coordination crucial, particularly when those bent on a world based on anything but solidarity are stepping up their level of 'internationalisation'. While imperative, however, finding consensus is no easy task (it is not even easy in the Socialist Group of the European Parliament). But progress can be made if particular interests are held back, at least to some extent.

The challenges facing democratic socialists represent a qualitative leap in comparison with the past. The tasks and problems involved are daunting. But it is hope rather than resignation that is the driving force of our movement; and that is why we will succeed. As Leon Blum, the French Socialist leader between the two world wars, said: 'I think so because I hope so.'

### *Mending fences?: Hungarian troops remove border barriers with Austria*

Frank Spooner



# Ideas of the future

Welcoming hundreds of delegates from around the world to the SI Congress in Stockholm, **INGVAR CARLSSON**, the prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, reflected on the growing influence of democratic socialist thought.

**T**wo hundred years ago the Bastille was stormed and the French Revolution was a fact. Since then, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have influenced political life everywhere.

One hundred years ago the Second International was founded and the socialists who met in Paris in 1889 were clearly influenced by the ideas of 1789. So too were those who called for freedom, justice and solidarity in Stockholm in April 1889 and formed the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP).

Having worked for these values for a century, the democratic socialist movement is the most lively political force in the world today. This is the result of hard work, both by the individual member parties of the Socialist International (SI) and by the SI itself.

But above all it is due to the weight that our ideas have carried — ideas which reflect the hopes and wishes of millions of citizens; which have successfully stood the test of free and democratic elections; and which have inspired and promoted the peaceful reform of outmoded systems. There can be no doubt that without our movement we would be living in a more insecure and unjust world.

The SI's traditional base of support was the European labour, social democratic and socialist parties. The oldest of them all, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, has been a source of inspiration for the SAP from the very beginning. But today, the SI is much more than it used to be. Representatives of 69 parties are attending this Stockholm Congress, either as full SI member parties or as parties with consultative status. And with observers and guests, more than 100 nations are represented. Delegates

have come from all parts of the world, from North and South, from Europe and the Americas, and from Africa and Asia.

The expansion of the SI is a sign that the ideas of democratic socialism are those of the future. But it is also a tribute to the efforts of the SI president, Willy Brandt, who has dramatically transformed the SI from a relatively weak political organisation to a large, powerful body of international repute.

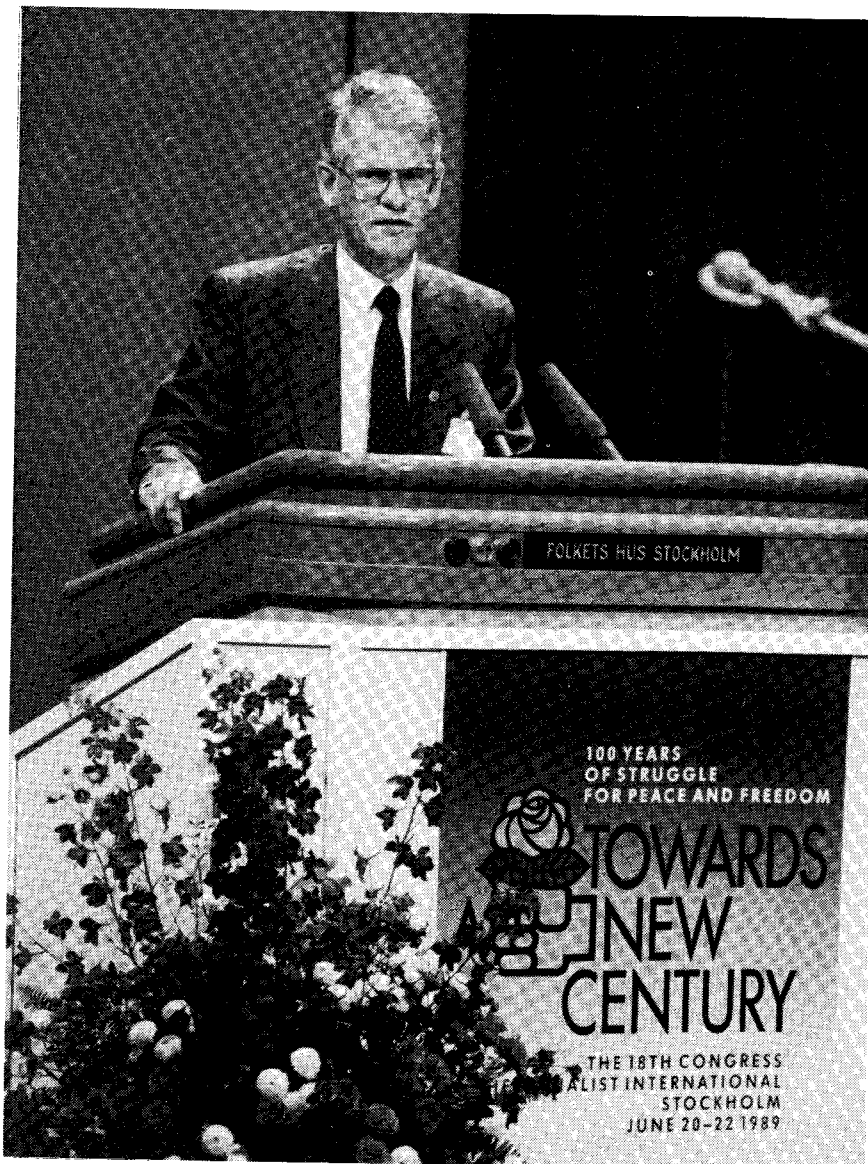
The key theme of the SI's history has been the need to cooperate to solve common problems. Indeed, cooperation was our natural point of departure. Whether as union leaders or party organisers, our predecessors met powerful resistance. They realised, from the very birth of the labour movement, that working together and solidarity were the only way of achieving results.

The problems now facing democratic socialists also require us to work together, but not just in our own separate countries. The world economy is becoming increasingly interwoven and this means that international cooperation and joint action, both between our parties and with our friends in the trade union movement, are crucial if we are to achieve our goals.

## Four tasks

The challenge of coordination is at the heart of the four most important political tasks on our agenda: to fight unemployment, to seek common security, to promote economic justice and to save the environment.

The right to work is a fundamental human right that must be fought for at all levels, both for the sake of the individual and for



**Platform for progress: Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson**

society as a whole. Unemployment is such a terrible waste when there is so much that needs to be done in every country. It is a social and economic evil that means human suffering for the persons directly affected and their families. And it is a threat to democracy. For if a society cannot even provide its citizens with the opportunity to work, then respect for society and its institutions will be lost.

The right to work has been, and always will be the starting point for the economic policy of our movement. There can be no more fundamental objective for the international labour movement than to eliminate unemployment. The recent report of the Kreisky Commission makes many detailed and constructive proposals in this respect. Full employment creates welfare and promotes greater equality.

The second major task facing democratic socialists today is to work for disarmament and common security. The prospects for disarmament are probably better now than they ever were. But the threat to our very existence is still there.

In the first part of this century, none of our predecessors could have imagined what we know today that, for the first time,

humankind is in danger of obliterating itself, nature and the future of life on earth. This presents a challenge to every inhabitant on the planet. Whatever our political beliefs, we share a common interest in saving human civilisation and should therefore be united in the struggle for survival.

The age of nuclear weapons has forced us to rethink old doctrines, such as mutual deterrence. As Olof Palme said in the report of his commission on disarmament and security issues, wars cannot be won with nuclear arms and must never be fought. For once such weapons are used, everyone's survival is at stake.

Even the superpowers seem to have realised this. It is time, however, that they put their words into action — without delay — by keeping to their promise to sign a treaty reducing strategic nuclear arms by half. The need for nuclear disarmament and to transfer resources from military to civilian purposes is urgent: while annual military expenditure amounts to US\$800 billion, every third adult in the world is illiterate, and every fourth goes hungry. The ranks of the poor in the world continue to rise.

The third political priority is to work for international economic justice and to bridge the gap between poor and rich countries. Developing countries need external finance to develop, but the flow of resources from the North to the South has actually decreased in the 1980s. We are therefore facing a *development* crisis as well as a debt crisis. The situation is dramatic in Latin America which has become a net exporter of capital. Over \$120 billion have left the continent in the last five years — more than twice the size of the whole Marshall Plan.

This is not just a problem for the developing countries, or for debtor nations, but for all countries and peoples. As the Brandt Commission on international cooperation and development first showed, one country's development is linked to that of others; and seeing to the needs of the third world and developing its potential are absolutely essential to achieving sustainable development in all nations.

The problems are interlinked and so are the solutions. That is the lesson that we democratic socialists must remember in our efforts to restore stable growth in the world economy and trade and to deal with the debt crisis. Bold political decisions will be required, as the SI Committee on Economic Policy chaired by Michael Manley has clearly demonstrated. Less protectionism, increased development aid and concrete measures to ease the debt burden are just a few examples of what is needed. The rich industrialised countries must give their assistance and share joint responsibility with the South for the debt crisis.

The fourth priority is to safeguard the very basis of our continued existence on earth: the environment.

Until recently, most people did not even know what the ozone layer was, still less that human activity was leading to its depletion and threatening our very existence. Nor were we aware of the dangers of devastating the rain forests with industrial precision and efficiency. But the alarm bell has now rung and in many countries the issue has shot to the top of the political agenda.



The challenge of salvaging the world environment is a huge and urgent one, comparable to the the labour movement's fight against poverty and unemployment or to the liberation struggle against colonial oppression. If the environmental crisis is not reversed, it is not just the possibility of economic development that could be destroyed, but the future of the planet itself. As the

**'... changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.'**

*Our Common Future* report of the World Commission on the Environment and Development chaired by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway has clearly demonstrated, a strategy of sustainable development is needed.

Such a solution must include policies which are guided by solidarity, both within each country and between countries, since a nation cannot solve its environmental problems by itself. Indeed, environmental destruction knows no boundaries, as the Chernobyl disaster, the acid rain affecting large parts of Europe, the algal flowering in the seas, and the desertification in Africa all show.

The environment can be saved and guaranteed for future generations. But democratic socialists will have to use all their knowledge and courage to make dreams of a 'common future' come true.

