



# SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

## Council Meeting

### Istanbul, June 11-12, 1991



Erdogan Köseoglu

## SI COUNCIL IN ISTANBUL

*At the Council meeting in Istanbul on 11 and 12 June, the first to be held in Turkey, SI leaders stressed the country's important position at the interface between three continents.*

The Council meeting was hosted by the Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, which became a full member party of the Socialist International at the Stockholm Congress in 1989. The main themes on the agenda were Peace, Security and Cooperation in the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe: Reform, Democracy and Economic Renewal.

Opening the meeting, SI President Willy Brandt said that everyone in the International was aware of the great importance which must be attached today to Turkey, given the country's position at the interface between three continents. In terms both of regional peace and of economic cooperation, he added, it was no exaggeration to say that Turkey would play a key role in the Middle East.

On the work of the SI and its

Middle East Committee, Brandt said that the organisation placed great value on the forum which had been established for an exchange of views extending beyond our own ranks. This important work of building bridges between spokesmen and women from all parties concerned would continue. He profoundly hoped that in future the positive logic of peace would prevail in the region and urged all parties to take advantage of the present momentum for serious negotiations. Recalling the European experience, he pointed out that regional peace would not be achieved in one conference alone, but only in a series of multilateral and bilateral negotiations addressing the wide range of regional problems.

The SI president welcomed the Kurdish representatives attending the meeting as guests, expressing

both the solidarity of the Socialist International with the plight of the Kurdish people, and its appreciation of the assistance offered by Turkey in the very difficult circumstances of recent months.

Turning to central and eastern Europe, Brandt said that the revolutions of 1989 were already history. However, it would take at least a decade to master the challenge facing Europe. Unity, he said, was now the order of the day in all parts of Europe and the greatest challenge for the social democratic forces of the continent.

He mentioned the deep crisis in Yugoslavia and questioned why the members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had not yet used the instruments of conciliation at their disposal.

Whilst regional instruments



were very important, he also cited in this context the need to strengthen and reform the United Nations. This, he said, was something the Socialist International had been advocating for years. The United Nations must be given the authority to safeguard peace, to help preserve the environment and to improve economic and social development worldwide.

In concluding his remarks, Brandt recalled that it was forty years since the SI's post-war re-establishment in 1951. 'While we have been gaining ground in various parts of the world, we nevertheless should know that an enormous amount of work still remains to be done', he said.

Welcoming delegates to Istanbul, SHP President Erdal İnönü said that the Council's decision to hold this meeting in a region with so many problems gave one hope that the meeting might contribute to the elaboration of durable, just and peaceful solutions to those problems.

Turkey, he continued, was a bridge between Europe and the Middle East, between East and West, and between North and South. From such a geographical vantage point, his countrymen were well-placed to observe the changes in today's world climate.

They saw a growing consensus in the North on the peaceful solution of international conflicts, on the inviolability of national borders, on the supremacy of international law, on the need for collaboration and assistance to overcome international problems, and on acceptance of human rights issues as part of the international agenda.

These trends, he pointed out, had always been among the cardinal principles of social democrats. Right now, he believed, we had the right to assert that history had proven the validity of our principles.

Turning to the urgent search for peace in his own region, İnönü told delegates that in this search some universal principles must be obeyed, 'justice and fairness in the treatment of the two sides of the conflicts and respect for human rights of all the peoples concerned

in the conflict. Common sense also dictates that one must not force any change of borders, but try to obtain political solutions which respect the democratic rights of every citizen within the existing borders. To accomplish the transformation from forced temporary solutions to negotiated, durable solutions is the real challenge now facing the United Nations, and the Socialist International can be the pioneer of this transformation'.

Of the Kurdish and other refugees who had fled Iraq, he stressed that as soon as these people had begun to mass at the Turkish borders, the local and central administrations in Turkey had done their best to try and provide food, shelter and medical care. But the sheer numbers involved, combined with the severe weather and mountainous terrain, had made this a daunting task.

'What we need now', he continued, 'is a political solution, an agreement between the leaders of all ethnic groups and the government, which, while maintaining the territorial integrity of the country, will allow all the ethnic and religious minorities in Iraq to live happily and securely with full respect for their human rights and their cultural identities'.

The plight of the Iraqi Kurds had naturally led to increased international interest in the condition of Kurdish-speaking peoples in other countries, including Turkey, İnönü said. He found this natural, but the historical, cultural and political differences between these countries must not be forgotten.

Protection of the rights of minorities, he added, was a crucial question in many parts of the world.

### **The Middle East**

The major business of the Council opened with a debate on the prospects for peace, security and cooperation in the Middle East. Both the SI Middle East Committee and the SI Disarmament Advisory Council had held meetings in Istanbul on 10 June, followed by a joint meeting of the two bodies, in

order to discuss disarmament and arms control issues affecting the region. Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the Middle East Committee and Kalevi Sorsa, chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council, reported on the wide-ranging and positive talks at these meetings, opening a discussion joined by prominent leaders of SI member parties from Europe and the Middle East.

Israel Labour Party Leader Shimon Peres stressed the need to find common ground, the only possible source of hope for the people of the region. He set out a number of points supported by his party. These included the holding of an international conference - which could meet more than once if necessary - providing that conference had no power of imposition; the participation in such a conference of European and United Nations representatives; the presence of a Palestinian delegation, as part of a Jordano-Palestinian joint delegation, which could include Palestinians from East Jerusalem and Palestinians who had been deported from Israel; and the principle of land for peace, as long as that land was subsequently demilitarised.

The meeting was also addressed by Palestinian Leader Hanna Siniora, a guest at the meeting. Siniora expressed appreciation of the opportunity to take part in these discussions and willingness to work with all member parties of the International, including the Israeli parties, to build on a constructive vision of the future, and to end the long years of conflict in his region.

