

SI COUNCIL IN SANTIAGO

The holding of a meeting of the Council of the Socialist International in Santiago, Chile, on 26-27 November 1991, was, in the words of the Chilean president 'an eloquent symbol of the rebirth of democracy in the country'.

The Council meeting was hosted by the Chilean Radical Party, PR, a member party of the Socialist International.

At a formal inauguration held in the old parliament building, now the ministry of foreign affairs, and presided over by SI Vice-President Enrique Silva Cimma, foreign minister of Chile, the Council was addressed by SI Vice-president Leonel Brizola, leader of the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, PDT, and governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, and by the president of the Republic of Chile, Patricio Aylwin.

Brizola conveyed to the meeting and its Chilean hosts the sadness felt by SI President Willy Brandt that he was not able to be in Santiago. He paid tribute to the dedication and leadership of the International's president, whose presence was sorely missed, and wished him a speedy restoration to full health.

This meeting in Chile, Brizola continued, was the fulfilment of a particular wish felt by all in the Socialist International: to show recognition of the intelligent and effective way in which the Chilean people had been able to overcome the great suffering which had fallen on their country. The president, government and all democratic representatives were now carrying forward an extraordinary and historic task, made possible by the long efforts of many people both in Chile and in the 'Chilean diaspora'.

He referred to the secretary general of the Socialist International as an example of the many Chileans who had pursued their commitment to progress and

democracy through the years of enforced exile in the past.

He went on to hold up the Chilean achievement as a source of encouragement to all those struggling for social democratic ideals in the very difficult conditions of many Latin American countries.

President Aylwin welcomed the SI meeting as an important part of the fruitful dialogue which Chileans were now holding with all the world's democrats. His compatriots felt a special gratitude to the Socialist International, its member parties and its leaders, for the strong and generous solidarity shown to Chilean democrats during the years of authoritarian rule.

He described social democracy as 'one of the most vigorous philosophical tendencies of contemporary history', stressing the contribution of socialist humanism to the theory and practice of democracy in its widest sense, 'not just social democracy's programmes and policies, but above all its commitment to the principles of political freedom and social justice'.

Referring to the coalition government which he heads, the Chilean president said 'We see the *Concertación* as a convergence of humanist currents of different inspiration, among them the christian and the socialist, with a long-term perspective of constructing in Chile a solid democracy, not only in politics, but also in the economic and social spheres... it is not just a government of transition, but of democratic consolidation'.

When the SI Council

reconvened a little later for its working sessions, Secretary General Luis Ayala asked delegates to join him in a tribute to SI Vice-President Daniel Oduber who had died suddenly a few weeks before (see 2/91, page 38). He referred to Oduber's achievements as a founder of the National Liberation Party and as president of Costa Rica in the 1970s, when the country made great social and economic progress.

Latin America in a Changing World

Turning to its main political business, the Council tackled an agenda headed by the theme of 'Latin America and the Caribbean in a Changing World: Integration, Democracy and Economic Development'.

Opening the debate, Carlos González Márquez, president of the Chilean Radical Party, acknowledged the role of the Socialist International in supporting and furthering democratisation in Latin America. He referred to the great hopes inspired by the broad cooperation characteristic of political life in Chile today. Within that broad cooperation, the aims of the Radical Party, he said, were those of the Socialist International: economic development within a continent moving towards integration, a just distribution of the national wealth, the defence of the environment and the deepening of democracy.

He stressed the importance of demilitarisation, at both national and international level, and the hoped-for 'peace dividend'; the

need for both the impetus of the market and social intervention by the state; and the long term aim, in Latin America as in other areas of the world, of regional integration at cultural, socio-economic, and eventually political level.

Alfonso Guerra, deputy general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, spoke for many in conveying the personal emotion he felt in coming to a Chile now restored to democracy. For almost two decades, he said, Chile had been 'the best expression of our commitment to freedom, the most vivid testimony of the dignity of the Latin American people who would not

Ecuador; and Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the New Democratic Party, NPD, Canada.

Former President Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina, a guest at the SI Council, also spoke on the main theme. Among the Chilean guests were delegations from the Socialist Party, PS, headed by Party Chair Ricardo Nuñez, and from the Party for Democracy, PPD, headed by Party Chair Erich Schnake. The chairs of both parties addressed the Council. Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of President Salvador Allende, was present and was warmly welcomed by the Council.

After wideranging discussions which underlined the

Revolutionary Movement, MNR, who made a personal report to the meeting on these positive developments.

The electoral crisis in Guyana was the subject of a resolution which underlined the active role of the Working People's Alliance, WPA, in seeking to resolve the crisis and secure the holding of free and fair elections in the country.

Finally, the meeting heard first-hand reports of the continuing grave situation in Haiti following the coup d'état of 30 September and passed a resolution reiterating support for the constitutionally elected president.

Eastern Europe

Introducing the Council's second main theme, 'Central and Eastern Europe: The Continuing Transformation', Heinz Fischer, Social Democratic Party of Austria, contrasted the positive developments of continuing democratisation and the failure of the coup in the former Soviet Union with the severe and worsening economic problems and the unstable party-political landscape in many countries. He stressed the urgent need for economic assistance to the new democracies and for a coherent and humane approach by countries bordering the region towards the phenomenon of economic migration.

The magnitude and significance of this last question was further underlined by Margherita Boniver of the Italian Socialist Party, minister for immigration in the Italian government.

Jiri Horak, chair of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and Piotr Ikonowicz of the Polish Socialist Party gave information on the latest developments in their respective countries. Both appealed to fraternal parties to maintain productive exchanges and supportive contacts with the social democratic parties of eastern and central Europe.

The Council adopted a resolution on developments in eastern Europe and the former Soviet union. As well as the issues already mentioned, the resolution



resign themselves to life under dictatorship, but struggled peacefully for their right to live in democracy'.

Among leading figures from SI member parties who addressed the meeting on the issues facing Latin American countries were José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic, and chair of SICLAC; Humberto Celli, president of Acción Democrática, Venezuela; Oscar Eid, chair of the National Revolutionary Movement, MIR, Bolivia; Andrés Vallejo, director of the Revolutionary Left Party, PID,

commitment of SI member parties to regional cooperation based on shared social and economic goals, the Council adopted a resolution on Latin American economic integration (see page 33).

Turning to national situations of particular concern, the council also adopted a resolution welcoming the progress of the peace process in El Salvador and the establishment of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, Copaz. The Council particularly welcomed the participation in Copaz of Víctor Valle, general secretary of the National

dealt in some detail with the continuing conflict in Yugoslavia (see page 35).

Reports and Resolutions

Birgitta Dahl, chair of the SI Committee on the Environment, reported on the meeting of that committee a few days previously in Rio de Janeiro (see page 27), where the World Summit on

Madrid in October.

General Secretary Luis Ayala made his customary report to the Council (printed in full on pages 32 and 33), giving an overview of SI activities during the period since the last Council meeting in Istanbul. He also referred in particular to the recent meeting in London of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council. The Council subsequently adopted resolutions

Budapest in August, the Council decided to suspend the SI membership of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, whilst maintaining close contacts with all groups and organisations in the country reflecting social democratic ideas. A working group of the International would be established for this purpose in 1992.

It was also agreed, following a



Environment and Development would take place in June 1992. In the coming months this would be a major focus of attention. A resolution was adopted which set out in some detail the analysis and aims of the International with regard to Environment and Development.

A further resolution, introduced by Alfonso Guerra, extended the full support of the Socialist International to the Middle East peace conference opened in

on Peace and Security and on International Arms Transfers (see pages 26 and 27).