**Democratic potential**

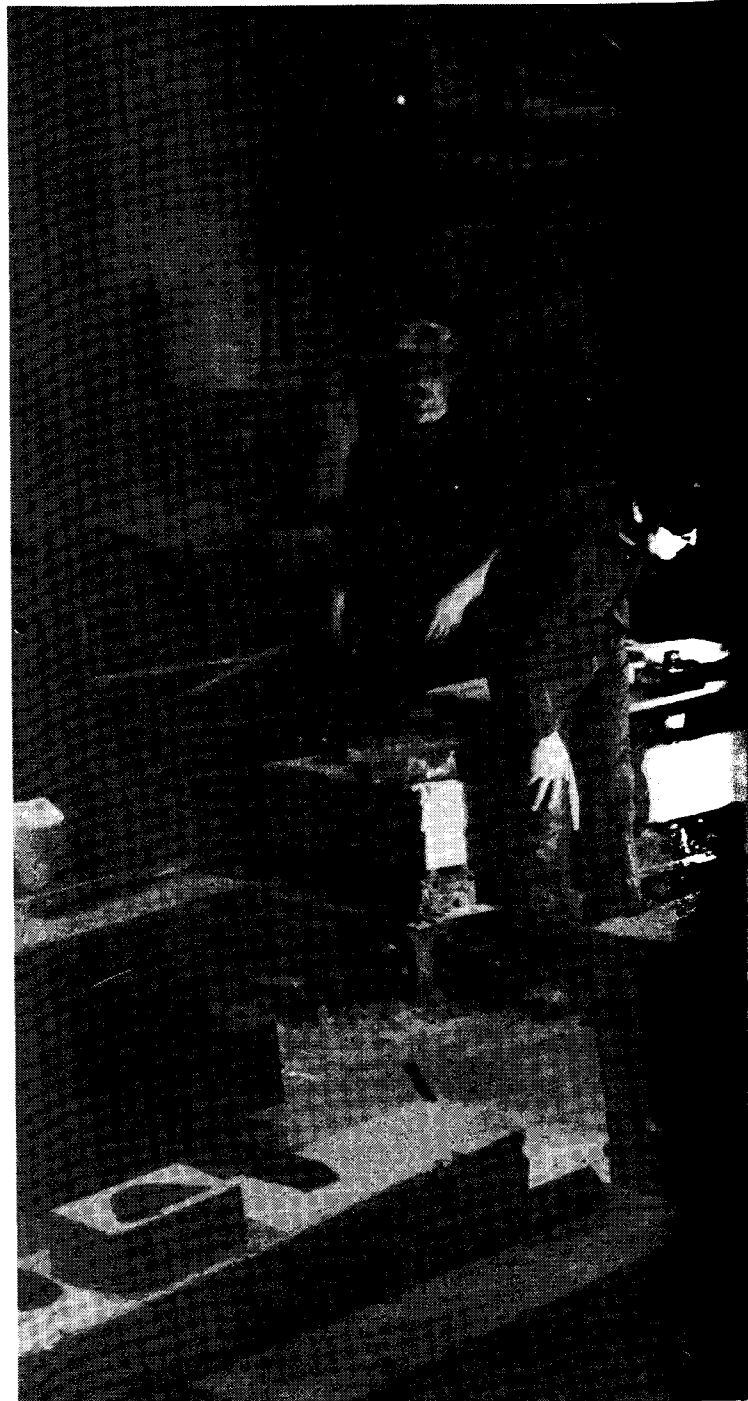
The world *has* been changing in recent years and the international climate has considerably improved (in spite of the shameful violence of the present rulers of China). War and confrontation have been replaced by ceasefires and dialogue in a number of regional conflicts. The United Nations has become a real centre of world politics. The superpowers have signed one important disarmament treaty and are negotiating others. Peace researchers report that world military expenditure is now actually decreasing. And the number of wars has fallen.

Meanwhile, in Latin America and Eastern Europe repressive dictatorial rule is gradually giving way to more democratic ideas and prospects. In the Soviet Union, a remarkable process of reform has been set in motion under the bold leadership of President Gorbachev.

A key feature of the current world situation is that both capitalism and communism are facing major ideological problems. This presents the democratic socialist alternative with an unparalleled opportunity for a major new breakthrough. Indeed, our ideas for reform are now proving attractive in countries where they had generally been treated with hostility. Our thinking is clearly that of the future.

A fundamental principle for democratic socialists is that democracy — the right to influence and participation — must extend to all aspects of social and economic life. Thus, if a fully democratic society is to be achieved, the issue of how economic production is organised cannot be left out.

In early socialist thought, changing the system was synonymous with a change in formal ownership, in which private owners were replaced by the state or workers' collectives. This was natural at the time, since political power was reserved for owners of land or capital. And owners had almost unlimited power to determine



the use of production facilities, regardless of the social consequences.

But circumstances changed with the advent of universal suffrage and political democracy. Political power became linked to citizenship rather than ownership and popular demands for social change could be made through the democratic process. At the workplace, trade unions grew stronger and were increasingly able to defend the interests of wage earners. The position of consumers was also strengthened. Thus, while private ownership remained, the context in which production was organised changed, as decision-making power moved towards citizens.

In other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, private



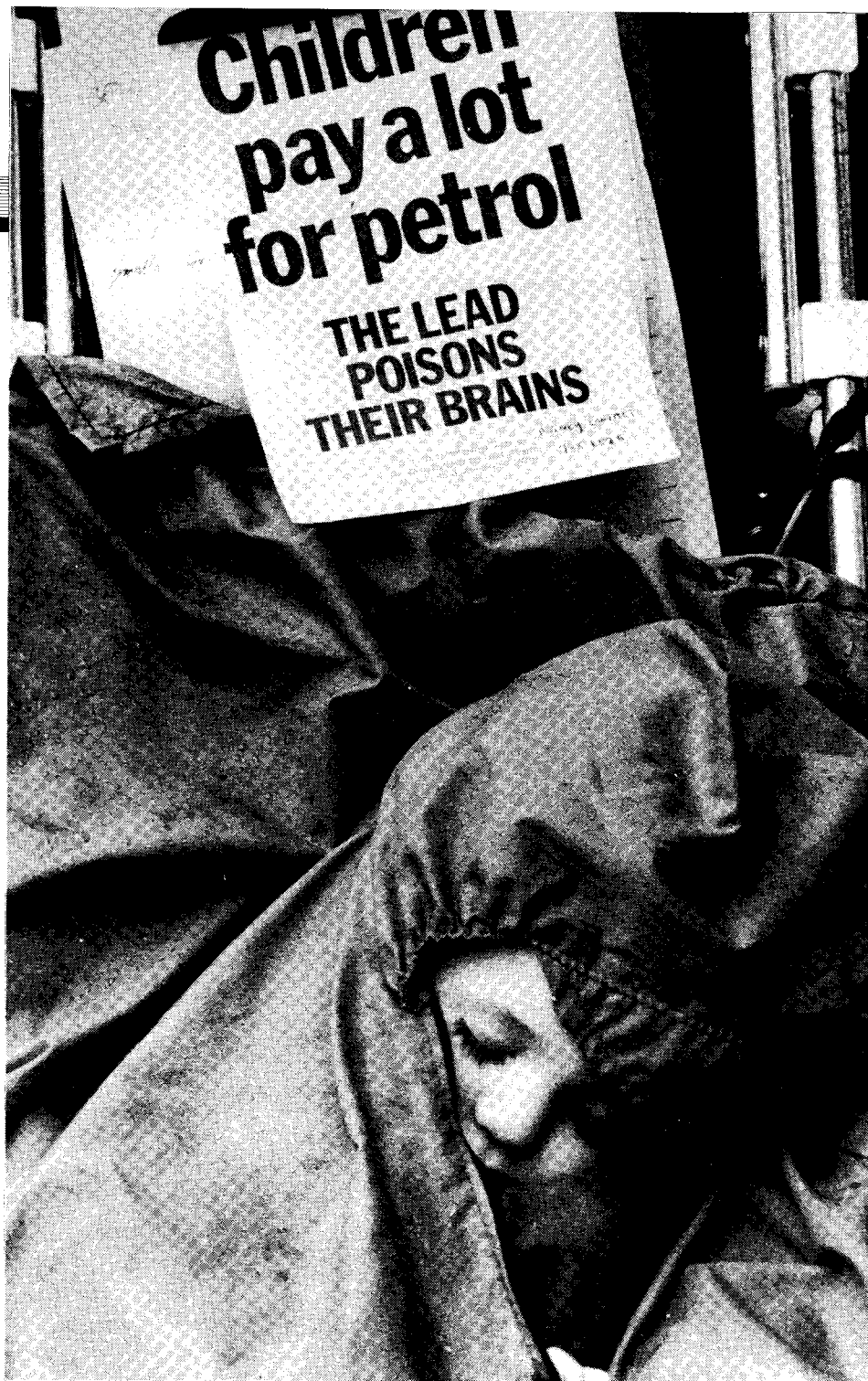
*Controlling forces?: foundry workers in Birmingham, England*

ownership of the means of production was transferred to the state. But this change in ownership did not mean a greater say for citizens, workers or consumers. Nor did it lead to the achievement of socialist goals such as freedom, equality and solidarity.

Under communism, as under unbridled capitalism, people are subordinated to power groups over which they have no control and are exploited for goals that they have not set themselves. This now seems to be becoming clear to many political leaders in Eastern Europe, though obviously not all.

Democratic socialism, on the other hand, represents another way. We want the right to decide how production is organised and to determine the distribution of what is produced. But we want to exercise these rights in many different ways. Indeed, changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.

This does not mean that all problems are solved, of course. Creating an economic system which functions in total harmony



Topham

*Rude awakening: child on anti-pollution demonstration in London*

is impossible. And in order to maintain the dynamism of the system, it is crucial that conflicting forces should be allowed to work simultaneously. All that really matters is that the system be guided by the public interest and the popular will. We seek to place citizens' rights over that of ownership, workers' rights over those of capital, and consumers' rights over those of producers.

To replace the old economic power structure, dominated by a minority, with a new order in which everyone has a say in both production and distribution is a crucial aspect of democratic socialism. Our movement started with the struggle for political democracy; it continued with the struggle for social justice; and now it is increasingly concerned with the need for democratic control of the economy.

Only in a democratic society can the ideas of freedom, equality and solidarity be fully realised. Only in a democratic society is the citizen free to create his or her own future, to develop freely

as an individual, and to seek solutions to common problems on an equal footing with other citizens.

But people are not free to develop as individuals and shape their own destiny if major aspects of their everyday life, such as work conditions and the way the workplace is organised, are completely outside their control and decided by others; if they have no chance to define their own job and are expected merely to obey orders. People cannot work together to solve common problems if they are forced to compete against each other for their own individual welfare by the rules of economic life. The achievement of democracy in society means the extension of democracy to *all* areas of life.

This is a major ideological challenge, both to the democratic socialist movement and to others. And if we approach this task with enough tenacity, we could help shape the direction of political reform in countries where the SI has not been represented.

# Congress voices

SI leaders and guests carried out a rigorous analysis of the world situation at the Stockholm Congress — from the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival. We reprint below some of their reflections.

## **WILLY BRANDT, president of the SI:**

'The long-term trend towards a "world domestic policy" approach will require SI member parties to gain a new understanding of internationalism. Common problems call for coordinated policy responses.

'Moreover, the decreasing scope for manoeuvre at the individual, national level makes international coordination crucial, particularly when those bent on a world based on anything but solidarity are stepping up their level of internationalisation.'

## **INGVAR CARLSSON, prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party:**

'Democratic socialism . . . represents another way. We want the right to decide how production is organised and to determine the distribution of what is produced.

'But we want to exercise these rights in many different ways. Indeed, changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.

'This does not mean that all problems are solved, of course. Creating an economic system which functions in total harmony is impossible. And in order to maintain the dynamism of the system, it is crucial that conflicting forces should be allowed to work simultaneously.'

## **MICHAEL MANLEY, prime minister of Jamaica and president of the Peoples' National Party:**

'The 1980s were the time of the triumph of the radical right. The radical right produced a world of exclusion in which economic

power did not include millions in Europe or hundreds of millions in the third world.

'Let us make sure that we make the 1990s the decade of inclusion of all people in the benefits of prosperity.'

## **MICHEL ROCARD, prime minister of France:**

'The crisis of Keynesianism was supposed to be the death-knell for democratic socialist policies. Yet the countries that have best withstood the crisis are those that have preserved their social cohesion: Sweden and Austria, for example.

'Policies can fail of course. But wherever governments have enjoyed the confidence of workers and have combined sensible fiscal and incomes policies . . . they have successfully checked unemployment and maintained a high level of social protection.'

## **FRANZ VRANITZKY, chancellor of Austria and chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria:**

'Neither the United States nor Japan will exert their influence to bring about a new world order . . . Today the forces of change are in Europe . . . The democratic socialist movement . . . has a special responsibility . . .

'The reform process in the Soviet Union . . . has led to a reassessment of its security requirements and its role as a major power in international relations . . . East-west relations and the power struggle with the United States are no longer the overriding issue. As much, if not more emphasis is placed on the importance of international cooperation to solve . . . global issues . . .

'This reassessment has given rise to a number of stunning [disarmament] proposals . . . which have already led to the first meaningful successes. We cannot afford to waste this singular opportunity . . . to ensure its continued success. After all, it was

the international socialist movement which first formulated the concept of common security.'

**OLIVER TAMBO, president of the African National Congress:**

'The moral and political support of the SI for the struggle of our people is a reflection of the commitment that you share with us to eliminate racism and apartheid.

