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# REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

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## OUR WORK SINCE THE XVIII CONGRESS

In the last three years the Socialist International has greatly expanded its activities in response to the challenges of a new historical epoch. The end of the cold war and the affirmation throughout the world of fundamental values embraced by our International have created new opportunities for democracy, and for enhancing international cooperation for peace, more equitable economic development, and respect for human rights and the environment. At the same time, however, there are many disturbing trends - ongoing regional conflicts, the outbreak of ethnic strife, wrenching changes in the global economy - which have brought a frightening level of disorder to the world even as the world becomes increasingly interdependent.

Our aim, therefore, has been to support the momentum for positive change, while helping to alleviate the problems which threaten to undermine it. As our president, Willy Brandt, recently noted, *'In this period of transition we are obliged to live with many uncertainties; the creation of more solid world structures will take time. But if we take seriously the justified concerns of all parts of the world, and if we take measures to try and ensure that unhealthy trends are limited and reversed, we are perhaps already making a contribution to the future of this - our only - world'*.

Since the Stockholm Congress, the Socialist International has held more meetings and conducted more activities than ever before, and with greater global reach. Our election monitoring missions have increased as new, struggling democracies have emerged in nearly every region of the world. Other missions have sought to enhance cooperation on economic development, promote disarmament and defend human rights. Meetings of the Socialist International, addressing a wide range of global and regional issues, have been held on every continent. Special delegations and fact-finding missions have been regularly dispatched to areas of conflict in many parts of the world.

As our efforts to ensure a more democratic, just and stable world have expanded, the level of participation and interest in our activities has also increased. The appeal of social democracy is apparent in nearly every country of the world. New political parties and organisa-

tions are adopting the principles of democratic socialism, and many have expressed an interest in closer association with our International.

This report is divided into five main sections, covering the SI activities in the areas of democracy, peace and disarmament, economic development, the environment, and human rights. It is a summary of our activities, a reflection of the extensive and concerted work we have undertaken in the last three years, and a reminder that the challenges we face today require ever greater levels of international cooperation.

## DEMOCRACY

The Socialist International has played a prominent role in the greatest expansion of democracy in history. At the same time we remain steadfast in our support for those still struggling for democratic freedom. The task of strengthening democratic institutions and ensuring the survival of democracy is a constant challenge and our activities since 1989 reflect our commitment to meeting it.

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In Europe, 1989 brought the opening of a new chapter in history. It was, as our president, Willy Brandt, said: *'a year of revolutions - never to be forgotten'*, when *'hundreds of thousands of courageous men and women were spurred into demanding true democracy'*.

As social democratic ideas and values were reaffirmed by the momentous political developments in central and eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union, and social democrats throughout the region began to convene and organise themselves, these forces naturally looked to the parties of the Socialist International for friendship and support. Traditional social democratic parties long repressed or forced into exile were re-established and sought to revive their old affiliation in the Socialist International, while other new parties sought contacts with the International for the first time.

In November 1989, on the initiative of SI President Willy Brandt and Vice-President Bettino Craxi, leaders of Socialist International member parties in Europe met in Milan to evaluate developments in the eastern part of the continent and to formulate a social democratic perspective for the new period beginning in Europe.

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Geneva in November 1989 following the last SI congress, also focused on events in central and eastern Europe. Present for the first time were representatives of social democratic parties newly re-established and active in countries of the region. A position paper endorsed by the Council on 'Central and Eastern Europe: Problems and Opportunities' affirmed that:

*'On the basis of its democratic legitimacy and its moral authority, the Socialist International will support the further development of the reform process in eastern Europe... The Socialist International urges its member parties to support social democratic movements and groups whose ideals and practice correspond to the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International... The SI recognises the historic nature of the current transfor-*

*mation in eastern Europe and therefore will make every effort to play a constructive and far-sighted role in these events'.*

The new situation in eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union had already been reflected in a number of meetings and activities of our International.

A few days before the Geneva meeting, a delegation of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, travelled to Warsaw for talks on a wide range of national and international issues. The invitation, endorsed by both chambers of the Polish parliament, pointed to the significant political changes taking place in Poland.

