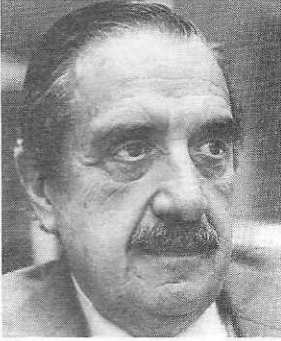


CONGRESS VOICES ...



Neo-conservatism today appears as the counter-image, a dangerous one, certainly, of that democracy which is based on solidarity, participation and the pursuit of equality... It proposes an elitist democracy which discourages participation and the pursuit of equality; it bases itself on the idea of the 'minimal state', which should only concern itself with questions of security; it draws on an economic principle whereby freedom of the individual is

synonymous with the free market; it disapproves of social expenditure, regarding it as unfair, useless and dangerous; it supports an education system which is discriminatory and conspires against social mobility, and finally, it accepts the manipulation of public opinion as the only way to promote regressive policies.

Raúl Alfonsín

Radical Civic Union, Argentina

It is right to conserve the natural environment, because without it life would be impossible; it is equally right to protect people, because without them there would one day be no eyes to contemplate the natural environment.

Hugo Batalla

General secretary of the Party for People's Government, Uruguay



With the dismantling of so-called authoritarian socialism the people's hope falls on us - the hope not just of the middle classes or organised labour but more especially the hopes of the vast multitudes of people on the margins of society who have no voice of their own. Thus it is important for us not to leave any political void on our left. We must not let there be any space in which movements grow up on our left, radical movements

which could cause us grave difficulties.

Leonel Brizola

Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Brazil

When so many of the forces influencing our future are operating on the international level, we must also lift democratic decision-making to that same level. There is no other way to deal with problems that can only be solved if countries work together. This is also why economic cooperation and integration will not

work without a clear strategy for sustained growth and full employment.

If we maintain the illusion that nations can act in isolation, we only risk postponing critical decisions which can only be made effective when states act in cooperation. We risk an increase in the growing scepticism towards democratic institutions and our political systems.



When results in every-day life do not meet expectations, people are quick to turn against democracy and the political system. The new and menacing anti-democratic trends and calls for the strongman in some countries are dangerous symptoms which we must take very seriously.

Gro Harlem Brundtland

Prime minister of Norway, first vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Norwegian Labour Party

On the subject of transport, all developed countries at present give a totally unjustified preference to individual over public transport. Furthermore, even in the context of public transport, road transport enjoys a quite unjustified preference over rail.

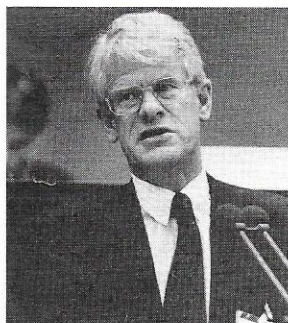
This preference is partly linked to energy policy. At present, the price of energy is not calculated to include all the costs incurred. When we burn fuel for transport purposes, the price of energy does not cover the price of renewal, or of polluting the atmosphere...

The price of road transport does not include the damage collectively inflicted on the quality of life. Emissions of carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide, other forms of air pollution, the deterioration of building stock and of forested areas are all elements which are not taken into consideration.

Philippe Busquin

Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Belgian Socialist Party

I see it as significant that we are meeting here in Germany, a country to which we owe so much of the origins of the political movement of Social Democracy. Germany is today a country of freedom and openness, a central partner in international cooperation for reason and humanism. German Social Democracy led the way in shaping Germany this way. And in the Socialist International we continue to look to German Social Democracy for inspiration and leadership... It has, however, been said that while the 20th century was the century of the Social Democrats, the next century will belong to other political forces. This gives us implicit recognition for what we have achieved, but it questions our ability to lead the way and find the answers to the new challenges.



I know this is wrong. I believe, on the contrary, that it is only a political movement centred around the visions and values of social democracy that can bring out the political strength to respond to the challenges of the coming century.

Ingvar Carlsson
Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Swedish Social Democratic Party



For the progressive political movements of Latin America and the Caribbean one priority is the creation of a welfare state in which the citizens can see their basic needs being attended to while their political and juridical rights are respected.

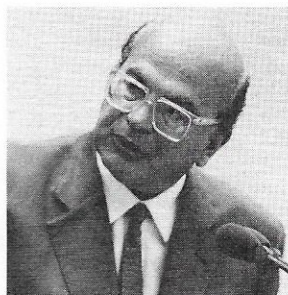
Humberto Celli
President of Democratic Action, Venezuela



We hope that our brothers and sisters in the Socialist International will appreciate the need for support and solidarity to be given to the struggling peoples in our countries... We hope the SI will rise to the occasion and that in the 21st century the SI will be in the forefront of the struggles of justice, equality, democracy and human rights, not only in Asia but everywhere else in the world.