'We bring you greetings from the struggling people of South Africa, fully aware that we are saluting a progressive movement . . . among whose leaders are statesmen and stateswomen of world renown.

'It is only proper that we pause to remember that resolute and outstanding statesman, the late Olof Palme, whose life and work at the helm of his party and country remain a source of great enlightenment to us all.'

**HANS-JOCHEN VOGEL, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany:**

'In this age of radical change, democratic socialism is becoming increasingly influential and attractive. Many people are turning

to democratic socialism and expect answers that the systems under which they live have not been able to give them.

'Based on our experience spanning more than 100 years, we must concentrate all our energy on developing these answers — answers that will last into the next century.'

**JULIUS NYERERE, chairman of the South Commission:**

'The SI . . . should cooperate with the nations of the South in their efforts to tackle the problem of underdevelopment . . .

'There will inevitably be short term conflicts of interest and different priorities between the countries of the North and the South, whoever is in power. Such differences are the stuff of politics and can be dealt with if all involved are prepared to discuss them on equal and cooperative terms and with a will to finding mutually acceptable solutions.'

**PIERRE MAUROY, first secretary of the Socialist Party, France:**

'Our responsibility is from now on to found a socialism which clearly affirms the values of justice and liberty and which has the



capacity for renewal to meet the great world challenges of the twenty-first century.

'In the year of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, it is time for the spirit of 1789 to take the place of that of 1917; and for us to be the initiators of this renewal of values.'

**JOSE FRANCISCO PEÑA GOMEZ, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic:**

'If any region has made a decisive contribution to the growth of the SI, it is Latin America . . .

'Just 18 months ago at the SI Council meeting in Dakar, we predicted a series of spectacular victories by SI leaders from Latin American and the Caribbean. The predictions have come true. Rodrigo Borja, Carlos Andrés Pérez and Michael Manley have won power in Ecuador, Venezuela and Jamaica. And in Bolivia, Jaime Paz Zamora has just won a considerable share of the vote . . .

'Our next electoral battle will be in Brazil. The victory of Leonel Brizola and the Democratic Labour Party in the largest nation in Latin America would be the culmination of democratic socialism's ideological rise in the continent.'

**BETTINO CRAXI, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party:**

'The SI has not been absent from any of the major democratic battles in the world . . .

'We must now continue with the internationalisation of the SI, enlarging its representation so that it becomes the rallying point for democratic and progressive forces in continents where the European socialist tradition has shallow roots, but where the cause of peace, equality, solidarity and progress is just as present.'

**LEONEL BRIZOLA, leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Brazil:**

'The economic model has favoured a minority in Brazil and has left the country in a scandalous situation of external debt. This has meant huge sacrifices for millions of our people . . .

'Countries like Brazil and Argentina cannot continue as they are . . . That is why the solidarity and support of the SI is so important. We urgently need to construct an alternative.'

**WIM KOK, leader of the Labour Party, Netherlands:**

'The real challenge we now face is the implementation of the concept of sustainable development. Environmental policy has to move from pious words to practical, comprehensive and consistent policies. And it is democratic socialism that will have to bear the responsibility for the implementation of such policies. The free market has meant ruthless exploitation and will not bring us a clean environment . . .

'Sustainable development requires drastic changes in what we produce, in how it is produced . . . and in how we live and consume.'

**GUILLERMO UNGO, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, El Salvador:**

'In Central America, the question of elections is becoming an ambivalent issue . . . There are elections for peace and elections for war. There are elections for democracy and elections for the consolidation of dictatorship.

'The SI should forge a consistent strategy over the elections, so that they do not become yet another battleground for foreign intervention.'

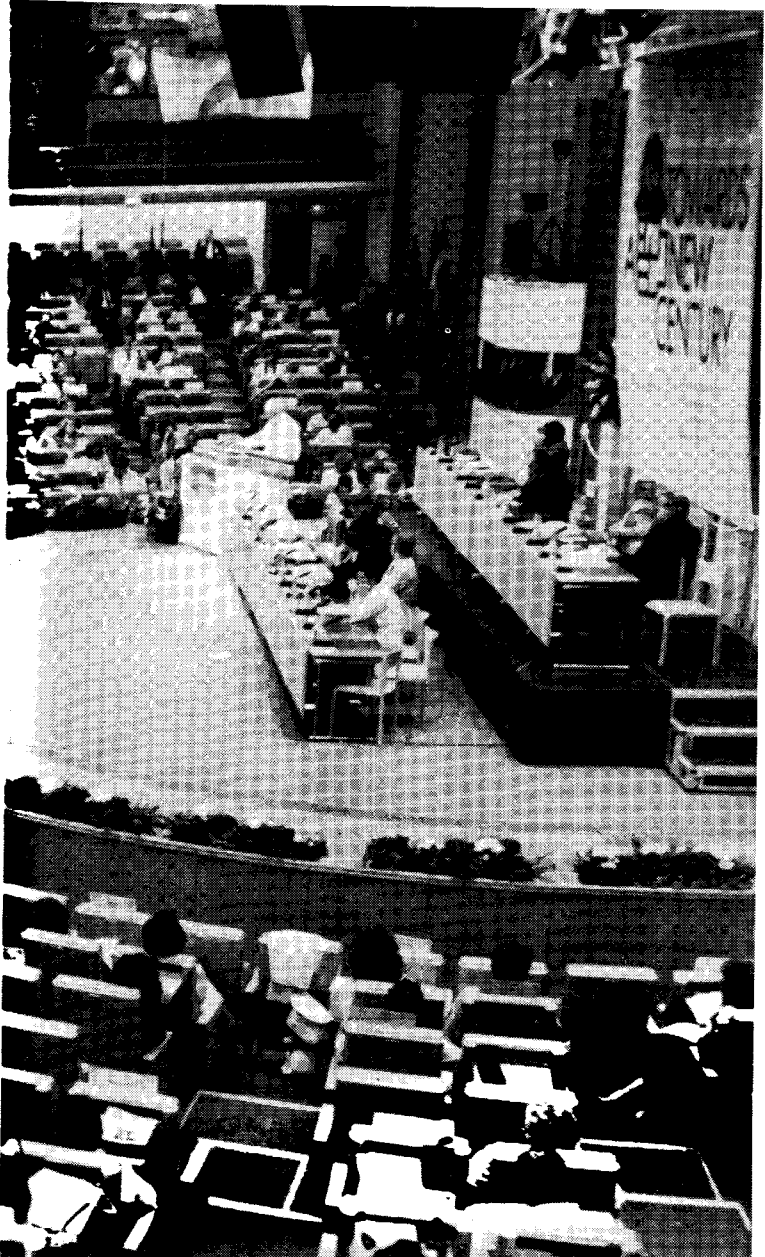
**NEIL KINNOCK, leader of the Labour Party, Great Britain:**

'It is good to be alive when those who are unlocking the shackles of totalitarianism are recognising that the shift they want to make is not from communism into unregulated, uncontrolled and unaccountable capitalism, but to the distinctive, practice, human and challenging values of democratic socialism . . .

'Would it not be the most terrible irony if, by their inactivity and resistance, conservatives in the West . . . avoided the new opportunities and gave prolonged life and power to the conservatives in the East? What an unholy alliance that would be.'

**LUIS ALVA CASTRO, general secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party:**

'Let's begin the 1990s with a final solution to the debt problem.'



This means debtors and creditors making a joint effort and taking decisive, firm action.

'A solution to the debt problem should be one of the most important priorities for our movement in the period ahead. The SI must make concrete proposals and take permanent action to ensure that they are implemented.'

**SVEND AUKEN, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Denmark:**

'The international movement of the social democratic and socialist parties is the movement of the future. People all over the world have lost faith in established doctrines, whether they are conservative capitalist or conservative communist doctrines. People want solutions that are effective and just . . .

'The future points towards us. No other political force can lead the world through the enormous problems of nuclear annihilation, overpopulation, mass unemployment, environmental damage, gross social inequalities and the widespread suppression of freedom and national rights.

'Are we up to this challenge? I would like to give a clear yes. But there is a risk of complacency . . . Sometimes I feel we all live . . . on top of an undetonated powder keg.'

**ANDIMBA TOIVO JA TOIVO, general secretary of the South West Africa People's Organisation:**

'The SI has been striving for peace for 100 years and it has not been an easy task. We salute this important organisation in its endeavours . . .

'When Namibia becomes independent, we shall do our best to contribute to that goal in our humble way . . .

'Our struggle has been long and bitter. But now the war is coming to an end and UN resolution 435 is being implemented . . . Let us forget the past and look ahead to a better future.'

**KAREL VAN MIERT, European commissioner, SI vice-president and former chairman of the (Flemish) Socialist Party, Belgium:**

'The industrialised nations have had a free ride, imposing costs which they have so far not been required to pay. Should it be a surprise that the Brazilians turn to us in amazement when we tell them to stop cutting down their rain forests . . . ?

'Today, carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels are three times higher than those from the burning of the rain forests and such emissions are still overwhelmingly produced by the economies of the industrialised world.

'Who destroyed the ozone layer? Not the Chinese. Not the Indians. Not the Africans. It was us who destroyed the ozone layer with our hairsprays, fridges and air-conditioning units.

'Yet we turn round and tell the Chinese, whose per capita use of fridges is a thousand times less than ours, that fridges are off the menu!'

**ENRIQUE SILVA CIMMA, president of the Radical Party, Chile:**

'In spite of innumerable obstacles, the Chilean opposition has managed to advance. Our victory in the plebiscite last October showed that our movement was ready for action. The SI was there to give us support. Terror, violence and intimidation were unable to break our unity.

'We shall remain united for the elections in December and have picked a consensus candidate. The next president of Chile

will be a member of the opposition.'

**JORGE SAMPAIO, general secretary of the Socialist Party, Portugal:**

'It would be unfortunate if the effectiveness and positive nature of the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) agreement were to be reduced by the modernisation of other weapons . . .

'The approach of democratic socialists is for an ambitious disarmament process based on the principle of security for all.'

**MARIO SOLORZANO, general secretary of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala:**

'We must demand seriousness from the United States in a possible change of its policy towards Central America.

'But we must also remain firm in our search for a political solution . . . after ten years of war, the United States is now moving towards the arguments that the SI and its member parties have been putting forward.

'That's why its important for the SI to monitor events and maintain a presence in Central America. The SI has already played a crucial role in containing the expansion of war in the region. And now that we've achieved the beginning — albeit precarious — of a new phase, we cannot begin to flag.'

**GUY SPITAEELS, chairman of the (Walloon) Socialist Party, Belgium:**

'For democratic socialists the environment is not a question of fashion . . . But let's not allow our proposals to become a mere list of pious vows or merely put the more marginal ones into action . . .

'It's not endless international conferences that will change the course of events, but the decisions that we take . . . in our respective countries.'

**ERDAL INÖNÜ, chairman of the Social Democratic Populist Party, Turkey:**

'We have entered a period in which people are struggling for peace and in which attempts are being made to resolve long-standing problems between nations through negotiation . . . I do not believe that this is temporary . . . the rapprochement between the superpowers is something that will remain.'

**KALEVI SORSA, SI vice-president:**

'Democratic socialism has a historical opportunity that we must not miss. This is the time for change, not only for others but for ourselves too, as indicated by our new declaration of principles.

'It is the time for open dialogue . . . We must listen to each other instead of making statements for the record . . . Democratic socialists . . . and other other movements of social progress need meaningful fora for active debate and critical discourse.

'Time is running out. We should start the work now. Not for a long time has the situation been so challenging and encouraging for the ideals and principles of democratic socialism. Whether we will be able to pioneer the new era is up to us.'

**ANITA GRADIN, president of Socialist International Women and SI vice-president:**

'It is not an individual act of violence that kills 10 million infants in the third world every year; that condemns hundreds of millions

to absolute poverty; or that places women in a subordinate position in society . . .