Further initiatives followed. In February 1990, economic experts from a number of SI member parties in Europe joined Soviet experts for a seminar in Moscow on the prospects for economic reform. In March 1990, the SI Committee on Human Rights held a meeting in Prague, where the main theme of discussions was the state of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the region. The members of the SI committee were joined for that discussion by social democratic representatives from Czechoslovakia, Slovenia and the Soviet Union, as well as by other guests, including the deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic.

As the pace of change in the region accelerated, our International was actively following the situation through intensive contacts and a constant exchange of views and information. Our secretariat convened from time to time, in London and in other European capitals, informal meetings of international secretaries of a number of SI member parties in Europe to discuss developments in the region and to exchange views and information.

During 1989 and 1990, the International and many of its member parties were represented at congresses re-establishing a number of social democratic parties; were present as observers during elections; and held meetings with leaders and members of these re-established and new political formations.

In March 1990, I had the privilege of attending, together with our president, Willy Brandt, a number of events in the then German Democratic Republic during the election campaign there. All of us in the International closely followed the elections and subsequent developments leading to the special congress in Berlin six months later. There the Social Democratic Parties of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic were united, just a few days before the historic reunification of Germany.

Also in March 1990, a mission of the Socialist International visited

Bulgaria to hold discussions with the leadership of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BDSP, and attend the Party's conference. Meetings were also held with representatives of the Bulgarian government and other political groupings.

In April 1990, just a few months after the violent collapse of the Ceausescu regime, another mission of the Socialist International travelled to Romania during the country's election campaign. The SI group held meetings with the Romanian Social Democratic Party - re-established in the country three months previously - and with other parties. In May a second SI mission was in Romania to observe the voting process. The SI observers visited a large number of polling stations in both urban and rural areas, and held meetings with representatives of political parties.

At the meeting of the SI Council in Cairo in May 1990, developments in central and eastern Europe were again high on the agenda. We welcomed representatives of more newly active social democratic parties in eastern Europe. In his opening address, SI President Willy Brandt spoke for all of us: *'We feel close to those who seek and work for independent and true democracy in eastern and central Europe'*.

A second SI mission went to Bulgaria in June 1990 at the time of the country's elections. SI representatives met leaders of the Social Democratic Party and other political forces and observed the voting process both in the capital city and in outlying areas.

In September 1990, for the first time since the re-foundation of our International in 1951, SI representatives visited the Baltic Republics. The Socialist International mission met leaders of the parties represented in the parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and held extensive talks with the leaders of the re-established social democratic parties in the three republics, whose full membership in our International was later revitalised.

In January 1991, following referenda which showed clear support among the population of the Baltic Republics for independence from the Soviet Union, and after a number of violent incidents, a second mission of the International travelled to Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn, as well as to Moscow. The mission reported to the Conference of SI Party Leaders held in March 1991 in Sydney and in a resolution of that conference the Socialist International urged *'the Soviet government, as well as the respective political leaders in the Baltic Republics, to enter into immediate constructive negotiations, without preconditions, towards a peaceful resolution of the question of the future status of the Baltic Republics'*. Since that time, to our great satisfaction, the three Baltic

Republics have taken their place in the community of nations as independent states.

As rapid change and transformation spread throughout the region, the Socialist International continued to monitor elections and other significant developments.

In Albania, after many years of isolation under Stalinist dictatorship, free elections were held in March 1991, observed on behalf of the International.

The Council of the Socialist International, at its meeting in Istanbul in June 1991, had as one of its main themes 'Central and Eastern Europe: Reform, Democracy and Renewal'. Delegates of social democratic parties in several countries of the region addressed the Council on the enormous political and economic problems facing the new democratic governments, while west European party leaders stressed the importance of positive initiatives for political and economic cooperation with eastern and central Europe.

The importance of such positive cooperation was also underlined at a conference organised in Bonn the previous month by the Ebert, Renner and Mozer foundations on 'Building the New Europe - Strategies for Cooperation'. SI leaders, including our president, were prominent among those taking part.