Also among the guests attending was Jalal Talabani, of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, a prominent leader of the Kurdistan Front in Iraq. Talabani spoke of the oppression, indeed genocide, suffered by the Kurdish people in Iraq over the past decade. At last, he said, following recent developments and the dramatic flight of millions of Kurdish refugees, international attention had been focused on the plight of the Kurds and its implications for regional and global security. He particularly welcomed the establishment of



**President  
Willy Brandt**

safe havens within Iraqi Kurdistan, which had been a prime factor in obliging the government to seek negotiations with the Kurdistan Front.

The Council subsequently adopted a substantial resolution on the Middle East, dealing in particular with peace, economic

While some 50 per cent of Polish debt had already been cancelled, such conversion would apply to a further ten per cent. This concept, she stressed, could equally be applied in third world countries which were suffering crushing burdens of debt and in urgent need of money to finance

problems accumulated in the past and only now becoming apparent in their full extent.

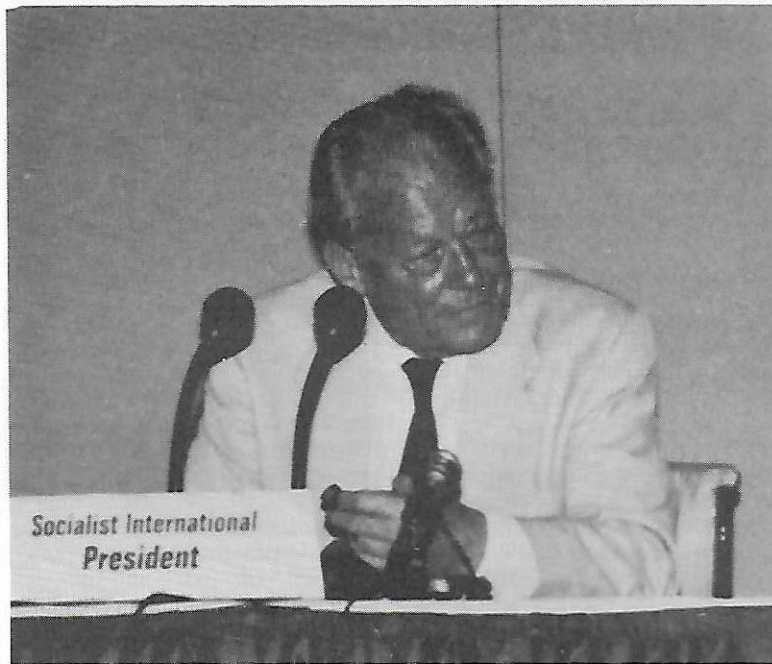
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Chair Petar Dertliev told the meeting that in Bulgaria there still existed a well-organised nucleus of the former Communist party. Having won last year's elections, the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party had invited the Union of Democratic Forces to join the government, no doubt wishing to share responsibility for the inevitable economic crisis. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party had not been willing to join a government on those terms. Right-wing forces of the UDF had assumed control of the economic ministries and were now carrying out pure monetarist reforms. With soaring prices and unemployment, the country was struggling for mere survival. While Right-wing UDF leaders were now moving towards the formation of a new party of the Right, with support from Right-wing parties in western Europe, the Social Democratic Party hoped that at the next elections it would be in a position to put another alternative before the voters.

Marek Garzdecki of the Polish Socialist Party, PPS, noted that much international attention was focused on Poland, since it had been the first country of eastern Europe to embark on the process of political and economic change. The issue of disarmament, he said, was also an important one for Poland, as current agreements left the country still vulnerable to short-range weapons.

Sergiu Cunesco, president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, referred with sadness to the one thousand violent deaths in his country in 1989. Ironically, after the only 'violent' revolution, Romania was the only country of eastern Europe still ruled by a re-elected communist government.

Vello Saatpalu of the Estonian Social Democratic Party thanked the Socialist International for its support in the reconstruction of the Estonian republic. He appealed now for support for the independence process of the Baltic republics and for a Baltic presence in CSCE meetings.

On the final day of the meeting



Yildirim Veyssel

development, the plight of the Kurdish people and disarmament (see p 32). A separate resolution on arms control was also adopted (see p 33).

**Prospects in Europe**

On the meeting's second main theme of reform, democracy and economic renewal in central and eastern Europe, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that Europe had a great responsibility not only for its own future, but for global cooperation, and concrete steps to take up new opportunities were needed as soon as possible.

As an example of such a concrete step, she described the new initiative being jointly launched by the Polish and Norwegian governments. This was a plan for the conversion of Polish debt into investment in measures for environmental improvement.

sustainable development.

She went on to call for the opening of dialogue and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Norway, which like Turkey was a neighbour of the Soviet Union, had a strong interest in this and was advocating aid in parallel with reform, with urgent and positive consideration of how much conditionality was advisable and realistic.

Prime Minister Brundtland also referred to the proposed European Energy Charter, recalling that after World War 2 peace in western Europe had been crucially reinforced by the integration of the coal and steel industries of the former adversaries.

Leaders of a number of east European parties addressed the Council on the fast-changing situation in their countries.

Jiri Horak, chair of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, spoke of the enormous



the SI Council issued a statement (see page 34), supporting democracy in the Baltic republics, recognising the right of the Baltic peoples to self-determination, and urging consideration of the Baltic question in the forum of the CSCE, whilst also urging increased economic aid to the whole of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as the best way to foster the political and economic reforms which are the only path to full democracy.

Also attending the Council as guests were representatives of the social democratic parties of Mongolia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan and of the Russian Federation, who all addressed the meeting on the current situation of their respective parties.