'The causes are all structural . . . human rights, equality between men and women, development and peace are all interdependent . . . The struggle for human rights is an essential feature of socialist identity.'

**DANIEL ODUBER, national director of the National Liberation Party, Costa Rica:**

'We have recently gained the impression . . . that the policy of the United States is changing — that a political solution to the conflict in Central America is becoming possible, along the lines of the Esquipulas peace accord.'

'After years of subordination to the wishes of an extra-regional capital, the five presidents of Central America showed that they were able to seek peaceful solutions. And we continue to do so.'

'But we have not lowered our guard. The policy of the United States could change back at any time and we would face military solutions once again.'

'As Olof Palme used to say: "Democracy can never be achieved through oppression . . . Nobody from the outside should be able to force another country to adopt a particular form of government . . . The right of the people to self-determination is a basic precondition of democracy . . ."

**Opening gesture: SI president, Willy Brandt, with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson**



**ED BROADBENT, leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada:**

'As democratic socialists, we are well equipped to promote the cause of common security. Our belief in community, cooperation, equality and internationalism is inextricably linked with this approach.'

' . . . in addition to promoting . . . arms reductions, we must also strive for security in the broader sense . . . Together we must address the environmental problems which threaten to destroy our planet . . .

'Together we must take the one trillion dollars presently spent on arms each year and meet the needs of feeding, clothing and housing the world's poor. Together we must work for a solution to the international debt problem [and] for greater respect for human rights.'

**ANTONIO CARIGLIA, general secretary of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party:**

'The SI must make every effort to achieve world peace, but not a peace that depends on the tutelage of the superpowers . . . all peoples should have the right to decide their own destiny . . . The aim of democratic socialists is to unite the world, not see it divided into two sides . . .

'We are faced with a huge task in this regard: to eliminate the eyesore of a world divided between the wealthy nations and the poor countries on the verge of famine.'



# Congress resolution

We reprint in full the text of the main  
resolution adopted by the eighteenth  
SI Congress on 22 June

**T**he Stockholm Congress of the Socialist International is, at once, the celebration of two great anniversaries and the starting point for a new era of historic opportunity. Two hundred years ago, in 1789, the people of France proclaimed their aspirations to liberty, equality and fraternity. A century later, in 1989, the Second International gave new strength to the socialist vision of freedom, justice and solidarity as working people joined forces to secure social and economic progress throughout the world. Our international movement today still draws strength from those historic inspirations.

The past two centuries have left to democratic socialism a legacy of great and positive achievements. In the developed world, we have seen the assertion of the right to work, the emergence of the welfare state, the creation of firm institutions of democracy, and the acceptance by governments of social responsibility. Basic rights have been enshrined in national laws to the real benefit of ordinary men and women. In developing countries, democratic socialists have contributed greatly to the struggle for national liberation and to economic and social development, and in this way have established the aspirations and values which inspire today's continuing struggle for democracy and progress.

Now, in 1989, we shall see the achievements of the past two centuries as the starting point for our advance into a new century. And, conscious of the particular challenges of the world today, we should add to the inspirational watchwords of the past those of peace and environment.

Drawing strength from the achievements and heritage of the past 200 years, our movement looks forward to meeting and overcoming the challenges of the last decade of the twentieth century. Our new declaration of principles, agreed here in Stockholm, sets out just what that involves, and shows how democratic socialist ideals are more than ever relevant and vital today. Today's is a fast-changing world where new technologies offer new opportunities and also threaten our survival; where economic relations become ever more international in scope, and

where the achievements and values which we uphold have been challenged. But it is increasingly clear, even after a decade of the so-called revolution of the new right, that people remain convinced that their governments should accept responsibility for economic and social affairs, that they reject social fatalism and the uncontrolled play of the markets — in short that they do not wish to see the real achievements of the past century scrapped in favour of a return to the divisiveness of another era.

What is crucial is the application of the idea of fraternity or solidarity, so much ignored in today's world but so urgently relevant. The young people of today see this most clearly as they seek genuine opportunities both to develop as individuals and to contribute to society and to the wider world. They are increasingly conscious of the emergence of the special problems of affluence — ecological neglect, divisions in society between regions or between the majority and poorer or excluded groups, loss of vital community bonds — and of the menace of racism and xenophobia. They are seeking appropriate solutions and recognise that these must lie in cooperative and participative action.

Another great change has taken place in international relations. In the past, each country's foreign policy was concerned primarily with its relations with other sovereign states. Today, the policies of individual states are increasingly concerned with common global problems — political, economic or ecological — the solutions to which can only be found through joint action by groups of states or international agencies. The interdependence to which the Brandt, Palme, Brundtland, and Kreisky Commissions have drawn attention is becoming ever deeper in the face of these challenges.

This is the new context of global politics — one that holds out a real prospect of progress for democratic socialist ideals as more and more people realise that it is only through policies based on the values of justice, equality and solidarity that we can truly tackle our contemporary global problems. As the world becomes ever more complex the number of these problems grows.

North-South relations remain a key priority while underdevelopment cuts our world in two. Problems of relative affluence in some developed countries must not obscure the scale of suffering elsewhere. Millions of children today suffer from nutritional deficiencies that could stunt their mental and physical development or even kill them. The achievements of the past two centuries in the more prosperous countries remain in the realm of aspiration or despair for many people in the South, for whom freedom, equality and solidarity must become a reality before they can be fully or conscientiously enjoyed by any.

Other issues too, call for the application of democratic socialist values and commitment. On the positive side, prospects for international peace, disarmament and cooperation are better now than at any time since 1945, with the real prospect of agreements being reached on strategic and conventional forces and in many regional conflicts, diminishing the threat of nuclear holocaust. The UN has been restored to its rightful place at the centre of world politics.

Less positively, we live today under the new threat of environmental degradation which is undermining the life-sustaining systems of the planet. As always poor people and poor countries are worst hit. Without urgent and global responses the very survival of humankind is at stake.

One great social and economic problem facing both developed and poorer countries is protracted unemployment. Even the prosperous European Community has 16 million out of work today, with millions more living below the poverty line. To the long-standing difficulties of many weaker economies in providing jobs there has been added the very negative impact of conservative economic policies which have destroyed millions of jobs without adequate replacement and which have misdirected the great potential of new technologies.

And democratic socialists must assess the impact of new technology. Information and broadcasting technology may open up new prospects for communication, education and understanding between peoples, but it carries with it the potential for cultural domination and commercial or political exploitation. Policies are needed which secure the positive benefits of new technology — for example, through programmes for literacy, continuing education and enhanced cultural participation — but without threatening cultural identity and diversity.

So it is that the catalogue of challenges and problems is long and urgent; the search for peace and disarmament; the environmental challenge; the crisis in the South; the deep-seated unemployment problem and the fight back against the new right.

Human rights, too, are a priority issue for democratic socialists, at a time when torture and illegality remain the rule in many countries. Women's rights must be fully respected in future. And action is needed to tackle regional conflicts — often the result of exploitation and injustice or of the regional pretensions of the superpowers — which threaten peace, development and human welfare.

## PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Since our last Congress in 1986, there has been considerable progress towards peace and disarmament. The outcome of the Stockholm Conference in 1986, the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987 and the progress achieved in settling regional conflicts have all played their part. The Vienna



negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) and on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) demonstrate continued political will in the disarmament process.

Despite these achievements, we still face an enormous task. The arms race poses a formidable threat which must be reversed by new policies and new actions. We need a fundamental reassessment of security policies and doctrines. The achievement of common security, the respect for human rights and the promotion of economic development must go hand in hand.

The Socialist International welcomes the proposals made by President Gorbachev at the UN in December 1988 and the initiative of President Bush at the Nato summit in May 1989.

The 1990s should see a full implementation of defensive military postures and doctrines and the principle of common security in partnership. Our goal is deep cuts in both conventional and nuclear weaponry. As a general rule, the notion of a 50 per cent cut should be progressively applied to both conventional and nuclear weapons. Confidence- and security-building measures should be further developed and be extended to air and naval operations as well as land forces. A verification and information system should be established in order to guarantee speedy and accurate information on force levels, military equipment, movements and events.

European disarmament must take as a starting point the principle of stability at balanced and much lower levels of forces and armaments on both sides. The principle of stability includes the need to rectify existing asymmetries and imbalances. True stability also presupposes defensive military postures and doctrines and implementation of the principle of common security based on close interdependence. There should be a widening of the mandate for the CFE negotiations after 1992 to include all European states.

Battlefield nuclear warheads and dual-capable systems such as artillery should be reduced in parallel with conventional reductions in a way which at any time contributes to stability in Europe. The Socialist International believes that early negotiations should take place on tactical nuclear weapons with a range below 500 kilometres. We oppose measures including so-called 'modernisation', which would amount to compensation for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles or a circumvention in spirit or letter of the INF Treaty. We wish to reach the situation where conventional stability enables both alliances to abolish all non-strategic nuclear weapons.

The Socialist International calls for speedy results in the strategic arms negotiations (Start) concerning a 50 per cent cut in strategic nuclear forces. The Start negotiations should include restrictions on long-range cruise missiles. We call for strict adherence to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and for a convention banning all space-based weapons. Progress in this regard will aid the efforts to conclude a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). We call on all governments to intensify their efforts in this respect. A CTBT would be an effective means of stemming the process of nuclear modernisation. We call for positive results at the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in 1990 to reaffirm and strengthen the non-proliferation regime beyond 1995. Nuclear weapons states should meet their obligations to act in good faith to secure real measures of nuclear disarmament. There should also be new obligations on both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states to curb the transfer of weapons and arms technology. The question of the naval arms race should be put on the disarmament agenda.

All states should refrain from producing and deploying new chemical weapons. The Socialist International calls for a convention banning production, stockpiling or proliferation of chemical weapons to be finalised as soon as possible. We call for strict adherence to the 1972 convention prohibiting the production and stockpiling of biological weapons.

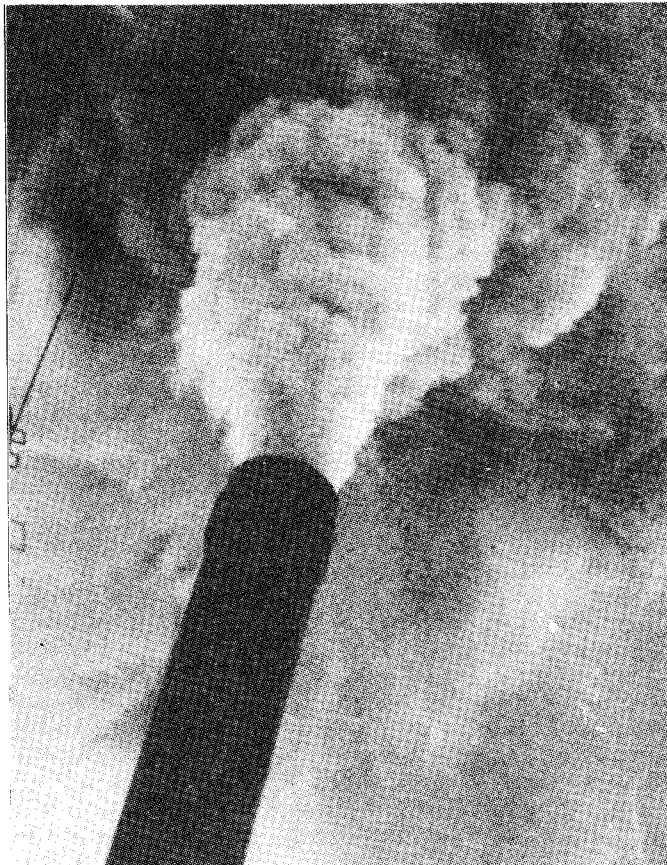
We strongly urge the development of regional disarmament proposals and measures, and further progress in the settlement of regional conflicts. These should be pursued with a view to achieving lasting political and social solutions to the problems facing many parts of the world. Security cannot be confined to particular regions. It is a global concern. For this reason the UN has a particularly important role in international peace-making as well as international peace-keeping.

