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# The Manifesto of Lima

(1) This Lima Congress of the Socialist International commits itself to the struggle for peace, world economic development and the protection of the environment. These goals demand increased cooperation between the nations, not short-sighted selfishness and cynicism. The paradox of our time is that the peoples of the Earth are more interdependent than ever before, yet there has not been an effective multinational response to this unprecedented reality. The post-war system is inadequate. It must be adjusted to cope with new realities.

(2) There will be far-reaching political, economic and social developments in the remaining years of the 1980s, and they will be truly global in their impact because of the unprecedented interdependence of the world economy in recent years.

(3) It is, then, particularly important that this historic first Congress of the Socialist International in Latin America should address these issues in Lima. President Alan Garcia has pointed the way not simply to a future which will benefit Peru but toward a common solution to the common crisis of the world economy of the eighties. President Garcia, and his party, the Peruvian Aprista Party, are the heirs of a vision of a continental struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of all Latin America first articulated by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. These are particularly fitting auspices for a new socialist manifesto whose essential focus is the global perspective of late twentieth – and twenty-first century socialism.

(4) For the great new reality of these times is the unprecedented internationalisation of the human condition. That is the decisive military, economic, social and political fact which requires a creative restatement of the basic principles of democratic socialism. The socialist movement has always been internationalist in theory, but these conditions demand of us more of a practical commitment to that internationalism than ever before.

(5) We take the relationship between North and South as a dramatic example of the new interdependence of the globe in every sphere of life. Practical politicians have learned in the 1980s that even the debts of the poor nations are a threat to the wealth of the rich nations. Hunger and underdevelopment have always been a moral outrage, but they are now elements in a common crisis, the result of a wrenching economic unification of the world which has far outstripped our political, social, and national institutions. A common solution is our only hope.

(6) This is particularly true since the assumption that the world has entered upon a new era of steady growth based on national and international anti-egalitarianism is in for a rude shock. And one of the key reasons is precisely that the austerity imposed upon the Third World in the eighties is a threat to the rich of this planet as well as a scourge for its poor. This raises the danger that unemployed producers will face hungry consumers, and threatened creditors will confront impoverished debtors.

(7) Many of the most threatening environmental and developmental problems today are caused, to a considerable extent, by the widespread poverty and the inequitable distribution of resources within individual nations and among nations and regions.

(8) Meanwhile, unless there is a drastic reversal of present trends, the arms race will become even more ominous as new weapons systems tend to subvert the very possibility of arms control.

(9) And regional conflicts – in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa, the Far East and elsewhere – will not only bring death and destruction to those areas but could become the occasion of superpower interventions and conflict.

(10) The advanced western economies, still trying to cope with the chronic instabilities which ended the post-war boom in the 1970s, will almost certainly be forced to structural transformations as the very uneven and contradictory recovery of the past three years comes to an end.

(11) The Eastern bloc economies are still in a deep crisis rooted in undemocratic and excessively centralised planning, bureaucracy, and lack of individual motivation. The future will no doubt force them to deep conceptual and structural transformations in order to meet their own needs and to participate in a fruitful economic interaction between North and South. In a world which is more and more interdependent, these economies cannot isolate themselves from the rest of the globe, nor should they be isolated by others. They must be part of the international effort to create a new economic order.

(12) We commit ourselves to work toward a strengthening of global cooperation in the multilateral framework of the United Nations, representing all peoples on the basis of a Charter aimed at guaranteeing human rights, the provision of basic human needs and peace and security for all. The role of the UN should be strengthened both in the field of international economic cooperation and in that of peace and security. Present efforts to undermine the UN by unilaterally withdrawing funds or bypassing this multilateral system by concentrating decisions in small groups of countries should be countered by new initiatives to make the UN the main forum for international cooperation. Such initiatives should go beyond supporting the UN system in its present form and include renewed promises of consultation within the UN as well as efforts to improve its efficiency and effectiveness.

(13) It is within this basic framework of an analysis of the common crisis of the world economy and policy that we speak from Lima, with a sense of the renewed relevance of our socialist principles in a time when far-reaching change is on the agenda. We can obviously only outline in the briefest way some of the most urgent aspects of trends which could well make the end of the eighties as turbulent as its beginning. But even such a *tour d'horizon* suffices to show why we believe, not that we have “the” solution to all of these difficulties, but that we have a significant socialist contribution to make, in action as well as in thought, in resolving the present crisis.

(14) We adopt this Lima Manifesto as an International with a majority of its parties from the Third World, speaking to the North as well as the South, to the East as well as the West. We have an analysis which demonstrates how, more and more, humankind is implicated in a single common fate; and as socialists, we propose an international vision, a political direction, which can animate men and women in every corner of the globe.

## 1. The common crisis

(15) The basic theme of the International's analysis of the world economy, clearly articulated in our Manifesto of Albufeira and *Global Challenge*, as well as in the two reports of the Brandt Commission, is the need for a common solution to the common crisis of the North and South. The destructive reality, and the even much greater destructive potential, of the global debt crisis is a confirmation of our worst fears.

(16) That crisis had its origins in the breakdown of the Bretton Woods financial system in 1971-73. This development coincided with the end of the decisive hegemony of the American economy in the post-war world. And it coincided with an ominous trend: between 1965 and 1970, the percentage of GNP from the OECD economies devoted to development assistance declined from 0.49 to 0.34, and the role of private cash flows started to increase.

(17) That trend was then accelerated by the quadrupling of oil prices in 1974. The major western banks rightly boasted that they had successfully recycled billions in oil profits and thus made it possible for the non-oil Third World to survive and the advanced economies themselves to avert a depression. In the short run, they were right and even unwittingly demonstrated the validity of one of our most basic proposals – that a massive transfer of funds from North to South is a critical part of the common solution to the world economic crisis – but they also laid the foundations for the debt crisis of the eighties at the same time.

(18) We take it as evidence of the practicality and soundness of our own strategy of global reflation in the interest of the South and North that the banks' strategy did in fact work in that short run. Between 1973 and 1981, the average annual rate of growth of the non-oil Third World was 5.1% (compared to 5.8% between 1967 and 1972). And this happened even with a huge jump in energy costs and despite the fact that the growth rate of the industrial countries dropped from 4.4% in 1967-72 to 2.8% between 1973 and 1981.

(19) Note well: the North gained from this debt-financed performance of the South since that growth in the developing nations provided export outlets for the rich powers. Our concept of a common solution is not, then, an abstraction. It took place in the seventies – but in a perverse, uncoordinated fashion that did not lead to balanced development.

(20) The key to that perversity was that the financing came from private banks rather than from official development lending. That meant that when the crisis came, profit-making institutions could not, economically or, in many cases, legally roll over the debt as official donors could. The debt solution of the seventies turned into the debt crisis of the eighties primarily because international cash flows between North and South had become hostage to private banking priorities.

(21) That crisis was then exacerbated by the monetarist assault on inflation in the United States which, in addition to helping create the worst recession in half a century in that country, raised the interest rates on the currency in which oil prices were denominated and thus set off a reverse flow of funds from the South to the North. And that trend was further accentuated by the increase in arms' sales to the South as well as by the flight of capital on the part of the rich in the developing countries.

(22) Commodity prices for third-world exporters had already begun to go down during the recession of 1974-75 in the advanced economies. And then there were the new OPEC increases of 1979, the soaring American interest rates which made those energy costs even greater and, above all, in 1981-1982, the deepest recession in the West since the Great Depression. These events were an economic disaster for the Third World. And, as oil prices began to fall, even the developing countries with that resource saw their incomes and, worse, their entire debt and investment structure become problematic. Indeed, northern concern with southern problems declined almost exactly parallel with commodity prices.

(23) These developments struck the regions of the Third World in different ways. Latin America was most seriously effected: four of the seven major borrowers in the world were found in that region, with debts of almost US\$300 billion. The Philippines contracted more than \$13 billion in debt. South Korea borrowed more than \$31 billion but the cruel success of its authoritarian, low-wage model of

dependent economic development made it capable of dealing with that debt. Other Asian countries followed a similar model and were able to profit from a combination of anti-democratic repression and subordination to the priorities of the western transnationals.

(24) These problems were then made worse by the conventional capitalist wisdom, enforced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It insisted upon austerity, the reduction of domestic consumption, devaluation to promote exports and limit imports, and government spending cuts at a time of grievous human suffering. In effect, the masses of the Third World, and of Latin America especially, had to pay with their living standards for debts which had often been undertaken by anti-democratic regimes and had, in any case, been artificially and unfairly increased by the anti-inflation policies of western conservatives.

(25) But if this crisis had its most brutal impact upon the poor of the world, it also had a very negative impact upon the rich. Since the debt was primarily owed to private banks rather than to governments, their repudiation, in fact and/or on principle, would precipitate a major financial crisis in the advanced economies, the United States first and foremost.

(26) At the same time, the reduction of living standards within the developing countries, and the related export-oriented devaluation strategies, meant that the major western powers lost foreign markets and faced a new wave of competition. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York calculates that, between 1981 and 1983, the United States lost nearly 250,000 jobs as a result of a 40% fall in exports to Latin America.

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(27) Indeed, these consequences were so obvious to the governments of the advanced economies that they committed themselves, in a grudging, inadequate and ad hoc way, to seeing to it that the world financial system did not collapse. The United States came to the aid of Mexico in 1982 and other arrangements were made with other debtor nations. But nothing was done to deal with the underlying causes of the debt crisis.

(28) And yet, even before the dramatic fall in oil prices in 1986 opened up a new chapter in the crisis, it was clear that an international financial structure had been created which could not be saved by business as usual. For instance, even if the debtor countries were to follow successfully the anti-social priorities of the IMF, the abolition of their debt would require that the advanced nations run an enormous trade deficit with the Third World.

(29) It is in the context of the related goals of international justice and social democracy that we endorse the *Global Challenge* resolution and Action Programme adopted by this Congress.

(30) We most emphatically reject the notion that democracy is a privilege reserved to the advanced economies. Just as the struggle of the people from below has challenged the rule of the rich and powerful in the North, socialists in the South rely on the same popular forces, even if in a different historical and cultural context. We are, therefore, enormously heartened by the democratic victories of the past three years in the Third World. We hail our member parties and friends who participated in these events in a number of countries around the world. We are dedicated to the redistribution of income and wealth, to economic democracy, welfare and social justice in both the North and South. Therefore, we give priority to supporting those forces that are democratic or moving toward democracy, and that respect human rights.

(31) In the light of some of the special problems of the Third World we urge: the reduction in extreme differentials of income and wealth; a principled battle to implement the Forward Looking Programme of the UN Conference on Women adopted in Nairobi in 1985; and an end to all forms of racial and ethnic oppression.

Each one of these points, we will show, has its analogue in the advanced democracies.

(32) We do not believe that human rights and democracy in the Third World are luxuries to be acquired by the people after they have been tutored in economic development by an elite, even by a national elite. We believe that the redistribution of income and wealth, women's rights and the combatting of racial and ethnic prejudice all free mighty forces which can speed economic development and guarantee that technological progress is a means of human liberation and not of new forms of oppression.

(33) Therefore, all of us, of the South and the North, meeting in Lima, pledge that the moral issue of justice and the common political interest of North and South in the Third World are critical and imperative values which unite us, and that they must become animating principles of all our actions in the years ahead.

## 2. The environment and natural resources

(34) We are now aware of the growing devastation of the environment and pressure on our limited natural resources. We have seen deforestation and desertification in the countries of the Third World; the increasing role of air pollution and acid rain in the death of our forests and their detrimental effects on human health; overcropping in agriculture; the spoilation of our seas, lakes and drinking water; and threats to the atmosphere and our genetic resources. Our attention has also been increasingly drawn to the effect on people's health of various external environmental factors and the risks inherent in our working environment.

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(35) The Chernobyl disaster underlines the international nature of our environmental concerns. Radiation does not respect national frontiers. The disaster also points to the underlying dangers of nuclear energy. Although all member parties of the SI do not agree on nuclear energy, it is time to begin planning for energy production without nuclear energy, and all states have the obligation, and the right, to inform, and to be informed about developments and accidents concerning nuclear plants.

(36) Although we now face a host of environmental problems, at the same time we have the knowledge and the technological resources that provide a unique opportunity to remedy them.

(37) Our joint management of the biosphere is of importance for both national and international security. Human activities can seriously disturb the equilibrium of the ecological system. This entails a threat to the basic conditions for life on our planet and also a risk of international conflicts. The connection between interference with the environment on the one hand and political and social destabilisation on the other is so manifest that it cannot be disregarded. We are therefore faced by the important task of developing long-term strategies for protection of the environment and management of our natural resources. We must find a development strategy which is compatible both with the demands for economic and social development and those for a safe and enduring world.

(38) Important steps have been taken, within the framework of the Brundtland Commission, to reactivate global acceptance of responsibility for management of the environment and natural resources. The industrial countries can play an important part in easing the pressure on global resources and also in developing and spreading technology which satisfies the requirements of sound management of our resources and the environment. The important conclusion to be drawn from the response to increased oil prices in the seventies is that this can be done. It is clearly

possible to make far more stringent demands than those stipulated by national standards or international conventions today.

