



SI COUNCIL IN LISBON

The SI Council met in Lisbon on 5 - 6 October 1993 at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Portugal. The main themes on the agenda were the Middle East Peace Process and the World Economy.

'We have seen a clear change in the right direction', said Pierre Mauroy, the president of the Socialist International, as he inaugurated the Council meeting in Lisbon. 'That is true in Europe... It is true in Asia... It is true in Latin America and the Caribbean... It is also the case in Africa'.

The SI president suggested three priorities for the International. It must aim to represent the whole of the left, making an effort to fill the void left by the collapse of communism. The rejection of communism had been so vast that people failed to distinguish between communism and social democracy. Now there were some encouraging signs. 'I do not think', he commented, 'that the success of

post-communist parties should be seen as an attempt to return to the past, but rather a vote of protest against the injustice of the market and a policy of social exploitation and repression. This opens the door to social democracy. We must direct these movements'.

The second priority was, he said, to support all democratic tendencies wherever they exist, for instance in the Middle East and South Africa.

The third was to be present at the conflicts.

Such priorities would be insufficient if they were not accompanied by the presentation of 'another kind of economic development'. The task meant putting an end to the myth that a world market could function without

regulation. A new organisation was needed to stabilise currencies and renew growth. 'The 1980s were years of deflation on a world level. We must make the 1990s the years of renewed growth', he added.

Referring to the strong links between the Socialist International and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Mauroy said that it was necessary for the international world of labour to affirm its concerns and its identity.

'We do not know what tomorrow will bring in the world', he concluded, 'but part of its destiny is firmly in our hands'.

António Guterres, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, welcomed delegates with an intervention in which he set forth his



**Pierre
Mauroy**

view of the three requirements that were needed if democratic socialism and social democracy were to give leadership in the world. There must be, he said, a defence of pluralism, democracy and respect for human rights in all circumstances, with no compromise with *realpolitik* or *raison d'état*. There must, too, be the creation of mechanisms to guarantee collective peace and security within the framework of the United Nations. Lastly there must be the assertion that no economic system or policy can be efficient nationally or internationally if it is unjust for the men and women of today or for the generations to come.

The Middle East

The appearance of some personalities in particular was awaited with particular interest in Lisbon. September had seen an important advance in the Middle East peace process. Mention was made in this context of the patient work that had been carried out for years by the SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, under the leadership of Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, and in recent months by influential members of the Norwegian Labour Party,

The Council was given insights into the peace process by several addresses early on in the debate. Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway's prime minister, leader of the Norwegian Labour Party and first vice-president of the SI, set

out in detail the course of the Arab-Israeli talks. 'The role of the Socialist International in the process towards peace', she said, 'has so far not been fully recognised. But it was in the SI that successive social democratic leaders in various countries met with the Israel Labour Party and developed their relationship of friendship and understanding. It was here that early in the process leaders were able to sow the seeds of dialogue with the representatives of the Palestinian people'. Shimon Peres, Israel's Labour foreign minister and a vice-president of the International, chronicled Israeli gratitude for SI initiatives. Yair Tzaban of MAPAM, minister for immigration in the government of Israel, asked the SI to make its presence felt in helping to build a democratic and prosperous Middle East. Abdel Latif Hijleh of the Palestine Liberation Organisation set out with force and frankness the PLO position. (see page 7, Voices on the Middle East).

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski reflected on the long and difficult journey towards the agreement signed on 13 September in Washington. 'While rejoicing over this step', he said, 'we must not forget that it is a decisive one, but only a first one. The main part of the work still has to be done'.

He spoke of the SI Congress in 1983 in Albufeira, when terrorism entered our own meeting, with the murder there of the PLO's Issam Sartawi. Thoughts of Sartawi were with many SI dele-

gates in Lisbon and a group of SI leaders attended the naming of a Lisbon street in his memory.

Wischnewski recalled the past work of SIMEC, especially in bringing together Israeli and Palestinian friends. The important long-term effects of such, often difficult, work was now clear, he said. Looking to the future, he stressed the need for confidence-building measures, including the freeing of political prisoners and the lifting of the Arab States' boycott on Israel.

Among those taking part in the debate were other close observers of the Arab-Israel situation, including Chedli Neffati of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly, RCD, Tunisia; Doros Theodorou, EDEK, Cyprus; and Murat Karayalçin, the newly-elected leader of the Social Democratic People's Party, SHP, Turkey.

Nelson Mandela

Before the debate on the Middle East got under way, however, the delegates gave a standing ovation to one particular guest from Africa. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, took the opportunity to give the SI Council an up-to-the-minute account of the negotiations for the emergence of a new non-racial South Africa. He set out during his address the initiatives the ANC had taken to address the concerns of white groupings and the Inkatha Freedom Party, who were wanting wide powers for regionalism in a new South Africa, and warned that their demands were becoming impossible to meet.

He linked that message with one underlining the need that the new South Africa would have for trade and inflows of investment.

The World Economy

The debate on The World Economy was inaugurated by John Smith, leader of the British

Labour Party and a vice-president of the SI, who chairs the International's Committee on Economic Policy, Development and the Environment, SICEDE. It echoed the tone of hope and confidence which had already been voiced by such speakers as Mauroy and Guterres. The tide, he said, was turning against the right. 'The realities of mass unemployment, low growth, and social decline have destroyed the power of the right to mesmerise our people any longer. People are looking for a new agenda, better values and new directions. And that, of course, is the great opportunity that now awaits democratic socialists.

'So I now believe we are right to insist that growth, investment and employment once again become key concerns of economic policy-making alongside - and not subordinate to - the question of controlling inflation.

'Now that the tide of ideas is moving our way it will not be long, I believe, before the tide of history follows', he concluded.

Allan Larsson, on behalf of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, and the Nordic Labour Movement, SAMAK, castigated unemployment as one of Europe's big failures. He noted that European members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development had been far less adept at tackling the unemployment problem

than the US, Canada or Japan.

Aloyzas Sakalas, chair of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, from the other side of the Baltic, called for a new 'Marshall Plan' for his region. The current stabilisation plan had reduced real earned income to only one-third that of December 1991. 'If we add to that the flourishing shadow economy, corruption, enormous overt and hidden unemployment, clear social differentiation, the moral degradation of the intellectual work force, weakness of managerial and political institutions, it will become evident that the peoples of Lithuania and other eastern European countries will not put up with such stabilisation for long', he concluded.

Leonel Brizola, governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, leader of the Brazil's Democratic Labour Party, PDT, and a vice-president of the International, argued that after the recent politically bankrupt experience of neo-liberalism in his country the gap between rich and poor was wider than it ever had been and that most social indices on nutrition, education and health were increasingly negative.

Among the African speakers was Aristides Lima, recently elected general secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV, who declared that 'given the paucity of resources available to

his continent, the African state should be a state modest in its institutional structure and in its expenses'.

Jaime Paz Zamora, attending the SI Council a few weeks after the end of his 4-year term of office as president of Bolivia, spoke with some pride of the achievements of those years in the consolidation of democracy, the modernisation of institutions, economic growth and stability, and in particular the vast reduction in inflation, combined with substantial reduction of the country's foreign debt and planned investment in the social area.

Anne-Marie Lizin, president of Socialist International Women, stressed the commitment to equality, so central to the Socialist International, and perhaps particularly crucial to women. The situation of women, she said, was at the heart of every area which had been dealt with in the Council's debate on the economy.

SI Committees

Lisbon was also the venue for meetings of a number of SI Committees, including the SI Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC, which elected a new Chair, Gunnar Stenarv of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP; the Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE; the



Left:
António
Guterres

Centre:
Hans-Jürgen
Wischniewski

Right:
Gro Harlem
Brundtland

Africa Committee; and the Middle East Committee, SIMEC. The regional committees considered draft resolutions on subjects falling within their respective areas, which were subsequently presented to the Council. The chairs of these and other SI committees also reported to the Council on their activities in recent months.

Piero Fassino, co-chair of the SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, said that the committee's central objective was to foster contacts with parties of a strong social democratic inspiration and support their efforts to improve their electoral results and parliamentary representation.