### Other Political Matters

Other political issues on the Council's agenda included reform of the United Nations. Swedish Minister of Agriculture Mats Hellström addressed the meeting on the 'Stockholm Initiative' on global security and governance, launched by a group of political leaders from all continents at a meeting in Stockholm on 22 April. (Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson discusses the Stockholm initiative in an article on page 4 of this issue of Socialist Affairs).

In his closing words to the Council, SI President Willy Brandt urged all member parties to support this initiative, an important move in the spirit of the International's long-standing commitment to strengthening international cooperation and institutions, including the United Nations.

Reg September, a member of the ANC executive and guest at the Council meeting, spoke on the current situation in his country, stressing that the black leaders of the ANC still had no right to stand for elected office or even to vote in South Africa.

The Council adopted a resolution on South Africa (See page 34).

The meeting also heard reports of some major events organised by the International in recent months. José Francisco Peña Gómez, chair of the SI Committee

on Latin America and the Caribbean, spoke of the well-attended two-day meeting of the Committee held in Aruba in April. He referred to the, on the whole very positive, progress of democratisation in the continent and to the peace process in

debates and action of the International (see Socialist Affairs issue 1/91 for full report of the Sydney conference).

In his General Secretary's report (printed in full on pages 30-32) Ayala gave an overview of all the International's activities in the



Host party  
leader  
Erdal İnönü

Yıldırım Veyssel

Central America and in Colombia.

The Council adopted a resolution welcoming the consolidation of democracy in Chile (see page 34). In another resolution, it supported the progress of peace negotiations in El Salvador since the election of a new government there (see page 34).

Conny Fredriksson of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, reported on behalf of Swedish Environment Minister and Committee Chair Birgitta Dahl on the meeting of the SI Environment Committee held in Sweden in May (see page 24).

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala reported to the Council on the Party Leaders' Conference held in Sydney, Australia, in March, which had reflected both the increasing influence of the countries of the region in international affairs, and the great importance of the region in the

months since the last Council meeting in New York.

### Membership

Meeting in closed session in Istanbul, the SI Council agreed to revitalise the full membership in the Socialist International of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP. This meant that the social democratic parties of all three Baltic republics were once again full member parties of the International.

The Council also agreed to send a fact-finding mission to Hungary.

### Council to meet in Chile

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Council would be held in Santiago, Chile. The meeting will take place in late November 1991.



## SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN ISTANBUL

May I begin my report by thanking the Social Democratic Populist Party and all those who have helped to organise this our first Council meeting in Turkey.

I hardly need to say again here that since the last meeting of the Council in New York last October the international community has lived through a crisis centred in the Middle East. Consequently, during that period, many of the activities of the International concentrated on our response to the Gulf crisis and the situation in the region as a whole.

The International, however, also carried out in recent months a wide range of activities in many parts of the world, focused on many different concerns.

I will mention briefly a number of areas in which the Socialist International has been active since our last Council meeting.

Concerning the Middle East, our committee met in Bonn last November and again in January in London, in advance of the date which was set by the United Nations Security Council in relation to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The committee monitored the situation closely and also examined possibilities for diplomatic solutions. In line with this, following the London meeting the chairman, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski and other representatives of the committee held discussions in Paris with President François Mitterrand on the French government initiative.

When the fighting started, we emphasised the need for a speedy halt to the conflict and a durable negotiated settlement to the problems of the whole Middle East region.

At a meeting of the Disarmament Advisory Council held in Stockholm in late January, events in the Gulf and their implications for global security and disarmament were among the topics discussed.

An urgent meeting of the presidium was convened in Vienna on February 1 to discuss the Gulf crisis, a meeting which was also attended by a number of other leaders of our parties.

After the cessation of hostilities, our International held further discussions at the Party Leaders' Conference in March in Sydney.

The Middle East Committee met again in Cairo at the end of April, in order to review the situation in the Middle East as a whole. The meeting was hosted by the National Democratic Party and we were also received by President Mubarak.

The positive exchanges we have had here in Istanbul on the Middle East will surely strengthen our role as a force for peace in the region.

At the end of April, a mission of the International came here to Turkey and, in cooperation with the Social Democratic Populist Party, held discussions on the tragedy of the Kurdish and other refugees at the borders and in northern Iraq, and visited the frontier areas.

A major event of recent months, which I have already mentioned, was the SI Party Leaders' Conference held in Sydney on 9 and 10 March, to which I will refer again later this morning. The Australian Labor Party is celebrating its centenary this year and this was an appropriate occasion for the launching of a new phase of Socialist International activities in the Asia-Pacific region.

Our organisation has continued to follow closely developments in eastern and central Europe. In January, we learned with concern of the violent incidents in the Baltic republics and called in the strongest terms for respect for human rights. Our presidium, at its meeting in Vienna in February, decided that a Socialist International mission should be sent to the Baltic republics and this took place the same month. The members of the delegation met leaders of SI member parties and other political forces there, and also travelled to Moscow, where they

held talks on the situation with representatives of the CPSU central committee and with the Social Democrats of the Russian Federation.

Exchanges of information and views on political developments in central and eastern Europe have continued, in informal meetings with international secretaries which we have convened from time to time. Following a decision we took at a meeting in Vienna, we are convening another in London at the end of this month, with the participation of international secretaries from eastern and western Europe.

On 31 March, long-awaited elections were held in Albania and our International participated in the observation of the ballot, which turned out to be but one step in the still-developing process of democratisation.

Our International also collaborated in the preparation of a conference on eastern and central Europe organised in Bonn in April by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and other foundations and convened by our president.