In June 1991 a statement released by the Socialist International expressed deep concern about the escalating conflict in Yugoslavia, condemned the use of military force and the suppression of democratic rights, and called on all sides to exercise restraint and to return to the path of negotiation and dialogue. The statement also called on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, the United Nations and the international community as a whole to use all their influence in favour of a halt to violence and a return to negotiation.

At the meeting of the SI Presidium held in Berlin in September 1991, the grave situation in Yugoslavia was discussed by the leaders of the International, who made clear their view that the process of independence of Slovenia and Croatia was irreversible and gave their support to all peace-seeking initiatives. The situation in Yugoslavia was also a special point of consideration at the meeting of the SI Human Rights Committee held in Vienna in October 1991, where representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and the Serbian Democratic Party were among the guests. The SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, addressed the continuing conflict at its meeting in London in November 1991, issuing a statement which stressed the principle of self-determination, the need for peace-seeking

ing efforts by international bodies, and the principle that national borders can be changed only by peaceful means and through negotiation, as enshrined in the Helsinki treaty.

In August 1991 our attention was focused on the attempted coup d'état in Moscow. From the SI secretariat in London and through many other formal and informal channels, the situation was followed closely. SI President Willy Brandt was in touch with developments and, in contact with SI vice-presidents and with our friends in the Soviet Union, preparations were made by our secretariat to hold an emergency meeting of the SI Presidium, to coordinate the position of the International and to support those forces in the Soviet Union committed to democracy. These preparations were interrupted by the rapid routing of the attempted coup. Close monitoring of the situation continued, and on 16 September 1991, following a preparatory visit by myself, a delegation of the Socialist International travelled to Moscow to express the satisfaction felt within the International at the failure of the coup, to express solidarity with democratic forces in the USSR, and to discuss the most recent developments with leaders there. The SI delegation held meetings with Eduard Shevardnadze, Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev and also had talks with the principal leaders of the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation.

A meeting of the SI Presidium was held in Berlin on 20 and 21 September to hear the impressions of the delegation and to discuss the situation in the Soviet Union. In a statement issued at the close of its meeting, the SI Presidium affirmed its satisfaction at the failure of the coup and saluted the courage of all those who had helped to save freedom and democracy, reiterating its solidarity with the democratic forces working for justice, social progress, peace and security in the republics and at the level of the then Union. The presidium recommended that all SI member parties strengthen their solidarity and political relations with all the democratic forces which shared their principles and values.

'Central and Eastern Europe: the Continuing Transformation' was also one of the main subjects of discussion at the meeting of the SI Council in Santiago in November 1991. Speakers contrasted the positive developments of democratisation and the failure of the coup in Moscow with the severe economic problems and fluctuating political landscape in many countries, and stressed the urgent need for economic assistance and cooperation with the region. Economic migration from central and eastern Europe to neighbouring countries - an issue of growing significance - was also discussed.

A resolution adopted by the Council in Santiago welcomed the democratisation process in the countries of central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and noted with satisfaction the strengthening of democratic institutions and multi-party systems, in particular the space opened up in all parts of the continent for the values and goals of social democracy. It also called on wealthy industrial nations to work for the success of the political and economic reform programmes, and stressed the need for adequate governmental institutions and services alongside the growth of the market.

The SI Council in Santiago also stated that it *'deeply regrets the developments in Yugoslavia and is dismayed by the escalation of violence which was thought to be impossible in Europe after the end of the East-West conflict'*. It reiterated the views expressed by the International since the beginning of the conflict, in particular its condemnation of all attempts to create new totalitarian or authoritarian or nationally or religiously exclusive structures contradictory to the principles of a pluralistic democracy, and its support for all international peace-seeking initiatives.

Subsequently, at the meeting of the SI Presidium held in Madrid in March 1992, the presidium asked Thorvald Stoltenberg, Norwegian Labour Party, DNA, foreign minister of Norway, to continue monitoring the situation in the former Yugoslavia on behalf of the International and to put forward recommendations, after a visit to the area, for further action by the Socialist International.