Kalevi Sorsa, chair of the SI Council for Peace, Security and Disarmament, outlined the core agenda of SIPSAD in the field of disarmament and security. He mentioned some priority issues, including chemical weapons, non-proliferation - and in particular the situation in North Korea -, arms transfers, humanitarian intervention, the stockpiles of nuclear weapons held in republics of the former Soviet Union, the need to renew the comprehensive nuclear test ban, and reform of the United Nations in matters concerning peace and security. A working group had been established to develop proposals on the question of UN reform (see page 21).

Reviewing the concerns of the International in the field of human rights, Peter Jankowitsch, chair of the SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR, stressed that the upholding of our standards for human rights and fundamental freedoms were at the heart of all the International's work. He referred to this year's World Conference on Human Rights, appealing to SI member parties and governments not to forget the declaration of that conference.

António Guterres, co-chair of the SI Africa Committee, said that the committee's aim was to show solidarity with the

processes of peace and democratisation in Africa and with the fight for a fairer international economic order. He told the Council that the committee had agreed to establish three working groups, on economic and social problems, on political training, and on assistance and observation of peace processes and democratisation.

José Francisco Peña Gómez reported on the Second Regional Conference of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, which he chairs. The Conference, held in August in Santo Domingo, brought together representatives of 33 political parties in the region, including SI members and guests. The agenda focused on the continuing democratisation process and on policy priorities in the context of the many elections due to be held in Latin America in the coming months. The resolutions of the Santo Domingo conference were presented to the Council, which endorsed them.

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala, in the remarks he made to the Council on the Secretary's General's report distributed to all participants (see opposite), spoke of the intense activity of the International and its different committees. He mentioned the work of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and

Environment, as reflected in the debate led by its chair, John Smith. He also referred to the meeting of the SI Committee for Asia and the Pacific to take place in Kathmandu in December, and to the meeting of the SI Committee for the Mediterranean to be held in Madrid, also in December.

The Council adopted a large number of resolutions on issues of concern to the International and its members. These are printed in full in the following pages.

Following discussions in Lisbon with representatives of the International's member parties in Japan (both now in government) it was reported that plans were under way to hold the next meeting of the SI Council in Tokyo. It has since been agreed that this meeting will be in May 1994.

The Lisbon meeting ended as it had begun in a spirit of optimism. Pierre Mauroy interrupted the Council's proceedings on the morning of 7 October to announce the gains made by the Pakistan People's Party and its leader Benazir Bhutto in the elections in that country, and, before some of the delegates from the countries more distant from Portugal had arrived back home, voters in Greece were showing their preference for PASOK and Andreas Papandreu.

**Welcoming
Mandela**



SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN LISBON

This report is presented to the Council at a time when much of our attention has been focused on the historic advances in the Middle East peace process. The recent agreement between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation is the type of progress the International has long been working and hoping for. As our president, Pierre Mauroy, said, the Socialist International welcomed most warmly the direct dialogue inaugurated between the government of Israel and the leadership of the PLO. Our International has over the years spared no effort to assist the peace process. We have availed ourselves in this respect of our own fora, in particular the SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski.

The hope for such progress was at the heart of the deliberations of SIMEC at its latest meeting in Bad Honnef in Germany in May of this year which brought together once more, as it had in the past, delegates of our member parties in the Middle East and elsewhere, with representatives of the PLO and of the Crown Prince of Jordan, in the presence of representatives of the United States, Russia and China. The committee convenes again here in Lisbon, prior to the meeting of our Council, where the Middle East peace process is prominent on the agenda. Our discussions take place in a climate of new hope and renewed determination, and our International will continue its work to contribute to further progress toward peace in that region.

II

At our last Council meeting in Athens in February, we focused our discussions on a number of national and regional situations where the issues of democracy and peace were of particular importance.

Since then, we have seen rapid developments in Pakistan, culminating with the resignation of the prime minister and president and the calling of elections. The elections will be taking place as our Council meets in Lisbon and we express our best wishes for success to Benazir Bhutto and our comrades in the Pakistan People's Party.

In Haiti, the agreements reached on the return of President Aristide later this month and the formation of a new

government, which includes members of our consultative member party KONAKOM, brought new hope for the full restoration of democracy - an outcome for which we remain hopeful, but which appears increasingly threatened by the violent actions of the military and the police.

Shortly after he reported to our Council on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg was appointed as a United Nations mediator. Our solidarity and support went with him as he undertook this extremely difficult task. Whilst not underestimating the many difficulties facing the negotiation process, and emphasising the need for the support and resources required by the United Nations for the success of its operation, the International has reiterated its calls for all parties involved in the conflict to work for a negotiated peace.

The grave situations in Angola and Somalia, which the SI addressed at its last Council meeting in the light of the first-hand reports prepared by the missions we sent to both countries, have been the subject of our continuing concern. It is particularly apt that these and other questions pertaining to Africa will be studied further by the newly established SI Africa Committee - chaired by our Senegalese and Portuguese member parties - and the Council as we meet in Lisbon.

III

Since we met in Athens, early elections have been called in Greece, as our member party PASOK and its leader, our vice-president Andreas Papandreou, had been strongly advocating for some time. Those elections will be held in a few days time on 10 October, and I take this opportunity to reiterate our best wishes for success to our comrades in PASOK.

During this last period, a number of our member parties have fought successful election campaigns. The Australian Labor Party won a significant victory and a record fifth term of government. In Jamaica, the People's National Party also secured a decisive victory. In Spain, the PSOE won its fourth successive election. In Senegal, President Abdou Diouf was re-elected and the Socialist Party retained its parliamentary majority. Most recently, in

Norway the Labour Party increased its electoral support to remain in government. Our member parties in Japan have also entered government, as part of the new coalition, while our parties in Aruba and San Marino remain as partners in coalition governments following recent elections. In Morocco, the USFP took more votes than any other party in parliamentary elections. In Mongolia, the presidential candidate supported by the Social Democratic Party was returned to power. The Social Democratic government in Denmark, formed earlier this year, also gained an important success in the country's recent referendum on the European Community's Maastricht Treaty.

Meanwhile, the commitment of our International to supporting the democratic electoral process through the dispatch of observer missions has continued. At the invitation of the Socialist Party of Senegal, an SI delegation observed the presidential poll there in February, and our comrade Michel Thauvin observed the parliamentary elections in May.

I myself had the privilege of heading the SI delegation which was in Paraguay in May for the crucial elections in which democracy in that country was further consolidated.

Also in May SI observers were in Cambodia during the elections for the constituent assembly. Our International had warmly welcomed the peace process in Cambodia and urged full support for the United Nations operation. The presence of the SI observers in the country was organised in collaboration with the United Nations Transitional Authority for Cambodia, UNTAC.

Another SI delegation was sent to Latvia, at the invitation of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, to observe that country's first completely free parliamentary elections in June.

Most recently, Guy Labertit of the French Socialist Party represented our International in the international observer group that was in the Central African Republic during the first round of presidential and parliamentary elections in August. Our comrade Abel Goumba, leader of our observer party the Patriotic Front for Progress, was a presidential candidate and came second in the first round of voting, going forward to the final round in September, where he was

**In Lisbon:
(l to r)
Luis Ayala,
Pierre
Mauroy,
Nelson
Mandela,
John Smith**

narrowly defeated, having gained more than 45 per cent of the votes.

Following all of these elections, national and international observers were able to verify that voting had taken place in a calm, orderly and correct manner - an outcome no doubt assisted by the presence of those observers. Our commitment in this important area of work will continue. For example, plans are already under way for an SI delegation to observe the elections scheduled for November in Honduras.

Another SI mission went to Poland in July. Following discussions and the recommendations of the newly established Central and Eastern Europe Committee, the mission, headed by Piero Fassino, co-chair of that committee, assessed the political situation in Poland, especially in the context of the elections which were to be held in September.