(39) In the name of international cooperation it is therefore essential that:

- technological development and exploitation of natural resources comply with the demands made by the global system;
- the industrial countries take greater responsibility for the transfer to the Third World of technology which is effective, in harmony with environmental needs and economical in terms of resources;
- greater attention be paid to the environmental aspect in development assistance programmes;
- a ban be placed on the exportation to other countries of activities involving environmental hazards which are not acceptable in a domestic context;
- greater resources be made available and political instruments elaborated to save the world's forests, i.e. to prevent clear-felling of the rain forests, deforestation in Third World countries and the accelerating death of the forests in the industrial countries;
- greater efforts be made to reduce air pollution across national borders;
- activities involving a risk of polluting seas, lakes or drinking water be prohibited by international conventions;
- greater attention be paid to endangered species of plants and animals;
- and greater attention be paid to the problems connected with the working environment and health and welfare both in the industrial countries and in the developing countries.

### 36 **3. Controlling the new insecurity**

(40) Peace and disarmament are essential for survival, development and freedom. The arms race threatens the very existence of humanity. It hinders effective action for economic and social development. It poisons human relationships.

(41) As individuals and nations we are being deprived of our right to life and survival; our right to fully develop our societies; and our right to live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.

(42) Nuclear war would devastate our whole planet and annihilate humanity. Let there be no misunderstanding: nuclear war would be the ultimate crime against humanity.

(43) The arms race is not restricted to nuclear weapons. More and more effort is spent in creating new and more destructive conventional weapons. The arms race is beginning to escape human control. It is not enough to prevent the outbreak of wars. The arms race spiral itself must be broken. There are no winners, only losers, in both nuclear war and the arms race.

(44) Governments must realise that their security needs cannot properly be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms build-up. It is not the quality of weapons but the quality of politics which must be improved.

(45) True security is common security. It can only be built in partnership, taking into account the security requirements of all countries and aspirations of all peoples. We need a new policy of cooperation, trust and openness, and thus a new detente.

(46) In our view all states, particularly the major military powers, are under a firm political, moral, as well as legal obligation to stop the present madness. There is an alarming contradiction between this obligation and the state of disarmament negotiations. The Socialist International condemns the failure of the governments

concerned to come to terms with the most pressing imperative of our times. All states have to prove that they are not just trying to cover militarisation by speaking about arms control and deferring tangible results, which must include effective verification arrangements.

(47) The Soviet Union and the United States have both declared their readiness to eliminate their nuclear arsenals, beginning with a 50% cut. The Socialist International welcomes this readiness but calls for these words to be turned into deeds. World public opinion would be completely disillusioned if it turned out that they did not mean what they said. Therefore, it is imperative that the limits set by SALT I and II should be scrupulously upheld by both parties, and deep cuts, with appropriate verification arrangements, made into the existing arsenals.

(48) The halting and then final prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests would show that the governments concerned are serious about arms control. In fact, all nuclear tests should be halted. The Socialist International strongly appeals to the US government to abandon its negative stand on the question of a comprehensive test ban. The negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) must be immediately resumed and a verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and applied to all nuclear-weapons powers.

(49) The Socialist International also stresses the importance of verifiable unilateral and bilateral measures in the service of peace and detente. Any offer of arms limitation or arms reduction, any offer of any other measure aimed at slowing down the arms race and reducing tension, must be seriously considered and positively answered. Any off-hand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace, and stability.

(50) It is also important to prevent the development of anti-missiles and anti-satellite systems, whether ground, air, or space-based. The 1972 ABM Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States must be preserved and strengthened. Outer space must be used for peaceful purposes only.

(51) Strategic nuclear disarmament will also strengthen the non-proliferation regimes. In order to enhance non-proliferation, the non-stationing and removal of nuclear weapons, as well as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and corridors, should be actively pursued.

(52)\* The Socialist International notes with satisfaction the Treaty of Tlatelolco establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty of 1985. The SI invites all states that have not done so to join these treaties, and calls upon all nuclear powers to respect the treaties by signing the respective protocols.

(53) The Socialist International welcomed the Five Continents' Peace Initiative of six heads of state or government from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The aim of this initiative is to ensure that the fate of disarmament is not left to the nuclear superpowers alone.

(54) Pending the final elimination of chemical weapons, everything should be done to halt their further development and deployment. The proposal for an agreement to establish a zone in Europe free from chemical weapons, jointly elaborated by the SPD of the Federal Republic of Germany and the SED of the German Democratic Republic, can be considered as a model of a bilateral and regional plan for arms reduction, crossing as it does the frontiers of blocs and being based on the notion of detente and common security.

(55) In view of the Geneva negotiations on a global ban on chemical weapons, the Socialist International appeals to the United States of America and other powers not to produce new types of chemical weapons such as binary nerve gas. We

\* *The Socialist Party, PS, France, expressed a reservation on paragraph 52.*

condemn the use of any such weapons and all breaches of the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

(56) The Soviet Union and the United States should immediately halt further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and agree on reducing and eliminating existing systems on both sides, including those systems which were deployed in Eastern Europe in response to the placing of the new US intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe.

(57) Nuclear arms control should not be allowed to legitimise a build-up in conventional arms. The interrelation between nuclear and conventional weapons and forces and the increased destructiveness of modern conventional arms calls for renewed and more resolute efforts at conventional disarmament. All the governments concerned should take immediate steps to ensure that, in Europe, the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks produce positive results initiating a process of European disarmament. Similar processes should be initiated in other regions.

(58) The limitation of arms transfers should be brought back to the arms control agenda. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru in restricting the inflow of arms to the region.

(59) The United Nations, during its forty years of existence, has become a major and permanent factor in international relations. But the UN has not received enough support in its primary task – the safeguarding of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. There must be a real will for countries to join forces under the auspices of the UN in order to stop ongoing regional wars and to prevent new conflicts from emerging.

38 (60) The Socialist International condemns any use of force contrary to the UN Charter. The Socialist International is alarmed by the growing acceptance of military interventions as a means of solving international, regional and national conflicts. The world must not be led along a path of vengeance, hatred and reliance on military might. To a degree never before apparent, acts of terrorism have come to disturb and destabilise national and international life. Terrorism cannot be considered as just another form of war or armed struggle. Its indiscriminate threat is directed at the very fabric of civilised national and international life and hits most directly at those who are defenceless. Terrorism breeds more terrorism and thus is directly responsible for the spiralling of violence. It obstructs rather than facilitates political solutions. Democratic socialists therefore voice their categorical rejection of this murderous means of action. They affirm that under no circumstances can acts of terrorism, whether performed or supported by individuals, groups or governments, be justified. They therefore launch an energetic appeal for a return to peaceful and non-violent means of political action and for the isolation and condemnation of those who continue to resort to terrorism as a means to further their political aims.

(61) The major problems of today, such as starvation, unemployment and threats to the environment, can only be solved by patient and determined negotiations aimed at significant measures of arms control and disarmament, and the diversion of resources which are now wasted on armaments. These resources must be redirected to economic and social development and the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(62) The Socialist International believes that there can be no finer memorial to our comrade Olof Palme than to regain our right to live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.

## 4. Regional conflicts

(63) Some of the most important struggles for freedom are taking place in Latin America and the Caribbean. We favour peace in the region, the right to national self-determination and sovereignty and respect for the principle of non-intervention. We endorse the specific applications of these principles set forth in the resolution adopted by this Congress on Latin America and the Caribbean.

(64) The Middle East is clearly an area of bitter conflicts which involve not simply the immediate parties but other nations in the region and the big powers as well. The resolution of these hostilities is, therefore, critical for the work of regional and international peace as well as putting an end to the bloodshed.

(65) The SI welcomes the efforts of its member parties in Israel to try to reach a just and lasting peace in the region. It considers that this can only be attained by political negotiations between all the parties concerned, including the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. This peace must be founded on the fundamental right of all states in the region to live in peace and security within recognised borders, and according to fundamental rights, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own national homeland. This should mean at some point a mutual and simultaneous recognition of each other by Israelis and Palestinians, and a cessation of all violence.

(66) The SI sees the role of the United Nations, and any other appropriate international agency, as positive in helping this process. The SI expresses its deep concern over the continuing stalemate in efforts to make progress towards just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It reaffirms its belief that peace in the region and peace amongst and within its nations can only be attained through a patient search for new foundations of coexistence between Israel, the Palestinian people and their Arab neighbours. In a spirit of solidarity with the peoples of the region, the SI appeals to all parties to the conflict as well as to the UN to pursue any alternatives towards the resumption of a political dialogue, renouncing violence and terrorism and building a framework for peace.

(67) The SI expresses its concern about the existence of settlements in the occupied territories, which is contrary to international law and to United Nations resolutions, and which contribute to reducing the basis for negotiations.

(68) The road towards peace is long and difficult. The SI recognises the proposals of the government headed by Shimon Peres as positive and useful steps. It also keeps in mind the Arab Fez plan.

(69) Since the previous Congress in 1983, the situation in Lebanon has been marked by further suffering for the Lebanese people, the Palestinian refugees who have sought refuge there, and for the foreign victims of terrorism. Reaffirming its resolute support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of this country, the SI appeals to all Lebanese to unite around a programme for national reconstruction and development and for a strengthening of its democratic institutions which alone are capable of finally bringing civil peace; and to oppose terrorism and violence. The SI considers that the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory would help to reduce the grave tension prevailing in Lebanon.

(70) The SI, having adopted a resolution on Cyprus at its Slangerup Bureau meeting in April 1984, and having sent two missions to the island, the most recent being in August 1984, reiterates its previous resolution on Cyprus, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the implementation of UN resolutions on Cyprus, and supports the effort of the Secretary General of the UN to reach a settlement of the Cyprus issue.

(71) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the war which has lasted nearly six years between Iraq and Iran. There is no justification for its continuation. This conflict endangers the stability of the region and is the cause of immense human and material losses for two countries which have been diverted from the course of development. It is not for the SI to apportion blame for the start and continuation of this war. But, faithful to the determined action of its vice-president, the late Olof Palme, it condemns all violations of the Geneva Convention (prohibition of chemical weapons, respect for the rights of prisoners of war) and appeals to both sides to proclaim a lasting ceasefire, and to search for peace based on the respect of treaties and international borders, and on non-interference in the internal affairs of nations free to choose their own government. It supports the efforts of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference and all other parties striving for peace.

(72) The future peace and security of the Asia-Pacific region is dependant on the establishment of stable and democratic political systems in the Philippines and Korea.

(73) The SI therefore welcomes the movement towards more democratic government in the Philippines. The application of "people power" in the Philippines has provided the opportunity for meaningful political reform. The SI hopes that the new president, Corazon Aquino, can now establish a stable democratic system in the Philippines based on a successful economic reconstruction.

(74) The SI sees as encouraging the increased pressure for democratic reform in South Korea and the growth of alternative democratic forces in the face of very difficult circumstances.

40 (75) The SI supports moves to find a political solution which will facilitate the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

(76) We strongly reaffirm our support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa as it was highlighted by the special conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in September 1984, and reaffirmed by the Special Meeting of the International in Gaborone, Botswana, in April 1986. There can be no compromise with apartheid. It must be abolished. It cannot be reformed.

(77) We look to the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the emergent trade unions and all the progressive forces of whatever racial origin as the hope of South Africa and indeed of humanity itself. We strenuously condemn the recent attacks by South Africa on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

(78) South Africa continues to destabilize and put illicit pressure on the front line states. South Africa wants to weaken and bleed them by all means, including actual attacks on neighbouring countries. South Africa is willing to cause an enormous human and economic sacrifice of the population and of refugees in order to remain master of the region.

(79) The SI believes that Namibia should immediately be liberated according to UN Resolution 435. There is no other way to a truly independent Namibia. There can be no doubt that SWAPO is the most representative force in Namibia. Linkage between the question of Namibian independence and the possible withdrawal of Cuban troops is unjustified. Support for UNITA in Angola further complicates any settlement and means in fact nothing else than supporting South African domination of Namibia.

(80) On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising in 1976 the South African regime stepped up repression and violence by declaring a state of emergency. Each day non-white children are being killed by state terrorism. South Africa continues to destabilise and attack neighbouring states. The world at large has a responsibility to stop this outrageous system.

(81) International sanctions might be the last chance for peaceful change. The opposition in South Africa supports them. Therefore, the SI calls for:

- halting investments in South Africa and ending government insurance of credits to South Africa;
- strengthening the oil embargo by the oil-producing countries by banning the export and transport of oil to South Africa, and embargoing the export of coal from South Africa;
- cutting air and shipping links with South Africa;
- banning the import of South African agricultural products.

(82) If international bodies such as the UN and the European Community are unable to define a policy towards South Africa with real mandatory sanctions, countries alone and in concert should pursue these actions.

(83) The SI also reaffirms its support of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. We reiterate our support for the initiation of direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco to achieve a just, definitive solution to this conflict.

(84) The SI believes that the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination, which has persisted for 30 years, must be settled by the principles upheld by the United Nations and the OAU.

(85) The SI expresses its very grave concern about the protracted Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. The SI is deeply concerned about the grave violations of human rights perpetrated by the Soviet/Kabul forces against both the resistance fighters and the civilian population, and about the situation of the four million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran. The SI supports the UN sponsored efforts to achieve a political solution to the war, and considers that such a settlement should essentially be based upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the restoration of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to their national self-determination. The SI calls upon all member parties to work for increased humanitarian aid to the Afghan population, both in the refugee camps and inside the country.

