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

RESOLUTION

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Introduction

The Berlin Congress of the Socialist International is dedicated to addressing the challenges of a new historical epoch. This new epoch is one of revolutionary changes in the political, social and technological order. The fall of the Berlin Wall marked the end of a long period of bitter ideological conflict and unprecedented suffering, and inaugurated the greatest expansion of freedom in history. The Socialist International, whose ideals of liberty, justice, and solidarity placed it at the forefront in the triumph of the democratic idea, now undertakes the complex task of sustaining the democratic revolution and ensuring that its benefits are extended to all.

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

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

The celebration of freedom’s recent progress must be tempered by the fact that societies in most newly democratised nations are no more equitable than they were a decade ago. Governments face the twin crises of growing public protest and the requirement of international financial institutions. The temptation to use authoritarian means to modernise economies has already resulted in setbacks to democracy in some countries. Even within the industrialised democracies, democratic institutions are being undermined by the dislocation of jobs and people, and the increasing emphasis on commercial over human values. The current trend, if continued, would risk the vast majority of the world’s people to a global underclass. Such an outcome is not only unjust, it is incomprehensible to the survival of democracy and extremely dangerous in a world of ecological interdependence, waves of mass migration, and proliferating weaponry.

The Socialist International, with member parties in nearly every country on every continent, promotes better understanding and greater cooperation among nations that face common global problems. Moreover, our values link together all sectors of increasingly complex societies. Social democratic solidarity is based on a shared commitment to the fundamental principles reasserted and refined at the Stockholm Congress three years ago. It derives strength from diversity, and the increasing emphasis on coexistence. Social mechanisms and competition are required for economic growth and development, but only when they are subject to the democratic oversight and popular accountability that is a key element for future reform strategies. Political participation will become more and more linked to a deliberate policy of decentralisation.

III. Outlook

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

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

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

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

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

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

We democratic socialists, aware of the complex and daunting challenges presented by this new stage of history, are confident in our approach to the urgent tasks societies, the waning solidarity on behalf of freedom and fundamental rights everywhere, and long held commitments to justice, peace and human well-being, have been our strength in overcoming obstacles in the past. Today, the promise of freedom and the aspirations of all peoples for a better life depend on the establishment of lasting democracy. With renewed dedication and initiative, the Socialist International has set that as our goal.
levels agreed within the START framework, and complement earlier agreements that eliminate most categories of tactical nuclear weapons. While the Socialist International considers these decisions to be necessary and in accordance with the wishes and demands of the international community, we continue to demand further steps toward nuclear disarmament: still deeper cuts by the two; the prevention of a new anti-ballistic missile race; an end to the development of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) by the USA and Russia; and, of course, the moratorium on nuclear testing.

The Socialist International reaffirms its commitment to the abolition of nuclear weapons in an effective manner. Correct public expenditure to social needs, including education and health, would be better able to develop the political economies of countries. The developing world could spend at least 0.7 per cent of their GNP. The developing world could spend at least 0.7 per cent of their GNP. The Socialist International is participating in this effort.

The time is now ripe to implement the disarmament impact of the CFE Treaty. The former Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) states in the framework of the CSCE, establishes a new set of confidence-building measures.

The end of the period of global confrontation has created favourable conditions for disarmament in particular the establishment of a global emergency system. The United Nations framework, which has been agreed upon in the framework of the START range agreement, the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the 1970s policy of the United States, has to be implemented. We welcome the understanding reached in the consultations between the CIS, the former Soviet Union and the USA.
In eastern and western Europe some member states grant to all their citizens the right to vote and to be elected. At the same time, the Socialist International recognizes the interrelationship between various categories of rights and freedoms. Only a careful balance of political and civil rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other, can give a democratic system its full meaning and meet the needs of all sectors of society.

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

At the Stockholm Congress in 1989 the Socialist International set out a detailed platform on human rights. It embraces civil, political, social and economic, as well as cultural rights pertaining equally to women and men. Further, the right to freedom of political association and the right to self-determination of nations are integral to our vision. The platform stresses that human rights are indivisible and that they are violated when they are breached, regulated or denied. The SI believes that the right of people to choose their governments through free and fair elections is fundamental. We call on the United Nations to define, reaffirm, and observe internationally the rights of all human beings, and to make special efforts to eradicate illiteracy. We believe that more than six out of every ten illiterate persons in the world are women, targeted adult education programmes for women must be supported.

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

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

**Europe**

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

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

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

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

The focus of European cooperation remains the European Community, partially due to continuing development, far from preventing progress towards the ideals of our International, provides a framework for them. The European ideals of society, avoiding as it does the
The driving force for the establishment of the European Community was the desire of its founders, many of them socialists, to make the prospect of war between its members impossible. Such an objective is no less valid today for being so deeply rooted. The structures of the European Community, while still far from perfection, do offer fora for democratic debate and decision-making. In such a context, the European Parliament to whose elected representatives the Community must be that of combining economic efficiency with cooperation and social justice. Within its present boundaries the European Community has an obligation to deal sensitively with the least privileged sectors of society and allocate development funds to its least developed regions.

Farmers depend on the resources of the European Community and can expect to assist them in the preservation of their livelihood. Those industrial workers who have suffered from the declining fortunes of the enterprises where they worked must also benefit from European Community aid. The European Community must also maintain an open attitude to its partners in the European Economic Area and welcome as full members all those countries which accept its objectives and the means to achieve them. No less crucial is the European Community's attitude towards eastern Europe. The already appreciable flow of economic aid to the countries of that region must be maintained.