Other resolutions dealt with the question of Drugs and Drug Trafficking and condemned the current situations of violence and repression in East Timor and in Burma (see page 39).

Membership

Having heard a detailed report from the SI mission which visited

report on applications for membership by Thorbjørn Jagland, chair of the SI Finance and Administration Committee, that the Council will recommend to the next Congress of the International, due to be held in 1992, that the Liberal Party of Colombia, the Social Democratic Party of Mongolia and the Labour Party of St Lucia be admitted to the Socialist International as consultative member parties.

SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN SANTIAGO

When I presented my report to the last meeting of the SI Council in Istanbul in June 1991, I referred to the situation following the war in the Persian Gulf and our International's response to those developments.

I begin this report by referring to our activities in response to other important events which took place in eastern Europe.

Last August, our attention was focused on the attempted coup d'état in Moscow. From the SI secretariat in London and through many other formal and informal channels, we followed the situation closely. President Willy Brandt was in close touch with developments and, in contact with SI vice-presidents and with our friends in the Soviet Union, we made preparations during the days following the coup attempt to hold an emergency meeting of our presidium, in order to coordinate our position and to support those forces in the Soviet Union committed to democracy.

Happily, those preparations were interrupted by the rapid routing of the attempted coup. We continued, however, to follow very closely the course of events in the Soviet Union. Shortly afterwards, a preparatory visit was made to Moscow to discuss arrangements and an SI delegation, headed by Pierre Mauroy and also including Björn Engholm, Alfonso Guerra, Pertti Paasio and myself, arrived in Moscow on 16 September. The SI delegation held meetings with Eduard Shevardnadze, Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev and also had discussions with

our friends in the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation.

A meeting of the SI presidium was held in Berlin on 20 and 21 September in order to hear the impressions of the delegation and to discuss the situation in the Soviet Union following the events of August. The delegation's report underlined the cordial tone of all the meetings held in Moscow, the firm commitment to advance by the democratic path expressed by Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin and the Soviet Union's need for cooperation and assistance in the coming months. The presidium supported this line and agreed that contacts and exchanges should continue.

At its meeting in Berlin the presidium took the opportunity to discuss the continuing grave situation in Yugoslavia. In a statement issued on 18 June, the Socialist International had already condemned the unwarranted use of force and called for dialogue and negotiation, urging all parties to use the good offices of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of the United Nations. In Berlin, the presidium held detailed discussions on the conflict and reiterated its support for all peace-seeking initiatives.

The International maintains close contact with the dynamic and evolving situation in all the countries of eastern and central Europe. In June, international secretaries of a number of member parties in Europe, both East and West, met at our headquarters in London in order to exchange views on questions affecting the region. This was the most recent of a series of such meetings which have proved valuable and which we plan to continue.

During recent months the International has been following

in detail the peace process in the Middle East. The opening of the international peace conference in Madrid at the end of October, bringing together all the parties involved, was greeted with enthusiasm by the SI Middle East Committee, which has worked tirelessly in furtherance of that process. We were also pleased that the government of our member party in Spain, led by our vice-president, Felipe González, was able to be instrumental in the process by hosting the initial sessions in the Spanish capital.

Just a few days before the opening of the peace conference, the SI Middle East Committee had met in Strasburg to review all aspects of the important issues facing the region. As is usual at such meetings, a number of guests attended. Among these for the first time were Syrian representatives. As guests from Jordan were attending a meeting of the Committee for the second time, our International succeeded on that occasion in bringing together all the parties involved in the conflict, in line with our objective of acting as a forum for dialogue in furtherance of the peace process.

Turning to the African continent, representatives of some 20 SI member parties attended the conference in Durban of the African National Congress - the first conference which the ANC had been able to hold openly in South Africa since 1960, when the organisation was declared illegal under the apartheid regime. All the parties present assumed collectively the representation of our International at the Durban conference.

Following the ANC conference, several representatives of SI member parties took part in a mission of the International to Angola, where they met President

Dos Santos, members of the Angolan government and leaders of the main political forces in the country, in order to discuss the peace process and Angola's transition to a multi-party system.

The development of democracy and pluralism in Africa continues and new political forces have approached our International seeking cooperation in the important tasks facing democratic forces there at this time of rapid change throughout the continent. In this context, old friends and comrades of ours, like Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo of Burkino Faso, have returned to their countries after the tribulations of exile and are contributing to political development. A working meeting on Africa will be held at the SI headquarters in January 1992 in order to activate our concrete contribution in Africa at this crucial time.

At the end of September, we learned of the violent military coup in Haiti against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was elected last years in the elections long-awaited by the democratic forces of his country. Our International strongly and unreservedly condemned the military coup and reiterated its support and solidarity with PANPRA, our member party in Haiti, with our friends in KONAKOM, and with all the democratic forces of the country. We called on the international community to take all the necessary steps in order to reestablish as soon as possible the rule of law and respect for the constitution of Haiti.

At the second meeting this year of our Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, held on 11 - 12 November in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba, we welcomed President Aristide in person, together with a number of other friends from Haiti, to urgent talks on the situation in Haiti.

At the meeting in Cochabamba, which was opened by President Paz Zamora, we dealt with questions subsequently to be

discussed by the SI Council: integration, democracy and economic development and the challenges for democratic socialism in Latin America in the new international situation.

We have been monitoring political developments in Guyana, in the light of the past controversial actions of the Guyanese government in carrying forward the electoral process. We have been alert to all irregularities and in constant touch with our member party in Guyana, the Working People's Alliance. In Cochabamba we passed a resolution on this subject and urged the authorities in Georgetown to hold free and fair elections. We trust that in the present situation the dialogue between government and opposition in Guyana will achieve this end.

On 21 November, the SI Committee on the Environment, chaired by Birgitta Dahl of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, held a meeting in Rio de Janeiro, hosted by the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, PDT. Rio will be the venue in 1992 for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Other committees of our International have also been active in the recent period. Our Committee on Human Rights met in Vienna in October, under the chairmanship of Peter Jankowitsch of the Social Democratic Party of Austria, in order to discuss the vital subject of the rights of minority and ethnic groups. Among distinguished guests at that meeting were Croatian and Serbian representatives who took part in our discussions of the grave situation in Yugoslavia.

The SI Disarmament Advisory Council met on 18 November in London, under the chairmanship of Kalevi Sorsa. As well as reviewing the crisis in Yugoslavia, we considered the new areas which SIDAC will need to tackle in the cause of international peace. Important new items on

our agenda include the questions of new security structures, conversion of the armaments industry, and the contribution which this body of our International can offer in the prevention and solution of regional conflicts. In the present international context, we are planning to concretise our contribution on various long-standing regional questions, for example the situation between the two Koreas. Security questions affecting the Asia-Pacific region in particular will be a focus of discussions at a future meeting of SIDAC to be held in Tokyo, following an invitation from our Japanese member parties.

In this report of our recent activities, I must mention that I have had the privilege of representing our International at various events in the course of recent months, including meetings and congresses of a number of member parties.

Finally, I would like to refer to an event held in Frankfurt on 25 June, where, in the presence of our president, we commemorated the congress held 40 years before where the Socialist International was reestablished. We recalled on that occasion the achievements and contributions of many leaders who have inspired the work of our International since 1951.

I trust that the many activities, carried out by our International over recent months, and which I have briefly described here, have helped to further the vision of our president, Willy Brandt, who said recently that: 'Our fundamental principles are relevant today the world over. Equally relevant is an interest in increasing regional and international cooperation, and a constant exchange of views on the way democratic socialism can be first promoted and then secured'.