Democratisation and the electoral process, and in particular the role of international observers, were the themes of the first SI summer university, held here in Portugal, in Tróia, in July. Organised in conjunction with the IUSY world festival, which took place in Porto immediately before, our summer university brought together some 50 young people from all parts of the world for a week of discussions led by a number of representatives from our member parties. Our president Pierre Mauroy addressed the participants at the opening session, as did our vice-president, our host here in Lisbon, António Guterres. This was a new and successful initiative for the International, aimed at strengthening further our links with young socialists worldwide and encouraging future generations of what our president has called 'the blue helmets of democracy'.

IV

Reflecting the important work set in motion by the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, SICEDE, its chair, SI vice-president John Smith will be introducing the discussion on the World Economy at our Council meeting here in Lisbon. SICEDE met in London in July, and began its examination of an agenda encompassing strategies for growth and employment, North-South cooperation, the process of economic reform in central and eastern Europe and, as a follow-up to last year's Rio Summit on environment and development. In formulating SI policy on environmental issues, SICEDE counts as well on the contribution of Birgitta Dahl, the committee's vice-chair. The



committee will continue its thorough consideration of the agenda established in London, and will prepare a report on the global economy for publication in this inter-congress period. At its next meeting, planned for February next year, the committee will focus on the role of the international financial institutions.

The SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD, chaired by our vice-president Kalevi Sorsa, met in London in April to consider the issues of arms transfers, chemical weapons, humanitarian intervention, and nuclear non-proliferation. SIPSAD addressed its views on these vital questions to a number of governments, among them those of North and South Korea, Ukraine and the United States. SIPSAD also decided to establish a working group on the reform of the United Nations in matters relating to peace and security. The group, chaired by Lasse Budtz of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, has already held its first meeting in Geneva, where it was joined by the director of the Commission on Global Governance. It will meet again later this month and SIPSAD itself will reconvene in plenary session shortly thereafter.

Our Human Rights Committee, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch, has been very active, particularly with regard to the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June. The committee chair and I attended preparatory meetings for the World Conference and reported back to the SI Committee at its meeting in Vienna in May. The members concurred on the importance of SI participation in this event and the need to bring the Socialist International's highly developed

approach to human rights questions to the widest possible audience. As a non-governmental organisation with consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council, we sent an official delegation to the World Conference. A memorandum based on the SI platforms on human rights adopted by our most recent Congresses was prepared by the committee and circulated at the conference.

Also during the World Conference, we organised a round table together with the Liberal and Christian Democrat Internationals. This meeting was hosted by Heinz Fischer, the president of the Austrian Parliament, and attended by the secretary general of the World Conference, Ibrahim Fall. The three political internationals subsequently issued a joint statement to the World Conference in support of strengthening human rights worldwide and the capabilities of the United Nations in that field. Plans are also under way with the political internationals to hold a meeting organised by the United Nations Population Fund on Population, Environment and Migration.

The SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe met for the first time in London in May. It agreed to work in the coming period for the strengthening of social democratic parties in that part of Europe, particularly in the context of the many forthcoming elections, and to promote regional cooperation amongst the social democratic forces. The International is meanwhile keeping in close contact with leaders of central and eastern European parties through exchanges that have included our president, our committee and the secretary general.

A regional conference of our SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was hosted by the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, in Santo Domingo in August. The main points on the agenda were the strengthening of the democratic process in the region, and the priorities of democratic socialism for future governmental policies. These discussions took place in the light of the many elections scheduled in Latin America and the Caribbean in the next twelve months, and the conference adopted a comprehensive resolution setting out the position of social democratic parties in the region in this context.

SICLAC also produced a number of resolutions and declarations that are being presented to the Council in Lisbon by SICLAC President José Francisco Peña Gómez, the PRD leader. The conference welcomed the formation of the new government in Haiti and condemned the continued suspension of democracy in Peru and the re-arrest of Agustín Mantilla, the organisation secretary of our member party the Peruvian Aprista Party.

Other resolutions dealt with the situations in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua and with the impact of the European Community's trading policy on the banana-producing countries of the Caribbean.

In Santo Domingo, our regional committee was attended for the first time by social democratic guests from Cuba. This was much welcomed and the committee recommended the sending of a mission to Cuba before the end of this year.

The conference addressed, too, the situation in Venezuela following the suspension from office of President Carlos Andrés Pérez. SICLAC stressed the strong democratic tradition of Venezuela, and with this in mind called for the charges against the president to be considered within a due process of law.

V

In reporting on recent activities, I must mention the many events where I have had the pleasure of representing the International. These included the congresses of a number of our member parties. They also included a conference on 'Problems of Nationality in the Former Soviet Union' held in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, at the end of April, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany. This unique event was attended by delegates from all the republics of the former Soviet Union. I should also mention the very useful meetings I had in Brussels in April with

the chair and secretary general of the Group of the Party of European Socialists of the European Parliament, where we discussed our future cooperation. I also attended the gathering devoted to alternatives to neo-liberal policies led by our president and organised by the Jean-Jaurès Foundation in Uruguay in July.

Together with Pierre Mauroy, I attended a gathering in celebration of Willy Brandt's life and achievements organised by the Party of Socialists of Catalonia in Barcelona in March. We were also present at the unveiling of a statue of Willy Brandt by President Mário Soares of Portugal in Oporto in July. On that moving occasion, thousands of young people attending the IUSY World Festival marched through the town in a demonstration for peace and human rights, ending at the new monument.

VI

All the activities of our International are reported in Socialist International News, which we have been publishing monthly in English, French and Spanish since the beginning of this year, and in our quarterly journal, Socialist Affairs. At our last Council meeting, we spoke of the need for Socialist Affairs, at present published in English, to reach more parties and more readers throughout the world, and the necessity therefore to publish it also in French and Spanish. In April I wrote to member parties to request their support. We need many more subscriptions to Socialist Affairs in order to strengthen its financial base so that we can begin publishing it in French and Spanish. A few member parties have responded to that appeal, and there has been a small increase in paid subscriptions. However, much greater support for our journal is needed if we are to achieve the important aim of bringing information on our ideas and activities to a much wider audience, and in all the official languages of our International.

There will be much to report in the future as the International continues to expand its activities. Many initiatives are already planned for the coming months. In this context, I am glad to report that the secretariat has been able to carry out its increasing responsibilities within a constant budget. However, for the secretariat to maintain its effectiveness, now and in the future, it must be able to count on the prompt payment of dues by our member parties in accordance with our statutes and, as a matter of urgency, on the rapid clearing of existing arrears.

VII

At our last Council meeting we established a permanent SI Committee for Asia and the Pacific. We are now looking forward to holding a meeting of the committee in Kathmandu where our member party, the Nepali Congress Party, is in government. The agenda will include the issues of peace, democracy and human rights in Asia, and the development of a common social democratic platform for the Asia-Pacific region.

In line with our commitment to strengthening the presence of the International in Asia, we are consulting with our two member parties in Japan, about holding one of our next major meetings next year in Tokyo. Those parties are now in the new coalition government in Japan after the recent elections. The meeting would be a great and important opportunity to build on the activities and contacts of our organisation in the Asia-Pacific area.

Our new Committee for the Mediterranean plan to hold a meeting in December. With their successful campaign in the last elections now behind them, our comrades in the PSOE, who hold the chair of the committee, will host this meeting in Madrid. It will be a good opportunity to develop our International's activities and reinforce our commitment in an area of great and increasing significance.

Numerous activities already fill our agenda, reflecting the dynamic work of our growing International. Moreover, the deliberations that take place at this Council and the resolutions to be adopted will provide new guidelines and inspiration for the coming months.

VIII

Meanwhile, our presence in Lisbon allows us once again to renew our longstanding friendship with our comrades of the Portuguese Socialist Party. We thank them warmly for their hospitality and their generous support for this meeting of the Council.

Finally, as the Socialist International continues to expand the range of its activities throughout the world, it is important to keep in mind the words of our president, Pierre Mauroy, who wrote in the current number of Socialist Affairs, 'The great challenge of all social democratic parties is to invent a new social model which preserves the achievements of social democracy, but also interprets them in a modern manner'.

It is with renewed determination and confidence that we meet this challenge.