(86) We are also very concerned about the continuing violations of human rights particularly by actions that run counter to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on 'the free circulation of all people and ideas'. We are therefore in solidarity with all democratic movements in Eastern Europe, like Solidarnosc, with the struggle for basic freedoms, including trade union rights, religious liberty and the defence of the rights of national minorities. Indeed, we believe that our commitment to disarmament and detente will create a more favourable situation for these movements.

(87) At the same time, the SI is keenly aware of the deteriorating situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union, and, in particular, of the halting of the emigration of the Soviet Jews despite their desire to leave for Israel. We are also aware of the continuing harassment of those Jews seeking internationally guaranteed right of emigration. We call upon the Soviet government to release those Jews currently imprisoned simply because of their effort to secure exit permits, and to allow all Jews seeking to leave the Soviet Union to do so without hindrance. We are also gravely concerned about the denial of such basic cultural rights to the Jews as their right to study and teach their own language.

(88) Given the death and destruction, the violation of human rights and the subversion of economic development, which are the common characteristic of the regional conflicts we have noted, it is well to end this brief and selective review on a more positive note. The situation in Northern Ireland has continued to result in terrorism, death, destruction and division. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement between the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland must be

seen as a positive and potentially hopeful achievement, designed to bring about stability and ultimate reconciliation on the basis of mutual respect for political and cultural traditions in Ireland. Both governments, and our member parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic, deserve full support in their efforts to achieve peace and communal harmony. In particular, European socialists can provide practical support and help in tackling the grave economic crisis in Northern Ireland.

## 5. From Geneva to Lima

(89) In Geneva in 1976, when Willy Brandt took over the leadership of the International, we committed ourselves to build a truly worldwide organisation. We have not completely achieved that goal but we can say, with pride and accuracy, that more than most political movements, we have succeeded in what we set out to do.

(90) Yet we cannot be complacent. We must redouble our ongoing efforts to reach out to emerging socialist and progressive forces around the world. To that end we hope to develop fraternal relations with the fledgling labour and socialist parties in the small island states of the South Pacific.

(91) And in the work of elaborating the Declaration of Lima, our new statement of principles, we must frankly confront our failures and disappointments as well as our successes.

(92) In terms of our own internal organisation, we believe that the emergence, both within the International and without, of a dynamic women's movement requires that we transform our organisation from a male-centered organisation to an integrated one, giving justice to a very large part of our membership and electorate. Such an initiative would be welcomed by women all over the world. As a sign of our determination in this area, we must follow the lead of a growing number of our member parties which have adopted quota regulations for encouraging and assuring the full participation of women in decision-making bodies. These quota regulations range from a very modest 15 percent to 50 percent. The ideal figure would, of course, be that of the percentage of the female population.

(93) The World Action Programme for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women stresses the desirability of promoting women's participation in political organs. The Socialist International invites its member organisations to work for the establishment of machinery, preferably a ministry or secretariat of state, for implementing programmes to ensure equality between women and men. The Socialist International calls upon its member parties to facilitate women's participation in political life on an equal footing with men, ensuring women's representation on all party levels; as candidates for local, regional and national elections; and on all delegations to meetings of the Socialist International.

(94) The Socialist International to this end declares its full support for the goals of the 'Socialist Decade for Women', announced by the Socialist International Women at their Lima Conference.

(95) In particular, we feel it appropriate to include such new departures in a Manifesto of Lima, as a declaration of the first congress of the SI in the Third World.

(96) From Lima, then, the Socialist International reaffirms its determination to work for the principles in this resolution: for a world in which people will live in peace, freedom, and solidarity.

# Resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean

The Socialist International expressed its deep satisfaction at holding its Congress, for the first time in its history, in Latin America – in Lima, Peru, with the Peruvian Aprista Party and its leader, the President of the Republic, comrade Alan Garcia Perez, as host.

The Aprista government, the first in Peru's history, reflects the will for change and transformation that is being expressed throughout the Latin American continent.

The Congress of the Socialist International appreciated the action taken by the government of Peru to surmount the problems stemming from unjust international economic structures.

The Congress of the Socialist International also reaffirmed its condemnation of terrorist acts and expressed its solidarity with the democratic government of Peru in its efforts to maintain and defend the rights and freedoms of its people.

Democracy is today a reality in most of the countries of the region. The contributions made by the parties and governments of the Socialist International to the heroic struggle of the Latin American people have been decisive.

The struggles conducted by Latin Americans against dictatorships, to ensure a respect for human rights and in support of the economic and social demands of the majority of the people, have opened the way to new possibilities for political progress in the region.

The strides made by democracy have resulted in the recent overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Jean Claude Duvalier, the earlier establishment of democratic governments in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil and the struggles to achieve democracy by the people of Paraguay and Chile who, with their courageous demonstrations, herald the imminent demise of the last two dictatorships in the continent.

Latin America, however, must face up to and surmount a dual challenge in order to advance in the building of a more just and solidary society: to consolidate political democracy and ensure the economic and social progress of its people.

To firmly establish democracy in Latin America, it is necessary that it be implemented at all levels of society. Only a true economic and social democracy can guarantee a lasting political democracy.

The existence in Latin American societies of deeply-rooted inequalities, together with oligarchically-oriented economic groups and interests, have prevented the fulfillment of the aspirations for justice and freedom of people in those countries. Unjust international economic relations have also resulted in Latin America and the Caribbean suffering the consequences of an unbalanced trade and financial conditions which seriously affect the region.

In consolidating democracy, the forces which are holding back the progress of freedom, both nationally and internationally, must be defeated. It is imperative to establish a new international economic order which would eliminate the injustices of the unbalanced trade between the developed and the developing nations. The reaffirmation of the political and economic independence of the people of

Latin America and the Caribbean today requires that their right to development, self-determination and sovereignty be defended.

The Socialist International is committed to supporting the struggle for democracy and social justice in Latin America and the Caribbean. Today democratic socialism, through the action and dedication of its member parties in the region, is furthering the task of building free, just and solidary societies on the continent.

In working towards the consolidation of democracy it is essential to face up to the present debt crisis stemming from an unjust international economic order which generates a continuing cycle of exploitation and poverty for the countries of the region.

In Chile the Pinochet dictatorship responds with increasing violence to the peaceful mobilization of the people who demand with ever more strength the immediate reestablishment of democracy. The Socialist International reaffirms its solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle to regain political freedom and put an end to the violations of human rights, and expresses its full support for the Radical Party of Chile and for other democratic forces in their efforts to overthrow the dictatorship.

In Paraguay, the struggle for democracy and against the dictatorship of Stroessner signals an end to the oldest dictatorship in the continent. The efforts of the Paraguayan people, along with the mobilization of the democratic parties, strengthens the possibilities of achieving freedom. The Socialist International expressed its solidarity with the Revolutionary Febrerist Party and with the other democratic forces of Paraguay and decided to send a mission in order to establish direct contacts with those forces and to gather information on the current situation in that country.

44 Central America continues to be threatened by a deepening of the present crisis which compromises the peace and stability of the region. The worsening of that crisis also represents a threat to international peace and security.

The achievement of a lasting peace in that region must continue to be a priority for the international community in order to consolidate the progress towards democracy and to solve its serious economic and social problems.

The proposals of the Latin American foreign ministers calling for: a Latin American solution, self-determination, non-interference in the affairs of other states, territorial integrity, pluralist democracy, a ban on foreign troops or advisers, non-support for subversive groups and respect for human rights, constitute essential elements in the search for peace in Central America.

The Socialist International expressed its firm support for the Contadora Group initiative and its efforts for peace, security, political pluralism and development in Central America, and in particular the fundamental aims announced by the Latin American foreign ministers:

- An end to foreign support for the irregular forces and subversive groups operating in the region.
- A freeze on the acquisition of arms and their programmed reduction.
- Elimination of international military manoeuvres.
- Elimination of the presence of foreign military advisers and foreign military installations.
- A commitment to non-aggression by the five Central American countries.
- Effective steps leading to national reconciliation and the full achievement of human rights and individual freedoms.
- A furthering of regional and international cooperation to alleviate the pressing economic and social problems afflicting the Central American region.

With regard to Nicaragua, we reject the Reagan Administration's policy of destabilisation, economic blockade and support for military assistance to the

irregular forces that are operating against that independent and sovereign nation. That policy, which has been increasingly criticised both within the United States and by other countries of the world, enhances the possibilities of a generalised military conflict in the region and runs counter to a negotiated political solution to the Central American crisis.

In the case of Nicaragua, it is also noted that the institutionalisation, development and implementation of the Sandinista Revolution's declared objectives of non-alignment, pluralism and a mixed economy have not yet been accomplished.

These objectives have been and will be supported by the Socialist International, and we shall continue to work towards the achievement of a peaceful solution in Nicaragua.

The use of Honduran territory as a base for military actions in Central America not only threatens its sovereignty, but also extends the regional conflict and endangers the development of democracy in that country, worsening its economic and social problems. The existence of those bases also constitutes a threat to the achievement of political solutions to the conflicts in the region.

In El Salvador, we hope that the recent proposals for a dialogue between the government and the FDR/FMLN will lead to serious talks that would put an end to the armed conflict, with its dramatic consequences of human rights violations and an increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons.

Our member party in El Salvador, the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the people of that country and the international community insist on respect for human rights and the existence of full political freedoms. The government of the United States should not insist on placing this conflict in the context of the East-West confrontation, so that a solution can be sought and found through Latin American channels and perspectives.

In Guatemala the transition to civilian government has initiated a process for the democratisation of Guatemalan society after years of military rule. The Socialist International supports the efforts of those democratic organisations in Guatemala working to further this process and in particular, its member party, the Democratic Socialist Party.

The policy announced by the new President of Costa Rica, Dr. Oscar Arias Sanchez, reaffirming his country's vocation for peace and neutrality, constitutes a decisive contribution towards strengthening democracy and encouraging the creation of a favourable climate for the solution to the crisis in Central America.

Confronted by the evident intensification of the Central American conflict and the dangers posed to peace in the hemisphere by an armed conflagration, involving the presence of military forces of the major powers, the Socialist International demands of the Reagan Administration and the United States Congress that they put forward constructive solutions which would make it possible to reestablish peace.

With regard to Panama, the fulfillment of the Canal Treaties and the respect for the neutrality of that zone must be guaranteed so that the waterway fully reverts to the Panamanian nation. Latin American and international solidarity with the PRD and the people of Panama must be broadened until these aims are fully accomplished, particularly in view of the attempts to demerit Panamanian involvement and to prolong the military and administrative presence of the United States in the Canal Zone.

In the case of Puerto Rico the Socialist International supports the Resolution of the Special Committee of the United Nations of August 14, 1985, and extends a fraternal and solidary greeting to the Puerto Rican Independence Party.

The Socialist International has viewed with serious concern several recent



developments in the English-speaking Caribbean which endanger the maintenance of that region as a zone of peace. The invasion of Grenada in 1983 constituted a dangerous precedent which must not be repeated. The militarization of that region must be strongly denounced, as must any attempt to involve this zone in the East-West conflict.

The Socialist International supported the holding of elections in Haiti as soon as possible in answer to the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people.

We call upon the government of Great Britain to immediately initiate negotiations with the government of Argentina on all aspects relating to the future of the Falklands/Malvinas, Georgias and South Atlantic Islands, with special emphasis on sovereignty, in the open spirit reflected in the joint declaration signed by President Alfonsín and British Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, at the Paris meeting in September 1985.

Finally, the Socialist International warmly welcomed the affiliation as consultative members of our organisation of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) of Brazil, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Panama, and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) of Bolivia.

## *The Lima Mandate*

In this historic first meeting of the International in Latin America, we mandate our organisation to adopt a new statement of principles, to be called the Lima Declaration, on the basis of the following:

(1) In 1951, the Socialist International was reconstituted after the enormous disruptions of the second world war. At that point, decolonisation had only begun and our movement was primarily European in membership and outlook. However, it was, and is, one of the enduring achievements of the International's Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 that it clearly insisted upon the critical importance of freedom, as means and end, in our principles.

(2) It is once again time that we reformulate those principles. The world has changed since 1951, and so have we. We have lived through the unprecedented internationalisation of the global economy; we have participated in democratic governments and revolutionary transformations, seeking to achieve national autonomy or progress toward socialism, and we must make every effort to draw the lessons from both our victories and our defeats.

(3) We have had to confront the political implications of weapons that can destroy the world; we have understood that the physical preconditions of life could be destroyed by the uncontrolled industrialisation of the North or by an exploitation of the environment in the South arising out of attempts to live within the intolerable constraints of the world market. We have seen the attempts of African socialists to build upon their communal traditions in a transition to an authentically African socialism. And, particularly since 1976, our own International has expanded dramatically in the Third World, both in terms of membership and activity.

(4) It is our task to define the truly global relevance of democratic socialism in a world which is daily becoming more unified by brute economic facts and desperately needs an international vision which will enable it to become one in freedom, justice, and solidarity as well. And that is why we now commit ourselves to draw up the Declaration of Lima on the basis of the principles that follow.

(5) Socialism is a movement for human liberation by means of the democratisation of the political, economic, social and cultural structures of national and world society.

(6) One can say: socialism is democracy in its most profound, comprehensive and international expression.

(7) As such, socialism cannot be thought of as a luxury for the citizens of the advanced economies but as a universal human right to individual and communal self-determination in a world in which power and domination are increasingly international.