Turning to the Latin American continent, I must begin by referring to the sad death of our vice-president, Guillermo Ungo, last February. Together with other representatives of the Socialist International, I was at his funeral in San Salvador, which was also attended by many friends and colleagues from the National Revolutionary Movement. Guillermo Ungo has been sorely missed, as much within our International as in his own country. He died at a time of advance by the democratic left in El Salvador and of renewed progress towards peace and stability in Central America.

A delegation from our International observed the first round of elections held in Guatemala last November. The SI group also took the opportunity to reiterate our grave concern at the



unsatisfactory nature of investigations carried out in Guatemala into the assassination of Héctor Oquellí and Gilda Flores. Following the victory of President Jorge Serrano in the second round of voting our member party in Guatemala, the Democratic Socialist Party, have joined the new government of National Unity.

An SI mission, in which I participated, travelled to Haiti to observe campaigning for the first free elections there for several decades. Subsequently, another group visited the country to observe the voting. Our member party, PANPRA, has welcomed the successful carrying out of these democratic elections, which resulted in victory for President Aristide.

Most recently, another International mission was in Surinam to observe the elections held on 25 May, a step towards democracy in that country.

It is intended that a similar mission will observe the elections later this year in Guyana.

Since our congress in Stockholm, Socialist International missions have travelled to many countries to observe elections, from Namibia to Romania, and from Nicaragua to Bulgaria, a part of our tangible commitment to the, at times slow and difficult, but always encouraging development of democratic societies.

Members of the Council will recall that in 1990 our International took part in the process whereby the M-19 in Colombia surrendered its arms and its members were re-incorporated into civilian political life. This was a new role for our International in the cause of peace and disarmament. Again recently, a delegation was present in Colombia at ceremonies in which the EPL guerrilla group surrendered its arms and re-formed as a civilian political party. Also in Ecuador, SI representatives acted as witnesses to the ceremony in which members of the Alfaro Vive guerrilla movement laid down their arms and returned to civilian life.

A meeting of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Aruba on 10-11 April, hosted by our member party there,

the People's Electoral Movement. There we discussed regional integration; the human rights situation, and political developments in the Caribbean. Delegates attended from most of our member parties in the region, together with representatives from some member parties in Europe and observers from a number of other parties and organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean. A special report will be presented today by the chair of the committee.

In Sydney in March, we took the opportunity to review the rapid developments in South Africa. In a statement issued by that meeting, we welcomed the progress made towards the dismantling of apartheid, but stressed the long way still to go and the need to maintain international pressure on the South African government. We also urged the need for restraint and a turning back from violent confrontation.

Our contacts with parties and organisations in many African countries are intensifying, as change and democratisation in the continent continues to gather momentum. Here in Istanbul, the parties which are active in our committees on Africa held discussions before our Council and decided on a forthcoming meeting of both committees where we will examine our contribution to the new emerging democratic forces. A number of visits to African countries are also planned for the near future.

Our Human Rights Committee met in Lisbon last December, at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Portugal. The committee is currently working on a plan for adoption by the Council on the question of the rights of refugees and asylum-seekers. In Portugal, we also discussed the question of East Timor and issued a statement calling on Indonesia to apply United Nations resolutions, and to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict in that territory under the aegis of the UN. The next meeting of the Human Rights Committee will deal with the situation of minorities and ethnic groups. A future meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, is also planned.

At the end of May, the Environment Committee held a

meeting in Malmö, Sweden, at the invitation of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, which will be reported in greater detail by a comrade from that party. The committee looked forward to the United Nations Environment Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro next year. Prior to that, the committee will hold its next meeting also in Brazil later this year.

Our Disarmament Advisory Council, which has met twice this year, as our president said yesterday, will be concentrating more attention on European and other global security issues, in the context of the present changing international relations.

After our discussion on North-South issues at our last Council meeting, the Economic Policy Committee will also hold a meeting in the forthcoming months in the Netherlands at the invitation of the Dutch Labour Party, at which it will return to the North-South agenda last touched upon at our meeting in New York last year.

Our vice-president, Pierre Mauroy, yesterday announced an initiative to bring together socialist local authorities from our member parties in 1992, to which he will be dedicating himself in the coming months. This will go far to implement the decisions taken when the Local Authority Committee was established in Geneva in 1989. We welcome member parties' response to this idea and their collaboration in its implementation.

I think this brief sample of our most recent activities and the few I have mentioned which are planned for the immediate future bear witness to the relevance of our democratic socialist strategies today. As we look back on the forty years since the re-establishment of our International in Frankfurt in June 1951, we can appreciate how much our movement has grown, both intellectually and geographically. We must make certain that that development continues.



## RESOLUTIONS

### THE MIDDLE EAST

#### 1. Peace

The Socialist International, on the basis of the work and the successive texts of its Middle East Committee, and especially the resolution adopted in Cairo on 29 April 1991, reasserts its will to see a just and lasting peace established in the whole Middle East, and this for all the peoples of the region. The Socialist International considers therefore that its main task is to assist the bringing together of all parties involved in the conflict. In Istanbul a real step forward has been taken in this direction with the common participation of the delegation of the Israeli fraternal parties and the Jordanian and Palestinian guests in the work of the Middle East Committee. The SI will continue to increase its activities towards this goal. After the meeting with representatives from the Kingdom of Jordan, we seek to start a dialogue with Syria and other countries directly involved.

The welcome diplomatic activities, especially those of the United States of America, aimed at starting the peace process in the Middle East between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as her Arab neighbours, have unfortunately not yet to this day achieved decisive results. This situation would be extremely dangerous if it persists and might strengthen the extremist forces on all the parties.