RESOLUTIONS

LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

1. The Socialist International affirms its conviction that economies and economic arrangements must first and foremost serve broad human needs. The SI also affirms that economic change must be directed toward a better re-distribution of wealth and power within and between societies.
2. Recognising that trade and economic cooperation between states are essential elements of the world economy, and that improved trade and economic relations are an important goal for the development of Latin America, the SI encourages trade and economic integration within Latin America.
3. Such integration must be based, however, on the SI's democratic socialist goals:
 - promotion of equality within and between societies
 - strengthening of human rights
 - stronger protection of workers' rights, workers' health and safety, and promotion of trade unions
 - improved health care and social programmes for all
 - stronger environmental standards and protections
 - special attention to the needs and necessary empowerment of women and indigenous peoples in the region
 - the integration process should include policies against excessive armaments that threaten both democratic development and true economic development.
4. While recognising the needs and desires of Latin Americans to pursue economic integration, the SI is also aware of the adverse effects suffered by people through economic integration among states in North America where such integration is modelled on neo-conservative, rather than democratic socialist principles and policies. In Latin America the SI recognises that economic integration must go hand in hand with the development of political pluralism and the creation of a true democratic socialist option.
5. Basically, the integration processes affect two complex realities of the modern contemporary world - the market and the state - and such a process will therefore affect the functioning of both. The process should not be developed against the nature of the latter, but should contribute to the perfection of both.
6. The ideal aim has always been global

- Latin American integration, but reality has shown that this is an improbable goal in the short term. For the more countries there are participating in an integration process, the greater the complicating factors which will prevent its successful culmination. Integration processes should therefore have a subregional scope and not a global one, although the various subregional integration frameworks that will eventually arise should be able to establish scenarios for coordination and harmonisation.
7. The Socialist International observes that the processes of integration in Latin America have always emphasised economic or physical aspects, relegating political, social, cultural and military realities to a secondary or non-existent plane, even though historical analysis shows us that the continuing successful development of the former aspects requires that account be taken of the latter.
 8. The Socialist International affirms that the processes of integration should avoid an excessive multilateralism which paradoxically ends in bilateral practices agreed internally. Rather, subregional multilateral processes must be developed whereby the integration of the participating national states is swift and thorough.
 9. The Socialist International maintains that Latin American economic integration need not necessarily be carried out following the same stages as European integration. The process can indeed be shortened, skipping one of the stages or implementing two different stages simultaneously. It is advisable that the methodology of integration be fast and profound.
 10. In this context, the Socialist International considers that, on the one hand, the application of tariff reductions within subregional integration frameworks should be less gradual than is currently proposed; and on the other, that the creation of joint customs arrangements fixing common external tariffs should be applied without delay after the free-trade zone mechanisms have been established.
 11. The Socialist International asserts its conviction that common external tariffs should be fixed on the basis of the existing average tariff among the national economies participating in the process, as set out by GATT, ensuring that they are as low as possible in order to prevent the integration processes from being incompatible with insertion into the world economy.
 12. The Socialist International affirms that neither the free-trade zone nor the customs union will be viable unless there

- is a simultaneous launching of processes to harmonise, make complementary and even standardise national macroeconomic policies, particularly as far as currency, banks, wages, prices and fiscal policy are concerned. Otherwise trade integration will be powerless to reach the last stage of a global economic integration.
13. The Socialist International maintains that, in the medium term, integrated Latin American markets must ensure that the mobility and rewards of productive resources are aimed at achieving the most even level possible in each of the national economies. Otherwise the success of the processes will not be guaranteed and it will not be possible for their benefits to be clear and conclusive.
 14. The Socialist International maintains that the processes of integration in Latin America require the establishment of politico-institutional structures as their constitutive foundation, for this will be the only way to guarantee the viability of economic integration.
 15. The Socialist International considers that every integration process in Latin America must generate its own institutional framework where seeds of supranational power may take root to regulate specific areas previously approved by each of the states and their governments; the first institutions mentioned might possess their own jurisdictional status, with standard rights of immediacy and coercion, thus enabling the supranational norms to supplement or even repeal ordinary national arrangements.
 16. The Socialist International recommends that issues such as domestic policies, public order, migration, justice, security, defence and foreign affairs should be treated through intergovernmental structures, which can be coordinated and harmonised through institutionalised meetings of the presidents and ministers of the area, drawn from the respective governments taking part in a process of integration, and not on supranational structures.
 17. The Socialist International firmly believes that the processes of integration should increasingly involve social matters and, to this end, social communication, trade unionism, culture and sports activities and policies must be incorporated into such processes in a definitive and organic way.

EL SALVADOR

The Socialist International has been observing with care and interest the current state of the peace negotiations between the Salvadorean government and the FMLN. In this sense it expresses its satisfaction at the agreement signed by both sides in New York last September, which constitutes a significant step to-

wards the achievement of peace in El Salvador.

At the same time, the SI Council has taken note of the establishment of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (Copaz) and of the important role to be fulfilled by it in the immediate future. It is considered particularly appropriate that Víctor M Valle, the general secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, our member party in El Salvador, should form part of this body. The Council expresses its full support for the work of Copaz.

Notwithstanding the progress made in the peace negotiations, the Socialist International considers that several problems remain to be dealt with in order to democratise, humanise, demilitarise and bring peace to Salvadorean society. In this sense it offers its full support and solidarity to the MNR in its struggle to build the alternative of democratic socialism in Salvadorean politics.

The Council has noted and warmly welcomed the process of revitalisation in which the MNR is involved, following the death of its historic leaders, Guillermo Ungo and Héctor Oqueli.

GUYANA

The Socialist International notes that since its resolution on Guyana adopted at the November meeting of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, in Bolivia and its strong message to the Chairman of the Elections Commission and the President of Guyana, news has been received of the cancellation of 16 December 1991 as the date for the forthcoming elections in Guyana.

The Socialist International welcomes this first step now taken by the government of Guyana, recommended since late October 1991 by Guyanese political parties and civic organisations and international observers; though tardy and tending to delay the elections timetable unnecessarily, it is a development which can permit the resumption of the democratic momentum.

The SI is encouraged that the democratic consultations called for publicly in Guyana by our member party, the Working People's Alliance, WPA, and urged in the SICLAC resolution, have now been initiated by the President of Guyana. The SI looks forward to these consultations being carried out without undue delay so that a firm timetable for the elections can be set. Bearing in mind the long delay and repeated postponements, the Guyanese people are demanding the earliest practicable election date.

Provided that the mode of approach to the achievement of a complete and accurate voters' list and an impartial election machinery is agreed upon with full participation of parties concerned, the way should be clear for early resolution of the issues which divide the two sides.

The SI resolves to carry out its democratic mission by the following methods:

1. To monitor the developments in Guy-

ana with regard to the achievement of a voters' list acceptable to all and, more fundamentally, with regard to steps taken to place all electoral processes without exception under the unrivalled authority of the Elections Commission.

2. To keep in touch with the situation as it develops, to be alert in particular to attempts to defer the poll unnecessarily until the second half of 1992; and to give every encouragement to our member party, the WPA, in its active role in the promotion of parliamentary democracy, international understanding and freedom.

3. To pursue the stated intention of the SI to send an observer mission to Guyana for the elections whenever they are held.

4. To advocate the strongest possible international response if constitutional norms in that country continue to be violated and if rival authorities to the Elections Commission continue to be maintained by the government, to the further frustration of the fair and impartial elections which the Guyanese people demand and deserve.