We hope that the SI will make its presence felt in the Asia-Pacific region.

Chen Man Hin
Chair of the Democratic Action Party, Malaysia



Amid all these tasks of the first importance the European Parliament appears today in the role of a dwarf... Many forms of coordination needed today are in embryonic form. Renewed and integrated European democracy therefore needs a strengthening of its essential powers of political coordination and of the Parliament's decision-making powers

Bettino Craxi
Vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party

Environment is closely related to justice. The greatest damage to the global environment is caused by wasteful production and technologies, opulent consumption patterns in the developed countries, and brutal exploitation of manpower and resources in the third world.

It is the poor who are the real victims of environmental degradation, especially in terms of the health hazards associated with poverty. Poverty means infected drinking water, hovels instead of homes, illiteracy instead of education. These are the conditions facing more than one billion human beings, fighting for their daily survival in rural areas and in squatter settlements.

Birgitta Dahl
Chair of the SI Committee on the Environment



Our (eastern European) governments are practising shock therapy. There is a shock but no therapy... Dear friends, don't forget. Helping democratic socialist parties in eastern Europe means helping yourselves.

Petar Dertliev
Chair of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party

The choice is for us remarkably clear: the African democracies must be helped economically. It is totally conceivable that additional resources be given to the young African democracies in the form of a bonus for freedom. For that, too, is a very good incentive for an irreversible democratisation of our institutions.

Message from Abdou Diouf
President of Senegal, vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal



The dominant orthodoxy of finance ministries and central banks see the links binding the world economy together as a restraint. They are not prepared to take positive coordinated action to revive the world economy and tackle the problems of the developing countries. Blaming foreigners for your own problems often seems an easier political option than working together internationally.

Enzo Frizo
General secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions



The principles of justice and equality need to be the active and militant counterweight in a world which, with the loss of the counterweight there once was, seems to buckle under these new principles which seek the disappearance of society.

Alan García
Honorary president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party



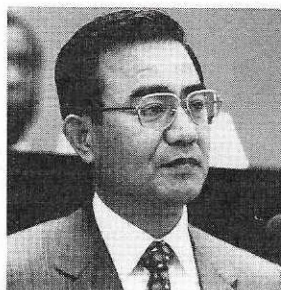
There is no doubt that a lasting solution to any conflict can only be found through direct negotiation among the involved parties. No matter how long they take, one must have the patience to see it through, provided a way is found to stop the bloodshed in the meantime. As the shadow of nuclear catastrophe, the threat of a nuclear world war, has disappeared, for good we hope, the real challenge facing humanity is to find ways and means to resolve old local conflicts through negotiations and without resort to fighting.

Erdal İnönü
Deputy prime minister of Turkey, vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Social Democratic Populist Party



Whilst the market economy has shown its superiority over the centralised bureaucratic systems of so-called real socialism, it is equally certain that its application by ideologues of the extreme right has led to increased inequality in growth, both at national and international level.

Carlos González Márquez
Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of the Radical Party of Chile



The Japan Democratic Socialist Party feels that it is Japan's duty to utilise the trade surplus for peacekeeping efforts in this world. Although Japan is the number one contributor financially to official development aid, it is important for us to scrutinise the quality of help which we offer. We need to aggressively increase our contribution through other international channels. Japan should especially volunteer to take a leadership role when cooperation is required for humanitarian causes.

Eisei Ito
Director of the international bureau, Japan Democratic Socialist Party



At the time we considered there would be an improvement, a perfecting of the existing society in order to force the system to work. The difficult experience of our new policies and the gradual freeing of society from the structures and customs imposed on it by the totalitarian regime finally enabled us to understand that the changes we had started

could succeed only if the whole system was changed, the whole system established over 70 years.

The totalitarian monster crashed, the people recovered their freedom, a democratic process was started that could no longer be turned back. And the fact that the coup didn't work demonstrated this.

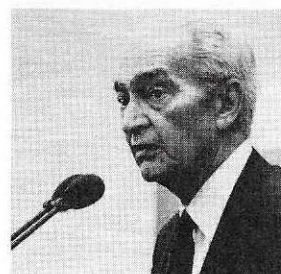
Mikhail Gorbachev



But, dear comrades, we must also be aware that we are not only the parties of the deprived. We must also address the dynamic sectors of our societies. Rejecting, as we do reject, nihilistic, post-modern, egotistical individualism, we have to combine more solidarity with more responsibility. We have to go on finding new

syntheses for freedom and equality. We have to fully realise the importance of personal self-fulfilment in our societies. We must accept the importance of initiative and creativity both at the individual and social level.