The growing prestige of the UN is one of the most encouraging recent international developments. The UN should continue to take a more central role in conflict resolution, and could also help, for example, in the monitoring and verification of disarmament treaties or in the registration of arms transfers. Its peace-keeping operations also need a more secure financial framework.

Humanitarian principles and rules applicable in armed conflicts should be strengthened and strictly implemented.

Terrorism must be resisted wherever it occurs. That requires effective cooperation between national authorities and police forces within an acceptable legal framework. It also needs determined action to tackle the root causes of violence, such as injustice, poverty and the abuse of human rights.

Weapons cannot solve the problems of our planet. Our aim remains the goal of general and complete disarmament of



conventional weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction, under effective international verification.

## THE ENVIRONMENT

Like the threat posed by armaments, today's environmental crisis knows no international boundaries. Our whole planet is threatened by climatic changes, such as global warming, by the depletion of species and by widespread pollution. As human beings, we are both the agents and the victims of environmental degradation. Political action is needed urgently to channel the drive of all human beings for the creation of a worthy human environment.

Joint goals and strategies, for example, must be agreed by governments to tackle ecological problems like climatic change, depletion of the ozone layer, deforestation and desertification, the loss of biological diversity, and pollution of the air, sea and land.

For the future, a genuine redirection is needed in our way of life and work. Effective policies for the environment must be integrated into overall economic strategies. Future economic growth and technology must be environmentally sustainable. Only growth can create the capacity to solve our environmental problems, especially in the poorer countries, yet only a healthy environment can sustain growth in the long term.

Environmentally sound technologies must form the basis of all policies on food and agriculture, energy, transport, industry, urban development and working conditions. These policies must

be consistent with long term human needs and with the survival of humanity itself. All groups in society must be fully involved in developing and implementing these policies.

The Socialist International works for international agreements containing precise timetables for action, for substantial transfers of financial resources to developing countries to defeat the poverty which is the greatest threat to the environment and for the transfer of environmentally sound technology to countries of the South as they work for their own development. The findings of the Brundtland Commission represent our guidelines for the future.

### DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH

The need for development continues to demand urgent action — both to tackle deprivation and to build on those more positive trends which have emerged in some regions. Present improvements in the global political climate could offer positive opportunities provided there are appropriate changes in policies and institutions.

All developing countries need the chance to evolve and pursue their own strategies for economic and social progress. There must be room for different models of development based on different values and different objectives in individual countries. That diversity should be understood and recognised as valuable by international development agencies.

Indebtedness is the most critical problem facing developing countries today, threatening the financial security and economic

prospects of developed and developing countries alike. It needs more than short term solutions. Long term solutions to global indebtedness must be sought and found, through a programme for international recovery aimed at expanding both trade and income. Structural adjustment programmes should focus less on deflationary strategies and more on initiatives to build up the human resources of developing countries — through education, health and nutrition. The official debts of the poorest countries should be converted into grants; commercial debts should be rescheduled and the burden of debt service reduced by an imaginative programme of international action. The whole should be linked to a renewed commitment to an expansion in international aid, including a commitment by industrial countries to the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP.

Other new initiatives should include:

- action in the Gatt round to stimulate world trade and to open up new markets for products from the South — with particular benefits for the least developed countries;
- a north-south summit to relaunch dialogue on the issues of debt, trade and the environment, and to bring about a new UN development strategy;
- action to protect the environment in the South, with a new role for the UN Environment Programme;
- successful renegotiation of the Lomé Convention with a stronger emphasis on market access and regional cooperation;
- enhanced South-South dialogue and regional cooperation to stimulate growth and develop markets;
- greater accountability of the world financial institutions — the IMF, the World Bank — within a new international monetary agreement.



UN



**UNEMPLOYMENT**

Unemployment remains at crisis levels in both developed and developing countries, in some cases threatening the survival of democratic politics. Unless young people can see a prospect of work they may lose faith in the democratic process and in democratic political parties. Recent elections in Europe have seen the emergence of a new extremism arising from persistent social problems, including unemployment.

Action to combat unemployment demands a comprehensive, planned and sustained programme at global, regional and national levels, concentrating on the generation of sustained and qualitative growth through cooperative effort to increase demand; stimulation of trade relations — East-West, North-South and South-South; control of inflation; an active labour market policy; policies for job creation and for regional development; and provision of training and continuing education. It will also be necessary to develop participatory structures to involve social partners — at company, sector and national levels — in planning for progress and for jobs.

In developing this programme specific attention must be directed to the supply side in a number of key areas for action where job opportunities can be created at the same time as major economic and social issues are tackled, for example: protection of the environment; creation of necessary infrastructures; research on technology and innovation and on their practical applications; designing programmes of education and training to encompass cultural as well as purely technical aspects; and provision of information services. In this connection the recommendations of the Kreisky Commission provide important guidelines for action.

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

The right to work is just one of the basic social and human rights widely transgressed in today's world. After 40 years the Universal Declaration of Human Rights continues to set global standards for the protection of basic rights and freedoms, to inspire resistance against injustice, intolerance and oppression. But enjoyment of these rights and freedoms remains a distant dream for many. All too few of us live in countries whose governments truly respect human rights. Torture, capital punishment, 'disappearances' and bannings, ill-treatment of minorities, discrimination against women, racism and xenophobia — all of these contribute to repression and injustice which deny millions of men, women and children their basic dignity. Amnesty International's campaign against the death penalty highlights a major area of concern and demands a positive response from all democratic socialists.

Part of our response to this situation must be a campaign to secure wider ratification of international human rights agreements, including conventions against torture and discrimination, the forthcoming children's rights convention and the ILO labour standards. But ratification alone is insufficient. New supervisory bodies are needed to ensure that rights are respected, conventions implemented and governments' conduct kept under review. Our proposals along these lines can be found in the new statement on human rights, agreed by this Congress.

We place particular emphasis on the fundamental rights of workers and of their trade unions. The right to organise and to withdraw labour, the right to negotiate freely, the right to information and to participation must all be seen as the common heritage of all workers and fully respected.

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

The rights of women in particular need special attention. Our long-standing campaign on women's rights will go forward with renewed vigour in the 1990s. Our agenda includes provisions on working conditions and equal treatment, family and child care facilities, the elimination of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and positive discrimination in certain key areas where women are disadvantaged.

Equality between women and men is a basic socialist and democratic value. To ignore women's full participation in the decision-making processes endangers democracy. The Socialist International reaffirms the aims of the Socialist Decade of Women announced in Lima in 1986, and demands that all socialists should aim to achieve equal representation (50/50) of women at all levels, national and organisational, within the next ten years. Member parties will also strengthen the organisation and financial status of their women's organisations.

**REGIONAL ISSUES**

Many regional conflicts and developments demand the attention of the world community. While there has been progress in some areas, like the Gulf, since our last Congress, new crises have arisen threatening life and liberty, and some old ones continue to cause us concern.

In various parts of the world situations exist in which the values and aspirations espoused by the Socialist International are called into question, and where peace and disarmament are far from achievement. For example, Afghanistan continues to be a factor

instability, and the persecution of Kurdish minorities remains a tragic fact. In Cambodia the search for a settlement which will ensure both self-determination and human rights remains a priority. In the Horn of Africa the struggle of the Eritrean people for liberation continues. In Cyprus we give our backing to the efforts of the UN to bring about a just and lasting settlement. And in the Western Sahara we equally support the UN and OAU efforts for peace.

As democratic socialists, we will do our utmost to promote the peaceful settlement of regional disputes, and we welcome the renewed strength and influence of the UN in this regard.

Four regions in particular concern us and have been the subject of sustained attention by the Socialist International:

### **Southern Africa**

South Africa's apartheid regime continues to oppress the black majority in South Africa itself, and to destabilise its neighbours. The new white leadership must be urged to change course and to discuss their country's future with genuine opposition leaders. Political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, must be released without preconditions.

Democratic socialists throughout the world will continue to demand meaningful change in South Africa. Until that happens, international pressure must be maintained through comprehensive and mandatory international sanctions against the South African regime and through the action of individual states and groups of states.

The agreement on independence for Namibia is to be welcomed

and all necessary steps must be taken to guarantee free and fair elections this year. The Socialist International deplores the confrontations which took place following 1 April, and calls upon the UN to ensure that Untag has the full resources needed to carry out its task.

All governments should increase their support for the Frontline States, helping them to overcome South African destabilisation, and to achieve autonomous development. The Socialist International will continue its close relations with the governments and liberation movements in the region.

### **The Middle East**

In the Middle East prospects can be discerned which justify some hope of a peaceful, negotiated solution in accordance with the principles of common security.

The PLO in its declarations of the last few months has recognised Israel's right to exist and, with Yassir Arafat as its chairman, is undertaking an attempt at a negotiated solution. The United States has commenced talks with the PLO. The Soviet Union is endeavouring to play a more active role in solving the conflicts in the Middle East.

There is a tendency in the world for detente and a solution of regional conflicts: The Middle East should not be left out of this process.

The intifada has once again brought the attention of world opinion to the situation in the occupied territories. The plan proposed by the Israeli government which foresees negotiations



between Israel and Palestinians to be elected in the occupied territories, would a few months ago have been unthinkable.

The Socialist International supports the following principles for the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

— There must be a peaceful political solution. This solution must be based on the right of the state of Israel to exist within secure and recognised boundaries and the right to self-determination for the Palestinians. The obvious goal should be the mutual recognition of each other by Israelis and Palestinians.

— For this an international peace conference under the auspices of the UN Security Council is urgently needed in which all parties and States involved in the conflict in the region should participate. The PLO should take part in the peace process in the region.

— Member states of the EC, and other European States, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the international community as a whole, should continue to urge the PLO to reject terrorism. Similar pressure should be placed on Israel to stop violations of human rights in the occupied territories and immediately open schools and universities.

The international community must grasp this opportunity to secure a solution to the conflict. Without quick steps forward showing some success in the 'negotiating position', the danger of violence will increase.

The Socialist International will continue its efforts to further the peace process in the region through contacts with all the parties involved.

### Lebanon

The Socialist International deplores the present serious crisis in Lebanon and recognising the urgent need for constitutional reforms, calls for all countries to respect the integrity of a united, independent and democratic Lebanon, free from all foreign occupation.

### Latin America

Democracy and democratic socialism have made decisive advances throughout Latin America and the Caribbean with successes by several Socialist International member parties. The historic campaign to end the Pinochet tyranny has opened the way for democratic elections, while in Paraguay the longest dictatorship in Latin America came to an end.

But serious concerns remain with the debt crisis threatening the re-emerging democracies. In Central America intense efforts are needed to secure the implementation of the Esquipulas II agreements and to ensure self-determination and non-interference by external forces. The conflict in El Salvador and the constant violation of human rights demand a negotiated political solution. The people of Nicaragua have our support for their advance in the democratic process. In Guatemala the constitutional order is under threat and human rights abuses persist.

We condemn the manipulation of the electoral process in Panama and demand that the democratic will of the people is respected. In Haiti the transition to democracy has been slowed down and the people's misery continues. We welcome the US initiatives towards a political solution in Puerto Rico and we support the principles of sovereignty and self-determination for the Puerto Rican people.

The Socialist International reaffirms its continuing commitment to the people of Latin America and the Caribbean in their struggle for democracy, economic development, and social justice.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

### Central and Eastern Europe

The Socialist International, basing its position on the principles of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, has for many years sought a new framework for relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Now, under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, the remarkable changes under way within the Soviet Union, and largely as a consequence, in some Central and Eastern European countries are to be welcomed and supported insofar as they hold out the prospect of political and economic transformation.

Every advance towards democracy — and thus towards freedom of conscience, expression and movement — is of paramount importance. Opportunities of contact, exchange of ideas and practical help or support must be seized by democratic socialists who can make a special contribution to the reshaping of societies where socialist ideals have been for so long tragically distorted by communist ideology. Practical support is essential in order to assist in giving permanence to today's dramatic but still fragile initiatives and changes.