In February and March 1992, SI Vice-President Hans-Jochen Vogel, Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, undertook a fact-finding visit on behalf of the Socialist International to the republics of the former Soviet Union. He travelled to the Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghistan and Kazakhstan, holding meetings with some 150 personalities, including presidents, prime ministers, other parliamentarians, and the chairs of nine social democratic parties, as well as leaders of other parties and church and other representatives. The meeting of the SI Presidium in Madrid in March 1992 received a detailed report on this visit.

At that meeting in March 1992 the SI Presidium also discussed the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh and endorsed a proposal of SI President Willy Brandt for an SI initiative in support of the peace-making proposals of the United Nations and the CSCE. In line with this decision, a mission of the Socialist International visited the area at the end of March and met leading political figures in Armenia and



Azerbaijan, including the prime ministers of both countries and the acting president of Azerbaijan, as well as the leaders of the social democratic parties in both republics.

Since the last Congress of the Socialist International, the developments in central and eastern Europe have of course had a considerable - and positive - impact on the composition and activities of our own organisation. The meetings of our International now include representatives of social democratic parties from almost all the countries of central and eastern Europe and also from a number of the republics of the former Soviet Union. The full membership in the Socialist International of the historic Social Democratic Parties in Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia has already been revitalised, while others have also been rebuilding their activities and taking an active part in the International. The situation regarding social democratic structures in Hungary has been an area of some concern and attention for our International during the last two years. An SI study group visited the country in 1991 and again this year with the task of providing a framework for future cooperation with the political forces of social democratic orientation in that country.

I can say with assurance that the Socialist International will continue to be very much a part of the evolution of social democracy in a region where our ideas were until recently forced into the shadows.

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In Africa too, the ending of the cold war and the great changes of the last few years have brought new prospects for democracy. The shared social democratic vision among many long-established and new political forces in the region is giving a growing role to social democracy in securing freedom, democratic change and economic progress in the continent.

*'Democracy is opening up new horizons for Africa'*, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal told a recent Socialist International meeting in Dakar, *'This is a political project destined to brighten our future. We are seeing the establishment of new forces... in the name of freedom... and of majority rule. But'*, he added, *'democracy can never be truly and lastingly consolidated as long as poverty persists'*. These words well reflect both the importance which the Socialist International attaches to democratisation in Africa and our longstanding involvement in the struggle against dictatorship, economic oppression, injustice and hunger on that continent.

The work of the International over a number of years has resulted

in strong links between our member parties and important political forces in support of economic and democratic development. I shall refer later in this report to our work in support of peaceful solutions to a number of serious conflicts on the African continent.

An important step forward during the recent period was the successful holding of the first free and fair elections in Namibia and the subsequent establishment of an independent and democratic state. In October 1989 a mission of the Socialist International visited Namibia during the election campaign, meeting representatives of SWAPO and other political parties and organisations, and officials of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group assisting the election and independence process. A second SI delegation was in Namibia in November 1989 to observe the voting process at polling stations both in the capital and surrounding 'townships' and in rural areas. The following March, Sten Andersson, Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, then foreign minister of Sweden, represented the Socialist International on the day when, after the long struggle of its people for independence, Namibia officially became a free nation.

At its meeting in Geneva in November 1989, the SI Council was able to note in a resolution some positive developments in South Africa, including the release of some political prisoners and proposals for reform. But it also reaffirmed that *'as long as apartheid continues it is necessary to maintain and increase political, diplomatic and economic pressure... on the white minority regime'*. During the following months, the International closely followed developments in South Africa. At its next meeting in Cairo, the SI Council was addressed by a representative of the African National Congress and whilst welcoming the continuing release of political prisoners and the plans for negotiations between the government and the ANC, again urged the continuation of international pressure on the South African government.

The SI Southern Africa Committee, SISAC, chaired by Dutch Labour Party Leader Wim Kok, meeting in The Hague in June 1990, agreed to continue direct monitoring of developments in South Africa, to maintain close cooperation and contacts with the ANC and other organisations in the country, and to give support to every initiative in South Africa towards the abolition of apartheid. The SI Committee reiterated the longstanding view of the International that lasting peace and stability in southern Africa would only be achieved with the elimination of the apartheid regime and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial system in South Africa.