(8) In the nineteenth century, we were told that the workers and peasants of the emergent capitalist societies were not yet capable of democracy. We exploded that lie in theory and in struggle. Now there are those - and not only the white racists of South Africa - who say that the people of the Third World cannot successfully rule themselves. We will help to explode that lie in theory and in struggle.

(9) We obviously take this stand out of solidarity with people fighting for their freedom everywhere in the world. But there is another reason for it: since the structures of power are increasingly international, no national movement for socialism can truly succeed on its own. Capital is more global than ever before and

the poverty of the Third World is even now being used as a weapon to nullify the social gains of the people in the advanced economies. Our internationalism is a practical necessity as well as a moral ideal for the North as well as the South.

(10) So is our commitment to democracy, for there can be no socialism without freedom. We fight political oppression as well as economic exploitation for many reasons but one of the most important is this: democracy is the essential mechanism for the control by the people over the economic and social conditions of their own lives, nationally and throughout the world. It is not an element of the political "superstructure" to be added after the achievement of socialism. It is the indispensable basis of popular power itself. So we reject all class dictatorships, and every class of dictatorship.

(11) That power can assert itself in many different ways, some of them yet to be created. For democratic socialism is not simply socialised property or government planning, though both may well be means to its ends. And it is certainly not a fixed blueprint of an economic system. It is, rather, the implementation of the basic values of freedom, justice, and solidarity by means of a process of democratisation which seeks, precisely, to free the spontaneous creativity of the people at the base. It will, therefore, be enriched by the contributions of different cultures and traditions in a worldwide movement.

(12) But, however diverse the forms of socialism may be, all socialists are committed to a society in which every citizen can freely participate in the making of political, economic and social decisions; in which ever new modes of that participation can be explored and developed; in which social problems and political differences are settled by open and critical discussion.

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(13) Clearly, such a conception of democracy requires, at a minimum, the election of the people's representatives by universal, direct and secret ballot; the protection of individual rights, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of education, of voluntary association, of religion and of minority rights; and a system of justice dependent on the law alone, from which no one is exempt.

(14) These rights are both individual and collective, guarantees of personal freedom which are also the precondition of popular and democratic power over the economy and society. And they are the foundation of new departures, like direct democracy in economic enterprises or local communities, which will give them even greater social content.

(15) Political democracy, then, is a critically important, but not a sufficient, condition for the socialist transformation we seek. We must also dismantle the economic and social structures of domination which can frustrate, and even annul, democratic political rights. That basic truth of our movement has been deepened by the struggle of women in recent decades. They have made it clear that we must be as dedicated to the fight against exploitation based on gender as we are to the struggle against exploitation on the basis of race, nation and class. Indeed, each of those commitments is an integral and related part of our goal of human liberation.

(16) The roots of oppression and inequality are not simply economic. To be sure, the domination of women by men, the most ancient form of social oppression, has economic manifestations, like wage discrimination and the segregation of women in inferior positions in the labour market. But this is a specific and historic phenomenon, the generalisation of the principle of the patriarchal family and of the organisation of society on the basis of a gender hierarchy. The equality of men and women will thus not be the result of a merely formal and juridical change but demands a veritable revolution in daily life itself.

(17) Socialists struggle for human emancipation in the economy and for effective national independence from political and economic domination, for the same reason that we battle for the emancipation of women, their real equality with men

in every area of social life, beginning with daily life. The richness, variety, and also the complexity of our movement are the result of the fact that we seek to combine all of these struggles and to give expression to all the emancipatory movements in the framework of dialogue and political democracy.

(18) For all these reasons, there is no one model for socialism, but there are basic values and fundamental conceptions of political, economic and social rights which are common to all the parties in the International. We are a profoundly pluralist movement which does not identify with any one philosophical interpretation of socialism. And we believe that socialist theories must be adapted to a changing world society so that each people and each generation can set their own stamp on the reality of their time and place.

(19) The Declaration of Lima must redefine democratic socialism on the basis of these principles set forth at this historic first Congress of the Socialist International in Latin America.

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# ***Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP***

## ***ACTION PROGRAMME***

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#### **Summary**

## **PREFACE: GLOBAL CHALLENGE**

When Willy Brandt's commission on international development published its first report (*North-South: A Programme for Survival*, Pan 1980) it provoked an unprecedented interest in the prospects for a New International Economic Order. Yet the surge of optimism for its new agenda faded following the Cancun summit when key governments failed to commit themselves to the negotiations necessary to translate its aims into reality.

Three years later, the Brandt Commission published an update of its original programme (*Common Crisis*, Pan 1983), stressing that 'deteriorating economic conditions already threaten the stability of developing countries. Further decline is likely to cause the disintegration of societies and create conditions of anarchy in many parts of the world'. *Common Crisis* still held open the hope for 'a more just and prosperous world for generations to come - free from dependence and oppression, from hunger and distress'. But key governments still failed to act to redress the crisis or promote real cooperation.

Following Cancun, in September 1981, the Bureau of the Socialist International set up a review body to examine North-South options. In 1982 Bruno Kreisky hosted an SI Economic Conference on these options in Vienna, and in 1983 the SI Congress at Albufeira set up the SI Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP), chaired by Michael Manley. In September last year it published its report (Manley/Brandt, *Global Challenge*, Pan 1985).

## **PART 1: BREAKING THE NORTH-SOUTH STALEMATE**

The *Global Challenge* report both defends and extends the reasoning of the first two Brandt Commissions. It does so around the three imperatives of linking economic recovery with the restructuring of world trade and finance, and the redistribution of global resources.

### **1.1 RECOVERY OF SPENDING AND TRADE**

The present recovery of the international economy is unsoundly based. In the North, only the United States has sustained significant expansion (in part based on budget deficits, and in large part due to military spending). In the main, the rest of OECD has offset US recovery by constraining spending and low output growth. Welfare programmes have been cut back. Unemployment has grown, is growing and is likely to grow to further intolerable levels.

Although the pall of monetarist policies recently has been challenged by new analysis which, as is indicated below, is 'Keynes Plus' rather than simply Keynesian, the concern of governments to redress their payments by reducing imports has resulted in a vicious circle of 'beggar-my-neighbour' deflation which has unduly restrained the rate of growth of global trade. This has been aggravated by the change in the structure of world commodity trade over the last ten years, which has adversely affected the export prospects of developing countries.

Lower oil prices make possible lower production costs, reduced inflation and increased non-oil imports. But they will not ensure sustained expansion of the world economy, not only because of deflationary policies in many countries in the North, but also because falling oil revenues further contract the import capacity of

key countries in the South.

The *Global Challenge* report argues the case for 'better-my-neighbour' recovery programmes led by governments in the North. While countering inflation still is a key objective, it is mutual deflation rather than inflation which is crippling the world economy.

How individual governments in North and South alike pursue sustained expansion is their own prerogative. Some will seek to modernise their industrial base. Others will wish to combine this with recovered programmes for public investment, social services and welfare. Some may choose fiscal and monetary policies; others may accent direct public spending. The key issue is that enough governments should have the confidence to move together in a self-sustaining process of mutual expansion. *Global Challenge* sets a recovery target by which the equivalent of US \$100 billions a year would be added to global spending.

This is but one tenth of what the world spends each year on arms.

Such recovery, even if based in the North, could increase the exports of the South by some 45 per cent a year and make possible an increase of the South's GNP by between a fifth and a quarter over five years and well over half and towards two thirds over a decade. It should be combined with fulfilment of the UN 0.7 per cent development assistance target, which not only would increase welfare in the South but also create up to 2 million jobs in the OECD countries.

## 1.2 RESTRUCTURING FINANCE AND DEBT

Debt service payments now account for a quarter to a third of the export earnings of many developing countries. For Latin America the crisis is particularly severe. As stated by the ministers of the eleven countries of the Cartagena Group, 'the total value of Latin America's external debt is more than half its GNP and three times the value of its annual exports'. The total debt of Sub-Saharan Africa is less than that of Latin America but has imposed a crippling burden on those countries recently ravaged by drought. Recently, food aid from the North could not be distributed by many such countries to drought areas through lack of foreign exchange to purchase fuel for its transport.

We welcome the change in attitude in the US apparently indicated by the recent Baker proposals. But the additional annual spending in the Baker plan amounts to only about 1 per cent of the debt of the developing countries, which is now approaching US\$ 1 trillion.

This action programme makes specific proposals for writing off the debt of the least developed countries, and especially the drought-afflicted countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, and for a rescheduling and restructuring of debt payment obligations. It also proposes an increase in SDRs which would amount to more than a total 'Baker plan' each year over a period of five years.

In our view, these proposals are the minimum necessary to achieve adequate liquidity in the world economy, gain recovered import spending by the South with mutually increased exports by the North, or assure the stability of leading Northern banks whose exposure to Southern debt is unprecedented. The increase in SDRs which we propose is radical by the standards of current conservatism, but in practice would do no more than restore the ratio of IMF quota borrowing to world trade which was achieved by the Bretton-Woods conference. Any lesser measures will aggravate rather than solve the current global debt and payments crisis.

We need an act of imagination by the creditor countries not only to grasp the horrendous consequences of major default, but also to realise that the present level of debt on current terms cannot be repaid. The governments of the North also must grasp the imperative of a global funding of debt equivalent to the funding of national debt which most such countries have since the last century accepted as part

of their own financial orthodoxy.

We support the claim of President Francois Mitterrand for a new Bretton-Woods conference. We stress that the typical 'conditionality' package of the IMF denies to the South the mixed economy and welfare programmes which the North has awarded itself since the war. The IMF has also contributed to global slump through imposing beggar-my-neighbour deflation on so many developing countries. We are opposed to the IMF's policies of deflation not simply because they deny the prospect of increased welfare in the South but also because they thereby constrain the possibilities of recovered spending and trade between developed and developing countries.

## 1.3 TOP COUNTRIES AND TOP COMPANIES

We affirm that the programme for global trade recovery must gain accountability of the activities of transnational corporations. In contrast with the 19th century economy, in which trade was essentially between different companies in different countries, two fifths of world trade now is by or between subsidiaries of the same transnational corporations in different countries. For more than fifteen years, transnationals' production in the global economy has been greater than the total volume of world trade and has also been growing twice as fast as world production and global trade itself.

The result is that the combined sales of the world's top 200 corporations is now equivalent to nearly one third of the world's GDP and some one-and-a-half times the production of the South. UNCTAD figures show that from two thirds to ninety per cent of global trade in commodities crucial to developing countries is typically controlled by half-a-dozen, or fewer, transnational companies. But of these top companies, more than half have headquarters in only five countries - the US, UK, Japan, West Germany and France - precisely the countries whose governments constitute the most powerful members of agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank.

Our proposals for reform of international trade and payments are made against this background of the new dominance of transnational corporations. It is in this context that we have proposed Development Agreements between like-minded governments in North and South to gain increased accountability over the activities of transnational corporations and to begin the process of fulfilling the objectives of the UN Code of Conduct concerning their global operations.

## 1.4 REDISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Global economic recovery will depend, in large part, on a redistribution of effective demand from the North to the South. This can be illustrated by the dilemma posed today for transnational capital. While global companies can exploit labour in the less developed economies of the South, they are dependent for realization of sales and profits on high and sustained demand from the welfare economies of the North. For governments, the issue is different but complementary. In a world where default by major debtor countries could trigger a world financial crisis, President Alfonsin's warning that Argentina can repay her debts provided other countries will buy her exports should be respected.

We particularly contrast our arguments on growth from redistribution in the global economy with the post-war orthodoxy of redistribution from growth. Our case is different from the stress on generating export earnings to increase national income and spread from 'trickle down' effects, as espoused by the IMF and the World Bank. Rather than sacrifice social spending to export competitiveness, we maintain that global recovery can, and should, be promoted by expenditure on

social needs and social redistribution. Long-term development deficits in the lesser and least-developed countries will increase their mutual export trade, as well as that of the developed countries of the North. Short-term surpluses, at massive social cost, will simply aggravate a global crisis.

## 1.5 REALIGNMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Protest about deflation, debt or international agencies such as the IMF misses the main actors in the development drama if it neglects the degree to which their collective action is determined by the Group of Ten, and especially the big five economic powers. Among them, the US is the key power, with overwhelming influence on multilateral agencies and the prospect of global negotiations to promote the North-South dialogue.

In recent years, the US has not agreed to any outcome of such negotiations, whether the Common Fund, new or renewed commodity agreements, or the Law of the Sea Convention. It has not only withdrawn from UNESCO, but also rejected the International Court of Justice verdicts on Central America, refused to agree a minimum adequate replenishment of International Development Agency (IDA) funds, and has attempted to relegate the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to virtual insignificance. The result has been not only US unwillingness to agree to recovery programmes, reform of institutions, or redistribution towards the poorest countries. It has also increasingly meant a rejection by the US of multinational institutions, save in its own terms, for its own purposes.

54 Clearly, this message could change with a change in attitude in the US. It is not inconceivable that a US administration could prove actively sympathetic to the major aims and objectives of the *Global Challenge* report. If so, this could transform the feasibility of moving rapidly towards the achievement of a genuinely multilateral programme for economic recovery, a restructuring of debt, a reform of financial institutions, and global redistribution of resources towards less developed countries.