In dealing with this situation it is essential to recognise the fact that Central and Eastern Europe is not a monolithic bloc. Each of the countries has always been different and, at the present time, these differences are becoming more and more obvious.



In some cases the promise of economic policy changes has had a major impact, as in Hungary. In others, the motor for change is political development as in Poland, or national aspirations as in the Baltic republics. Elsewhere, traditional structures are still very much in the ascendancy and the Gorbachev reforms are viewed with suspicion, as in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. In Bulgaria, where positive trends may be detected in the economic sphere, the treatment of the Turkish minority must be condemned. And in Romania a ruthless dictatorship remains in power with tragic consequences for both economy and society.

The Socialist International supports the struggle in Central and Eastern Europe including the Baltic, for self-determination, democracy and economic and ecological recovery. Our approach to contact with and support for change in central and eastern Europe is a logical continuation of the Ostpolitik and of the increasingly successful CSCE process. The opening of economic and trade relationships and new links between the EC and Comecon hold out the prospect of greater mutual understanding.

The Socialist International will place a special priority on encouraging and facilitating dialogue on the widest range of political and economic issues, and with all the relevant interests — with the governments, ruling parties, opposition parties, academic circles, representative groupings and with the emerging political forces, including the new popular fronts.

## China

The Socialist International deplores and condemns the bloody repression of peaceful and spontaneous demonstrations calling for freedom and democracy in China. The savage actions of the Chinese leadership against the students are all the more tragic given recent moves towards greater openness in all aspects of Chinese society. The world community must unite in condemnation and in taking all appropriate steps to impress upon the Chinese authorities the necessity to recognise the democratic hopes and aspirations of the people, and to stop all killings and reprisals.

## CONCLUSION

The Socialist International goes forward from Stockholm determined that the 1990s will become the decade when development and peace become a reality.

The experience of the 1980s have shown the incapacity of the free market to provide full employment in the North as well as in the South or to end poverty in even the richest countries. Centralised planning has been seen to prevent economic and social development. Environmental degradation threatens the quality of life and even life itself. And, it has become clear that no individual country can solve its problems alone.

Policies of cooperation for common prosperity offer the real alternative in the 1990s, while the success of common security in international relations provides a unique opportunity to strengthen institutions of cooperation for development. The choices are there to be made.

We can choose to seize today's opportunities for disarmament and peace. We can assert the necessity of democracy and human rights. We can choose to divert resources from weapons to economic development. We can choose to take joint responsibility for the transformation of the debt crisis. We can choose to apply our technological capacity to help the nations of the South to



leapfrog over entire stages of polluting growth and we can choose a sustained expansion of the international economy. We can choose the course of solidarity and participation in the face of the divisiveness of the new right.

Common economic responsibility presupposes the genuine common security which the Socialist International seeks to promote around the world. The Socialist International has continued a dialogue between poor and rich countries which is essential to international recovery. Democratic socialist parties represent the common interest in employment and development. Cooperation is a daily reality for democratic socialists and it can become a reality for all countries in the 1990s.





- SI Congress adopts new declaration of principles
- Key documents produced on environment and human rights

## Forward to the future

In the past two centuries democratic socialism has left a legacy of great and positive achievements.

'In the developed world, we have seen the emergence of the welfare state, the creation of firm institutions of democracy . . .

'In developing countries, democratic socialists have contributed greatly to the struggle for national liberation and to economic and social development . . .

'Now, in 1989, we see the achievements of the past as the starting point for our advance into a new century. And, conscious of the particular challenges of today's world, we add to the inspirational watchwords of the past those of peace and the environment . . .

'Our movement looks forward to meeting and overcoming the challenges of the last decade of the 20th century. Our new declaration of principles sets out just what that involves . . .

'Today's is a fast-changing world — where new technologies offer new opportunities and also

threaten our survival; where economic relations become ever more international in scope, and where the achievements and values which we uphold have been challenged.

'But it is increasingly clear, after a decade of the so-called revolution of the new right, that people remain convinced that their governments should accept responsibility for economic and social affairs . . . that they do not wish to see the real achievements of the past century scrapped in favour of a return to the divisiveness of another era.' (Congress resolution)

This was the forward-looking spirit of the eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Stockholm on 20-22 June. (For the full text of the Congress resolution, see the Focus section, pages 20-27.)

### Historic landmark

The Congress was a historical landmark.

Hosted by the Swedish Socialist Democratic Party (SAP) — itself celebrating a century of political

activity — it came 200 years after the French revolution and almost 100 years after the founding of the Second International in Paris in July 1889.

But the meeting was also an event of crucial relevance to the political struggles of today.

Called with the theme of 'One Hundred Years of Struggle for Peace and Freedom — Towards a New Century', the Congress analysed the major transformations that have taken place in the world in the postwar period and addressed the challenges facing democratic socialists as they stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

In addition to the main Congress resolution on the current world situation, the meeting also adopted a new Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International (see the Focus section, pages 28-35) which provides the SI with a guiding platform for action in the decades to come.

After several years of rigorous discussion and preparation — launched at the Madrid Congress in 1980 and further developed at

Lima, Peru, in 1986 (see 3/86) — the new charter supersedes the 1951 Frankfurt Declaration (which reestablished the SI in the wake of the second world war).

Presenting the new declaration to Congress, Heinz Fischer of the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ) and a member of the committee which drafted the document, said that democratic socialists had an ideal opportunity to get their message across.

Communism was in crisis and conservatives faced growing difficulties throughout the world. Democratic socialism was clearly the force of the future.

A series of speakers welcomed the declaration's heightened emphasis on environmental protection as a fundamental part of the socialist project; its commitment to gender equality; its will to harness the potential of new technology to democratic ends and social progress; its pledge to bridge the gap between North and South; and its reference to the intrinsic link that should exist between socialism, democracy and human rights.

### SI membership changes

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

The Congress agreed to make the following consultative parties full members of the SI:

**Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil**  
**Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao**  
**Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey**

and accepted the following parties as full members:

**National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt**  
**Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia**

Congress also accepted the following parties as consultative members:

**National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA**  
**Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar**  
**Nepali Congress Party**  
**Pakistan People's Party, PPP**  
**St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party**  
**Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia**

and suspended the following party from consultative membership:

**Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama**

They noted that the ideology of democratic socialism was also gaining ground in Eastern Europe.

#### Human rights

As well as adopting the main resolution and the new declaration of principles, the Congress went on to give its backing to two other key documents.

The first, which Congress approved, was 'Humanitarian Action: the SI Platform on Human Rights'.

Speaking as chairman of the SI Committee on Human Rights which had prepared the document, SPÖ international secretary Peter Jankovitsch pointed out that any step towards social progress began with the defence of fundamental freedoms.

That was why the protection of human rights and the political practice of the SI were inextricably linked, he said.

Anita Gradin, the president of Socialist International Women (SIW), declared that there should be no contradiction between the protection of individual civil and political rights and the social rights of individuals.

The causes of violence, poverty and inequality, however, were structural and it would require political action to bring about a solution.

She also drew attention to the subordinate position of women, both North and South, saying that wherever human rights were violated, it was often women who were most exposed.

A comprehensive programme of action was needed to defend human rights in all countries, and to protect those who were working in this field.

#### The environment

The second document endorsed by Congress was the report of the SI Committee on the Environment, 'Towards Environmental Security: A Strategy for Long-term Survival'.

Presenting the report, Birgitta Dahl, the Swedish minister of the environment, predicted that growing public awareness of the critical state of the environment worldwide would mean that the issue would have a major political impact in the next three years.

The struggle for a safe environment, she said, went hand in hand with the struggle for development and for peace. No other industry squandered as many resources as the arms industry and there was no greater environmental disaster than the nuclear holocaust.

What was needed was a pattern of economic growth that was sustainable in both social and ecological terms. The life style of the industrialised countries placed the earth's life-support system at risk.

Condemning what she called 'environmental colonialism', Birgitta Dahl drew attention to the activities of companies and governments which exploited the people and natural resources of the poorer countries.

The environment was a question of the quality of everyday life, she said, and environmental considerations would have to form an integral part of policies on food, housing, energy, transport, industry and urban development.

Throughout the Congress, speakers stressed that environmental damage and disasters knew no boundaries — Chernobyl, for example — and that close international cooperation was crucial to a strategy of survival.

#### Brandt reelected

Congress unanimously reelected Willy Brandt as president — a post he has held since the Geneva congress in 1976 — for a further three-year term.

In his acceptance speech, Willy Brandt evaluated the work of the SI since the 1986 Lima Congress and set out the challenges facing democratic socialists in the period ahead. (*For an edited version of Brandt's speech, see the Focus section, page 6-9.*)

One of the most important developments in the last decade, he said, had been the SI's growing contact with democratic socialists in the developing world. The contribution made by member parties in Latin America and the Caribbean had been particularly important, as had that of friends in west Africa. The SI had also forged closer links with the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

The SI, however, was merely at the beginning of what it wanted to accomplish internationally, he added.

Since 1976, the SI had successfully pinpointed the interdependence between disarmament and development, and was now devoting proper attention to environmental issues. Such analysis had won the organisation recognition and respect. But much practical work on these issues still remained to be done.

Moreover, given Asia's increasingly important role on the world stage, the SI needed to develop closer links with progressive forces in that region.

Brandt pointed out that the global nature of many world problems required a coordinated international response. And in turn, members of the SI needed to gain a new understanding of socialist internationalism, especially when the forces of the right — bent on anything but the values of solidarity and world justice — were stepping up their level of global cooperation.

He also noted that the gradual normalisation of east-west relations was opening the door to new opportunities for international cooperation. Progress had been made in disarmament and conflicts around the world were beginning to ease. New centres of gravity were taking shape as the cold war gave way to a more multipolar world.

A key question for democratic socialists, he said, was what form a new phase of multilateral cooperation should take. Existing international bodies had been set up in the wake of the second world war and it was time for their reform.

Brandt admitted that the tasks facing the SI were daunting. But the driving force of the democratic socialist movement was hope and that was why it would succeed, he concluded.

#### New general secretary

In addition to the election of the SI president, Congress elected Luis Ayala as the organisation's new general secretary.

A Chilean, Ayala had served as assistant general secretary at the SI secretariat in London since 1985. He was previously SI secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean and has had a long involvement in the SI and the international democratic socialist movement generally.

In his acceptance speech, Ayala pointed to the uniqueness

the SI referring to the organization as a forum where member parties could meet as equals, work together on ideals and learn from each other's experience.

They looked forward to contributing to the realisation of the SI's goals at a time when the message of democratic socialism had become more universal than ever.

#### Presidium

The Congress also elected a new presidium (see box for full details) and dealt with a number of applications for membership. A number of existing consultative members became full members (see box for full details).

#### Broad participation

The Stockholm Congress was widely attended, with delegates of 40 member parties, guests and observers coming from over 100 countries around the world.

Among the leading guest speakers were Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania; Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, and the Reverend Allan Boesak, from South Africa.



Left to right: José Francisco Peña Gómez, Bettino Craxi, Luis Ayala

The delegates were welcomed on 20 June by SI President Willy Brandt, who congratulated the Swedish Social Democratic Party on its centenary.

Recalling the memory of Olof Palme, he drew the attention of delegates to the repression of the

pro-democracy student movement in China, and asked them to stand in honour of four leading members of the SI who had died since the Lima Congress: Lydie Schmit, an SI vice-president and former president of SIW from Luxembourg; Joop den Uyl, also

an SI vice-president and the former prime minister of the Netherlands; and Albert Carthy and Bernt Carlsson, both former SI general secretaries.