HAITI

Considering that the Socialist International has as one of its basic aims the promotion, defence and development of democratic systems and their political institutions;

taking into account the Socialist International's very special responsibility for, and commitment to, the promotion, defence and development of democracy in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean;

considering that the military coup d'état of 30 September 1991 in Haiti, which overthrew the constitutional president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, is an illegitimate act which breaks the constitutional order and ignores the majority will of the Haitian people as expressed in free elections held under the observation of international bodies and SI representatives;

considering that violence, repression, insecurity and the violation of the most basic human rights have increased in Haiti since the coup d'état;

considering that both the international community, represented by inter-governmental bodies like the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the United Nations (UN), and the democratic governments of America and many other governments from other continents have repudiated the coup d'état and initiated actions aimed at the restoration of democracy in the Republic of Haiti;

considering that it is the moral and political duty of the Socialist International and its member parties, committees and organisations to struggle for the respect of freedom, human rights, social justice, citizens' participation and popular sovereignty;

the Socialist International agrees:

1. to ratify the statement made public

by the Socialist International in the wake of the coup of 30 September, condemning it as an illegitimate act intended to disregard the sovereignty of the Haitian people and as an attack against the political and democratic development of all peoples of America;

2. to support the decisions, both political and otherwise, taken by the Organisation of American States (OAS), other international organisations and democratic governments from the Americas and the rest of the world, aimed at the full restoration of democracy and the constitutional order in Haiti and at the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to his country as legitimate head of state;

3. to call on parties involved, both internally and externally, to continue the search for an urgent solution to the crisis, aiming to resolve it without the Haitian people having to pay the high costs of violence and armed confrontation;

4. to make a special call on all democratic political, social and economic forces in Haiti, most particularly our affiliated party, to form a great internal democratic front, needed to resolve the current crisis, and to work for the creation of a national consensus which could facilitate the future democratic development of the country;

5. to demand that international and national humanitarian organisations channel their urgent humanitarian assistance and aid through trade unions, Non-Governmental Organisations and civilian social organisations;

6. to request the United Nations, the parties affiliated to the Socialist International and other international political organisations to support, both internally and in the respective countries and parliaments where they operate, the measures that have been decreed and put into practice;

7. to call on international organisations and the democratic governments of the Americas and the rest of the world to begin immediate preparation of a programme of economic and social assistance and human rights promotion, aimed at the reconstruction and democratic development of Haiti, once the constitutional order broken by the coup d'état of 30 September is restored;

8. to form a special committee of the Socialist International on Haiti. This committee should work for a negotiated solution to the crisis, using all the possibilities for dialogue with the parties in Haiti involved in the crisis. This committee should also support solidarity actions for the economic reconstruction of Haiti;

9. to call for the pursuit of the negotiations begun in Cartagena between President Aristide and the Haitian parliament, despite the difficulties experienced during the first meeting on 23 and 24 November 1991.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Taking into account the resolutions of the Socialist International and those of the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, in Aruba this year;

and taking into account the economic and democratic transformations under way in the western hemisphere;

convinced of the important role to be played by member parties in every country in the hemisphere;

noting with concern the widespread, adverse effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement on Canadian employment, industrial development, labour development and social programmes;

the Socialist International encourages member parties in the hemisphere to enter urgent and comprehensive discussions about future economic relations and trade in the hemisphere and urges that these discussions should include efforts to construct and promote a social charter, using the European Community Social Charter as a starting point, on labour, social and economic rights.

SICLAC, in its continuing consideration of human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, should give particular attention to the plight of political prisoners who were interned under former dictatorships and for whom justice under democracy has been delayed.

Finally, the SI encourages democratic governments in the hemisphere to ensure that development assistance programmes and projects be directed to the basic needs of the poorest portions of populations, with special attention to women and particular efforts towards the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples and communities.

DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

1. Since the Socialist International meetings in New York, Sydney and Istanbul, the radical changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have continued. The change in the political system and the democratisation process in the former eastern bloc, accompanied by serious difficulties in adjusting that are fraught with crisis, have led to radical changes in Europe in the areas of economy and security policy.

2. The SI welcomes the continuing democratisation process in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet

Union and notes with satisfaction the strengthening of democratic institutions and multi-party systems, the execution of legally and politically valid elections in more and more of those countries, as recently evidenced in Bulgaria and Poland, and the observation of civil and human rights. In this context, the SI finds it highly satisfactory that as a result of these developments the values and goals for which social democrats have always fought and which are also firmly embodied in the new declaration of principles of the SI have found acceptance in Europe as a whole.

3. We must, however, not close our eyes to the social impact of the restructuring process in this part of Europe. If the countries of Eastern Europe do not experience economic recovery, and the living conditions of the people who live there do not improve, a great part of the population of these countries will be reduced to poverty. That prospect is unacceptable and we recognise that it carries with it increased dangers for political extremism such as nationalism, xenophobia and anti-semitism.

Also, the relationship among the East European countries themselves could deteriorate dramatically, thus endangering the stability of the region. Tensions and conflicts would cause many people to seek refuge in Western Europe and would therefore intensify the desire to emigrate for economic reasons.

4. For this reason, the SI requests that the wealthy industrial nations work for the success of the political and economic reform programmes not only for ethical and political reasons but also because of deliberate self-interest as well as an awareness of the prerequisites for Europe-wide stability, and that they actively contribute to the programmes to a much greater extent than has been the case until now. To accomplish this goal, western aid must be restructured to establish a joint, cooperative relief programme which plans for and will be implemented under active participation of both the donating and the receiving countries and which must be added to the current support by the group of twenty-four.

Even more important are western trade concessions ensuring the access of products from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to the markets of the West. In this context the SI welcomes the conclusion of negotiations on so-called association agreements between the EC on the one hand and Poland, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Hungary on the other. Agreements of this kind mark a clear step forward in western support for the economic transformation process of the East. They must be extended to other countries of Eastern Europe and of the former Soviet Union.

5. The crash programmes that are currently used for the most part by the governments of Eastern Europe that unleash within a brief period of time the price system, foreign trade and the capital market and that aim at making the currency convertible, forget that a market economy requires adequate govern-

mental institutions and services in order to work satisfactorily. They also fail to see that the necessary learning process takes some time, during which a certain protection against competition and in particular social policies have to be guaranteed. The social dimension must concurrently keep step with the politico-economic objective.

6. Clearly, the countries under former communist leadership are presently undergoing and must undergo a process of coming to terms with the past. The SI requests, however, that during this process all constitutional principles be observed and warns of the temptation to repay injustice with new injustice. In this context the "screening law" which bans all former communist officials from holding public office in the CSFR, adopted by a slight majority of the federal parliament, is unacceptable. We regret any steps that will transform the Velvet Revolution into a time of persecution, guilt and division.

7. In addition to social conflicts, growing national tensions count among the main problems in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Nationalist conflicts may set back the democratisation process temporarily or in the longer term with disastrous consequences for Europe as a whole. For this reason, the SI considers the conciliation between nationalities and the political and legal recognition of minorities in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe a fundamental prerequisite for further development towards stability and prosperity. It therefore welcomes the efforts at various global and European levels toward establishing a legal framework for the issues relevant to this development. At the same time the SI expresses its conviction that a simple, declarative approach to this task is insufficient and states that the serious problems and potential conflicts, in connection with nationalities and minorities require the courage to sit down and negotiate normative regulations at an international level.

8. The SI recalls what it already stated at its 1989 Congress in Stockholm: "In dealing with this situation it is essential to recognise the fact that Central and Eastern Europe is not a monolithic bloc. Each of the countries has always been different and, at the present time, these differences are becoming more and more obvious." This statement also holds true for the political difficulties of these countries. The formation of political movements and parties based on national particularities has created a complex political situation in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as a whole. The SI will continue its endeavours to develop a network of contacts and cooperation that is in accordance with these complexities.