The Socialist International stresses once again the importance of the peace process which should be initiated through a Peace Conference bringing together all the parties involved in the conflict, with the sole objective of facilitating the bilateral negotiations, taking into consideration the decisions made during the bilateral negotiations at agreed intervals, and eventually bringing its guarantee to an overall solution. The presence of the United Nations is indispensable, due to its role, and in particular that of the Security Council, in providing international legality, settling conflicts and maintaining peace. Each party involved in this conflict must decide for itself the composition of its own delegation.

In the interest of all parties concerned, the participation of the USA, the USSR and the European Community in the conference is imperative. Egypt, as the only Arab country in the region which has diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, has an important role to play in this peace process.

The Socialist International asserts that all the negotiations must be based on

the following principles:

1. The right of the State of Israel to existence and security;

2. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, not excluding the establishment of their own independent state, of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, or any other solution which they choose;

3. Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council of the United Nations, with all the principles stipulated therein, as well as resolution 681;

4. The lasting establishment of harmonious coexistence and of economic and other cooperation among all the peoples of the

region, with the support of the international community.

All the parties involved must immediately commit themselves to creating the conditions required to start the peace process, and to refrain from all acts of violence or terrorism. The Socialist International demands that the Israeli government stops its settlement policy in the occupied territories and refrains from any bombardment of, or air-raid on, Lebanon, and likewise demands that the Palestinians avoid any terrorist activity and the involved Arab States avoid any act of belligerence.

The SI expresses its confidence in the efforts of the whole international community aimed at creating the conditions required for a final settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East by means of structures for dialogue and measures of mutual confidence similar to the CSCE procedures. It reasserts its strong belief in the fact that peace and economic development are inseparable from democracy, respect for human rights and the guarantee of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities.

#### 2. Cooperation and Development

The Socialist International will form a study group which will plan an economic and social structure for the Middle East, to the satisfaction of all the countries of the region.

#### 3. The situation of the Kurdish people

1. The Socialist International shares the great concern expressed by the world community during the recent and ongoing tragedy of the Kurdish people both within Iraq and concerning those hundreds of thousands who have fled into Iran and Turkey.

2. In March 1988, the Saddam Hussein

dictatorship used chemical weapons against its own Kurdish citizens, killing more than 5000 and driving more than 67,000 into refugee camps in Turkey. It was the fear of a repetition of this recent attempt to commit genocide that led the majority of the Kurdish citizens of Iraq to seek refuge outside the borders of their own country and far away from their homes. It was this fear for their lives which made international safeguards, guaranteed by military units, necessary. Such international help should be understood as a means to prevent further attempts at genocide and only within the framework of the United Nations. It does not represent any territorial intervention. These safeguards did respect the integrity of the Iraqi state and will have to be withdrawn as soon as other safeguards and internal agreements are established to the satisfaction of the Kurdish people concerned.

3. The SI welcomes the massive help extended to the refugees by both the international community and the Turkish and Iranian peoples. At the same time the SI is also aware of the tremendous strain which all parties concerned, including the refugees themselves, the border authorities, and the people living next to the refugee areas, have had to overcome. The immediate help and impressive solidarity of the Turkish and Iranian citizens in the area, some of whom are themselves of Kurdish culture and background, has gained admiration. At the same time the Turkish and Iranian authorities had to cope with almost insurmountable problems, sheltering millions. The Socialist International supports the Kurdish request for the international community to make available technical and financial support to rebuild villages destroyed as a result of the Iraqi scorched-earth policy.

4. The SI has learned with great respect that our member party, the Turkish Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, has presented a constructive paper on the Kurdish question in particular, in the South-East of the country. The SI invites all political forces in the five states where Kurdish people live to endeavour to work in a similar way for the future of their Kurdish fellow-citizens.

5. The SI is convinced that only a peaceful perspective will help the Kurdish people to overcome this tragedy. The right answer is not a new division of existing states in the region, but democratisation of the states concerned, with the citizens of Kurdish origins, along with all other citizens, obtaining full democratic rights.

6. The European Community which has helped so much to overcome old feuds and conflicts, and the 34-country CSCE might provide a model for a peaceful



## RESOLUTIONS

and better future for the Kurdish people. 7. The Socialist International agrees to send a mission to northern Iraq to observe the developments affecting the people of Kurdish origin there and to report back to the next Council meeting.

**4. Disarmament**

Uncontrolled trade in arms and weapons technology is a threat to international peace, security and stability. The Gulf War and the war between Iran and Iraq are a tragic testimony to this. Such trade creates regional disparities and encourages quests for dominance. It also aggravates the destructiveness of armed conflicts. A failure to tackle the problem would lead to continuing instability.

Bringing the international arms trade under effective control is crucial for the creation of a new world order. Progress in this question would concretely contribute to the political solution of regional conflicts. Every effort should now be made by both suppliers and recipients as well as the whole international community to this end.

The problem of arms transfers can only be solved through a comprehensive programme establishing a global regime. It should involve both suppliers and recipients. It should cover both the transfer and production of arms and weapons technology. Such a regime should be complemented by encouraging regional restraints and regimes.

The five permanent members of the Security Council, which are also the largest suppliers of arms in the Middle East, bear a special responsibility in preventing a new regional arms race in the Middle East. The recent arms control initiatives by President Bush and President Mitterrand should be followed without delay by concrete measures involving both the suppliers and recipients of arms and weapons technology. As has been proposed by a number of governments, openness and transparency in arms transfers should be promoted under the auspices of the United Nations.

In the Middle East, the supplier countries should show extreme restraint. The countries of the region should refrain from a conventional arms race. They should join all agreements banning weapons of mass destruction, including the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the future Chemical Weapons Convention.

At the global level, the process aimed at increasing openness and transparency should be started by creating, under the auspices of the United Nations, a clearing house or a centre of information on international arms transfers and national production. It should collect

and process data and promote the coordination of national policies and legislation. It should act in cooperation with research institutions and non-governmental organisations.