RESOLUTIONS

ALGERIA

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Lisbon on 6 and 7 October 1993:

- expresses its great concern over the worsening and bipolarisation of violence in Algeria;
- considers that the cycle of violence, the disruption of the democratic process and the refusal of real dialogue increases the risk of civil war;
- considers that the stifling of political life has encouraged the dangerous development of fundamentalism and extremism of all kinds;
- demands that the government:
 - begin negotiations with the democratic forces with a view to holding a national conference endowed with powers of sovereignty;
 - restore the exercise of democratic freedoms and respect for human rights as a vital mechanism in the fight against terrorism, fundamentalism and extremism of all kinds.

ANGOLA

The Socialist International calls for an effective ceasefire in Angola and expresses its concern over the tormented evolution which is afflicting Angola, caused by the non-acceptance of the outcome of the elections on the part of Unita.

The SI considers that the peace agreements reached in Bicesse and the peace talks in Abidjan constitute the only valid framework and the point of departure for rebuilding the peace process and allowing the conclusion of the electoral process.

The SI firmly condemns the rebellious actions of Unita. The international community cannot allow a policy of 'fait accompli' by a political force that tries to win by force of arms what it lost in the elections considered free and fair.

The SI calls on governments and international institutions to strengthen the humanitarian aid to the Angolan people.

The SI calls on the international community to fully respect and enforce UN sanctions against Unita.

EAST TIMOR

The Socialist International expresses its concern about the continuous violation of human rights in East Timor and the denial by the Indonesian government of the right to self-determination of the Timorese people.

The SI calls for the acceleration of the negotiations in the framework of the UN and endorses full support for the efforts of the UN secretary general.

The SI calls on the Indonesian government to develop initiatives of confidence-building, such as the opening of the East Timor territory to humanitarian and assistance organisations, the reduction of military presence in the territory, the acknowledgement of cultural and religious rights of the Timorese people and the releasing of the political prisoners.

THE WORLD ECONOMY

The Socialist International expresses its deep concern at the continued weakness of the international economy. Low growth, and rising unemployment in the industrialised countries combined with the continuing problems of debt and poverty in the developing countries remain serious obstacles to sustained economic recovery worldwide.

The Socialist International believes that growth, full employment, and sustainable development are the key economic priorities of the 1990s.

We note with concern that growth in the major industrialised economies is forecast next year to be less than two per cent, and that unemployment in the OECD countries has reached 32 million. To restore growth and consolidate recovery the SI believes that the Group of Seven, the OECD, and the European Community must adopt a new strategy for growth and employment.

In Europe, co-ordinated interest rate reductions are urgently needed to reverse the slide into recession. The G7 nations must co-ordinate their exchange rate and budgetary policies to secure growth and avoid the risks of beggar-my-neighbour policies of competitive economic and social devaluation. The forthcoming G7 jobs summit should reaffirm the goal of full employment and agree a common programme of measures to boost employment through sustained investment in economic infrastructure, essential public services and in skills training.

The G7 should also examine the damaging effects of financial deregulation which have undermined the ability of governments to determine their exchange rate policies and have encouraged unprecedented levels of currency speculation. The current system of banking supervision must also be reviewed following the clear regulatory

failures that have occurred in the case of BCCI and the Savings and Loans crisis. New risks to the financial system are growing as liberalisation has encouraged new forms of asset creation in securities and financial derivatives markets. The SI believes that new regulatory controls and measures to curb speculation are urgently needed to restore stability to the international economy.

The SI believes that final agreement on the Uruguay Round of international trade negotiations of the GATT is now long overdue. The completion of the GATT round is vital to sustain world economic growth and to secure an open trading system. More progress is needed to end discriminatory trade rules which unfairly penalise developing countries. Support for an open trading system, however, depends on an equal commitment to fair trade and it is vital, therefore, that all participating countries observe the basic conventions of the International Labour Office and that a social clause is adopted by the GATT. Similarly the SI recognises the importance of securing strong protection of labour safety and environmental standards in all regional economic agreements such as the European Single Market: and we urge their inclusion in the proposed North American Free Trade Area.

The SI regrets that weak commodity prices, inadequate aid flows, and continuing debt problems are still strangling the economies of the poorest nations in the world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. The SI deplores the failure of the G7 to agree to fully implement the Trinidad Terms of official debt relief in Africa. In addition to bilateral debt relief, the major donor nations should accept that the multilateral debts of the poorest African countries to the World Bank and other UN agencies are similarly reduced and written off. The OECD nations must again reaffirm their commitment to reach the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP in overseas aid and devote an increasing proportion of their aid to the alleviation of poverty and to investment in basic social services and education.

The international community's commitment to the reform process of eastern and central Europe and the former Soviet Union must also be strengthened. A plan for the reconstruction of central and eastern Europe should be developed. Increased debt relief and rescheduling, more generous loan facilities from the International Monetary Fund, and increased technical assis-

tance are needed now to consolidate the process of democratic reform.

The SI believes the international community must integrate environmental concerns into all aspects of economic policy. The commitments undertaken by all governments represented at the Rio Earth Summit must be carried through. Fiscal systems must be used to encourage investment in environmentally-friendly technology and used to penalise polluters. Official aid programmes must be based on sustainable development and greater efforts must be made by the industrialised countries to assist and collaborate with the developing countries in the task of safeguarding the environment which is the common heritage of humanity.

EL SALVADOR

The council of the Socialist International, meeting in Lisbon, Portugal on 6-7 October 1993:

- Reiterates its full support for the implementation of the Peace Accords in El Salvador and urges the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN to exercise their most mature judgement in removing the obstacles which are threatening the fulfilment of the Accords and the consolidation of peace;

- Urges the government and political parties in El Salvador to ensure that the general elections to be held in March 1994 are a historic milestone in the democratisation of the country and that, prior to that, they all help to ensure that El Salvador has an electoral register which is accurate and up-to-date and a plan for free, clean and well managed elections;

- Supports the democratic forces in El Salvador in their efforts to help bring about a stable government in 1994 which will be committed to the Peace Accords and will administer the process of democratic transition.

- Supports its member party, the MNR, in all its decisions to ensure that the 1994 elections are an instrument which contributes to the democratisation of El Salvador, and especially its determination to form a Concertation for Democracy which brings about the widest possible national unity for the elections of March 1994.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

The Council of the Socialist International, in relation to the recent events in Equatorial Guinea:

- Expresses its support for the democratic opposition that has formed a Platform of the Joint Opposition, which is carrying out its political activities in extremely difficult circumstances.

- Urges the president and authorities of Equatorial Guinea to move ahead with the transition to democracy in conditions of freedom, legal guarantees and an absence of coercion, to enable the holding of free elections and the participation of the democratic parties.

- Expresses its deep concern at the loss of human life, torture and arbitrary arrests perpetrated recently by government authorities, and calls for an end to all actions of this kind.

- Demands, finally, that those in positions of responsibility in Equatorial Guinea show the strictest respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people.

HAITI

The council of the Socialist International:

- Expresses its full support for the process of emerging from the crisis and returning to constitutional govern-

ment in Haiti;

- Welcomes the Governor's Island Accords and the New York Agreement, and also the confirmation of Robert Malval as prime minister, as positive steps which should lead to the return of the constitutional president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to his country;

- Invites all the member parties of the Socialist International to support any initiative by the international community to help the people of Haiti and the new government to overcome the adverse effects on the country's economy after two years of diplomatic isolation;

- Invites the military authorities in Haiti to use their best endeavours to put an end to the resurgence of human rights violations in Haiti which followed the signing of the agreements and which threaten the current process of pacification;

- Urges member parties to support institutional reform as provided for in the agreements reached between all parties.

THE POSITION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COMING ELECTORAL CHALLENGES OF 1993-1994

A growing wave of pessimism and recrimination all over the world has given rise to the misguided notion that democratic socialism has not fulfilled its mission in Latin America, based on a superficial analysis of transient, circumstantial difficulties experienced by some parties in a limited number of countries.