To this end the Socialist International and its member parties, in cooperation with the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, intend to create a framework for a dialogue with other political and labour forces of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union which in the concrete con-

text of the political life of their respective countries are judged as valuable interlocutors. This can be the case with various centre or centre-left forces. Similarly it can be the case with those former communists who have promoted democratic change.

9. The Socialist International considers the dramatic and globally significant change in the former Soviet Union after the August coup in Moscow as a unique chance for establishing a permanent international structure for security and peace that will definitively overcome the decades-long antagonism between capitalism and communism and will create the basis for an awareness of a common responsibility for civilisation as a whole.

This common responsibility for easing the related problems of East and West, North and South, as well as for the environment, has been demonstrated independently by different commissions, as for example by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues led by Olof Palme and the North-South Commission under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt which clearly emphasised the relationship between disarmament and underdevelopment. The revolutionary developments in the former Soviet Union since Gorbachev's accession to office, have led to the acknowledgement of the common values of democracy and human rights as well as to the dismantling of the authoritarian centralised statist economy, moving towards a socially sensitive mixed economy which will utilise both the market and public regulation as well as a variety of forms of property. This is the basis on which a transformation of the USSR into a new union is currently being sought and has made possible the extensive international cooperation requested by the SI aimed at easing the seriousness of global problems.

10. In connection with the developments in the former Soviet Union the SI states that:

10.1 The former Soviet Union will be unable to manage the transition to a new economic and political union without massive economic support by western industrialised nations. For this reason new plans for Europe-wide cooperation and involvement will be necessary. The perspective for a common economic area for Europe as a whole, the former Soviet Union included, must be developed and serve as basis for a common European home. Thus it will be possible for the people of the former Soviet Union to build their hopes on a solid basis and so lessen the danger of uncontrolled migratory movements away from the former Soviet Union.

10.2 The SI therefore renews its support for establishing a new union between the Republics.

10.3 The integration of the former Soviet Union and the Republics in existing international economic and financial organisations (GATT, IMF, World Bank) is necessary and should be implemented as soon as possible.

10.4 In the face of an impending winter of hunger with unforeseeable

consequences it will be necessary to organise and execute immediately the shipment of food, in particular by the European Community.

10.5 Since the former Soviet Union consists of more than 100 different nations, populations and ethnic groups, the SI considers the misunderstood use of a right to self-determination, set above all other principles, as self-destructive if not combined with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. The transformation to a new union must allow for conceding to individual nations or ethnic groups their legitimate rights by granting them extensive rights for autonomy and by observance of their minority status.

11. The SI deeply regrets the developments in Yugoslavia during the past months and is dismayed by the escalation of violence which was thought to be impossible in Europe after the end of the East-West conflict, and insists with all its political and ethical authority on the demand to put an end to the shedding of blood and to stop the activities of all armed forces, formal and informal military and paramilitary units immediately, including the Yugoslav Federal Army, and condemns the traffic and illegal supply of arms to the combatting forces in Yugoslavia.

12. The stance of the SI on the developments in Yugoslavia is based on the following principles and convictions:

12.1 We condemn the attempt to maintain the remains of communist dominance or to create new totalitarian or authoritarian or nationally or religiously exclusivist structures that are contradictory to the principles of a pluralistic democracy.

12.2 We welcome the passing of sanctions by the EC that must, however, be applied selectively in order to exempt from sanctions those forces in Yugoslavia which support the peace efforts of the EC.

12.3 We consider the sending of UN peace-keeping troops to Yugoslavia necessary and useful as soon as the conflicting parties are willing to maintain a true armistice and if it is necessary to ensure that it is maintained permanently.

12.4 The SI advocates the inclusion, for preventive reasons, of other trouble spots in Yugoslavia, as for example Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Macedonia in the international peace efforts.

12.5 The SI supports the proposals at The Hague negotiations to establish a loose voluntary association of sovereign states. Possible recognition of the individual republics within their present legal boundaries must be conditional on firm internationally enforceable guarantees by each of minority rights, general human democratic rights for all citizens including a free press and media, and the rights for the organisation of democratic trade unions controlled by their members. This should be followed by a willingness to negotiate borders, but which rejects any changes made by force.

13. In general, the developments in Eastern Europe since the last SI Congress in

Stockholm have shown how many difficulties the former communist countries must overcome on their path to a new democratic order. Nevertheless, the developments as a whole can be considered positive and the SI calls upon all its member parties to make the financial and political contributions that are absolutely necessary for the success of this historic experiment and thus meet their historical responsibilities.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Socialist International congratulates the Israeli government, the governments of the Arab States and the representatives of the Palestinian people for the courageous step taken by them in beginning the peace process.

The Socialist International welcomes the peace process for the Middle East which was initiated in Madrid under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union. After over four decades of war and destruction, peace now has a chance. The Secretary of State of the United States acquired extraordinary merit in bringing about this process.

The Socialist International will, within its possibilities, extend to the process initiated in Madrid its unrestricted support. The meeting of the Socialist International Middle East Committee in Strasbourg on October 11, 1991 endeavoured to bring together all parties to the conflict for a dialogue.

The Socialist International has emphasised time and time again in its resolutions the principles necessary to achieve peace. These principles must now be realised in the negotiations. This can be achieved only if all participants in the extraordinarily difficult peace process contribute to the indispensable flexibility and readiness to make concessions. Madrid demonstrated moreover that the positions of the conflicting parties still differ very widely.

The continuation by the Israeli government of the settlement policy in the occupied territories can jeopardise the way to peace initiated by a first step. As well as any hostile activities which harm innocent human life. Extremists from both sides wish to undermine the continuation of the peace process. Confidence-building measures by all involved are now required. The struggle against and elimination of the scarcity of water in the region should be included in the negotiations as early as possible.

The Socialist International has time and again demanded the start of the Middle East peace process through an international conference of all parties involved in the conflict.

It has endeavoured to make its own contribution through promoting the dialogue between the conflicting parties. It will consistently continue on this course.

PEACE AND SECURITY

The global security situation has dramatically improved in recent years. In Europe the peaceful democratic revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe have removed the political Cold War barriers. The East-West military confrontation is over. The principles of democracy and human rights are stronger than ever. Threat scenarios and enemy images that persisted for decades have evaporated. Conditions now exist for real common security.

The European continent is living through a period of transition. Although notable arms reductions have been agreed, much remains to be done. The CFE treaty will result in deep cuts in major arms systems in Europe. This must not, however, be the final stage of disarmament; further steps of demilitarisation, demobilisation and disarmament are needed. It is time to eliminate fully the remnants of the Cold War in the field of armies and armaments.

The CSCE has had the merit of introducing revolutionary steps such as verification of disarmament, confidence-building measures, a better guarantee of civil rights and political, economic and cultural cooperation among its members. The innovative security arrangements established within the CSCE are still insufficient and deserve further development. European security needs all-European security structures.

Many new positive steps of wide importance have been taken in the global security field. The Baltic nations have regained recognition of their independence. Agreement on a peaceful solution to the Cambodian crisis has been reached.

With regard to the Middle East, an important process has been started by the Peace Conference in Madrid. New significant measures have also been taken in the field of nuclear disarmament by the US and the USSR.

Despite all these positive changes, new serious conflicts have also emerged.