However, since Cancun there has been no evidence of major willingness to consider such a new development agenda by the US or by the Conservative government in the UK, which blocked the proposals for debt reform and recovery made at the Commonwealth Conference at New Delhi in 1983 and the subsequent proposals for reform and recovery made by Francois Mitterrand and by other socialists at world summits or those of the European Community.

If some of the developed countries are to play a more autonomous role in breaking the present development stalemate, they will need to realign themselves more clearly with the developing countries and prototype new relationships between North and South of the global economy which can form the basis for an approach towards a genuinely new international economic order.

Such governments, committed to recovery, reform and redistribution, must recognise their responsibility to support like-minded governments in the Third World which are seeking, against the odds, to pursue basic needs programmes, reverse privilege, promote the interests of the poor and foster democratic institutions.

This means joint action between like-minded governments in both North and South, as well as increased South-South cooperation. It is within such a realignment of the development agenda that the governments formed and led by parties of the Socialist International have a special responsibility, not only to analyse the global crisis, but to forward the proposals made in the *Global Challenge* report by joint

action to pioneer a new development agenda. It is in such a context that we undertake the following commitments.

## PART 2: THE ACTION AGENDA

### 2.1 RECOVERY AND EXPANSION

On the lines argued in *Global Challenge*, we commit ourselves to working for a programme of additional spending and trade of at least US \$100 billion per year, sustained over a decade for the following purposes:

- (a) to promote mutual expansion of import trade and thus of exports between both developed and developing countries;
- (b) to increase net public and private investments for growth and employment in industrialised countries in order to sustain higher levels of income for the whole of their populations;
- (c) to ensure that third world countries can support development deficits, to enable them (i) to sustain their capacity to import from both North and South, (ii) to develop their productive capacity, leading to more jobs, (iii) to maintain adequate social services, and (iv) to adopt standards to maintain and preserve the natural environment.

Such a programme should mutually reinforce programmes for growth, jobs and welfare in both North and South.

### 2.2 EMERGENCY PROGRAMME FOR THE WEAKEST COUNTRIES

We commit ourselves to the implementation of an emergency programme for the weakest and poorest countries. This programme should consist of US\$ 10 billion additional concessional assistance annually for the next 10 years in order to help these countries to share quickly and adequately in world economic recovery, rather than delaying this because of the necessity to further adjust themselves to the global recession imposed upon them in recent years.

We commit ourselves to direct this programme to the benefit in particular of the landless, jobless, undernourished, poorest and uprooted population strata in these countries.

### 2.3 RESOLVING THE DEBT CRISIS

We reject the case-by-case approach as incapable of resolving the crisis and commit ourselves to working for a comprehensive programme of action to deal with debt, which would be the basis for the solutions for every individual country. We call for an international conference within one year between debtor and creditor countries on the following agenda:

- (a) the cancellation of the major share of the outstanding debts of the least developed countries; and certainly of the drought-afflicted countries of Sub-Saharan Africa;

- (b) the flexible reorganisation of the schedule of debt repayments to provide that no country be required to spend more than 20% of its long-term average export earnings on the servicing of existing debts;
- (c) the placing of an agreed ceiling on interest rates;
- (d) the creation of the necessary financial instruments to enable the commercial banking system, along with creditor and debtor governments, to establish an international debt relief facility;
- (e) the arranging of a subsequent conference to address more long-term issues involving the international financial institutions in relation to their objectives, decision-making, methods, organisation and funding.

## 2.4 REFORM OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AND MONETARY SYSTEMS

We commit ourselves to work to a reform of the system of international money and finance, including the IMF and World Bank, which should:

- (a) sustain development deficits over the long term for the least developed countries;
- (b) create a symmetrical balance-of-payments adjustment process, spreading the burden between surplus and deficit countries;
- (c) fairly represent western, eastern and southern countries;
- (d) relate international liquidity to global development capacity rather than to short-term balance-of-payments adjustment, and increase SDRs to the equivalent of US\$ 150 billion over five years;
- (e) ensure a predictable and growing flow of capital and finance consistent with development needs, and their utilisation in conformity with these needs;
- (f) foster more stable exchange rates;
- (g) promote more stable and lower international interest rates through joint official intervention in financial markets;
- (h) base global liquidity on an international reserve currency system which cannot be decisively influenced by the economic policy of one country alone;
- (i) establish public international supervision and regulation of the private transnational banking system.

Capital flight from developing countries is a major problem which inhibits new lending. Such flight reflects different profit opportunities in the international economy. Recovery of economic growth in many developing countries would of itself return to them a share of such funds.

Developing countries have their own responsibility to stem capital flight. However, such countries should be able both to recover capital from abroad and to prevent future outflow. We recommend that priority attention be given by creditor and recipient countries to institute joint information and double taxation agreements to deter such capital outflows.

Such measures would enable developing countries to enforce national legislation on the international flight of funds.

## 2.5 TRADE REFORM

We commit ourselves to work towards a reform of the system of international trade, which should:

- (a) be non-discriminatory between countries;
- (b) allow Third World countries to participate more fully in the gains from trade

and to adopt temporary measures for planned trade in order to develop their own industrial base;

- (c) provide security of access to northern markets;
- (d) include multilaterally agreed, non-discriminatory safeguard arrangements for effective appeal against abuse of planned trade;
- (e) foster structural adjustment through mutually reinforcing programmes for recovery of spending, trade and payments;
- (f) meet the needs not only of trade in manufactures, but also of trade in agricultural products and services;
- (g) sustain multilateral objectives, while admitting the role of regional trading areas or common markets in both northern and southern countries;
- (h) support an institutionalised mechanism to stabilise commodity prices (e.g. the Common Fund), to stabilise commodities export earnings (e.g. expanded Stabex scheme or the new UNCTAD scheme for compensatory financing of supply-induced export earning shortfalls) and more effective international commodity agreements;
- (i) set minimum social standards to avoid trade competition based on exploitation of workers.

## 2.6 STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AID

We commit ourselves to:

- (a) meet the aid target of 0.7 per cent of GNP by 1990;
- (b) implement the UN Substantial New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries and the action programme adopted at the 1986 UN Special Session on Africa.
- (c) step up our activities to guarantee longer term food security for developing countries as a follow-up to the coordination in 1985 of emergency assistance to drought-stricken Africa;
- (d) provide, at stable and concessionary prices, adequate food aid and energy to the least developed countries for a period of ten years, while aiding domestic policies to increase domestic food and energy production;
- (e) implement programmes for environmental conservation and energy saving, and secure increased access for poor countries and people to scarce natural resources;
- (f) support multilateral development aid programmes, such as IDA, IFAD and UNDP;
- (g) support the efficient utilisation of funds in both the public and private sectors of the developing countries.

## 2.7 TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

We commit ourselves to joint action to:

- (a) require more transparent systems of national and international accounting of the activities of transnational corporations;
- (b) enforce the principle of accountability of transnational corporations;
- (c) implement the UN Code of Conduct for transnational corporations;
- (d) reach inter-governmental agreements on taxation levels, environmental standards, and trade union and social rights for those employed – or affected by – transnational companies and their subsidiaries;
- (e) establish national and international Development Agreements with transnational companies in both industrialised and developing countries, in close cooperation with trade unions;

(f) maintain efficient public sectors in order to countervail and counterbalance private market forces, and to fulfil social development objectives.

## 2.8 DISTRIBUTION, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

We commit ourselves to:

(a) redistribute resources and income and broaden decision-making to reinforce and promote economic democracy, welfare and social justice in both North and South;

(b) establish new mechanisms for social negotiation of planning and change, and decentralised decision-making;

(c) promote alternative forms of social and cooperative ownership; facilitate the establishment of new urban and rural cooperatives and support the conversion into cooperatives of undertakings threatened by crisis, with financial and technical aid for education, training and promotion of cooperatives;

(d) more equitably distribute employment and the benefits of technological change; in many countries this will mean worksharing, the planned reduction of working hours, a shorter working week, or fewer working months or working years in a lifetime;

(e) achieve more equal personal incomes as an incentive to increased spending, and recovered output of basic consumer goods; increased social income, through extension of public services in the economy; and ensuring that such public services include basic needs such as housing, health, education, social welfare, community services and transport;

(f) promote freedom of association among workers;

(g) combat racism and sexism and promote the role and rights of women and ethnic minorities, including their right of access to representation, decision-making, and influence at all levels of society, as well as to educational and other social programmes;

(h) promote the right of women to employment in paid rather than unpaid labour, as well as direct eligibility for grants and other aids to production in industry, services and agriculture;

(i) shift resources to the poorest people in the lesser and least developed countries, including both the urban and rural poor, with measures to promote income support, crop development, water resource projects, and environmental programmes in dry areas subject to periodic drought, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

## 2.9 DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

We commit ourselves to the objectives of the Manifesto of Albufeira of 1983 and the 1986 Report of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) and also to redeploy 5% of monies saved through disarmament for international economic development in a war against poverty, famine and disease.

## 2.10 SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

We recognise the importance of developing countries cooperating among themselves to increase mutual investment, production, trade and technology. To

this end, we will seek actively to explore all practical opportunities to implement common programmes of investment and plans for joint production and technology. We would promote cooperation in the fields of money and finance. We will pursue policies which promote trade between developing countries, regionally and internationally.

The parties of the Socialist International in the developed countries undertake to cooperate with these efforts to promote such South-South cooperation.

## PART 3: COMMITMENT TO ACTION

We are and remain committed to the multilateral solutions to global problems recommended in the two reports of the Brandt Commission. This is the most genuinely global response to the crisis in world development. Recent economic developments have made the implementation of these recommendations even more necessary.

However, pending such a multilateral resolution of the global crisis, we commit ourselves to working jointly and with like-minded countries to prototype and pioneer the new model of development outlined in this Action Programme. In particular:

### 3.1 SI PARTIES IN GENERAL

Undertake to:

(a) promote among member parties awareness of and commitment to the analysis and recommendations which form the basis of *Global Challenge* and, specifically, the proposals of the action programme;

(b) ensure that reference to the action programme is contained in election manifestos and forms a basis for election campaigning;

(c) create public support for the action programme and the positive view of the world and its possibilities upon which it is based. This will be pursued within institutions, national and multilateral, with the press, and among the members of the public;

(d) undertake conferences, seminars, workshops and other forms of discussion to promote the Action Programme and the *Global Challenge* report.

### 3.2 SI PARTIES HOLDING OFFICE

Undertake to:

(a) initiate joint action to implement this programme;

(b) strengthen the multilateral system and its various institutions and particularly those of the UN;

(c) initiate proposals within multilateral and regional institutions, such as the IMF, World Bank, regional development banks, OECD, European Community, and UN agencies, aimed at the implementation of the reforms proposed in this programme;

(d) take action in cooperation with other like-minded governments, even where there is not yet international consensus on a particular point of the action programme, or in the face of opposition to multilateral action.

### 3.3 SI PARTIES HOLDING OFFICE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Undertake to work to establish, along with other like-minded governments, a Third World secretariat to facilitate the planning of South-South cooperation projects.

#### SUMMARY

We regard this Action Programme both as a commitment to the recommendations of the *Global Challenge* report and as a fulfilment of the Manifesto of Albuquerque issued by the sixteenth Congress of the Socialist International, which declared that: 'In the last two decades the world has become much more international than ever before: militarily, technologically, economically, socially. Its peoples will either find a way, democratically and nonviolently' to take democratic control of 'the already social power of their ingenuity, or else they will be overwhelmed by the work of their own hands and brains, or even annihilated by it'.

## Socialist International Working Group on Debt

In the *Global Challenge* report, the SI Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP, recommended five key measures which form the guidelines for tackling the debt crisis within the context of global recovery. These include:

- conversion into grants of the debts of the least developed countries, and certainly of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, combined with grant conversion of part of the debt of other developing countries;
- rescheduling of the remaining debt of Third World countries, through extension of the time period for repayment of principal, including, in particular, those Latin American countries whose scale of current indebtedness not only limits their import capacity, but also threatens the security of financial institutions in First World countries;
- a ceiling on interest rates at concessionary levels for developing countries; such a measure would complement extension of the time period for repayment of principal through which, under normal financial criteria, current interest rates, in any event, would be lowered;
- a fixing of the ratio of debt repayment to a given proportion of developing countries' export earnings, at a maximum of 20 percent, which was typical in the early 1970s; such a measure again would complement extending the time period for repayment of principal and lowered interest rates;
- an increase of Special Drawing Rights over a five-year period, to a US dollar equivalent of approximately 150 billions to support the process of debt readjustment, recovery and development.

Within the framework of these guidelines, the Working Group on Debt proposes:

To institute an International Debt Organisation (IDO). The establishment of such an organisation should be resolved at a joint conference of debtor and creditor countries (including representatives of the banks). Its voting rights should be distributed in a more balanced way than is the case with existing international development institutions. To draw on existing expertise, the International Debt Organisation should operate in connection with the World Bank and/or the regional development banks.

The function of the IDO would be to negotiate an agreement with each individual debtor country concerning repayment of existing debts, fixing instalments, interest rates and maturities, as well as to administer and supervise such agreements.

The terms of the international debt organisations should reflect the development needs of the individual debtor countries.

- 1) Maturities should be extended to at least thirty years, and service, including repayment, should not exceed 20 percent of export proceeds which are attainable over the long term.
- 2) Within the repayment of the overall debt, interest rates below the market level would have to be accepted. In no case should interest rates be higher than the rates for comparable government paper of those countries in whose currencies the debt instruments are made out.
- 3) The debtor countries should be given the possibility of assuming their liabilities



in a currency other than the originally agreed currency (for instance, ECU instead of US dollars), so as to enable them to achieve a better matching of their debt servicing with their export relations. It should also be possible to use SDRs.