There is a general tendency to ignore the considerable progress made by the more advanced countries thanks to reform programmes carried out by social democratic governments, or by governments of other persuasions which have taken parliamentary action proposed by social democratic parties and their labour movements.

In the specific case of Latin America, it was the social democratic parties which, either alone or in alliance with other progressive forces, were most active in the fight to wipe out the military dictatorships by which most Central and South American countries were governed for several decades.

The establishment of representative democracy in nearly all the countries in the region has provided improved opportunities for freedom and welfare. There is a general feeling that a process is underway which augurs well for lasting change. Certainly, even in the majority of countries which show profound failings and imperfections both structurally and in their economic, social and cultural institutions, civil-

ian governments have shown a clear determination to undertake reforms to balance the exercise of freedoms with collective rights to well-being and progress.

The political democratisation of Latin America and the accession to power in the majority of countries in the region was, in itself, an unparalleled political achievement, especially when one remembers that throughout the present century no communist party in this continent has succeeded in taking power by itself or in defeating or overthrowing a dictatorship or conservative régime.

The second achievement of the socialist and social democratic parties has been to maintain a democratic system and to manage the economic crisis in the midst of enormous difficulties, since foreign debt, except in a few cases, was the result of military dictatorships while the debt crisis, worsening terms of trade and the flight of capital were all events that took place while democracy was being reestablished.

The social democratic parties and their allies commenced their stewardship of the economy at a time of contrasting situations in Latin America and Europe: while the European Economic Community and the industrial countries were enjoying a period of prosperity, Latin America was suffering recession, galloping external debt, inflation, flight of capital, a lack of foreign investment

and substantial budgetary and external deficits.

In rather more than a decade, the social democratic and popular parties, implementing development policies largely conditioned by the neo-liberal reforms imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the major financial centres, nonetheless succeeded, at enormous sacrifice, in controlling the external debt and often reducing it, and in re-starting economic growth, attracting capital investment, bringing down inflation, increasing exports and converting our region, together with the Pacific Basin, into one of the most dynamic and expansion-oriented in the economic world.

On the other hand, among the countries of the industrial North, neo-liberal policies have led to unprecedented levels of unemployment, economic stagnation, protectionism, fiscal imbalance and growing external debt, while at the same time failing to prevent a significant reduction in the level and quality of social welfare provision.

The benefits of an egalitarian approach favouring social justice, as shown by the social democratic parties in Latin America, have resulted in a considerable reduction in regional conflicts and social divisions, while recent neo-conservative policies in industrial countries, whether implemented by the party in power or in other ways, have brought about heightened social tensions, new manifestations of xenophobia, racism and new outbreaks of nationalistic and religious conflict.

Social democratic policies and their role in the democratisation of Latin America show the same comparative advantages when one looks at the erratic and dissent-ridden process of democratisation in eastern Europe and the slow movement towards political liberalisation in Africa.

However, it should be recognised that the economic progress of Latin America has been achieved solely at the level of global policies, and more far reaching and effective measures will need to be implemented in order to tackle social problems and thereby promote human development.

The adjustment programmes and privatisation policies imposed by external pressure and by circumstances have led to a dangerous reduction in the resources available for education, health, housing and welfare. This slimming down and even disappearance of certain social policies and the elimination of all subsidies, even the most essential ones required to fulfill the state's most minimal welfare commitments, have led to higher unemployment, worsening problems such as marginalisation, disease, overcrowding, malnutrition and social inequality. The immediate consequence has been

an increase in crime, prostitution, extreme poverty, injustice, protests and violence.

The rise of neo-liberalism, or rather neo-conservatism, has taken the form of cruel restrictions and economies imposed by international financial institutions, with grave economic and social implications for the countries of the hemisphere, and the growth of autocratic populist forces aspiring to dominate the political scene by promising order, productivity and efficiency while failing to provide for any form of participation.

Furthermore, it is clear that the stability of democracy is still far from certain and that dangers old and new are still present and may trigger backward moves unless we put into practice a development strategy which is both more consistent and in keeping with the original principles of international social democracy and its commitment to promote the welfare of the majority.

Unilaterally imposed economic policies have caused higher levels of poverty, ill health and child and adult illiteracy, and an alarming reduction in nutrition and social welfare programmes.

This situation has led to a decline in our parties and has caused a justified discontent among ordinary people which has been exploited by economic and political interests to jeopardise the development of democracy in the region.

In the last two years there have been coups in Surinam, Haiti and Peru and two unsuccessful military risings against President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela. No less serious have been the institutional crises in Guatemala, Brazil and Venezuela which have led to the head of state in each of those countries being removed from the presidency, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen at this time.

In countries such as Nicaragua, serious threats to political stability have fortunately been thwarted, while in other countries drug trafficking, persistent guerrilla activity, terrorism and crime continue to cause loss of life and a deteriorating situation in law and order and public safety.

The defeat of neo-liberalism in the United States, its failure in the United Kingdom and the accession to power in Japan of a coalition in which our fraternal socialist parties are members, provides an international context favourable to a strengthening of social democracy, given the present rapprochement between the new governments of the industrial superpowers and the economic and social policies of social democratic parties.

Against this background, we propose a package of measures to enable our parties to lead a democratic socialist counter-offensive in Latin America

which will enable us to regain power or to hold on to it in several major countries in the region.

Proposed action

In this respect, we propose to update our programmes and to make our parties more democratic, with new and more modern systems of organisation and communication.

Given that the labour/capital confrontation has been overtaken by events, there is a need to broaden the social coalition which constitutes the membership and leadership of our parties to include greater numbers of women and young people at all levels of leadership, as well as in parliaments and in the various central government departments.

Further, we can no longer afford to ignore the important role of democratic-minded businessmen in counteracting the crusading activities of self-styled saviours who, although lacking in political experience and social awareness, are attempting to convert political action into a mere commercial venture.

Urban deprivation and rural misery have given rise to marginalised and other vulnerable groups in society which it is vital to organise into community and neighbourhood organisations, which should be directly represented at high levels of the party and become an object of primary government concern.

Only the most broadly-based internal democracy, with direct grass-roots participation both in the selection of candidates and in the choice of leaders, will keep our parties in a situation of constant renewal.

In a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, the socialist and social democratic parties of Latin America and the Caribbean propose a work programme for the region for the implementation and achievement of which we shall obtain the support of the other member parties of the Socialist International.

1. At parliamentary, government or grass-roots level we shall help to re-define the legal and institutional framework of the state, modernise electoral systems, to make them more responsive to the needs and expectations of the people and prevent fraud, corruption and other vices which vitiate the democratic system.

2. To overcome the limitations of the system of representation, we propose to broaden its base and ensure that it, too, becomes participative, involving ordinary citizens through their representatives at all levels of the power structure and through community projects within a framework of cooperative local governments which will combine

the human and other resources of intermediate social organisations with those of the state.

3. The war against drug trafficking, corruption and crime make it essential to strengthen and restructure the state security apparatus and to involve ordinary citizens, including religious and non-governmental organisations, whose altruism and devotion to duty should not be ignored by governments or by society.

4. We democratic socialists, whether in government or in opposition, give a high priority to our firm commitment to political and administrative probity. The separation of morality and politics causes democratic institutions to corrode, and also leads to a widening gap between government and ethical principles. The wealthy countries have not been able to win the battle against drug trafficking and drug addiction because this scourge of modern society can only be cured by preventive measures requiring specialised education and the reform and humanisation of our prisons which should be converted into schools of civic awareness and vocational and technical training.

5. Environmental protection should, as laid down by the Stockholm Congress and the Rio de Janeiro Conference, be among the main priorities for social democratic parties, both through the dedication of their members to this nature-preserving activity, as well as through programmes to preserve biodiversity, our woods, rivers, seas and continental shelf. For this reason it is vital to set up environmental departments within our party organisations and environment ministries in order to carry out our environmental policies at government level.

Poverty and environmental degradation are interrelated, and if we work to preserve nature we shall also be working to improve the quality of life on this planet.