- The Socialist International:
- deplores the increasing armed attacks on the Kurdish people by the forces of Saddam Hussein in violation of UN resolutions which specifically forbid further repression;
 - notes that people are again fleeing from their homes in fear of their lives;
 - notes that at least 160,000 refugees urgently require increased international aid;
 - is aware that negotiations between Saddam Hussein and the Kurds have ended without conclusion;
 - is concerned that an economic blockade is also being imposed against the Kurds;
 - deplores the plight of the Shias in Southern Iraq and all the suffering people of Iraq;

The SI calls on the UN and the allies to protect the Kurdish people from further attacks and calls on the international

community to provide further humanitarian aid.

The SI reaffirms its resolution at the June Council meeting in Istanbul to send a mission to northern Iraq and to report back forthwith.

These political, racial and nationality conflicts are being made ever more critical by the growing economic and social hardship of people in the Third World and Eastern Europe.

The war in Yugoslavia is in complete contradiction to the other European developments. It cannot be justified by any reason. Solutions which are acceptable to all parties have to be reached by peace negotiations. At the same time, the armed conflict in Yugoslavia underlines the need to strengthen the capability of the CSCE to effectively tackle such crises.

A new urgent task for the international community is to find ways and means of peacefully solving local disputes and of pacifying those which are already acute to prevent them from spreading.

The Socialist International, as the organisation of independent national parties acting for social justice and international solidarity, greets the consistent development of Latin America towards true democracy. This development fosters confidence throughout the world in the power of the people for the people. It is essential to world peace that the democratisation process also expands and strengthens in other parts of the world.

In Europe, it is vital to give urgent support to the democratic developments in Eastern and Central Europe while constructing an all-European security system within the CSCE and opening up economic cooperation with the economies of East European countries. As disarmament is now proceeding in Central Europe, attention should now be shifted to corresponding measures at the flanks, especially in the Northern waters. The SI notes that all Arctic nations are members of the CSCE and encourages those nations, and member parties in those nations, to pursue the goal of a demilitarised Arctic. The first step will be the removal of nuclear weapons from the Arctic regions, including the removal of sea-based nuclear weapons. It is urgent to create functioning international systems for the protection of minorities, safeguard of human rights and resolution of both internal and external conflicts through peaceful means in Europe as well as in parts of Africa and Asia.

In Africa it is of primary importance to give continuing support to the abolition of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. There is also a crying need for the international community to give attention to the question of the Horn of Africa and secure peace in the region so that the survival of the peoples can be safeguarded.

The Socialist International reaffirms its support for the right to self-determination for the people of Western Sahara.

We welcome the fact that since our

Istanbul meeting the United Nations Security Council has adopted Resolution 690 to hold a referendum on self-determination for Western Sahara. We also welcome the ceasefire which has been effective since September 6. We are concerned however that this process is being jeopardised by Morocco's lack of cooperation and its action in encouraging thousands of new settlers into the area.

The Socialist International calls on Morocco and the Polisario Front to accept the full timetable for the referendum and the UN Peace Plan.

We also call on the international community as a whole to participate as independent observers in the referendum to ensure a free and fair process.

The Socialist International welcomes developments towards peace and democracy in South East Asia and encourages China to move to a free civil society. The preconditions for the democratic reunification of Korea have been created. The Socialist International is prepared to help in establishing an equal and honest dialogue between the two Korean states with the aim of ultimate reunification.

It is also timely, within the UN, GATT and other relevant bodies, to increase attention to avoiding developments which lead to tension between the industrial poles of America, Asia and Europe.

In the field of disarmament, important agreements have been reached and implemented on lessening mutual threats, complemented by unilateral disarmament measures. The Socialist International highly values these developments and emphasises at this moment the importance of a regime to control Nuclear, Biological and Chemical weapons and the control of the arms trade in order to tackle regional conflicts.

The SI salutes the decision of its Latin American member parties to start seeking measures to restrict the arms trade in that continent.

It is equally emphasised that it is now urgent to increase attention to the technological, industrial and social problems of conversion.

While threats and uncertainties still remain, important openings have been created for a peaceful world order. The Socialist International calls on all forces seeking peace and social progress in the world to work together to create a livable and just future for humankind and the environment.

INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS

The Socialist International has on many occasions pointed out the importance of controlling and reducing the international arms trade and arms transfers. The war in the Persian Gulf dramatised the ramifications of the international arms trade as no conflict ever has in the past.

International limitation of arms trans-

fers has traditionally been a very sensitive issue, but in the last few years perceptions have begun to shift.

One clear manifestation of the new trend is the UN plan to create a system to control international arms transfers. This kind of information system is only the first step in controlling the transfer of arms. The non-proliferation treaties for different systems of mass destruction have a vital importance. There has been an increasing ambition among a number of industrialised countries to regulate the supply of missiles and of certain technologies of weapons of mass destruction.

An arms control component, a reduced role for the military and control of the arms trade is also a necessary element of the lasting solution of the crisis in the Gulf and the Middle East. A new post-war arms race spiral in the region must not be allowed. This is in the interests of the region as well as that of the whole world. It is peace-keeping and peace-building that are needed in the region, not new enmities and arms build-ups.

The peace-building process in the Middle East gives the UN Security Council a good opportunity to take up the whole question of arms trade. If there is a system for controlling the transfer of arms in the Middle East, this system can be expanded to the rest of the world. This is a question of political will of the UN and its member countries.

The Socialist International proposes the following measures to limit the international transfer of arms, military technology and military know-how:

1. An international regime to limit and control the international transfer of arms must be set up under the auspices of the United Nations. This regime should involve both suppliers and recipients. The UN and its member states must give enough resources for this system to make it effective and comprehensive.

2. Efforts to limit international transfers of arms should go hand in hand with peace-building, peace-keeping and confidence-building efforts. Regional limitations on military trade and certain weapons and military technologies are needed in support of the international regime.

In this context the SI points out the importance of the limitations of transfer of arms as part of the regional cooperation in Latin America. The SI recalls that in the past the Latin American countries have had agreements abandoning or limiting the purchase or storage of certain weapon-systems.

Also in this context the SI notes with approval and interest efforts in northern Polar nations among indigenous peoples and others, to create a nuclear-free and demilitarised Arctic.

Reliable and effective reporting of both arms sales and purchases must be made mandatory in some way. An independent monitoring agency must be given the legal and technical means to enforce accurate reporting. Intensive verification measures to assess production, sales and purchases will be necessary.

3. The approach of the international regime should not be discriminatory between different suppliers and recipients. It should therefore encompass not only military trade but also military production. Furthermore, in order to be comprehensive, it must cover not only transfers of military goods but also transfers of military services and know-how.

4. All countries, whether predominantly military exporters or importers, should cooperate with this international regime and they should enact effective national legislation to limit and control their respective military exports and production.

5. The international regime should be supported by appropriate verification provisions and mechanisms. In creating these mechanisms there is much to learn from the experience gained in the negotiations on the verification of a total ban on chemical weapons and of recent agreements on missile technology and conventional and nuclear weapons. There may also be a case for an international court to settle disputes arising over military trade issues.

6. All governments should supply the UN regularly with comprehensive statements of their military production and transfers of arms, military technology and military know-how.

ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT: A RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL

1. The world is experiencing a period of profound and rapid change. History is accelerating. It is a world of new dangers and of new risks: but it is also a world of new opportunities and new possibilities. It opens new avenues for democratic socialism.