António Guterres
Vice-president of the Socialist International, general secretary of the Socialist Party, Portugal



We've had enough of destruction and wars in the Middle East. Let us look to the future. Let us turn the page of hatred, the page of war... Our intention is to have Israel in the Middle East on an equal footing with the other, Arab, countries and at the same time to guarantee not only the security of Israel but also of the other, Arab, countries.

Mostafa Khalil
Vice-president of the Socialist International, National Democratic Party, Egypt



One woman in twenty in Africa dies in childbirth, as against one in 8,000 in the industrialised countries.

Joseph Ki-Zerbo
General secretary of the Progressive Front of Upper Volta, Burkina Faso

Anxiety about the war in former Yugoslavia is compounded by developments in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. There is no need to speculate about the risks involved in the many potential areas of nationalist and ethnic conflict. For the message to western Europe is the same. A united, forceful and democratic European Community can use both its history and its experience, as well as its economic potential and trade opportunities, to offer concrete assistance, and thereby hope, for a better future.



Wim Kok
Deputy prime minister of the Netherlands, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Netherlands Labour Party



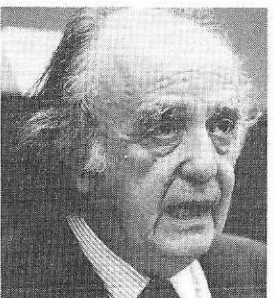
The Socialist International must carry forward the will to oppose apartheid against women, with the same force as it has used to oppose apartheid against black people.

All women remember the Barcelona Olympic Games, where we celebrated the end of apartheid in welcoming the South African delegation, but no one spoke out against that new apartheid which was before our very eyes at that moment: six

national delegations refused to include women amongst their athletes.

This must not happen at the Atlanta Games, or we shall have to demand a boycott!

Anne-Marie Lizin
Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of Socialist International Women



We witness a selective implementation of international law - which is bound to lead to frustration and anomaly. We witness with concern the emergence of countries with the self-appointed role of international or regional policemen.

Vassos Lyssarides
President of EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus



The starting point for us, I believe, is to ask a fundamental question. What is the purpose of economic development? As social democrats, we believe the true purpose of economic development is human development. We believe that the economy is there to serve human needs, and with the fulfilment of these needs, human potential will flourish.

How then do we view international trade? We believe that a system of international trade should have as its first goal

human betterment. We believe that trade is there to serve the needs of the people and not the other way around.

If it does not do that - if it fails to raise living standards of working people, if it fails to bring with it better health care, education, environmental security, greater freedom - then we have to ask ourselves what we are doing.

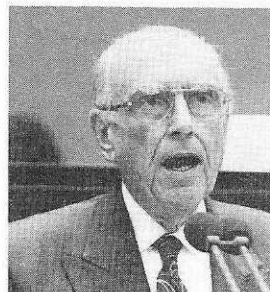
Audrey McLaughlin
Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada

Democracy and human rights can be established only on the basis of a new and more just world order which protects the economies of poor countries... that is to say which protects human rights, the elementary human rights of health, education, housing and general welfare.

Chedli Neffati
General secretary of the Constitutional Democratic Assembly, Tunisia

We are in a state of semi-democratisation and we must try to overcome the present stalemate.

Boris Orlov
President of the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation



Most countries of the West are run by conservative, monetarist governments whose policy targets are dictated by a bank mentality. Inflation and debt are enemies; unemployment, high inequality in income distribution, environmental destruction are relegated to second-order concerns.

Gradually but surely social structures in the West are in the process of creating an underclass - the marginalised population that are under the poverty line, an underclass whose composition varies from case to case but which often includes groups distinguished by their colour, religion, refugee status and so on.

Andreas Papandreou
Vice-president of the Socialist International, president of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement PASOK, Greece



José Francisco Peña Gómez
Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic

Communism had to fail because, contrary to the prophecy of Karl Marx, it was not able to take power in one country of western Europe or of the industrialised world. And it could not do so because its potential political clientele, the workers and the poor, for whom its programme of transformations was intended, formed queues for social democracy, leaving the communist parties without a firm social base of support.



Yitzhak Rabin
Prime minister of Israel, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Israel Labour Party

I'm sure that Israel this time under the present government will do its best to make sure that no stone will remain unturned on the road to achieve peace, peace with security.

The masses in South Africa will continue to need your support until peace, democracy and justice have been achieved. And the ANC notes with pride and honour the tremendous work Willy Brandt and the SI did, in particular amongst those struggling for independence and self-determination all over the world. We recognise and appreciate greatly the efforts and solidarity for our struggle against apartheid and injustice. He is one of us and we love him.