At the same time the more advanced western European states must refrain from any activity likely to exacerbate the already serious clash of nationalisms in the East. For their part the states of eastern Europe must be encouraged to maintain and not destroy those links amongst themselves which can further their political cooperation and economic prosperity. As they push forward along the path towards further cooperation European countries of East and West will be wise to remember their global responsibilities towards the poorer regions of the world. The demands of international solidarity - not to mention powerful motives of self-interest - dictate that trade and aid policies negotiated with developing countries must be fair and generous.

Europe will continue to be a pole of attraction for immigrants from less privileged countries. This phenomenon has already generated xenophobia and racial tensions. Socialists, in Europe as elsewhere, are committed to fighting in the most unyielding way against racism of all kinds.

Central and Eastern Europe

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

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

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

The member parties of the SI are willing to engage in an intensive exchange of views, in a dialogue and in cooperation with all the democratic forces in these young democracies.
The Kurdish people in Iraq recently.
The Socialist International reiterates the necessity of combining the right to self-determination with strict respect for internationally established norms and principles, and no modification of those borders by the use of force. In this connection the Socialist International supports the position of the Czechoslovak Social Democrats who are critical of the separation of the country without a referendum.

We call on the world community, in particular Europe, to federative status in a democratic lastling peace.

The Socialist International welcomes the measures taken by the UN Secretary General in this regard.

We reaffirm our opposition to the settlement of the Middle East that might be reached.

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

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

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

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

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

The Socialist International calls for political pluralism and respect for human rights, particularly the rights of minorities throughout the region. We condemn all human rights violations by the regime of Iran. In Iraq, the plight of the Kurds and Shia suffering repression continues to be a major cause for concern. In Turkey we call for action to enhance the cultural rights of the Kurdish people who are welcome. Further strengthening of democratic and human rights must be supported.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As a result, popular expectations are not being met and too many citizens are losing faith in the political process. Political parties have experienced a marked decline in membership and influence. Environmental institutions have weakened, and voter abstention has risen. This deterioration has opened the door to manipulation by anti-democratic forces and has already led to severe setbacks in some countries.

Matters have been complicated further by the global rise of a neo-conservative form of liberalism rooted in the Reagan-Thatcher era. In view of this overall situation, the Socialist International recognises the need in Latin America and the Caribbean for redoubled efforts on the part of our members for strengthening democratic institutions and building a more viable civil society. Citizens of the region have shown they are willing to participate in the democratic process, but they must be provided with the means and the opportunity.

The state must be made more responsive to the needs of the citizen in line with the aim of creating more efficient and effective government.

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

This regard, the Socialist International calls for the full restoration of the constitutional order and respect for human rights in Haiti and Peru. It also calls for the full respect of the constitution regarding the presidential mandate in Venezuela and supports international efforts to ensure full compliance. In Guatemala, the international calls for the full restoration of the constitutional order and respect for human rights in Peru. In El Salvador, the Socialist International recognises the achievements of the Peace Accords and encourages all sides to make every effort to ensure full compliance. In Guatemala, the international calls for the full restoration of the constitutional order.

African

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

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

In South Africa the SI welcomes the resumption of talks between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk. We call on the South African government to take action to prevent a repetition of the events at Boipatong and in Ciskei. We also call on the South Afri-
On the positive side we hail the progress in South Korea and China. The regional outlook, however, is a complex mix of positive and negative developments. The SI welcomes the United Nations Peace Plan for Western Sahara. The SJ believes that the possibility of convening a conference of reconciliation between the parties involved in the conflict in Somalia must be fully explored as soon as possible. In Liberia, Sudan, Ethiopia and elsewhere war and civil strife continue to undermine development efforts. Declining prices for the continent’s main exports and a large debt burden pose further obstacles. Many governments have cut public spending in their efforts to repay debts, and this has seriously undermined infrastructure, health, education and services crucial for development.

Throughout much of Southern and Eastern Africa hopes of accelerating economic growth have been dashed by widespread drought which has killed tens of thousands and destroyed the livelihood of millions more. The SI notes with great concern that widespread poverty has led to a rapid spread of AIDS.

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

Along with such economic developments the Asia-Pacific region is entering a new era of post-Cold War detente and regional cooperation. Recent normalisation of relations between South Korea and China is a clear illustration of such a trend. The regional outlook, however, is clouded by widespread abuses of political and human rights. Despite the end of the cold war and the closing of many foreign military bases in the area, there is a growing distrust among governments compounded by the risk of a regional arms race. On the positive side we hail the effects of drought are undermining already difficult economic and political reform efforts. The SI calls on all donors to honour their pledges to UN emergency appeals for the region, and for urgent social programmes in support of households headed by women and of children orphaned through the rapid spread of AIDS.

We are however concerned about the delay in implementing the referendum. We urge the Secretary General of the UN to redouble his efforts for the full and rapid implementation of the UN Peace Plan. We appeal to the Moroccans and the Polisario Front to fully respect the ceasefire agreement, and actively support the efforts of the United Nations. The SJ reiterates its support for the right to self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. The task in Africa is to establish effective multi-party structures, regular and transparent elections, freedom from persecution and violence, genuine freedom of the press and freedom for grassroots organisations.

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

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

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

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

The SI believes that the possibility of convening a conference of reconciliation between the parties involved in the conflict in Somalia must be fully explored as soon as possible.
International Institutions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Willy Brandt and our International

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

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

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