6. Excessive privatisation is a retrograde step, a return to the concentration of wealth among the most powerful and a weakening of the state as the arbiter of economic conflicts between opposing social groups. To combine the efficiency of the private sector with the state's greater concern for social justice, consideration should be given to joint investment and ownership by the public and private sectors, to collective and cooperative ownership by workers and small farmers, only resorting to privatisation where commercial enterprises are unable to compete with the private sector.

Agricultural diversification, fruit and vegetable production, craft development, agri-business, small and medium-sized engineering companies, and fishing, are also useful resources to encourage sustainable development,

reduce unemployment and improve the diet of ordinary people.

7. Other priorities of democratic socialism in the period which will shortly begin are a steady increase in social spending on education, health and social security, and the implementation of programmes to increase the output and equitable distribution of goods and services. These policies should be implemented within a policy framework designed to stimulate controlled economic growth, without doing away with essential benefits which neo-liberal policies have been designed to eliminate.

In the context of the internationalisation of economic relations and the coalescing of Latin American countries into regional or sub-regional blocs, here is a need for sensible and reasonable tariffs and customs duties which, while helping to encourage economic integration, do not create obstacles to, or put pressure on, domestic output. We should also continue to insist on the opening up of international markets, dominated as they are by the major powers which continue to give excessive subsidies to their own producers. The influx into the weak economies of Latin America of goods whose price does not reflect their actual production cost and which therefore enjoy an unfair advantage in competing with local products, require government action to prevent this unequal exchange.

8. On an international level, the social democratic parties of the region will encourage concerted action by setting up a regional front for economic and political integration, for the improvement of the terms of trade and for a solution to the problem of external debt, as a viable form of cooperation to solve development problems.

We shall promote discussion and we shall develop mechanisms to provide support and mutual assistance among governments and democratic parties to deal with the dangers which currently face us. To achieve this we will make meaningful agreements based on well defined principles. To this end, we have decided to set up a regional social democratic parliamentary group for Latin America and the Caribbean, which will make joint action easier for us in regional and world parliamentary fora.

To coordinate our programmes and develop a common platform, we shall set up a government programme and policy committee in which all social democratic parties in the region and their specialist groups will play a part.

9. We shall continue, as before, to give all encouragement and support, by any means, to the process of democratisation in all the countries of the area and we will be unstinting in our determination to achieve our main goals such

as the consolidation of the peace process in Central America, the dismantling of the economic embargo and the peaceful transition to a multi-party democratic system in Cuba, the restoration of the civilian government elected by the Haitian people, respect for human rights and the economic and social development of our people.

10. We shall fight for all human rights to be fully upheld, whether civil and political or economic, social and cultural, being mindful of the essential principle ratified at the Stockholm Congress, that liberty and justice are interdependent and human rights are indivisible.

Conclusions

The regional conference of the Socialist International in Santo Domingo will, like the 1980 conference which also took place here, mark the beginning of a period of strengthening in our movement, of which a foretaste is provided by the splendid prospects of victory by our parties in the coming elections in Honduras, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, the certain victory of the Concertation for Democracy in Chile, the valiant role being played by our colleagues in El Salvador and the successes already achieved in Jamaica and Aruba, the progress achieved by the Democratic Labour Party in Brazil which holds power in two of the country's four most important states, and the resurrection of democracy in Haiti with the participation of our KONAKOM colleagues in the new government.

Social democracy is and will continue to be the political doctrine of the continent. In nearly all Latin American countries, whether large or small, where it has not formed the governing party or the controlling coalition partner, it has been the main opposition force.

We are at the dawn of a new resurgence of democratic socialism. The last shades of neo-liberalism are in flight from the sun's spreading rays.

MALAWI

The Socialist International expresses its support for the steps taken toward a democratic transition in Malawi.

We urge that the process toward a multiparty system and free elections be allowed to continue without interference.

The SI expresses its strong support for all democratic forces in Malawi and especially for the Democratic Alliance and its candidate, Chakufwa Chihana.

THE LIFE AND FREEDOM OF MAXIMO AGUSTÍN MANTILLA, NATIONAL ORGANISATION SECRETARY OF THE PERUVIAN APRISTA PARTY

Considering:

- That since the civilian military coup of 5 April 1992, the country's legal system and institutions have been subject to manipulation by the national intelligence service to suit the dictatorial intentions of Fujimori.

- That Agustín Mantilla Campos was abducted and held for 17 days by army personnel without any judicial warrant, and subsequently charged with illegal possession of firearms.

- Following 15 months in detention, a judicial investigation established that weapons found in Mantilla's home are all covered by licences except for some which are so old as to be museum pieces.

- That the second criminal division of the high court in Lima, on 6 July 1993, declared that there was no case for prolonging the detention of Agustín Mantilla, as provided by Peruvian law, under which no accused person may remain in detention for more than 15 months, on expiry of which the accused must be released, without prejudice to any trial which may follow.

- That comrade Agustín Mantilla Campos attended each and every court summons and at no time made any attempt to request asylum or to leave the country clandestinely.

- That the Supreme Court of the Republic, on 27 August 1993, discerned a tendency to favour the accused (...) on the part of the members of the high court (which) clearly shows their intention of achieving the expiry of the 15 month detention', and for this reason declared that 'the order to release the accused Agustín Mantilla is invalid'.

- That furthermore, in the same pronouncement by the Supreme Court, the court ordered that 'disciplinary procedures be taken against the members of the second criminal division of the high court in Lima for the aforesaid irregularities', namely, 'allowing Agustín Mantilla Campos to be released as noted above'.

- That comrade Mantilla Campos has been incarcerated in the San Jorge prison where his life is in danger, both on account of his delicate state of health and because of his having been Minister of the Interior and being held together with ordinary prisoners and prisoners charged with terrorist offences.

Resolves:

- To declare solidarity with comrade Agustín Mantilla Campos, national organisation secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party, in view of his wrongful incarceration.

- To approach the president of the republic

of Peru, the president of the Democratic Constituent Assembly and the President of the judiciary to obtain the minimum guarantees of life, health and respect for the human rights of comrade Agustín Mantilla Campos.

- To request the Peruvian government to transfer comrade Agustín Mantilla Campos to the police hospital where he had been held for the previous fifteen months.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Socialist International welcomes the mutual recognition and the declaration of principles on interim self-government agreed by the Israeli government and the PLO as a first but significant step towards a permanent and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

After decades of war, terrorism and suppression there is a real chance for peace.

The SI expresses its thanks to all women and men who had a share in making this development possible. We salute the memory of Willy Brandt, Olof Palme and Bruno Kreisky, who played an important role in this evolution.

We join our two Israeli member parties, the Labour Party and MAPAM, in congratulating Israel's prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, and foreign minister Shimon Peres for having dared to make the decisive breakthrough.

We congratulate Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO, and his friends for their courageous desire for peace.

We thank our Labour friends in Norway, who facilitated and were instrumental in the peace process, and the Spanish government headed by our comrade Felipe González, which hosted in Madrid the opening of this process.

We thank the USA, and Russia, for their efforts in the peace process.

We recognise the important role played by our political friends in Egypt.

Direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO as well as their Arab neighbours, have always been an important objective of the SI on the road to facilitating peace in the Middle East.

Particularly in the SI Middle East Committee, efforts have always been made to establish direct contacts, which have been successful, especially in recent times. The fact that Israeli as well as Arab parties are members of the SI has helped to significantly promote the dialogue. Furthermore, we were anxious to include the relevant political forces in the Kingdom of Jordan, in Lebanon

and in Syria in our negotiations. We also drew on the advice of the permanent member states of the UN security council in our deliberations.

It is of crucial importance to push forward with and encourage confidence-building measures between Israelis and Palestinians. These include:

- the release of the Palestinian detainees,

- and an end to the Arab boycott of Israel.

All the joy and appreciation of this first step aside, we must not forget the fact that the main tasks in promoting the peace process still lie ahead of us:

- all those who still reject the current peace process have to be convinced that things are going the right way;

- the negotiations between Israel and Syria, Lebanon and Jordan have to be made to yield results;

- the first results of the negotiations between Israel and the PLO have to be implemented, and negotiations must continue;

- the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 is of the greatest importance for the further advance of the peace process.