The information processed should gradually be widened to cover specific weapons systems and production facilities. In conjunction with these measures, guidelines and constraints on the actual trade in arms should be worked out. Further, an arms control verification organisation, complementing existing verification procedures, could be established under the United Nations auspices.

Along with these measures, the United Nations should promote confidence-building measures both globally and regionally, by providing information and expertise. Here, experience from the existing confidence-building regimes could prove useful.

**ARMS CONTROL**

The United States and The Soviet Union should sign the START Treaty and then immediately continue negotiations on further reductions of strategic nuclear weapons. A basic element for these negotiations is the maintenance of the ABM Treaty. Negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons are long overdue and should begin now.

The reductions of nuclear weapons should not be accompanied by new resources thrown into a qualitative arms race. Rather the development and production of a new generation of nuclear weapons should be banned.

The naval arms race is a threat to the security of coastal states and it weakens regional stabilities. Maritime disarmament must be included in arms control negotiations at the earliest opportunity.

Progress in bilateral arms control negotiations should be followed by new multilateral steps, especially those concerning weapons of mass destruction. The decision taken by France to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is welcome. China should follow suit. All countries should be prepared to sign and implement the future Chemical Weapons Convention.

Debates about alternative models of security in Europe should not overshadow our traditional concern with extending as far as possible arms control which is still the best means of ensuring stability.

CSCE offers in Europe a model of

security that deserves to be studied and possibly extended to other areas. CSCE has the merit of having introduced revolutionary steps such as verification of disarmament, confidence-building measures, and a better guarantee of civil rights, political, economic and cultural cooperation among its members.

The Mediterranean area, Middle East, South East Asia and some other areas may profit from the methods introduced by CSCE in defence of peace and security for all nations.

**STATEMENT ON AFRICA**

A growing number of African countries have started democratic changes in their political systems. This is a major change in the area. The spreading of democracy in Africa is encouraged and welcomed by the Socialist International as essential to the implementation of fundamental freedoms, the defence of human rights, the ending of many regional conflicts, and also to cope with economic development, environment control and famine problems. Some countries, notably in western Africa, have already peacefully stabilised their democratic regimes and there are positive signs of the changes still to come in many other countries. In this framework, the Socialist International, through the work of its specialised committees, supports the democratisation of Africa. The SI parties have decided to intensify their relations with the parties fighting for a multi-party system and democratic socialism in Africa.

The successful completion of the peace process in Angola - under Portuguese mediation - is a major event not only for the country itself but also for the stabilisation of the whole region. The commitment of the parties involved in the peace agreement, as well as of all the other political forces and civilian society to peace, create favourable conditions for a stable transitional period until general elections are held.

Although these positive changes are increasingly taking place, the prevalence of many other regional conflicts - even civil wars - and deep-rooted religious and socio-economic problems in different parts of the continent are a cause of major concern to the Socialist International.

The specific political situation in the Maghreb has the attention of the Socialist International, which supports the development of the democratic process in



## RESOLUTIONS

the region. The SI expresses its concern at the growth of fundamentalist tendencies which have been observed in the Maghreb, forming an obstacle on the path of progress towards a civil society and seriously diminishing the rights and freedoms of women in that part of the continent.

The refugee situation remains an extremely serious political and humanitarian problem. Along with international aid, only peace and democracy can provide the background needed to resolve the real causes of this dramatic problem.

The Socialist International is fully aware that democracy is a condition of development, and calls upon the international community to provide additional economic support to the democratic African countries.

The Socialist International congratulates the secretary-general of the United Nations, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, for his efforts to bring the long conflict of Western Sahara to a just and lasting peace settlement, and welcomes the proposed holding of a referendum in early 1992 in the territory.

The Socialist International reaffirms its support for the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara; we expect that all parties involved in the conflict - Morocco and the Polisario Front - firstly will fully cooperate with the UN and the Organisation of African Unity in connection with this planned referendum, and then will fully respect the results of that referendum.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The Socialist International has stated repeatedly that the reform process in South Africa must lead to a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa, with equal rights and governed by the principle of one-person-one-vote.

The Socialist International calls for the rapid abolition of the remaining apartheid legislation. It recognises however that significant steps have been taken during the past years and it welcomes the recent repeal of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act.

There remain other obstacles to negotiations. All political prisoners must be released. The way for exiles to return has to be cleared rapidly.

The developments in South Africa are overshadowed by the continuing violence in the townships. The SI supports all constructive proposals, especially those made by the African National Congress, to overcome this violence and urges the South African government to terminate the implicit and explicit collu-

sion of security forces with one side.

The Socialist International remains convinced that any change in the application of sanctions should be related to the adoption of real and practical steps in the destruction of apartheid. Until the remaining obstacles to negotiations have been removed, existing measures should be maintained.

The road to a post-apartheid South Africa is open. But to be able to build a new society more than just the abolition of apartheid is needed. The black majority must be enabled to develop the necessary political and organisational structures. Big changes in the economic and social areas are needed to guarantee a stable society. The Socialist International calls upon the international community to support these changes.

### CHILE

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its satisfaction at the consolidation of democracy which is taking place in Chile. The attempts at destabilisation made by sectors of different ideological tendencies have not achieved their aim of halting the passage of Chile to democracy.

The constitutional reforms that the democratic government is promoting are part of this process and the contribution that our member party has made in this respect are proposals which will improve the institutional framework of Chilean democracy.