Bernt Carlsson, who had gone on to become the UN commissioner for Namibia having served

## New SI presidium elected

The Congress elected the following presidium of the Socialist International:

#### President

**Willy Brandt**

#### Honorary presidents

**Gonzalo Barrios** (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)  
**Rodrigo Borja** (Democratic Left, ID, Ecuador)  
**Jos van Eynde** (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)  
**Michael Foot** (The Labour Party, Great Britain)  
**Michael Harrington** (Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, United States)  
**Anker Jørgensen** (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)  
**Lionel Jospin** (Socialist Party, PS, France)  
**Bruno Kainins** (Social Democratic Party of Latvia, LSDP)  
**Bruno Kreisky** (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ)  
**Sicco Mansholt** (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)

**Ian Mikardo** (The Labour Party, Great Britain)  
**Sandro Pertini** (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)  
**Irène Pétry** (Socialist Party, PS, Belgium)  
**Ramón Rubial** (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)  
**Léopold Senghor** (Socialist Party of Senegal, PS)  
**Mário Soares** (Socialist Party, PS, Portugal)  
**Fernando Vera** (Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay)  
**Gough Whitlam** (Australian Labor Party, ALP)

#### Vice-presidents

**Svend Auken** (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)  
**Leonel Brizola** (Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil)  
**Ed Broadbent** (New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada)  
**Gro Harlem Brundtland** (Norwegian Labour Party, DNA)  
**Ingvar Carlsson** (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP)  
**Bettino Craxi** (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)  
**Abdou Diouf** (Socialist Party of

Senegal, PS)  
**Felipe González** (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)  
**Bob Hawke** (Australian Labor Party, ALP)  
**Walid Jumblatt** (Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon)  
**Neil Kinnock** (The Labour Party, Great Britain)  
**Wim Kok** (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)  
**David Lange** (New Zealand Labour Party)  
**Michael Manley** (Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica)  
**Pierre Mauroy** (Socialist Party, PS, France)  
**Karel van Miert** (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)  
**Eiichi Nagasue** (Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP)  
**Daniel Oduber** (National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica)  
**Shimon Peres** (Israel Labour Party)  
**Carlos Andrés Pérez** (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)  
**Enrique Silva Cimma** (Radical Party of Chile, PR)  
**Kalevi Sorsa** (Social Democratic Party, SDP, Finland)

**Guillermo Ungo** (National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador)  
**Hans-Jochen Vogel** (Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Republic of Germany)  
**Franz Vranitzky** (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ)

#### Ex-officio

**Anita Gradin** (Socialist International Women)  
**Alfred Gusenbauer** (International Union of Socialist Youth)  
**International Falcon Movement-Socialist Educational International**  
**José Francisco Peña Gómez** (SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean)  
**Guy Spitaels** (Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community)

#### General Secretary

**Luis Ayala**

(newly elected)

# SI NEWS

## EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

as SI general secretary in 1976-83, was killed in the Lockerbie aeroplane bombing in Scotland in December 1988.

Brandt then asked Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden, as the chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party hosting the Congress, to address the delegates.

### Extending democracy

Welcoming the SI's move towards a more diverse and international membership as a sign of the growing strength of democratic socialism worldwide, Ingvar Carlsson stressed the importance of international socialist coordination.

Effective cooperation was crucial to the success of democratic socialists in a number of key tasks: to fight unemployment; to promote economic justice; to seek peace and common security; to save the environment; and to bridge the gap between North and South.

The main feature of Carlsson's speech, however, was its emphasis on the need for democratic socialists to extend the principles of democracy to all areas of social and economic life. (For an edited version of Carlsson's speech, see the Focus section, pages 10-14.)

The achievement of full democracy in society meant bringing the economy under democratic control, ensuring that workers and consumers had a crucial say in economic decisions and the production process.

Rejecting the outright state control of communism and the unbridled play of market forces under capitalism, Carlsson said that democratic socialism was right to search for more diverse ways of exerting popular control over production.

Democratic socialism meant providing the means to exert control over all aspects of everyday life, thus enabling people to realise their individual potential and shape their own destiny.

### Wideranging agenda

From the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival, the Stockholm Congress had a wideranging agenda.

In the Focus section, we reprint reflections of some of the participants (see pages 15-19).

## Eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International

### List of participants

#### Socialist International

Willy Brandt  
Pentti Väänänen  
Luis Ayala  
Klaus Lindenberg

**SI vice-president**  
Bruno Kreisky

#### Member parties

**Australia**  
*Australian Labor Party, ALP*  
Stephen Loosley  
Ian McLean  
Carolyn Pickles

**Austria**  
*Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ*  
Franz Vranitzky  
Johanna Dohnal  
Heinz Fischer  
Peter Jankowitsch  
Imtraut Karlsson

**Barbados**  
*Barbados Labour Party*  
Henry de B Forde  
Louis R Tull

**Belgium**  
*Socialist Party, PS*  
Guy Spitaels  
Etienne Godin  
Anne-Marie Lizin

**Belgium**  
*Socialist Party, SP*  
Frank Vandembroucke  
Karel van Miert  
Carla Galle  
Dirk Drijbooms

**Burkina Faso**  
*Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV*  
Joseph Ki-Zerbo

**Canada**  
*New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD*  
Ed Broadbent  
Bill Blaikie  
Tony Penikett  
Joanna den Hertog  
Tessa Hebb  
Michelle Brown  
Dick Proctor  
Shirley Carr  
Ron Johnson  
Shawn Mendes

**Chile**  
*Radical Party, PR*  
Enrique Silva Cimma  
Ricardo Navarrete  
Alejandro Montesino  
Alejandra Faulbaum

**Costa Rica**  
*National Liberation Party, PLN*  
Daniel Oduber  
Rolando Araya  
Edgar Ugalde  
Ana Oduber

**Denmark**  
*Social Democratic Party*  
Svend Auken  
Steen Christensen  
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen  
Lasse Budtz  
Birte Weiss  
Ritt Bjerregaard  
Jens Christiansen

**Dominican Republic**  
*Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD*  
José Francisco Peña Gómez  
Peggy Cabral  
Luz del Alba Thevenin

#### Ecuador

*Democratic Left Party, PID*  
Juan Cueva  
Byron Morejón  
Elba González  
Ruth Herrera

**El Salvador**  
*National Revolutionary Movement, MNR*  
Guillermo Ungo  
Hector Oquelf  
Elsa Morales

#### Finland

*Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP*  
Pertti Paasio  
Ulpu Iivari  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Allan Rosas  
Tarja Kantola  
Tuula Haatainen  
Juha Eskelinen  
Saara-Maria Paakkinen

#### France

*Socialist Party, PS*  
Pierre Mauroy  
Michel Rocard  
Pierre Guidoni  
Gérard Fuchs  
Gérard Lindeperg  
Jean-Jack Queyranne  
Axel Queval  
Alain Chenal  
Jean-Bernard Curial  
Luc Verron

#### Germany (Federal Republic)

*Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD*  
Hans-Jochen Vogel  
Herta Däubler-Gmelin  
Oskar Lafontaine  
Egon Bahr  
Inge Wettig-Danielmeier  
Hans Koschnick  
Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski  
Christa Randzio-Plath  
Hans-Eberhard Dingels  
Heinz Putzath  
Veronika Isenberg  
Wolfgang Weege

#### Great Britain

*The Labour Party*  
Neil Kinnock  
John Evans  
Gwyneth Dunwoody  
Jo Richardson  
Mike Gapes

#### Guatemala

*Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD*  
Mario Solórzano  
Fernando Fuentes Mohr  
Carlos Castro  
Florida Tellez  
José Luis Chea

#### Iceland

*Social Democratic Party of Iceland*  
Jon Baldur in Hannibalsson  
Karl Steinar Gudnason  
Ingólfur Margeirsson

#### Ireland

*The Labour Party*  
Dick Spring  
Tony Brown  
Tony Kinsella

#### Israel

*United Workers' Party, MAPAM*  
Arie Jaffe  
Arie Shapir  
Batia Keinan  
Nora Hyet  
Walid Sadek Hay-Hiyi  
Daphne Vardi

#### Italy

*Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI*  
Antonio Cariglia  
Carlo Vizzini  
Vincenza Bono Parrino  
Gianni Finocchiaro  
Andrea Miele

#### Italy

*Italian Socialist Party, PSI*  
Bettino Craxi  
Margherita Boniver  
Francesco Forte  
Paolo Vittorelli  
Giorgio Benvenuto  
Ottaviano del Turco  
Alma Capiello  
Renata Malerba  
Walter Marossi  
Luca Cefisi

#### Jamaica

*People's National Party, PNP*  
Michael Manley  
David Coore  
Don Brice  
Mayer Matalon  
Rose McDonald  
Hyacinth Osterlin

#### Japan

*Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP*  
Yoshihiko Seki  
Sachiko Taguchi  
Yoshiko Niida  
Noriko Akinaga

#### Japan

*Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ*  
Issei Inoue  
Eiji Yasui

#### Lebanon

*Progressive Socialist Party, PSP*  
Walid Jumblatt  
Doured Yaghi  
Sinan Khaddaj

#### Malaysia

*Democratic Action Party, DAP*  
P Pato  
Gooi Hock Seng

#### Malta

*Malta Labour Party*  
Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici

#### Mauritius

*Mauritius Labour Party*  
Ramesh Jeewoolall

#### Netherlands

*Labour Party, PvdA*  
Wim Kok  
Maarten van Traa  
Jan Marinus Wiersma  
Joris Juriens

#### New Zealand

*New Zealand Labour Party*  
Fran Wilde

#### Northern Ireland

*Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP*  
Denis Haughey

#### Norway

*Norwegian Labour Party, DNA*  
Thorvald Stoltenberg  
Thorbjørn Jagland  
Britt Schultz  
Oddrun Pettersen  
Inger-Anne Ravlum  
Oystein Maland

#### Paraguay

*Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF*  
Fernando Vera  
Euclides Acevedo  
Ricardo Lugo Rodríguez

#### Portugal

*Socialist Party, PS*  
Jorge Sampaio  
Paulo Pedroso

#### San Marino

*Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU*  
Fiorenzo Stolfi  
Patrizia Busignani

**Senegal**  
*Senegalese Workers' Party, PS*  
 Moustapha Ndiaye  
 Moustapha Ndiaye  
 Moustapha Ndiaye  
 Moustapha Ndiaye  
 Moustapha Ndiaye

**Costa Rica**  
*Costa Rican Workers' Party, PSOE*  
 Oscar Arias  
 Oscar Arias  
 Oscar Arias  
 Oscar Arias  
 Oscar Arias

**Denmark**  
*Communist Democratic Party, SAP*  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen  
 Peter Jensen

**Switzerland**  
*Communist Democratic Party of Switzerland*  
 Hans Willmer  
 Hans Willmer  
 Hans Willmer  
 Hans Willmer  
 Hans Willmer

**United States**  
*Democratic Socialists of America, DSA*  
 Peter Roberts  
 Elaine Barkan  
 John Zelmanowicz  
 Timothy Sears  
 Harriette Backer  
 Bernard Backer  
 John Hughes  
 David MacBryde  
 Diana Chapin  
 Robert Meitus

**United States**  
*Social Democrats, SDUSA*  
 Don Slaiman  
 Neil Freedman  
 Rita Freedman  
 Darin Kinzer

**Venezuela**  
*Democratic Action, AD*  
 Humberto Celli  
 Beatrice Rangel Mantilla  
 Marco Tulio Bruni Celli  
 Tomoteo Zambrano  
 Luis Emilio Rondón

### Consultative parties

**Bolivia**  
*Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR*  
 Jaime Paz Zamora

**Brazil**  
*Democratic Labour Party, PDT*  
 Leonel Brizola  
 Bocayuva Cunha  
 Roberto D'Avila

**Curaçao**  
*Movement for a New Antilles, MAN*  
 Don Martina  
 Mayra Coffie

**Cyprus**  
*EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus*  
 Takis Hadjidemetriou  
 Panos Hadjuyannis  
 Georgios Spanos