Message from Cyril Ramaphosa
General secretary of the African National Congress



Poul Nyrup Rasmussen
Vice-president of the Socialist International, chair of the Social Democratic Party, Denmark

Someone said to me, "Poul, I doubt that we need the SI any more after the cold war". I have been convinced after being here and after seeing all my friends whom I'm very happy to have seen again that we do need the Socialist International more than we have ever needed it.



Enrique Silva Cimma
Minister of foreign affairs of Chile, honorary president of the Socialist International, Radical Party of Chile

Redefining the role of the state, in its relations with the various social strata and classes; modernising and refining our concept of the common good; defining clearly what must form part of the common patrimony in order to safeguard its future development; confirming our irreversible commitment to freedom of the individual, including the right to individual initiative and private property; in short, we must provide a series of answers that our peoples are demanding and that I think we are well able to provide.



John Smith
Vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Labour Party, Great Britain

The national issue and the problem of ethnic identity, regardless of the long history of statehood in Europe, remains burning in the old continent even today.

Aloyzas Sakalas
Chair of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party

The problem of environmental pollution in the Ukraine is not just a problem of the Ukraine, it's a problem for eastern Europe and, as Chernobyl has proved, for Europe as a whole.

Yurij Sbitnev
Social Democratic Party of the Ukraine

I have always been a great fan and admirer of political cartoons... In 1932 the British cartoonist David Low published a drawing which, for me, encapsulates what's wrong with world economic affairs today. In Low's cartoon there is a boat called the World Money Problem, sailing in a very rough sea and leaking very heavily. At one end of the boat sit the smaller nations with their heads barely above water. At the other end the 'big three' leading economic powers sit on the bow with not even their feet wet. One of the big three says: 'That's a nasty leak - thank goodness it's not at our end of the boat'. The same characteristics of complacency and short-sightedness are still with us sixty years on.



The efforts to find adequate responses to the new challenges have not been successful yet, but the political will to deal effectively with the new crises is clear. The United Nations has clearly improved its effectiveness when compared to its earlier paralysis, and the CSCE has gained new strength. At the same time in both fora a meaningful division of labour with other relevant organisations in the field of peace and security has been explored. But it is a time also that the number and the suddenness of the conflicts have outpaced the actions of the international community.

Kalevi Sorsa

Vice-president of the Socialist International, Social Democratic Party of Finland



After a four-decade-long cold war ends, a new opportunity is opening for the UN to play a pivotal role in promoting social progress and higher living standards in greater freedom, as stipulated in the UN Charter. Approaching the 21st century we must not allow ourselves to be confined within national interests, but embark on a fundamental reform of the international institution so that it would be able to contribute to the protection of human rights, the development of the third world, the preservation of the global environment and the

maintenance of world peace. Taking this opportunity, I would like to propose setting up an independent commission on the reform of the UN, so as to start the reform in 1995 on its fiftieth anniversary, as concluded in the Stockholm Initiative.

Makoto Tanabe

Leader of the Social Democratic Party of Japan



The peoples of former Yugoslavia are an integral part of our common history, our common future, our common humanity, for good and for ill. Even darkness carries the seeds of light.

The peoples of former Yugoslavia are as capable of love and compassion as we are and will sooner or later rediscover the spirit of compromise and cooperation.

They are as mindful of their needs as we are and will sooner or later rediscover that they need each other more than they hate each other.

Thorvald Stoltenberg

Foreign minister of Norway, Norwegian Labour Party



It is precisely in this world characterised by weaker boundaries and attenuated sovereignties that members of the Socialist International may and should play a crucial role. Having members almost all over the world and throughout the continents, ours is the ideal political force for an increasingly global future... We must take full advantage of the opportunity that we have to promote comprehensive solutions to problems that now affect the

entire planet, for the interdependency of the international system is bound to grow with time.

Carlo Vizzini

Leader of the Italian Social Democratic Party



Now, as a result of the political and moral collapse of international communism and as a result of the democratic revolutions in eastern and central Europe, we are in a new situation. The values of freedom, basic human rights, social justice and the rule of law, all of them upheld by our organisation throughout the difficult cold war years, were recognised as the cornerstone of a new world order.

Ulf Sundqvist

Leader of the Social Democratic Party of Finland.



What has happened since Cancún in 1981?... The answer has not been very encouraging. All economic and social indicators suggest that for the vast majority of the world's population the situation has not only not improved but has deteriorated.

Franz Vranitzky

Chancellor of Austria, vice-president of the Socialist International, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Austria