4) The debt, under these agreements, should be considered by regulatory and supervisory agencies to constitute full worth, so that there would be no need to make provisions for bad debts.

5) In those cases where interest is paid by the debtor countries under the IDO agreements at rates below market level, and according to the applicable national regulations for accounting, creditors could either make provisions for the expected loss in interest over the whole repayment period or part of it or recognise such losses in interest in their annual profit and loss accounts as they occur. This would avoid endangering the creditors' capital base in the year of rescheduling.

6) The banking supervisory authorities should treat the debt covered by such agreements in the same way as claims on their own governments.

These measures would facilitate the resumption of normal lending by the banks and borrowing by the developing countries.

The debtor countries should undertake policies which permit them to adhere to the agreed terms of the arrangements. Such terms must allow for fulfilment of the basic needs and development needs of the peoples and countries concerned. Conditions should not be imposed that impair the debtor country's sovereignty in shaping its economic system, particularly as regards the distribution of functions between the private and public sectors. Necessary standards of efficiency should be achieved.

Debtor countries should also take measures to:

- (i) introduce minimum social standards;
- (ii) limit arms expenditure, and
- (iii) combat flight of capital.

Capital flight from developing countries is a major problem which inhibits new lending. Such flight to a large extent reflects different profit opportunities in the international economy. Recovery of economic growth in many developing countries would of itself return to them a share of such funds.

Developing countries have their own responsibility to stem capital flight. However, such countries should be assisted both to repatriate capital from abroad and to prevent future outflow. We recommend that priority attention be given by creditor and recipient countries to institute joint information and double taxation agreements to deter such capital outflows. Such measures would enable developing countries to enforce legislation on the international flight of funds.

The developed creditor countries should open their markets to the products of developing countries and support measures to stabilise raw material prices.

In addition, as stressed in the key recommendations in *Global Challenge*, the creditor countries should increase official development assistance to 0.7 percent of GDP and take measures to encourage increased investment and transfer of technology.

# **Report of the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC**

## **1. TOWARDS A NEW POLICY**

The history of disarmament and arms control is full of lost opportunities; disarmament efforts have often been overwhelmed by the growth in arsenals. But the present situation is not just a typical case of the competition between military technology and a call for arms control. We are now facing a situation where spiralling military technology and military power may escape the very control of man. The world is now more insecure than ever.

The nuclear arsenals have the capacity to destroy all life and our whole planet many times over. The technologies and contingencies surrounding these arsenals increase the risk of their activation. The involvement of outer space in military scenarios, increased computerisation and automatisation, and the shortening of warning times, underline the danger. There are no winners, only losers, in a nuclear war.

Paradoxically, these perspectives have not yet led to a policy of common security but instead to suspicion and distrust.

While governments and scientists are devoting much of their energy to military research and development, the creation of a new economic, social and humanitarian order is postponed. The development of ever new sophisticated weapon systems for use in outer space and elsewhere would make it even more difficult to divert sufficient resources from armaments to development.

The on-going arms race thus poses a formidable threat which must be alleviated by new approaches and policies and by clear and immediate action. This is an imperative which no government and no nation can escape.

Disarmament and arms control is not only a political and moral requisite but a legal obligation as well. Under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, each party has undertaken to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective disarmament measures. Similar provisions are to be found in other disarmament agreements, too.

In order to live up to their obligations, the major military powers not only have to negotiate but they must reach prompt and meaningful results. There is an alarming contradiction between existing commitments to negotiate on arms reductions and the continuing arms race. The Socialist International wishes to underline that negotiations should never be used as a cover for continuing the arms race.

It is thus indispensable that agreements be reached here and now. These agreements should go beyond limiting future arms races. They must express better political relations between the main blocs and be cornerstones of a new policy of detente. They must put an end to the development of nuclear weapons by imposing a total test ban and involve real reductions of existing arsenals and the preservation of outer space for peaceful purposes. They must initiate a process leading in the end to the elimination of nuclear arms and to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The arms race spiral has become more and more influenced by tactical considerations and self-perpetuating technological developments rather than prudent needs

of national security. Besides domestic and technological forces, such factors as political mistrust, the struggle for power and regional and local conflicts add fuel to the arms race.

But there are alternative policies. The fallacy of security through arms build-ups and innovations in arms technology must be wound up as part of a broader renovation of foreign and security policy. Foreign policy should be demilitarised. It should not be based on military threats and perceptions of threats or on deterrence as a unilateral concept. National security should rely more and more on political and economic cooperation, mutual trust and openness, in short, a new detente.

Because of the threat nuclear war poses to the very survival of mankind, the nuclear powers have a special responsibility for disarmament. But all states, big and small alike, have a legitimate say in arms control and disarmament and they should make fuller use of all available possibilities. The growing interest of non-nuclear-weapon states to further regional nuclear disarmament expresses both dissatisfaction with the meagre results of strategic arms control and realisation of the potentials of the non-nuclear-weapon states themselves to pursue disarmament.

Besides formal negotiations and treaties, unilateral measures of constraint, informal bargaining and independent steps of arms reductions should also be encouraged, particularly as moves towards more comprehensive agreements. During negotiations the parties should halt the development and testing of new technologies which may put at risk the basis of negotiations. And any offer by one party aiming at slowing down the arms race and reducing tension should be seriously considered and not rejected off-hand by the other party.

In order to pave the way for far-reaching disarmament measures and to promote mutual trust, effective verification and control should be advanced by all parties concerned. Verification measures should include both national technical means of on-site-verification and exchange of observers as well as the utilisation of international and regional arrangements. Governments must refrain from developing and deploying weapon-types which make effective verification impossible. At the same time verification should not be used as a pretext for opposing disarmament measures which governments are unwilling to accept for political reasons.

The link between disarmament and development, which has already on several occasions been asserted by the international community, and the United Nations in particular, should be taken seriously by states and lead to a genuine process of disarmament in favour of economic and social development and environmental cooperation. The establishment of a new international order rests on the principle of solidarity between peoples. The arms race, with its waste of material and intellectual resources, aggravates the world economic, social and environmental problems.

In order to enhance development through disarmament, international and regional insecurity and tensions should be alleviated. Not only should resources be released for development from the major military powers, but the developing countries should be encouraged to strengthen their security by limiting their arms expenditures, so as to be better able to develop. In order to reduce military budgets and further development, the military expenditure of all countries should be more transparent.

The struggle for peace, disarmament, development and human rights is a question of awareness. Education and dissemination for international understanding should become an integral part of the educational systems of all countries and at all levels. The socialist and social democratic parties should be in the forefront in raising public awareness about the dangers facing mankind and the ways and means of overcoming them.

The Socialist International calls upon all political forces, people from all walks

of life, to join in urgent action for peace and disarmament and for the utilisation of resources now spent on arms for worldwide economic and social development. It is vital to safeguard in common the right to life, development and human dignity of all peoples of the world.

## 2. STRATEGIC DISARMAMENT

### 2.1. Assessment of current developments

The forty years of the nuclear era have witnessed dramatic developments in the numbers, destruction power and range of strategic nuclear systems. During the seventies and eighties there has been an increase especially in the number of strategic nuclear warheads, which now amount to a total of more than 20,000. Long-term developments both in military technology and in doctrines governing their use have made the strategic relationship between the great powers increasingly unstable. Strategic offensive missiles, in addition to being equipped with multiple warheads, have become much more accurate. Also cruise missiles, new strategic bombers and chemical weapons foster instability.

Increased accuracy and other counterforce capabilities threaten the survivability not only of missile sites but also of command, communication, control and intelligence (C<sup>3</sup>I) centres. These developments underline the risk of first-strike options, and these again increase the risk of destabilising military doctrines such as launch-on-warning and the pre-emptive employment of nuclear weapons. Warning times of only a few minutes coupled with increased computerisation and automation heighten the risk of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war.

With the growing importance of satellites for intelligence, communication and navigation, the development and testing of anti-satellite systems (ASAT) is a source of major concern. A ban on ASAT systems is all the more important as they can be used also as anti-missile weapons, and *vice versa*.

The Socialist International rejects development programmes for new systems to counter strategic missiles. Such anti-missile systems, whether ground-based or space-based, could never provide complete immunity against nuclear attack. Even with increased capabilities to destroy strategic missiles, other ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and bombers would largely be left intact. And, above all, the development of anti-missile systems would prompt the adversary to develop its own anti-missile as well as offensive systems and to search for other counter-measures.

The outcome would not be a stable equilibrium or a reduction of missiles. Instead, the result would be an impetuous arms race, fuelled by fears of first-strike options.

Technology cannot liberate mankind from the nuclear threat. There are no technical solutions to an intrinsically political problem. Detente, disarmament, and peaceful cooperation are the only possible avenues.

Though important for arms control, the existing international agreements do not provide an effective impediment to a further deterioration of strategic stability. The SALT I Interim Agreement contained quantitative limitations only. The SALT II Treaty of 1979 contains some qualitative restrictions but is not formally in force. The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 does not explicitly prohibit the stationing of weapons, other than weapons of mass destruction, in space, nor the development and deployment of ground-based weapons designed to be used against targets in space.

Of the existing agreements, the most viable barrier against destabilisation and an accelerating arms race is the 1972 US-Soviet Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile systems (ABM). This treaty prohibits the development, testing and deployment of sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based ABM

systems and the deployment of more than 100 fixed ground-based ABM missiles. These prohibitions cover all systems capable of countering strategic missiles, irrespective of the technology used.

While fifteen years ago the momentum for stopping the multiplying of warheads (Mirving) was lost, the ABM Treaty created a barrier against destabilisation through anti-ballistic missile systems. Now even this achievement may be in jeopardy. The invalidation of the ABM Treaty could lead to a collapse of the whole arms control regime. Although it is formally a bilateral agreement, the entire community of nations has a right to demand that this achievement be preserved and strengthened.

There is thus an urgent need for determined action to prevent a further deterioration of the strategic stability, to stop the militarisation of outer space and to initiate a process of radical reductions in nuclear arms. The Soviet Union and the United States must now start implementing their declared willingness to reduce their nuclear weapons by 50 percent.

At the same time, the negotiations in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD) and other multilateral as well as regional fora must be revitalised. In the CD, special emphasis should be placed on the early conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

A CTBT would not only contribute to ending the qualitative arms race, but would also enhance the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is also urgent to achieve a ban on the manufacturing, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons as the development of such weapons, in particular binary weapons, could undermine the possibilities of obtaining a verifiable agreement.

While there is an immediate need to preserve strategic stability and to take the first steps to turn the arms race into a disarmament process, it must be acknowledged that in the long run effective stability cannot be guaranteed through policies of nuclear deterrence. The doctrine of deterrence as a unilateral concept has the effect that threat analyses of the capabilities and intentions of the opponent serve as yardsticks for defence planning and decisions on armaments. Each side decides for itself what potentials the opponent has and with what kind of armaments he could be deterred from using these weapons. As the other side proceeds in the same manner, the effect is a permanent arms race.

A new approach and a new awareness are thus needed. Governments must learn to understand the security needs of the other side, to build security in common. It requires that threat analyses become the subject of negotiations, that the definition of a military balance is the result of common efforts and that military stability will be guaranteed through agreements.

In this way we may indeed embark upon a process leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and in the end to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Socialist International remains truly committed to these goals.

## 2.2. Conclusions and recommendations

In the view of the Socialist International, the above-mentioned perspectives and goals require that the following measures be taken in order to further strategic disarmament:

- All arms control and disarmament agreements in force must be scrupulously upheld by all parties concerned.
- The limits set by the SALT I and II agreements should also continue to be respected by both parties.
- The US government should reciprocate the Soviet moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests.
- The negotiations on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) must be

immediately resumed, as required by the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty. A verifiable CTBT should be concluded without further delay and it should apply to all nuclear-weapon powers.

- A process for the reduction of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems should be pursued vigorously with the aim of eliminating nuclear arms. It should be initiated by reducing by 50 percent the number of strategic nuclear warheads combined with corresponding restrictions on launchers and on missile-testing.
- To allow the reduction of offensive arms, the development and deployment of anti-missile systems and an arms race affecting outer space must be prevented.
- The Soviet Union and the United States must reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty. Negotiations should be pursued to establish unambiguous limits to research and to ban the fixed ground-based ABM systems allowed under the Treaty.
- Negotiations should also be pursued to ban the testing, deployment and use of anti-satellite systems and all other space weapons. Outer space must be preserved for peaceful purposes and international, regional and bilateral cooperation in this field strengthened. The technological challenges posed by anti-missile and anti-satellite programmes should be met by such cooperation.
- Within the framework of the United Nations or in a regional context, international arrangements for the verification of arms control and disarmament agreements by satellite or otherwise should be initiated.
- A global ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons should be concluded without further delay within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament.
- In order to further the early conclusion of a global ban on chemical weapons, states which possess such weapons should strictly abide by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in war and should refrain from the production and deployment of new types of chemical weapons, in particular binary weapons. Governments should dismantle special units trained for chemical warfare.
- In order to reduce the risk of nuclear war, a series of confidence- and security-building measures should be initiated, including disengaging and reducing tactical nuclear and conventional forces and devising mechanisms for the prevention of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war.
- The principles of non-use of nuclear weapons and of non-use of force should be strengthened by appropriate treaty arrangements and by security stability, on as low a level as possible, of nuclear and conventional forces. The main military alliances should conclude an agreement on the renunciation of force, including the use of nuclear and conventional weapons. This agreement should encompass the obligation to withdraw those nuclear weapons which are designed to have the capability of implementing the concept of first use.