Returning to the subject of South Africa at its meeting in New

York in October 1990, the SI Council also addressed the need for international support for a future post-apartheid South Africa and for the large numbers of returning exiles. At the SI Party Leaders' Conference in Sydney in March and the Council meeting in Istanbul in June 1991, where we again welcomed a representative of the ANC, we called for international support, both economic and political, for the process of change in South Africa and expressed support for all constructive proposals to overcome the violence overshadowing positive developments there.

In July 1991 delegates from some twenty SI member parties collectively represented our International at the conference in Durban of the African National Congress - the first conference the ANC was able to hold openly in South Africa since being declared illegal under the apartheid regime in 1960.

The presidium of the Socialist International, at its meeting in Madrid in March 1992, expressed support for the work, started in December 1991, of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, CODESA. It also reaffirmed the commitment of the International to the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a democratic and non-racial state and its full reintegration into the international community.

In July 1991, after attending the ANC conference in Durban, a number of SI representatives took part in a mission of the Socialist International to Angola. They met President Dos Santos, other members of the Angolan government and leaders of the main political forces, in order to discuss the peace process in Angola and the process of transition in the country to a multi-party system.

The Socialist International and the SI Study Group on Africa, SISGA, jointly headed by the Portuguese Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of Senegal, have been further developing contacts with both established and new political forces in Africa and following closely the process of democratisation and political change taking place in many countries of the continent. The SI Study Group held a meeting in Lisbon in July 1990, where members of the group were joined by representatives of a number of African parties for an exchange of views and information. The SI Study Group met again in New York in October 1990 prior to the SI Council meeting.

The SI Council, at its meeting in Istanbul in June 1991, stated that *'the spreading of democracy in Africa is encouraged and welcomed by the Socialist International as essential to the implementation of fundamental freedoms, the defence of human rights, the ending of the many regional con-*

*flicts, and also to cope with economic development, environment control and famine*'. The Council also welcomed the conclusion of the peace process in Angola as a major event not only for the country itself but also for the stabilisation of the whole region, and expressed hope for a stable transitional period until the holding of general elections. The SI Southern Africa Committee and the SI Study Group on Africa met in joint session in Istanbul.

In January 1992 the SI secretariat convened a working meeting on Africa in London to consider initiatives and priorities for the International's work in that continent, with the participation of our member parties in Africa and of member parties from other regions which had been involved or interested in our work there.

At the meeting in London we exchanged information on the many African parties and organisations which, with the new political realities on the African continent, had sought contact with the Socialist International. Since our last congress in Stockholm our own secretariat and many of our member parties have had many discussions with representatives of democratic parties and movements from Africa. There have been numerous exchanges of information and some leaders of these parties travelled to London to establish personal contact with the International.

I should mention here the immediate and strong reaction of our International to the detention in February 1992 of Laurent Gbagbo, leader of the Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI - a party with which the International had established a positive relationship in the recent period - and our work for his subsequent release.

I should also mention the particular satisfaction for the Socialist International that friends and comrades within our own organisation, like Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo of Burkina Faso, have, in close touch with the International, been able to return to their countries from exile and make a significant contribution to political life.

Following the SI working meeting on Africa in London, representatives of SI member parties were joined by specially invited guests from African political parties and organisations at a subsequent SI working meeting in Dakar at the end of May 1992, hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal and opened by President Abdou Diouf. The Dakar meeting brought together some 30 parties from a large number of African countries in an unprecedented gathering under the auspices of our International. Many of those present represented recently-founded political forces and were taking part for the first time in such an international forum.

Discussions focused on the development of multi-party democracy in Africa, on social democracy and the process of democratic change in the region, and on the search for peaceful solutions to old and new conflicts in the continent. Also emphasised were the importance of social democratic ideas in the new political reality in Africa and the major role being played by political forces which identify with the principles of our International in advancing the process of democratic transformation.