### EL SALVADOR

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its satisfaction at the fact that in El Salvador the process of negotiation started in April 1990 with the mediation of the secretary-general of the United Nations has produced, albeit tardily, positive results on the questions of electoral freedom and the protection of human rights. The Council solemnly calls on the negotiating parties - the government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front - not to interrupt the negotiations and, in the cause of avoiding further harm and distress to Salvadorean society and of starting as soon as possible the peaceful reconstruction of the country, rapidly to agree on a ceasefire and to reach a definitive, negotiated solution to the conflict.

The progress made on electoral questions has contributed to the fact that at present in the National Legislative Assembly installed on 1st May 1991, there are representatives of our fraternal party, the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR.

At the same time the Council reiterates its full solidarity with the party as it recovers from the recent death of its beloved leader Guillermo Ungo and prepares itself for its role as the democratic socialist option in the politics of El Salvador.

## STATEMENT ON THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

The Socialist International Council, meeting in Istanbul:

**supports** the peaceful changes for democracy in the Baltic Republics and the transition from a command system to a free and open economy;

**recognises** the rights of the Baltic peoples to full self-determination;

**recognises** the Baltic question as being of an international magnitude that should be dealt with under the auspices of the CŠCE process;

**considers** that economic and financial aid to the Soviet Union and east European countries should be increased with the aim of promoting such political and economic changes that will lead to full democracy.



## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Socialist International

Willy Brandt  
Luis Ayala  
  
Klaus Lindenberg

### MEMBER PARTIES

#### AUSTRIA

Socialist Party of Austria, SPOe  
Irmtraut Karlsson  
Karl Schramek

#### BELGIUM

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

#### BELGIUM

Socialist Party, SP  
Frank Vandenbroucke  
Karel van Miert  
Dirk Drijbooms  
Léona Detiège  
Martine Lemonnier

#### BRAZIL

Democratic Labour Party, PDT  
Leonel Brizola  
Roberto D'Ávila

#### BULGARIA

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP  
Petar Dertliev  
Mikhail Petkov  
Anton Antonov  
Stefan Tabakoff  
Petra Tabakoff

#### CHILE

Radical Party, PR  
Carlos González Márquez  
Iván Mesías  
Alejandra Faulbaum  
Alejandro Montesino  
Marcos Alvarez

#### COSTA RICA

National Liberation Party, PLN  
Daniel Oduber  
Rolando Araya  
Ana Oduber  
Danilo Jiménez

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party  
Jiri Horák

#### DENMARK

Social Democratic Party  
Lasse Budtz  
Ralf Pittelkow

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD  
José Francisco Peña Gómez  
Rafael Suberví Bonilla  
Milagros Ortiz Bosch  
Edmundo Brown  
Peggy Cabral  
Sara Paulina de Solís  
Leonor Sánchez Baret

#### ECUADOR

Democratic Left Party, PID  
Andrés Vallejo Arcos

#### EGYPT

National Democratic Party, NDP  
Mohamed Eissa

#### EL SALVADOR

National Revolutionary Movement, MNR  
Victor Manuel Valle

#### ESTONIA

Estonian Social Democratic Party, ESDP  
Vello Saatpalu  
Jüri-Karl Seim

#### FINLAND

Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Pertti Paasio  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Tarja Kantola  
Tero Shemeikka  
Anja Savolainen

#### FRANCE

Socialist Party, PS  
Pierre Mauroy  
Pierre Guidoni  
Michel Debout  
François Bernandini  
Axel Queval  
Alain Chenal

#### GERMANY

Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD  
Hans Koschnick  
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski  
Ingrid Matthäus-Meyer  
Hans-Eberhard Dingels  
Veronika Isenberg  
Wolfgang Wege

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The Labour Party  
Mike Gapes

#### GREECE

Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK  
Christos Papoutsis  
Nikos Dimadis  
Titina Pantazi

#### GUATEMALA

Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD  
Aracely Conde de Paíz  
Floralma Téllez

#### HUNGARY

Social Democratic Party of Hungary  
Anna Petrasovits  
Ernö Ormándlaky  
Ignác Czákó

#### ISRAEL

Israel Labour Party  
Shimon Peres  
Nava Arad  
Israel Gat  
Abraham Hatzamri

#### ISRAEL

United Workers' Party, MAPAM  
Elazar Granot  
Monica Pollack  
Ester Mordoch

#### ITALY

Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI  
Antonio Cariglia  
Ferdinando Facchiano  
Filippo Caria  
Ivanka Corti  
Andrea Miele

#### ITALY

Italian Socialist Party, PSI  
Bettino Craxi  
Margherita Boniver  
Paolo Vittorelli  
Giampiero Orsello  
Luca Cefisi  
Mauro Giallombardo  
Giuseppe Scanni

#### JAPAN

Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP  
Sachiko Taguchi

#### JAPAN

Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ  
Manae Kubota  
Issei Inoue  
Shigeru Gotou  
Mitsuhiro Uezumi

#### LEBANON

Progressive Socialist Party, PSP  
Walid Jumblatt  
Doureid Yaghi  
Mary Makarem

#### LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP  
Aloyzas Sakalas  
Kazimieras Antanavicius  
Alvydas Medalinskas  
Jonas Valaitis

#### MALTA

Malta Labour Party  
Leo Brincat

#### NETHERLANDS

Labour Party, PvdA  
Marjanne Sint  
Jan Marinus Wiersma  
Cezmi Doganer

#### NORWAY

Norwegian Labour Party, DNA  
Gro Harlem Brundtland  
Thorbjørn Jagland  
Siri Bjerke

#### PORTUGAL

Socialist Party, PS  
Fernando Marques da Costa

#### SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal  
Mamadou Faye  
Mamadou Seyni  
Mbengue  
Papa Amath Dieng

#### SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE  
Elena Flores  
Miguel Angel Martínez

#### SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP  
Mats Hellström  
Conny Fredriksson  
Monica Andersson  
Gunnar Lassinantti  
Ulla Ölvebro