## 3. REGIONAL DISARMAMENT

### 3.1. Weapons of mass destruction

#### 3.1.1. Assessment of current developments

Nuclear weapons also pose a serious threat to regional peace and security. The increased integration of nuclear and conventional forces heightens the risks of regional and escalating nuclear conflicts. Non-nuclear-weapon countries are constantly faced with these perspectives. The presence of nuclear weapons, as well as nuclear and dual-purpose delivery systems, on the territories of members of

alliances are increasingly being questioned by the general public and by governments.

At the same time the lack of progress in the efforts to curb the global nuclear arms race has weakened the incentives for enlarging and strengthening the non-proliferation regime. The continuation of regional and local conflicts, particularly in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa and South-West and South-East Asia, has worked in the same direction. Several countries which are not parties to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty have developed or are developing nuclear explosive capabilities. The latent nuclear proliferation again increases the fears of neighbouring states and the outcome could, in the worst of cases, be a regional spiral of nuclear proliferation.

A more direct nuclearisation of the regional security scenes has taken place through the increased tendency of integrating nuclear components into the armed forces of both military alliances, involving the 'conventionalisation' of nuclear options through various types of tactical and intermediate nuclear and dual-purpose systems. In Central Europe, in particular, there is a concentration of forward-based nuclear warheads and delivery systems, underlining the perception of the Central European front as a battlefield of nuclear war.

Europe faces an increasing risk of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war. Within both military alliances, there is an operational and a technical capability for a pre-emptive or a first use of nuclear weapons. On the NATO side, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence still includes an explicit first-use option.

As a consequence of more offensive nuclear strategies, Northern ocean regions, for example, have become deployment areas of new offensive systems and counter-systems as well as C<sup>3</sup>I systems. In general, the seas have been increasingly involved in the strategic competition between the leading nuclear-weapon powers. It is a source of major concern that the territories and territorial waters of non-nuclear-weapon states have been increasingly included in nuclear strategies.

The nuclear-weapon powers should agree on mutual constraints in their nuclear presence, especially in conflict areas. Measures of restriction should be applied to naval and other activities.

The nuclear-weapon powers and the non-nuclear-weapon powers should jointly promote the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime. Further, the nuclear-weapon states should respect nuclear-weapon-free zones. The non-nuclear-weapon countries should intensify their cooperation and their own activities for the containment and reduction of the presence of nuclear weapons and for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and corridors.

In the limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals, Europe must be in the forefront. Besides the crucial role of the leading nuclear-weapons powers, European policies will be decisive for the future. In a viable strategy of European nuclear arms control and disarmament, it is vital to take into account conventional systems as well.

European countries have a responsibility of their own to foster a better political climate and a defensive strategy. This applies to both military alliances and to non-aligned and neutral countries. The European members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact should furthermore define their own security needs vis-a-vis their principal allies. A more active role is needed, to facilitate agreements on regional arms control, including medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

The development and deployment of chemical weapons also have an adverse effect on regional security. The development and deployment of chemical weapons must be stopped, special units trained in the use of chemical weapons must be dissolved and chemical-weapon-free zones promoted if a comprehensive global ban cannot be implemented immediately.

The use of chemical weapons in the war between Iran and Iraq, confirmed by

the United Nations, is to be condemned. The alleged use of chemical weapons in other conflicts is a source of major concern. States must strictly abide by the Geneva protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in war.

### 3.1.2. Conclusions and recommendations

The present situation calls in the view of the Socialist International for the following measures of relevance for regional nuclear and chemical disarmament, pending the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons:

- The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be strengthened by both the nuclear-weapon powers and the non-nuclear-weapon states. All states should adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty while the nuclear-weapon powers must pave the way for non-proliferation by initiating promptly real nuclear disarmament, including the conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- The sovereign rights of peoples and governments not to allow the stationing or temporary presence of nuclear weapons on their territories must be respected. A process of withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territories of non-nuclear-weapon members of military alliances should be initiated.
- The example set by the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco and the 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty should inspire the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions, such as Northern Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East. The non-nuclear status of Africa should be formalised and should include the territory of South Africa. The Treaty of Tlatelolco should be applied in the whole Latin American region and it, as well as the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty, should be brought fully into force.
- The nuclear-weapon powers should support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones eg. by recognising the status of such zones and by contributing with collateral measures of constraint.
- The Soviet Union and the United States should immediately halt further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and agree on reducing and eliminating existing systems on both sides, including those systems which were deployed in Eastern Europe in response to the deployment of new US intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe. Action should be taken to explore whether halting deployments in one or more countries facilitated an agreement, based on the zero option in Europe.
- In addition, it is necessary to reduce battlefield nuclear weapons deployed in Central Europe. The proposal of the Palme Commission to start the elimination of nuclear battlefield weapons with agreements on a nuclear-weapons-free corridor should be actively pursued.
- Regional disarmament measures should be undertaken to promote global arms reductions. The proposal for an agreement to establish a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe, jointly elaborated by the SPD of the Federal Republic of Germany and the SED of the German Democratic Republic, can be considered a model of a bilateral and regional plan for arms reduction, crossing as it does the frontier of blocs and being based on the notions of detente and security in common.
- A conference of the European non-nuclear-weapon states should be convened. This would provide a forum for a common non-nuclear-weapon perspective to European security and could promote a broad dialogue with the nuclear-weapon powers.

## 3.2. Conventional forces and regional conflicts

### 3.2.1. Assessment of current developments

Not only nuclear weapons but also conventional systems have become more destructive and sophisticated. The borderline between nuclear and conventional systems has been blurred, not only lowering the threshold of nuclear war but also making verification more difficult. Conventional military doctrines tend to become more offensive in character.

Nuclear disarmament does not legitimise a conventional arms race. While providing for nuclear arms control measures, care should be taken to include conventional weapons and forces in a de-escalating process and to strengthen the principles of non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. States should refrain from deploying new offensive systems. There should be more security based on political approaches, less expenditures based on military solutions.

Confidence- and security-building measures should be initiated in various parts of the world, including measures on notification and observation, constraints on military activities and processes of disengagement. In Europe, the CSCE process has introduced a new concept for enhancing security. The Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks on force reductions should produce early and meaningful results.

While Europe has been largely spared from armed conflicts, the same is not true with respect to the Third World. Around three quarters of the approximately 150 wars waged since the second world war have been mainly intra-state, and one quarter interstate military confrontations. In order to enhance the prospects for the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially in a Third World context, due regard should be paid to their roots in international power politics and to regional and domestic socio-economic conditions.

Conflict resolution cannot be successful in the long run if it consists of one-off diplomatic efforts only or departs from narrow technical premises. A comprehensive strategy is needed over a sufficient period of time to ameliorate the causes of regional conflicts and to inject more restraint into them. The strategy should include equitable socio-economic development, democratic, participatory reforms and the promotion of human rights, both civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights.

Major industrial powers have often intervened in regional and local conflicts, and recently, interventions by the Third World countries themselves have also been on the increase. The continued supply of modern weapons from the industrial centres of the world and, to a lesser extent, the growth in the arms-manufacturing capacity of some Third World countries have exacerbated the destructiveness of local wars.

The leading military powers must show greater restraint in their approach to regional conflicts and must strictly respect the principle of non-intervention. The developing countries should be encouraged to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to strengthen their security by limiting their arms production and arms expenditure, so as to be better able to develop economically and socially. The trade and transfer of arms and arms technology should be restricted and internationally regulated.

In the regional armed conflicts, conventional weapons and methods of warfare have been used on a scale and in a manner that has caused widespread destruction and suffering. The proportion of civilian casualties has been alarming in many armed conflicts. There have been frequent violations of international agreements, in particular those protecting civilians and prisoners or prohibiting or restricting the use of specific weapons and methods of warfare. If armed conflicts do occur, there must be an increased awareness of the need to uphold basic humanitarian agreements regardless of the nature and cause of the conflict.

The possibilities of the United Nations to prevent the outbreak of wars and to contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes have been limited. The international community must strengthen the mechanisms and institutions for peace-keeping and for the peaceful settlement of disputes both in a global and regional perspective.

### 3.2.2. Conclusions and recommendations

To further conventional disarmament, and the peaceful settlement of disputes as well as economic and social development, the Socialist International recommends the following measures, in particular:

- In the Stockholm Conference, the first agreements, to be concluded well in advance of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in October 1986, should include, in addition to the first-generation CBMs on notification and observation of military activities, significant measures on constraints and the strengthening of the principle of non-use of force. After the Vienna meeting, the process should focus upon measures of European arms control and disarmament.
- In the Vienna talks a reduction of manpower in Central Europe should be promptly concluded and further negotiations on the reduction of forces initiated, taking into account also the possibility of making headway through unilateral action and informal bargaining. A first agreement should not be limited to symbolic reductions and to the freezing of existing forces, but the original aim of reducing the level of forces down to the previously agreed number of 900,000 soldiers on both sides and including a reduction of conventional armaments should be maintained.
- Confidence- and security-building measures should be created for other regions too, such as Central America, the Middle East and South-West and South-East Asia. The European experience can be of help but the initiative must come from the countries concerned.
- Restrictions on arms transfers should be brought back to the agenda of international arms control. The suppliers and the recipients should agree upon the limitation, reduction and control of such transfers. These measures are of particular importance in sensitive areas and with regard to weapons that are by their nature indiscriminate or destabilising.
- Recipient countries should cooperate within a regional framework to promote the limitation of arms transfers to the region. The Socialist International welcomes the initiative of Peru, put forward to other South American states, to restrict jointly the influx of weapons to the region.
- All states that have not done so should, without reservations, ratify or accede to the 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the protection of victims of war and to the 1980 UN Convention on Prohibition or Restriction on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons. The possibilities of strengthening international scrutiny of the application of humanitarian agreements should be actively promoted by governments and international organisations. The right of international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out their humanitarian functions even in internal conflicts must be respected.
- The peace-building and peace-keeping role of the United Nations must be strengthened, eg. by lending support to the efforts of the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Security Council, to foster the UN system of collective security as defined by the Charter 1. The Security Council should more actively use its powers in the case of threats to peace, breaches of peace or acts of aggression. The possibilities of the UN machinery to resort to fact-finding, conciliation and other measures of conflicts settlement should be improved.

- Equally important is the strengthening of regional institutions in the settlement of conflicts. The peace-keeping role of regional organisations could, for instance, be developed in cooperation with the United Nations. Neutral and non-aligned countries as well as transregional fora and bodies could also make a significant contribution. In the European CSCE context the possibilities of designing new mechanisms for the settlement of disputes among the CSCE countries should be further explored.
- In order to give concrete substance to the idea of promoting development through disarmament, an international institution should be established. The Socialist International welcomes the French proposal to create an International Disarmament for Development Fund (IDDF). A preference of allocations from such a fund should be established, such as the favouring of the Least Developed Countries, the heavily indebted countries and countries hit by regional conflicts and refugee problems.

The Socialist International pays tribute to the memory of Olof Palme and invites governments, organisations and individuals to lend their support to the Olof Palme Memorial Fund for International Understanding and Common Security.

## Annex 1

### THE ACTIVITIES OF SIDAC

72 While work for disarmament and a more secure and just world order has always been one of the basic tasks of the Socialist International, it was in the early seventies that the organisation intensified its activities in this sphere. A Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Helsinki in April 1978. A Study Group on Disarmament was established at the Bureau meeting of the Socialist International in Dakar in May 1978. As a new feature in these activities, a direct dialogue was opened with the Soviet Union and the United States as well as with the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

In November 1980 the Study Group on Disarmament issued a final report, which contains a number of recommendations and an analysis of disarmament problems. The report was adopted by the Socialist International Congress in Madrid in November 1980. At the same time the Study Group was reorganised as the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC).

The role of the Socialist International is not to try to become a party in disarmament and arms control negotiations. Its main task is to articulate the interest and goals of the millions of people belonging to or supporting Socialist and Social Democratic parties. It is the duty of the Socialist and Social Democratic movement to see to it that national decision-makers are made aware of these aspirations.

In the *first phase* of its activities (1978-80) SIDAC, besides preparing the above-mentioned report, strived to make its voice heard especially in the last stages of the SALT II negotiations. The position of the Socialist International was that the treaty envisaged should lead to genuine reductions in nuclear arsenals and restrictions in arms development, as well as to a radical limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe.

During the *second phase* (1980-84), with the well-known stalemate in the disarmament process, the Socialist International made efforts to keep detente and the East-West dialogue alive. It also underlined the urgency of achieving an agreement on the limitation of intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe.

At the beginning of a *third phase*, in late 1984, SIDAC felt that there must be a

new momentum for disarmament. This made the time opportune to begin preparing a new report and to contact the governments and political forces concerned in order to put forward SIDAC's views and suggestions. In March 1985 SIDAC for the third time visited Moscow and Washington and held discussions with Soviet and US political leaders and top experts. In early 1985 SIDAC also began the preparation of a new report on disarmament, to be submitted to the Socialist International Congress.