We call upon all member parties of the SI to lend the peace process their political and economic support. The amount of this economic aid is important, as is its quick mobilisation.

This peace can only make further progress if it goes hand in hand with rapid economic improvements. It is at this point that the industrialised nations, and the oil-producing nations, have to undertake great efforts.

International financial help is urgently required in order to build up a material and personal infrastructure in the Gaza strip, in Jericho and the territory that is still occupied. Jobs have to be created. Full and free access to qualified education is a crucial priority. A high priority should be given to the refugee problem and the refugee camps have to be closed. Humanitarian aid is indispensable. The UNWRA is currently in need of special support.

The countries of Europe and European institutions should unequivocally make a deeper commitment and assume responsibility for securing resources and political support for a stable, democratic, peaceful and prosperous Middle East.

Political parties have to form for the agreed elections. We are confident that the social democratic forces will be among them and we look forward to future cooperation.

If this peace process succeeds, if the economic basis is provided, if the process of democratisation is successful, then the Middle East could turn into one of the most economically suc-

cessful regions in the world.

Part of this peace process includes negotiations on disarmament. However, the cooperation of all nations in the region is of crucial importance. Many problems can only be solved together. That is true especially for the problem of water.

The SI, as much as lies in the realm of its capacity, will support the further development of the peace process.

The SI council expects the SI Middle East Committee to continue its work unremittingly under the new circumstances.

MOZAMBIQUE

The Socialist International council, meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, on 6-7 October 1993, stresses the importance of the peace agreements signed by the Mozambique Government and Renamo on 4 October 1992 and calls for the faithful application of the points contained in the agreement and full respect for all the schedules anticipated for the different phases of the process, namely the elections.

The SI fully supports the last UN security council resolution on Mozambique, and appeals to Renamo to participate constructively in all negotiating commissions in order to bring the implementation of the peace agreements to a successful conclusion.

The SI calls on governments and international institutions to fulfil the commitments they have assumed in promoting the carrying out of the peace and electoral processes.

The SI stresses the importance of the presence of UN peace-keeping forces in order to guarantee full disarmament and respect for the results of the elections. The international community should make all efforts to avoid disruptions of the peace process.

The SI resolves to send its own mission to Mozambique at an appropriate time and invites its member parties to support all initiatives aimed at reconciliation, integration of ex-combatants, civic education and democracy.

NICARAGUA

The council of the Socialist International resolves:

- To support initiatives for a national agreement in Nicaragua to deal with the serious problems of poverty, unemployment, political instability and the resurgence of armed violence;
- To appeal to the international community to provide unconditional emergency economic support to Nicaragua;
- To oppose any attempt at foreign interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua.

SUPPORT FOR THE PERUVIAN APRISTA PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE TO RESTORE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN PERU AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Considering:

- That as a result of the 'self-coup' of 5 April 1992, the political situation in Peru is developing in the context of a dictatorial and authoritarian regime.

- That the country's main political parties have stood firm in the face of the government's attempts to draw up a new constitution.

- That the Peruvian Aprista Party has, as the main organised movement, a key role to play in the difficult task of ensuring a NO response in the referendum and thus preventing the implementation of the constitution which the government has been drawing up, which provides for re-election of the head of state (which is without precedent in Peruvian politics and has now been legalised under the new Fujimori Constitution).

- That international organisations have failed to demand respect for democracy and human rights and are allowing the persecution of civilian and military politicians in Peru, such as General Jaime Salinas Sedó (charged with the attempted overthrow of Fujimori), General Rodolfo Robles Espinoza (accused of disobedience for having reported human rights violations by Fujimori and top-ranking military officers), Alberto Borea (secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party, persecuted by the dictatorship), and Aprista Party leaders and comrades Alan García, secretary general, and Agustín Mantilla Campos, organisation secretary, the latter of whom was imprisoned for the second time on 27 August charged with 'illegal possession of firearms'.

Resolves:

- To declare solidarity with the people and political parties of Peru in their goal of achieving a NO vote against the authoritarian Fujimori government.

- To give our support to the Peruvian Aprista Party in its courageous efforts to lead the civil resistance to the dictatorship.

- To demand that the Peruvian government respect the life and liberty of imprisoned and persecuted politicians, and to call on international human rights organisations to demand the immediate release of Mantilla, organisation secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party.

- To give the individual and collective support of the parties of the Socialist

International to the Peruvian Aprista Party in this difficult period in the struggle for democracy in Peru.

THE ELECTIONS IN POLAND

Having examined the results of the general elections held on 19 September 1993,

The Socialist International stresses the success of the forces of democratic socialist inspiration and in particular the Labour Union. The Polish vote demonstrates that in Poland, and in the whole of central and eastern Europe, there is room for a strong social democratic presence.

The Socialist International stresses how the populist and right-wing forces were defeated in these elections, in the same way as those democratic forces which - though not right-wing - deluded themselves that the market, by itself, was able to satisfy all expectations and resolve all contradictions.

The Polish vote expresses the protest of the citizens at too many injustices caused by an unregulated market and unrestrained liberalism. At the same time it would be wrong to think that the Polish vote expresses nostalgia for the past.

The Socialist International stresses with satisfaction that the Polish vote confirms the validity and the actuality of social democratic principles and policies. There cannot be progress and balanced development if efficiency and competitiveness are placed in opposition to fundamental social rights and solidarity.

The Socialist International also congratulates the electorate, considered too often to be subjected to the excessive domination of the church, for expressing their freedom of conscience.

The Socialist International intends to establish permanent relations of collaboration with the forces in Poland that are inspired by the principles of democratic socialism and charges the SICEE to pursue the contacts already made by the SI delegation last July.

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

The Socialist International, - expresses its deep concern at the present grave situation in Russia and its sorrow for the innocent victims of the dramatic clashes in Moscow;

- manifests its satisfaction at the defeat of the forces which could have taken Russia back to the past and into international isolation;
- firmly condemns the recourse to arms and violence and calls for negotiation as the better method for the solution of the political controversy and as one of the main conditions to strengthen the democratic process in Russia;
- confirms its strong commitment to the defence of democracy in this moment of transition and its support for the forging of much needed representative structures and a new constitution;
- calls for the rapid implementation of a fully democratic system permitting new presidential and parliamentary elections;
- pledges its support for the process of political, social and economic reform and calls on the international community effectively to help the political, democratic and economic development of Russian society;
- warns of the emergence of ultra-liberal tendencies in Russia which could increase the already marked social injustices and halt the whole democratic development of the country;
- believes that a priority of the SI should be the strengthening of the forces of authentic reform, inspired by the principles of democratic socialism;
- resolves to send a delegation to Russia in order to support the democratic process.
- calls for the rapid withdrawal of all Russian troops from foreign territory.

SOMALIA

The SI Council expresses its deep concern over recent developments in Somalia and deplores the fact that until now the UN peace-keeping forces have not been able to stop the violence and disarm the struggling factions.

The SI Council fears that the escalation which is occurring will lead to further military engagements that will make it more difficult to create peaceful conditions for economic and political development of the country.

We deeply deplore the death of UN peace-keepers and the civilian casualties.

We consider that to stop the violence that is continuously increasing and blocking a political solution, all warlords should be disarmed.

We consider that in disarming the political factions the UN peace-keeping forces should behave in a way to avoid civilian casualties and ensure the population's support for the peace-enforcing process.

We wish to urgently see a shift in emphasis from military action to political initiatives. A viable and stable solu-

tion for Somalia can only be found through political means and concepts which ensure the constructive co-operation of all social and ethnic groups for the political, economic and social reconstruction of the country.

We consider that the events in Somalia underline the need for a reform of the United Nations and the United Nations charter, according to proposals already presented by the UN secretary general and the Commission for Global Governance.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Socialist International welcomes the recent brave and positive steps taken by the negotiating parties to ensure a democratic future for South Africa.