#### SWITZERLAND

Social Democratic Party of Switzerland  
Heinrich Buchbinder

#### TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD  
Chadli Neffati  
Taieb Sahbani  
Zouhair Dhaoudi  
Emna Aouidj

#### TURKEY

Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP  
Erdal İnönü  
Hikmet Çetin  
Onur Kumbaracibasi  
Ismail Cem  
Abdülkadir Ates  
Yigit Gülöksüz  
Tahir Köse  
Türkan Akyol  
Erol Agaçil  
Mithat Sirmen  
Korel Göymen



**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**USA**  
Democratic Socialists of America, DSA  
Bogdan Denitch  
Motl Zelmanowicz

**USA**  
Social Democrats, SDUSA  
Don Slaiman  
Joel Freedman

**VENEZUELA**  
Democratic Action, AD  
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli  
Reinaldo Figueredo  
Timoteo Zambrano

**CONSULTATIVE PARTIES**

**ARUBA**  
People's Electoral Movement, MEP  
Hyacintho Rudolfo Croes

**BOLIVIA**  
Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR  
Carmen Pereira  
Marcelo Paz

**CYPRUS**  
EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus  
Takis Hadjidemetriou  
Panos Hadjiyannis  
Katia Hadjidemetriou

**MOROCCO**  
Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP  
Abderrahman Yousoufi

**TUNISIA**  
Popular Unity Movement, MUP  
Ahmed Ben Salah

**SOCIALIST UNION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, SUCEE**

**LATVIA**  
Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP  
Uldis Berzins  
Janis Dinevics  
Peteris Termanis  
Ieva Lesinska

**POLAND**  
Polish Socialist Party, PPS  
Stanislaw Wasik  
Marek Garzdecki

**ROMANIA**  
Social Democratic Party, PSDR  
Sergiu Cunesco

**YUGOSLAVIA**  
Yugoslav Socialist Party, SSJ  
Marko Milunovic  
Predrag Govedarovic  
Mirko Gjurkovecki  
Milivoj Josifovic

**FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS**

**International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY**  
Alfred Gusenbauer  
Ricard Torrell  
Martina Naujoks  
Gabriele Schöfbeck

**Socialist International Women, SIW**  
Anita Gradin  
Dolors Renau  
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas  
Francesca Martin

**ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS**

**Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC**  
Axel Hanisch

**Socialist Group, European Parliament**  
Eisso Woltjer  
Raymonde Dury  
Jesper Schunck

**Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE**  
Tadeusz Prokopowicz

**GUESTS/OBSERVERS: PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS**

**AFGHANISTAN**  
Afghanistan Social Democratic Party  
Amin Wakman

**ALBANIA**  
Social Democratic Party, SDP  
Haxhi Alikaj

**ALGERIA**  
Socialist Forces Front, FFS  
Hocine Ait-Ahmed  
Rachid Halet

**ANGOLA**  
MPLA  
Juan Lorenzo

**ARGENTINA**  
Popular Socialist Party, PSP  
Guillermo Estévez Boero  
María del Carmen Viñas

**ARGENTINA**  
Radical Civic Union, UCR  
Luis Alberto Cáceres

**BRAZIL**  
Brazilian Social Democratic Party, PSDB  
Moema Sao Thiago

**CAPE VERDE**  
African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV  
Pedro Pires  
Alvaro Tavares

**CHILE**  
Party for Democracy, PPD  
Sergio Bitar  
Victor Manuel Rebolledo

**CHILE**  
Socialist Party, PS  
Hernán Vodanovic

**COLOMBIA**  
Liberal Party, PL  
Luis Carlos Villegas  
María Paulina Espinosa  
Rodrigo Garavito  
Alvaro Tirado  
Jorge Carrillo  
Mario de J. Valderrama

**COLOMBIA**  
M-19  
Dario Villamizar Herrera

**ITALY**  
Democratic Party of the Left, PDS  
Giorgio Napolitano  
Piero Fassino

**IVORY COAST**  
Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI  
Louis Dacoury-Tabley

**JORDAN**  
Ahmed Mango  
Akram Abu Hamdan

**MEXICO**  
Democratic Revolution Party, PRD  
Porfirio Muñoz Ledo

**MONGOLIA**  
Social Democratic Party of Mongolia  
Püntsagiin Ulaanhuu  
Rinchin Narangerel

**MOZAMBIQUE**  
FRELIMO  
Mariano Matsinha

**NICARAGUA**  
Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN  
José Pasos

**PHILIPPINES**  
Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP  
Chaco Molina

**SOUTH AFRICA**  
African National Congress, ANC  
Reg September

**TUNISIA**  
Socialist Democratic Movement, MDS  
Mustapha Benjaafar

**URUGUAY**  
Peoples Government Party, PGP  
Antonio Gallicchio

**USA**  
National Democratic Institute, NDI  
J. Brian Atwood

**ZAIRE**  
Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UDPS  
Omer N'Kamba  
Loka Woho Noel  
Beya Mulumba

**ZIMBABWE**  
Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU (PF)  
Misheck T. S. Chinamasa

**Azerbaijani Social Democratic Party**  
A. M. M. Ali-zade

**Georgian Social Democratic Party**  
Guram Muchaidze  
Wladimir Sadowski

**Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation**  
Oleg Abolin

**Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK**  
Jalal Talabani  
Hero Ahmed Talabani  
Arif Roshdi  
Abdul-Kadir Ali Kadir  
Saadi Mohammed  
Sarchil Kazaz  
Barham Salih

**POLISARIO**  
Mohamed Sidati  
Lamine Baali

**GUESTS: INDIVIDUALS**

Fayçal Hussein  
Hanna Siniora  
Faiz Abu Rahme  
Hans Janitschek