**Guyana**  
*Working People's Alliance, WPA*  
 Clive Thomas

**Panama**  
*Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD*  
 Pedro Pereira  
 Ricardo Aguilar

**Peru**  
*Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP*  
 Luis Alva Castro  
 Julia Barrera González  
 José Barba Caballero

**Puerto Rico**  
*Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP*  
 Rubén Berrios  
 Fernando Martín  
 Ariel Colón

**Turkey**  
*Social Democratic Party, SHP*  
 Erdal İnönü  
 Turkan Akyol  
 Yigit Guloksuz  
 Koret Goymen  
 Etem Ete

### Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE

**Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party**  
 Stefan Tabakoff  
 Franziska Nejschewa-Larm  
 Panayot Bakardjief

**Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party**  
 Karel Hruby  
 Georg J Loewy  
 Milan Friesel  
 Vilem Bernard

**Estonian Socialist Party**  
 Johannes Mikhelson  
 Ursula Wallberg  
 Juri Karl Seim  
 Madli Kurdve

**Social Democratic Party of Hungary**  
 Andor Bölcsföldi  
 Sandor Gergelyfy

**Social Democratic Party of Latvia**  
 Bruno Kalnins  
 Atis Lejins  
 Vilnis Zalkalus  
 Laimonis Eschensvalds  
 Baiba Vitolins  
 Imants Gross

**Lithuanian Social Democratic Party**  
 Jonas Vilcinskis  
 Kaspars Diksaitis  
 Irena Diksaitis  
 J. V. Bylaitis

**Polish Socialist Party**  
 Stanislaw Wasik  
 Tadeusz Prokopowicz  
 Kazik Majkowski  
 Stefan Trzcinski

**Yugoslav Socialist Party**  
 Marko Milunovic-Piper  
 Mirko Gjurkovecki  
 Dusan Dutina  
 Tadic Ljubomir

### Fraternal organisations

**International Falcon Movement**  
*Socialist Education International, IFMISEI*  
 Jerry Svensson  
 Nic Nilsson  
 Jacqui Cottyn  
 Jerry Wiklund  
 Odette Lambert  
 Carlos Percovitsch  
 Antonio Pizarro

**International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY**  
 Joan Calabuig  
 Ricard Torrell  
 Alfred Gusenbauer  
 Anna Lind  
 Martin Koller  
 Susanista Shrestha

**Socialist International Women, SIW**  
 Anita Gradin  
 Maria Rodriguez-Jonas  
 Ingrid Bergander  
 Birgitta Strömbald  
 May-Britt Theorin

### Associated organisations

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

**Socialist Group, European Parliament**  
 Rudi Arndt  
 Enrique Barón Crespo  
 Henri Saby  
 Paolo Falcone  
 Geoff Harris

**International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP**  
 Umberto Jovine

**Jewish Labor Bund, JLB**  
 Mitchell Lokiec  
 Bono Wiener

### Guests — international organisations/parties and others

**Amnesty International**  
 Larry Cox  
 Anita Klum

**African National Congress, ANC**  
 Oliver Tambo  
 Thabo Mbeki  
 Billy Modise

**Charter 77**  
 Jiri Hayek

**Commission on US-Latin American Relations**  
 Melinda Delashmutt

**Democratic and Socialist Inter-African**  
 Sadok Fayala

**European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC**  
 Markku Jääskeläinen

**Greenpeace**  
 Lena Ag  
 Rebecca Johnson

**Institute for European-Latin American Relations, IRELA**  
 Wolf Grabendorff

**International League of Religious Socialists, ILRS**  
 Evert Svensson  
 Franz Gundacker  
 Bert Barends

**International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU**  
 Renate Peltzer

**LISTY**  
 Zdenek Hejzlar

**Polisario Front**  
 Ali Mahfoud Beiba  
 Ahmed Bikhari  
 Ahmed Nourouddine Aomar  
 Fadel Ismael  
 Mohamed Lamin Uld Baali

**South West Africa People's Organisation, Swapo**  
 Toivo Ja Toivo  
 Niilo Papupi

**Aland Islands**  
*Social Democratic Party, SDP*  
 Pekka Tuominen

**Argentina**  
*Justicialista Party*  
 Eduardo Varela-Celis

**Argentina**  
*Partido Socialista*  
 Fernando Sosa

**Argentina**  
*Partido Socialista*  
 Fernando Sosa

**Cape Verde**  
*African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV*  
 Carlos Reis  
 Crispina Gomes

**Chile**  
*Socialist Party, PS*  
 Marcelo Schilling

**Colombia**  
*Liberal Party, PL*  
 Eduardo Mestre Sarmiento  
 José Fernando Botero Ochoa  
 Rodrigo Garavito Hernández  
 Alvaro Tirado

**Egypt**  
*National Democratic Party, NDP*  
 Kamal El-Shazly  
 Ahmed Salama  
 Mohamed Abdellah

**Faroe Islands**  
*Social Democratic Party, SDP*  
 Marita Petersen  
 Jan Muller  
 Hans Jorgensen

**Greece**  
*Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK*  
 Theodoros Pangalos  
 Vassilis Konstantinas

**Haiti**  
*National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM*  
 Victor Benoit  
 Jean-Claude Bajeux

**Haiti**  
*National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA*  
 Serge Gilles  
 Duly Brutus  
 Arnold Antonin

**Honduras**  
*Democratic Liberal Revolutionary Movement, MOLIDER*  
 Jorge Arturo Reina

**Hungary**  
*Hungarian Social Democratic Party*  
 Tibor Baranyai  
 Tamas Revesz  
 Sandor Bacsikai

**India**  
*Congress (I) Party*  
 Meira Kumar

**Korea**  
*Alliance for Democracy and Reunification of Korea, ADRK*  
 Kyu-Wyung Chung  
 Young-Moon Kwak  
 M S Rim  
 Yun-Chung Lee

**Korea**  
*The Party for Peace and Democracy, PPD*  
 Young-Sook Park  
 Se-Hyung Cho  
 Chae-Jung Rim  
 In-Hak Yoo  
 Hong-Myung Kim  
 Hong-il Kim

**Madagascar**  
*Party for National Unity, UTM*  
 Jérôme Razanabainy  
 José Ravelomanantsoa

**Mauritius**  
*Movement for the Liberation of Mauritius, MSLM*  
 Karim Ganga

**Mexico**  
*Partido Revolucionario del Trabajo, PRT*  
 Rafael Fajardo Bernal  
 José Manuel

**Morocco**  
*Union of Forces for Democracy and Socialism, UFDSE*  
 Abdoumalik El-Khatib

**Mozambique**  
*Front for the Liberation of Mozambique*  
 José Luís Gábara  
 António Massavanhane

**Nepal**  
*Congress Party*  
Mahesh Acharyn  
Sher Bahadur Deuba

**Nicaragua**  
*Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN*  
Bayardo Arce  
José Pasos  
Silvio Prado  
Ricardo Pasos  
Hernán Estrada

**Pakistan**  
*Pakistan People's Party, PPP*  
Naseer Shaikh  
Amir Ali Shah  
Tallat Yaqub  
Ifthikar L Hassan  
Naheed Sarwar  
Yusuf Khan

**Philippines**  
*Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP*  
Norberto Gonzales  
Chaco Molina  
Luz Almazon  
Rose Roig

**St. Lucia**  
*St. Lucia Labour Party, SLP*  
Julian Hunte

**Tunisia**  
*Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD*  
Abderrahim Zouari  
Abdelhamid Escheikh  
Taieb Sahbani  
Emna Aouij

**Tunisia**  
*Socialist Democratic Movement, MDS*  
Mustapha Ben Jaafar  
Khemais Chamari  
Khalfallah Mohamad-Aly

**Tunisia**  
*Popular Unity Movement, MUP*  
Ahmed Ben Salah  
Brahim Hayder  
Jalloul Azzouna

**Uganda**  
*National Resistance Movement, NRM*  
E G Ssempepa

**Uruguay**  
*Colorado Party*  
Manuel Flores Silva

**Uruguay**  
*People's Government Party, PGP*  
Yamandú Fau  
Antonio Gallicchio  
Ana-Maria Solari  
Felipe Michelini

**United States**  
*Democratic Party*  
Marvin Weissberg  
Thomas Melia

**Yugoslavia**  
*Socialist Alliance*  
Mirko Ostojic  
Dasa Sasie Silovic

**Zambia**  
*United National Independence Party, UNIP*  
Sundie J Kazunga  
B M Mwanakaoma

*Armenian Socialist Party*  
Hrayr Mahrokhian  
Jean Krikorian  
Haroutioun Milikian

*Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF*  
Michael Ghebrenegus  
Tseggai Tesfazion  
Wolde-Ab Yisak  
Teclai Menassie

*Iraqi Kurdistan Front, IKF*  
Massoud Barzani  
Roj Shawys  
Hoshiyar Zebari

*Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, PDKI*  
Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou  
Abdola Ghaderi  
Ebrahim Djourabchi

*Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK*  
Nawsherwan Mustafa Amin  
Shazad Saieb  
Hero Talabany

**Guests — individuals**

Faiz Abu Rahme  
Allan Boesak  
Hans Janitschek  
Julius Nyerere  
Lisbet Palme  
Hanna Siniora

**Observers — organisations/  
parties**

**Hungary**  
*Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*  
Rezső Nyers  
Ferenc Grot  
Lajos Demcsak  
Peter Havas

**Italy**  
*Italian Communist Party*  
Antonio Bassolino  
Giorgio Napolitano

**Poland**  
*Polish United Workers' Party*  
Krzysztof Ostrowski

**Soviet Union**  
*Communist Party*  
Karen Brutents  
Viktor Rykin  
Aleksandr Weber  
Alexandre Petrouchikhine

*Christian Democrat International*  
André Louis

*Liberal International*  
Daniel Tarschys

*Palestine Liberation Organisation*  
Yasser Abdrabbou  
Chawki Armali  
Ilan Halevi  
Eugene Makhlof

**SI committee: Brady Plan welcome,  
but still insufficient**

**Towards a  
new approach  
on debt  
and trade**

'A definitive resolution of the international debt crisis must go hand in hand with an overall strategy for recovery in the world economy, expanding trade and income for South and North alike. . .

'The changing relations between major actors in the world economy could make progress towards a genuinely new international economic order possible in the 1990s. But to achieve this, parallel change is needed in both global economic policy and the international institutions.'

These were the main conclusions of the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP) which met in Lausanne, Switzerland on 6-7 April with 'New Imperatives for International Trade and Finance' as its theme.

Attended by some 42 experts and representatives of SI member parties, regional bodies and international institutions, the meeting enjoyed broad participation from both North and South and carried out a wideranging analysis of the problems facing the world economy.

It adopted the 'Lausanne declaration' which, following previous SICEP initiatives in Lima (1986), Stresa (1987), Estoril and Berlin (1988), further developed the proposals advanced in the committee's 1985 *Global Challenge* report.

**Brady limits**

An important item on the SICEP agenda was the new US Brady Plan on the international debt crisis.

The gathering welcomed the emphasis of the Brady Plan on

overall debt reduction — not only recognising that debts must be fully paid — and observed that such an approach was consistent with the proposals that SICEP has been making for a number of years.

Unlike the previous Brady proposals, the Brady Plan does not merely rely on easing debt-servicing and new private sector lending.

However, the meeting also noted that the Group of Seven industrialised nations had introduced substantial modifications to the original form of the Brady Plan, thus reducing its potential effectiveness.

The Lausanne declaration listed several shortcomings of the Brady Plan:

— its failure to accompany debt reduction with a clear indication as to where new financial resources (needed to stem the negative outflow of resources from debtor nations) would come from;

— its continued insistence on a case-by-case approach in debt negotiations (thus failing to address the unequal relationship between North and South);

— its continued support for IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes which imposed welfare spending cuts, devaluation, deflation and deregulation, regardless of the specific social and economic needs of each individual country; and

— its failure to address protectionism in OECD countries (which hinders the efforts of developing countries to repay debt through economic growth).

In response, the Lausanne dec-