Ever since the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, environmental problems have been on the international agenda; but over the last few years they have taken on a new character:

Whereas the main attention was previously given to national or regional problems, global threats to the environment - the depletion of the ozone layer, climatic changes, loss of biological diversity - are now perceived as real and urgent. The long-term effects of these threats have also become very concrete. At the same time the gap between the industrialised and the developing world in terms of wealth, income and opportunities for a decent life, continues to deepen. The debt burden and the deterioration in the value of trade threatens to deprive whole continents of the right to development. This has brought about the need for creative thinking on how the international system responds to these challenges. That was the background to the Stockholm initiative on 'Global Security and Governance' earlier this year, which originates from the four

major independent international commissions: on Development, Security, South Cooperation and the Environment.

The international community must not weaken its efforts to combat absolute and abject poverty. Sustained development must become a reality. It is against this background that the United Nations General Assembly has convened the Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The intense preparatory work for this Conference proves that the environment has now moved to the centre of governmental concerns within the framework of economic and structural policy.

2. For democratic socialism these developments offer vast opportunities and serious challenges. Because the market economy, with austere measures imposed on developing countries by the IMF, cannot by itself solve these new problems, it cannot defend the interests of the poor and the interests of future generations. The way taken by the industrialised world to overcome poverty and to increase income and wealth has overstrained the natural resources and cannot constitute a global model.

Therefore the environment/development nexus must be the point of departure for a new dimension of solidarity, at the global level and in relation to the future. The developing countries are entitled to equal ambitions to increase their standard of living as the industrialised countries have had. Technology and a sustained international effort must make it possible for the developing countries to achieve their development objectives without destroying the resource basis for the safe maintenance of future generations in their own countries, or jeopardising the stability of the global environment. This agenda for a new dimension of solidarity requires a change of life style in the rich world and can only be credible and effective through national action for social justice, people's participation and improved education. Global imbalances in wealth, technology and trade relations, which have resulted in the first instance from the first world's concept of growth, consumption and production, are still casting their shadows on the developing countries.

In the new and rapidly changing world, the principle of democratic socialism, of creating development that is tenable in the long term, and which can reconcile progress for human societies with what mankind and nature can withstand, is more valid than ever. Solidarity must go hand in hand with freedom and justice.

Against this background, the Socialist International pledges to spare no effort to make the Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development a landmark in the struggle for the future. To this end the members of the International will take action in a number of concrete areas to create the best possible conditions for the success of the Conference. Crucial for the success or failure of UNCED will be how the burdens deriving from our common efforts to beat global threats will be shared

among the rich and the poor nations. This leads to four essential points based on the principles of justice:

- The rich industrialised countries must be ready to contribute to considerably reduced pollution and exploitation of global resources, and to promoting new life styles and consumption patterns - a prerequisite for sustainable development worldwide.

- Reduction of the debt burden, and increased efforts for the transfer of financial resources additional to the UN aid target of 0.7 per cent of GNP and of environmentally sound technology on a non-commercial basis to developing countries and to Eastern Europe.

- Support for giving power to people at the local level and respect for local technology and production methods.

- Strengthening international law and UN options to protect natural resources in situations of conflict, and to ensure sound environmental standards for technology, trade and investment in developing countries. In concrete terms, the Socialist International expresses its firm support for the following outcome of the Conference:

- A statement of purpose and intentions, to be signed by Heads of State and Government.

- The conclusion of effective negotiations on conventions of climate change and on biological diversity.

- The adoption of a concrete action programme for the coming years, the Agenda 21, in a form which is binding for international organisations and governments, providing the necessary framework for continued and determined action.

3. The Socialist International supports the aims and aspirations of the Latin American people in the search for a new kind of relationship between the industrialised and the developing countries. To achieve this, it is necessary to recognise that Latin American countries have the right to develop on the basis of social justice and healthy environmental conditions. To this end, they must attain sustainable forms of development based on the rational utilisation of their resources and conservation of their natural heritage; with this aim they need:

a) Additional financial resources, through the creation of a special fund with capital from the rich countries (including resources presently spent on the arms race). Developed and developing countries should have the same say in the management of these resources, and in the discussion of priority projects.

b) This need for extra financial resources by the developing countries, demands the recognition that it is impossible for those countries to pay their external debt. Otherwise, the process of exporting their capital would continue, not allowing them to resume their development. This development should take place within the framework of a social market economy, in which the state should fulfil its role as a stabilising factor and act principally as a regulating agent in the democratic distribution of the riches produced by society.

c) A socially fair and environmentally sound development requires clean technology that should be transferred to the developing countries on non-commercial bases. It also requires new rules in international trade that should take into consideration the real value of raw materials. Still in this spirit, it is necessary for developing countries not to be forced to pay royalties and patents on products obtained from their own natural wealth.

If the Rio conference, as we hope, is successful, the practical consequences will be perceived in a few decades from now. We shall all be witnesses to a moment of change by humanity, along the path towards the construction of a global environmental order.

DRUGS AND DRUG TRAFFICKING

The Socialist International, taking into account the various opinions of its member parties and the authorised opinions of studies and research carried out by specialised institutions, resolves:

1. to denounce before international public opinion the grave danger represented by the increase in consumption and production of drugs, both to human beings and to the social, economic and political structures of the states affected by this scourge;

2. strongly to condemn the generation, diffusion, usage and 'laundering' of the financial profits derived from this business, ie the narco-money, whose effects can be felt both in the North and the South of the world with the huge sequel of corruption and crime which represent the very negation of democratic values;

3. to invite all the world's democratic forces, especially youth and trade union organisations, to coordinate their efforts with us in this struggle which brooks no delay or vacillation;

4. to warn of the danger involved in the practical work of this essential struggle. We believe that this effort should be made by all sincerely interested forces, without using discriminatory criteria of any kind. It is a battle for the conservation of humanity and its form of expression will depend on the specific conditions of each country and region, with the common objective of defeating this grave evil;

5. to call on its member parties to set up regional and international forms of co-ordination to deepen the study of this problem, to agree on policies of prevention and solution, whether of consumption or of distribution. At the same time to establish correct policies for the punishment and repression of drug trafficking, since the latter represents a grave danger for the establishment of democracy.

We are convinced that any kind of political manoeuvring can only be to

the advantage of the national and international criminal underworld and its only result will be a world which loses hope of fighting and winning.

The Socialist International reiterates its conviction that this problem can be solved only by the united action of the widest possible array of forces which are fighting for the most elementary of rights - the right to life, with freedom and justice.

EAST TIMOR

1. Aware of recent massacres of civilians in East Timor, and condemning the violation of human rights in East Timor and in Indonesia by the Indonesian government and army;

2. aware of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and refusal to abide by the United Nations' call to hold a referendum on self-determination;

3. and condemning again the annexation by force of the former Portuguese territory by Indonesia;

4. the Socialist International calls for Indonesian military withdrawal from East Timor and the organisation of a UN-supervised referendum so that the East Timorese can determine their own political future and urges, in the meantime, direct negotiations between the Indonesian government, the East Timorese and Portugal, as the administrative power, as mandated by the UN General Assembly to the Secretary General.

5. The SI calls on the UN Secretary General to immediately engage Indonesia in direct negotiations.

6. The SI will organise a mission to visit East Timor.

7. Finally, the SI calls for a freeze on all bilateral, state-to-state economic and military assistance to the government of Indonesia.

BURMA/MYANMAR

The Socialist International strongly condemns the military regime of Burma/Myanmar for continuing to ignore the outcome of the elections of May 1990 and the persecution and killing of the elected members of parliament from the National League for Democracy.

The SI urges the release of all political prisoners and of the NLD politicians.

The SI calls for the release from house arrest of San Suu Kyi, the leader of the NLD who has been held incommunicado for over a year. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to San Suu Kyi is a recognition of the democratic forces of Burma/Myanmar and the tireless and non-violent efforts of San Suu Kyi for democracy in her country.