The SI notes the important declaration by the president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, in the United Nations on 24 September, that the ANC believes that the time has come for the international community to normalise its relations with South Africa and to lift the remaining economic sanctions. The recommendation referred to the decision in the South African, white-dominated, parliament to approve the Bill for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which is to supervise, and prepare for free and fair elections in April 1994.

Democratic progress must be accompanied by economic development in order to give every citizen, regardless of the colour of their skin, equal opportunity for decent living conditions. No effort must be spared to erase injustices in housing and education, and to create work for the millions of mainly black unemployed. To overcome the legacy of apartheid a massive transfer of resources is needed. We call on all governments to introduce development assistance programmes when the negotiating parties so request. We call on all investors, public and private, South African as well as international, to use the economic opening for the benefit of all the people.

The SI notes the decisive role of the TEC and its seven sub-councils as the formal instrument to remove obstacles to democratic elections and to set up structures that enable all voters to participate. In this process the establishment of an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission, an independent broadcasting authority and a peacekeeping force with members from the national security forces and the ANC army, Umkhonto weSiswe, will be crucial.

We note with concern the difficult task that the TEC will have to create a political climate of openness and trust in a country torn by injustices and conflicts. The threats against democracy

are still many. We call on the South African authorities to fully support and cooperate with the TEC in their efforts for free and fair elections.

The SI strongly condemns the refusal by the Conservative Party, the Inkhata Freedom Party and other political groupings, to accept the TEC. Their actions and those of other reactionary and extremist forces jeopardise a peaceful transition to democracy, escalate the political violence and risk forcing the country into an armed conflict. We call on them to refrain from violence, to respect the wish of the people for a democratic, non-racial South Africa and to accept the negotiated agreements in the CODESA and the Multi-Party Forum.

The SI believes that the negotiating parties, by the conviction shown in further developing the process, will successfully bring about the peaceful transition to democracy, despite the obstacles that have to be overcome. The SI expresses its strong support for all democratic forces in South Africa and especially for our friends in the ANC, the broadest representative of the popular majority, who have shown great patience and courage in their indefatigable struggle for a just society.

The SI believes that the work by the TEC and its sub-councils to prepare for the first democratic elections ever in South Africa, must be complemented by massive efforts in popular education. The constituent assembly will be the first of a number of democratic institutions that are to be elected in the coming years. We believe that the international community has a great responsibility, and an obvious task, to support the South African people and its agreed bodies in the transition to democracy.

We call on the United Nations and on the European Community to respond positively, and to a sufficient extent, to requests for assistance in the preparations for, and the conducting and monitoring of, free and fair elections, if and when made by the TEC or its sub-structures.

The SI also calls on the international community, including NGOs, to give a generous response to requests from the ANC and other democratic forces in South Africa for financial or technical assistance, and for observers during the electoral process. The SI also calls on all member parties to actively and directly assist the ANC in order to overcome the imbalances that exist between the democratic forces in South Africa and to ensure that the forthcoming elections are indeed free and fair. We urge the member parties to share with the ANC their experience and knowledge of democratic electoral processes.

Finally, the SI and its member parties declare their readiness and com-

mitment to support all efforts for a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa and thereby the closure of one of the most disgraceful chapters in human history.

TOGO

The council of the Socialist International, meeting in Lisbon, Portugal on 6 October:

- deplores the conditions under which elections were carried out in Togo on 25 August 1993, especially the non-application of agreements signed at Ougadougou by all the parties running for election;
- congratulates the attitude of the international observers, almost all of whom left before the ballot to avoid giving support to an electoral charade which has kept the dictator-general Eyadéma in power for 27 years;
- expresses its determined support for all the democratic Togolese opposition which has been obliged to suspend its candidacy due to the conditions of the presidential ballot;
- urges the international community, particularly the UN and the European Community, to take any political and economic measures liable to favour the appearance of true democracy in Togo, especially during the next general elections where only the presence of a mass of international civilian and military observers can guarantee a true ballot.

WESTERN SAHARA

The council of the Socialist International wishes to express its concern about the delay in implementing the United Nations Peace Plan for the Western Sahara in accordance with Resolutions 658 and 690 of the security council.

Urges the secretary general of the UN to take the necessary steps to implement the peace process according to Resolution 809 of the security council, which calls on Morocco and the Polisario Front to cooperate with the UN to solve the problems linked to the identification of electors.

Welcomes the meeting of 16 July last in El Ajoun between Morocco and the Polisario Front and urges them to pursue negotiations in order to overcome the existing obstacles so that the referendum can be held as early as possible.

THE WAR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The council of the Socialist International,

reaffirming the positions expressed by the council in Athens and the resolution adopted by the Socialist International Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, in London on

28 May 1993:

expresses its deep concern over the continuation of a dramatic war which has already caused unspeakable suffering to the peoples of the former Yugoslavia; stresses its grave concern at the difficulties encountered, up to now, by the whole international community in the search for a peaceful solution;

condemns the continuous violations of human rights, the practice of ethnic cleansing, the massive rape and sexual violence, and urges the whole international community to undertake measures against all those responsible;

considers unacceptable the practice of violence and the use of force in order to modify or create borders;

appreciates the efforts of mediation carried on by Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen and stresses the necessity of redoubling all the efforts in order that the Geneva negotiations are no longer paralysed by mutual vetoes;

emphasises its firm belief that no stable solution of peace and cohabitation in the Balkans will be possible if the method of negotiation does not prevail;

believes that a peace agreement must be based on the following principles:

- every kind of agreement must be accepted and freely shared by all the parties concerned;
- free elections under UN control must be organised in all Bosnian territories;
- human rights and equal rights for all the ethnic and religious communities and all citizens must be secured, whatever the future institutional and territorial reorganisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina may be;
- no war crime must go unpunished and the war crimes tribunal established by the UN security council must immediately be set in motion.

the enforcement of agreements must be secured by international guarantees.

Meanwhile, the council of the Socialist International:

believes that the presence of the blue helmets must be strengthened, by the involvement of the principal members of the United Nations placing their military forces at its disposal and providing the necessary financial means;

considers necessary the assured and continued presence of United Nations forces in Croatia and all other territories involved in the war;

considers that, up to the achievement of a true peace agreement among all the parties concerned, the measures of sanctions against Serbia must be retained and, if necessary, increased, and that sanctions are to be applied against Croatia in the case of non-cessation of the annexing tendencies and of the operations of ethnic cleansing;

considers urgent and necessary the assumption of appropriate measures so as to prevent the outbreak of hostilities in Kosovo and considers useful the

establishment of 'areas under UN protection' for safeguarding the civilian population;

urges the preparation, with absolute priority, of a plan for the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of all the areas hit by the war, making possible the return of the original populations, in a peaceful and organised manner.

appeals to the international community to provide a programme for assistance and rescue, during the winter, to the 3,500,000 refugees in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, in close collaboration with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Desires a solution to the problem of recognising the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, one capable of assuring peace, security and good relations between neighbours in the region.

The Socialist International expresses its fraternal solidarity to the parties of socialist and social democratic inspiration of the republics of the former Yugoslavia and grants a mandate to SICEE to take all useful initiatives to secure a continuous presence in the area.

The Socialist International appeals to all the democratic and left-wing forces, inspired by the values and principles of democratic socialism, to coordinate their efforts for a strong political pressure aimed at a political solution of the war, to end the terrible suffering of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia and to prevent the further extension of the war.

ZAIRE

The council of the Socialist International, meeting in Lisbon on 6-7 October, is very concerned by the political deadlock in Zaire, the deterioration of the economic and social situation and the violence which has broken out in certain provinces of the country; with risk of serious repercussions in the sub-region.

Considers that President Mobutu's delaying manoeuvres have been the main cause of the chaos prevailing in Zaire.

Demands an immediate return to the democratic process in accordance with the decisions taken at the Sovereign National Conference.

Urges the international community to put the necessary pressure on President Mobutu and impose sanctions at UN level to force him to either change his attitude or leave.

Gives its full support to the forces fighting for democracy in Zaire, particularly the UDPS, whose president, Frédéric Kibassa Maliba, has taken advantage of his presence in Lisbon to announce his return to Zaire in the next few days.

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