In October 1985 the second Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Vienna. The Soviet Union and the United States, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations as well as Argentina, China and Yugoslavia, sent their representatives to the Conference. The Socialist International Bureau adopted on this occasion an Appeal on Disarmament, the text of which is reproduced in Annex 2 of this report.

During spring 1986, SIDAC was in contact with the Soviet Union and the United States and heard their views on current developments with regard to arms control and disarmament.

The present report was adopted by SIDAC at its meeting in Oslo on 18 March 1986 for submission to the Socialist International Congress in Lima on 20-23 June 1986.

## Annex 2

### SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL APPEAL ON DISARMAMENT VIENNA, 15-17 OCTOBER, 1985

The continuing accumulation of weapons of mass destruction threatens the very survival of mankind. While the arms race begins to escape the control of man, more and more people realise that armaments, and governments relying on them, cannot solve the acute problems of our planet such as mass starvation, drought, environmental pollution, under-employment, and mass unemployment, with the resulting political tensions in so many regions of the world.

In the interest of humanity, the arms race, with its obscene waste of material and intellectual resources, has to be brought to an end. Policies which threaten our lives must be replaced by a new constructive approach ensuring life free from the fear of war.

It is in this sense that the Socialist International urges the US and the Soviet leaders to improve their relations. It is in this sense that the Socialist International appeals to the superpowers meeting in Geneva to conduct negotiations in a constructive spirit and to refrain from all actions which may put at risk a positive outcome to disarmament efforts.

The Socialist International is particularly concerned about the danger of transferring the arms race into space, and calls upon both sides to desist from actions such as anti-missile and anti-satellite tests. The Socialist International has already made clear its rejection of the SDI and similar concepts. The technological challenges posed by such concepts should be met by international and regional cooperation for peaceful purposes.

Governments must now realise that security needs cannot be satisfied by innovations in weapons technology and a further arms build-up. It is not the quality

of weapons, but the quality of politics, which must be improved. Disarmament, peaceful cooperation and detente are the only reasonable answers to the dangers facing mankind.

Progress towards common security can be achieved when both military blocs acknowledge the threat they pose to each other. A new approach is needed based on the recognition that true security can only be built in partnership, taking into account the security requirements of each.

The Socialist International appeals to the United States and to the Soviet Union to initiate the reduction of armaments and, to this end, to:

- reinforce their commitment to respect the SALT I and SALT II agreements beyond 1985 and refrain from any measures which would undermine the agreements;
- reaffirm and strengthen their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty;
- agree on a process of radical reductions of strategic arms, comprising both warheads and delivery systems;
- refrain from testing and developing anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons and from preparing for an arms race in outer space;
- agree on a moratorium on nuclear-weapons tests to begin in January 1986, and further the conclusion during 1986 of a comprehensive test ban treaty; and
- agree on halting further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and reducing and then eliminating existing systems on both sides.

The Soviet Union and the United States should refrain from further deployments of nuclear arms during negotiations, at least for an agreed limited period of time.

The Socialist International appeals to all nations of the world to make full use of multilateral disarmament fora, the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement and other organisations and movements to work for peaceful cooperation. Peoples of all nations demand results in Geneva, in Vienna, in Stockholm.

The Socialist International welcomes the Four Continents Peace Initiative of six heads of state or government from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The aim of this initiative is to ensure that the fate of disarmament is not left to the nuclear superpowers alone.

In the meantime the Socialist International also stresses the importance of unilateral and bilateral measures in the service of peace and detente. Any offer of arms limitation or arms reduction, any offer of any other measure aimed at slowing down the arms race and reducing tension, must be seriously considered and positively answered. Any offhand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace and stability. The constructive proposal by the Soviet Union, made in Paris, to reduce nuclear weapons should be thoroughly examined.

The Socialist International welcomes steps by members of military alliances to slow down the arms race by keeping open the possibility of refraining from deploying new nuclear systems on their soil and reducing existing nuclear systems.

We have said it before: the arms race threatens the survival of humanity. The Socialist International therefore appeals, first of all to the United States and the Soviet Union, but beyond them to all governments, to all parties, to all religious and social movements and to individual men and women everywhere, in all countries on all continents, to do their utmost to turn away from armaments and to embark on a course of survival in peace, freedom and human dignity.

## ***The Presidium of the Socialist International elected by the Congress in Lima, Peru, June 20-23, 1986***

### **President:**

Willy Brandt

### **Honorary Presidents:**

Gonzalo Barrios

Jos van Eynde

Michael Foot

Bruno Kalnins

Sicco Mansholt

Ian Mikardo

Sandro Pertini

Irene Petry

Ramon Rubial

Giuseppe Saragat

Leopold Senghor

Fernando Vera

Gough Whitlam

### **Vice-presidents:**

Rodrigo Borja

Ed Broadbent

Gro Harlem Brundtland

Ingvar Carlsson

Bettino Craxi

Abdou Diouf  
Felipe Gonzalez  
Anita Gradin  
Bob Hawke  
Anker Joergensen  
Lionel Jospin  
Walid Jumblatt  
Neil Kinnock  
Bruno Kreisky  
David Lange  
Michael Manley  
Karel van Miert  
Eiichi Nagasue  
Daniel Oduber  
Jose Francisco Pena Gomez  
Shimon Peres  
Carlos Andres Perez  
76 Lydie Schmit  
Enrique Silva Cimma  
Mario Soares  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Guillermo Ungo  
Joop den Uyl

**General Secretary:**  
Pentti Vaananen

# ***Statutes of the Socialist International***

1. The Socialist International is an association of political parties and organisations which seek to establish democratic socialism.

## **2. PURPOSE OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL**

The purpose of the Socialist International is:

to strengthen relations between the affiliated parties and to coordinate their political attitudes and activities by consent.

The Socialist International shall also seek to extend the relations between the Socialist International and other socialist-oriented parties not in membership which desire cooperation.

## **3. COMPOSITION OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL**

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The Socialist International consists of:

### **3.1 Member Parties,**

which shall have the right to speak and to vote, and the obligation to pay affiliation fees.

### **3.2 Consultative Parties,**

which shall have the right to speak, and the obligation to pay affiliation fees, but shall not exercise a vote.

### **3.3 Fraternal Organisations,**

namely the Socialist International Women, the International Union of Socialist Youth, and the International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, which shall have the right to speak and to vote.

### **3.4 Associated Organisations,**

of an international or regional character recognised by the Socialist International which shall have the right to speak, but shall not exercise a vote.



## 4. ORGANS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The following organs of the Socialist International shall serve its purpose:

- the Congress
- the Council
- the Finance and Administration Committee
- the secretariat

## 5. ORGANISATION OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

### 5.1 THE CONGRESS

78 The Congress is the supreme body of the Socialist International. It proclaims its principles, determines its Statutes and, on the recommendation of the Council of the Socialist International, decides by a two-thirds majority of all the members upon the admission and status of new members and organisations in relation to the Socialist International. The Congress shall receive a report of activities for the period since the last Congress.

The Congress, to be convened by the Council, shall meet regularly every three years. The Council shall decide its time and place, and draw up its agenda.

#### 5.1.1 Voting rights in the Congress

Member parties shall have the right to speak and to vote. The fraternal organisations, Socialist International Women, International Union of Socialist Youth, and International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, shall have the right to speak and to vote.

Consultative parties and associated organisations shall have the right to speak but not to vote.

#### 5.1.2 Representation at Congress

The delegations of member parties and fraternal organisations shall be limited to eight persons, and those of consultative parties and associated organisations to four.

#### 5.1.3 Expulsion of Parties

Decisions to expel parties and organisations from membership may be taken only by the Congress by a majority of two thirds of parties voting.

## 5.2 THE COUNCIL

5.2.1 The Council of the Socialist International shall consist of all member parties, and the Socialist International Women, International Union of Socialist Youth, and International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, each having one vote.

5.2.2 The Council shall make all necessary decisions of policy and principle between meetings of the Congress, and make recommendations to the Congress concerning new members, suspensions and expulsions and amendments to the Statutes.

5.2.3 The Council shall propose to the Congress candidates for President, Vice-president and General Secretary.

5.2.4 The Council convenes the Congress. In addition, the Council shall have the right to convene special conferences, expert conferences, regional conferences, as well as study groups and committees, to appoint the chairman and secretaries of these bodies, and to determine their terms of reference.

5.2.5 The Council approves the annual budget, presented by the Finance and Administration Committee.

5.2.6 The Council, when informed by the Finance and Administration Committee that a member party's membership fees have not been paid for three years, takes note that this party ceases to be a member of the Socialist International.

5.2.7 The Council shall establish its own rules of procedure.

## 5.3 The Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee shall consist of nine member parties and fraternal organisations elected by the Council from among the Council members. The Finance and Administration Committee shall consider reports and recommendations from the Council, the General Secretary, and individual members of the Council. It shall supervise the general and financial administration of the Socialist International and recommend to the Council the scale of dues to be levied by the International, and make recommendations concerning applications for membership.

The Finance and Administration Committee shall approve the terms of engagement of the political officers.

The quorum of the Finance and Administration Committee shall be five member parties. The Finance and Administration Committee shall meet at least twice in each calendar year. It shall prepare and recommend to the Council a budget for the following year.

## 6. FINANCE

The secretariat's expenditure shall be covered by:

- affiliation fees from the member parties and consultative parties

—contributions from fraternal and associated organisations

—donations.

## 6.1 AFFILIATION FEES

The affiliation fees and contributions shall be fixed in relation to the finances and membership of parties and organisations.

Member parties and organisations shall be eligible to attend and to vote at meetings of the Socialist International provided they have fulfilled their financial obligations up to and including the current calendar year by January 31.

## 6.2 PROPERTIES AND RESERVE FUND

The freehold and leasehold properties and the Reserve Fund of the Socialist International shall be vested in three Trustees. The Trustees may act by a majority and may in emergencies allow any property to stand and to remain in the name of a nominee trust corporation.

The appointment of the Trustees shall be effected by a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority vote at a meeting of the Council and the powers and duties of the Trustees shall be similarly determined. The term of office for the trustees shall be determined by the Council.

## 6.3 Borrowing Powers

Those officials empowered to operate the bank accounts of the Socialist International have the authority to borrow monies as follows:

<u>£</u>	<u>Approval required</u>
0-15,000	General Secretary
15,001-50,000	Chair of Finance and Administration Committee together with the General Secretary
50,001 and above	Finance and Administration Committee plus any two trustees

## 6.4 Lay Auditors

Three lay auditors shall be appointed by the Council to inspect the accounts of the Socialist International on a yearly basis.

# 7. OFFICERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

## 7.1 The President,

who shall be elected by the Congress of the Socialist International.

The President shall convene meetings of the Presidium, consisting of the President, Vice-presidents and the General Secretary, for discussion and

preparation of specific questions. For the same purpose the President may also convene a meeting of a limited number of members of the Presidium.

The President shall convene conferences of party leaders.

The President, together with the General Secretary, and if necessary in consultation with one or more Vice-presidents, shall take political decisions at his or her discretion between meetings of the Council.

The President has the right to attend all the meetings of the Socialist International.

## 7.2 The Vice-presidents,

who shall be elected by the Congress of the Socialist International. The number of Vice-presidents shall be a minimum of two and a maximum of twenty-five.

The President, or a Vice-president, shall preside at all meetings of Congress and Council.

## 7.3 The General Secretary

shall be elected by Congress on the proposal of the Council. The General Secretary shall supervise the administrative functions of the secretariat and be responsible for the organisation of meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist International.

He or she shall, in addition, be responsible for the archives and, subject to the endorsement of the Finance and Administration Committee, engage the secretariat's staff and fix the terms of their engagement. He or she shall prepare financial statements and budget estimates for consideration by the Finance and Administration Committee.

The General Secretary has the right to attend all the meetings of the Socialist International.

## 7.4 The Chair of the Finance and Administration Committee

shall be elected by the Finance and Administration Committee. He or she shall preside over all meetings of the Finance and Administration Committee. He or she should be consulted by the General Secretary on urgent financial and administrative matters in between meetings of the Finance and Administration Committee.

## 8. Amendments

to the Statutes can be made only by the Congress, on the recommendation of the Council, and by a majority of two thirds of the parties and organisations voting.

# ***Congress of the Socialist International***

***Lima, Peru  
June 20-23, 1986***

## **FINAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

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Pentti Vaananen  
Luis Ayala

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Socialist Educational International  
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Jacqui Cottyn  
Enrique Tello Molina

IUSY  
International Union of Socialist Youth  
Joan Calabuig  
Dirk Drijbooms  
Jaime Bedon Gil  
Percy Palomino  
Donald Mendez  
Hugo Passalacqua  
Ruben Giustiniani  
Ignacio Ferreyra

Socialist International Women  
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Mercedes Cabanillas  
Ana Margarita Gasteazoro  
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Nora Maluenda

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### **BELGIUM**

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Liisa North

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Camilo Llubes  
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Tony Brown  
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**ISRAEL**  
Israel Labour Party  
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**NORWAY**

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**SOCIALIST UNION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN  
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**Bulgarian Social Democratic Party**  
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**Lithuanian Social Democratic Party**  
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**Commission on US-Central America Relations**  
Robert White  
Melinda Rorick

**Latin America Human Rights Association, ALDHU**  
Cesar Verduga  
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