The Socialist International calls upon the Secretary General of the United Nations and all its members to make every effort, especially by means of trade embargoes, to help bring about the restoration of democracy in Burma/Myanmar.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Socialist International

Luis Ayala
Klaus Lindenberg

SI Vice-President

Enrique Silva Cimma

MEMBER PARTIES

AUSTRIA

Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPOe
Heinz Fischer
Irmtraut Karlsson
Karl Schramek

BELGIUM

Socialist Party, PS
Etienne Godin

BRAZIL

Democratic Labour Party, PDT
Leonel Brizola
Roberto D'Avila
Neiva Moreira
Beatriz Bissio

BULGARIA

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP
Petar Dertliev

BURKINA FASO

Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV
Joseph Ki-Zerbo

CANADA

New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD
Audrey McLaughlin
Dawn Black
Dick Proctor
Steve Lee

CHILE

Radical Party, PR
Carlos González
Iván Mesías
Washington Fernández
Mario Astorga
Benjamín Teplizky
Mario Cabezas
Anselmo Sule
Ricardo Navarrete
Alejandra Faulbaum
Jaime Campos

COSTA RICA

National Liberation Party, PLN
Carlos Manuel Castillo
Rolando Araya
Kyra de la Rosa

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
Jirí Horák

DENMARK

Social Democratic Party
Ralf Pittelkow
Lasse Budtz

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD
José Francisco Peña Gómez
Rafael Ramundi Cordero
Jacinto de los Santos
Leonor Sánchez
Nora Nivar
Peggy Cabral

ECUADOR

Democratic Left Party, PID
Andrés Vallejo Arcos
Washington Herrera

EL SALVADOR

National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Víctor Manuel Valle
Alejandro Fiallos

FINLAND

Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP
Ulpu Iivari
Tarja Kantola

FRANCE

Socialist Party, PS
Gérard Fuchs
Michel Thauvin
Axel Queval
María Dolores Rodas

GERMANY

Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Herta Däubler-Gmelin
Karsten Voigt
Wolfgang Weege

GREAT BRITAIN

The Labour Party
Clare Short
Ann Clwyd
Roy Trivedy

GREECE

Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK
Theodoros Pangalos

GUATEMALA

Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
Mario Solórzano
Gabriel Aguilera
Carlos Covar
Rolando Castillo
Miguel Angel Ibarra
Florida Tellez

HUNGARY

Social Democratic Party of Hungary
Tibor Baranyai
Anna Petrasovits
Ernö Ormándlaky

ISRAEL

Israel Labour Party
Nava Arad
Abraham Hatzamri
Orly Bitte
Igal Szir
Bracha Kunin de Levy

ISRAEL

United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Monica Pollack
Meir Sal

ITALY

Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
Ivanka Corti

ITALY

Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Margherita Boniver
Walter Marossi
Gian Piero Orsello
Luca Cefisi
Tiziana Gibelli

JAPAN

Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Sachiko Taguchi

JAPAN

Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ
Kozue Kitsukawa

LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP
Kozmas Balkus

NETHERLANDS

Labour Party, PvdA
Jan Marinus Wiersma

NORWAY

Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Thorbjørn Jagland
Siri Bjerke

PARAGUAY

Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF
Victor Sánchez Villegas
Roberto Benítez

PORTUGAL

Socialist Party, PS
Fernando Marques da Costa

SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal
Mamadou Faye
Papa Amath Dieng
Fatoumata Ka
Mata Sy Diallo

SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
Alfonso Guerra
Josefa Pardo
Rafael Delgado

SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
Birgitta Dahl
Pierre Schori
Anita Gradin
Conny Fredriksson
Monica Andersson
Margareta Grape

TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD
Hechemi Amri
Amna Aouij

TURKEY

Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP
Korel Göymen

USA

Democratic Socialists of America, DSA
Bogdan Denitch
Patricia Sexton

USA

Social Democrats, SDUSA
Don Slaiman
Rita Freedman

VENEZUELA

Democratic Action Party, AD
Humberto Celli
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli
Luis Emilio Rondón
Timoteo Zambrano
Cristina Pradenas
Romolo Chaparro

CONSULTATIVE PARTIES

BOLIVIA

Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR
Oscar Eid
Carmen Pereira
Bernardo Inch
Jorge Cortez
Ronald Jiménez
Marcelo Arrazola
Rosario Paz Zamora
María de los Angeles de Urioste

CYPRUS

EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
Andreas Frydas

HAITI

Haitian Progressive Revolutionary Nationalist Party, PANPRA
Serge Gilles
Arnold Antonin

MOROCCO

Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP
Khadlija Tnana

PERU

Partido Aprista Peruano, PAP
Armando Villanueva
Carlos Roca Cáceres

SOCIALIST UNION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, SUCEE

POLAND

Polish Socialist Party, PPS
Piotr Ikonowicz

FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IFM/SEI

Jorge Mendoza

International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY

Alfred Gusenbauer
Roger Hällhag
Ricard Torrell
Martina Naujoks
Ruben Giustiniani
Liliana Hernández

Socialist International Women, SIW

Dolors Renau
Marianne Bargil
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas
Marcela Silva
Millaray Iturriaga
Liliana Cortéz

ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC

Axel Hanisch

Socialist Group, European Parliament

Eisso Woltjer
Bárbara Dührkop
Jesper Schunck

GUESTS:PARTIES/INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

AFGHANISTAN

Social Democratic Party
Anwar Anady

ANGOLA

MPLA
João Lorenço

ARGENTINA

Popular Socialist Party, PSP
Guillermo Estévez Boero
Héctor Cavallero
Ernesto Jaimovich
María del Carmen Víñas

ARGENTINA

Radical Civic Union, UCR
Raúl Alfonsín
Adolfo Gass
Hipolito Solari
Dante Caputo
Raúl Alconada Sempé
Luis Alberto Cáceres

ARMENIA

Socialist Party of Armenia
Jean Krikorian
Mario Nalpatian

CHILE

Party for Democracy, PPD
Erich Schnake
Víctor M. Rebolledo
Sergio Bitar
Ricardo Lagos
Laura Soto
Jorge Schaulsson

CHILE

Socialist Party, PS
Ricardo Nuñez
Jorge Arrate
Manuel Almeyda
Hernán Vodanovic
Hernán Del Canto
José Miguel Insulza

COLOMBIA

Liberal Party, PL
Rodrigo Garavito
Hernández
María Paulina Espinosa
Luis Carlos Villegas
María Enriqueta Velásquez
Ricardo Lozano Forero

COLOMBIA

M-19
Darío Villamizar Herrera

HAITI

KONAKOM
Victor Benoît
Michel Gaillard

ITALY

Democratic Party of the Left, PDS
Piero Fassino
Giuseppe Chiarante

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI
Laurent Gbagbo

MEXICO

Democratic Revolution Party, PRD
Porfirio Muñoz Ledo

MEXICO

Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI
Roberta Lajous
Carlos Flores

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO
Alberto Sithole
Daniele Magaia

NICARAGUA

Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN
Luis Caldera

PHILIPPINES

Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP
Chaco Molina

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Social Democratic Party
Oleg Rummyantsev

URUGUAY

People's Government Party, PGP
Hugo Batalla
Antonio Gallicchio

Friedrich Ebert Foundation, FES

Ernst J. Kerbusch

Polisario Front

Ali Moukhtar

Socialist and Democratic Interafrican

Taieb Sahbani

GUESTS:INDIVIDUALS

Hortensia Bussi de Allende
Isabel Allende
George Fernandes
Hans Janitschek
Hanna Siniora