Throughout the period under review the Socialist International has been inspired by its commitment to democratic change and development in the African continent; to efforts for the peaceful solution of the continuing conflicts affecting a number of African countries; and to the realisation of a free, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. Our continuing commitment ensures that our contacts with African parties and our programme of activities in Africa will remain priorities for our International.

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At the beginning of the 1990s, we were able to say that the long struggle for democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean had borne fruit, with dictatorships giving way to democratic government all over the continent and SI member parties in government in several countries. The work often begun in opposition and clandestinity had led to the establishment of social democracy as a leading force in the region.

In December 1989, when democratic elections took place in Chile after 16 years of military dictatorship, I had the pleasure of leading a delegation of the International, including representatives of some 20 member parties, to my own country. We met leaders of all the parties united in the *Concertación para la Democracia* and observed the voting process in a variety of areas both in the capital and outside. The subsequent inauguration of the democratically elected government in March 1990, at a ceremony attended by many leaders of SI member parties, marked the beginning of a new chapter in Chile.

Missions of the Socialist International travelled to a number of countries in the region to observe elections during the period under review. In January 1990, a large delegation visited Nicaragua to observe the election campaign and a second delegation was in the country in February 1990 for the election. The SI representatives monitored the registration of voters, discussed the electoral campaign with members of political parties and other organisations and

observed the voting process throughout the country.

In May 1990, a mission of the International observed the elections in the Dominican Republic. They monitored the voting process and met representatives of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, whose leader, José Francisco Peña Gómez, was a presidential candidate.

In November 1990, another mission went to Guatemala to observe voting in the first round of presidential, congressional and municipal elections. The members of the SI group were accredited as official international observers. They held discussions with the leaders of the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, of Guatemala and with representatives of other parties and the outgoing president of the country, and also exchanged views with other national and international observers.

SI delegations visited Haiti before and during the elections held in December 1990. The first SI group was in Haiti in November and met members of the provisional electoral council, presidential candidates and representatives of political parties including our member party, the Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party, PANPRA, and our friends of the Party of the National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM. A second SI delegation observed the elections on 16 December. Our observers joined teams from the United Nations, the Organisation of American States, and an international group led by former US President Jimmy Carter.

The SI representatives watched Haiti's first free and fair elections, in which Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected president. Subsequently, to our great satisfaction, the Haitian people joined the worldwide community of democratic nations. When just nine months later that democratic experience ended in a military coup against President Aristide, the Socialist International condemned the coup and reiterated its support and solidarity with PANPRA, KONAKOM, and all the democratic forces of the country. It called on the international community to take all necessary steps in order to re-establish the rule of law and respect for the constitution. The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean subsequently invited President Aristide to attend its meeting in Cochabamba, Bolivia, in November 1991. Our International has continued to support all initiatives to restore the constitutional order in Haiti.

An SI delegation observed the elections held in May 1991 in Surinam.

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, chaired by José Francisco Peña Gómez, is an increasingly significant and influential forum of activity. Our member

parties in that committee have dealt with many crucial issues during the recent period, and it has also attracted the participation of a large number of parties and political forces outside the International for increased dialogue and exchanges.

In January 1990, SICLAC met in Quito, Ecuador, at the invitation of the Democratic Left Party, PID, whose leader, Rodrigo Borja, was then president of the country. Discussions focused on external debt and democracy in Latin America, the problem of drug trafficking, and on the situations in Haiti, Puerto Rico, Central America and Panama.

Tragically, that meeting of our committee was overshadowed by the assassination in Guatemala of Héctor Ouelí, deputy leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, of El Salvador, and secretary of SICLAC.

SICLAC met again in New York in October 1990, on the eve of the SI Council meeting, and formulated resolutions, subsequently adopted by the Council, on the peace processes in El Salvador and Guatemala, and on the situation in Haiti and in Guyana. The SI and SICLAC, in support of our member party the Working People's Alliance, WPA, have consistently called for speedy electoral reform and democratic elections in Guyana. The International is committed to mobilising a team of observers to go to that country to observe the elections, finally announced for October 1992.

SICLAC met again in Aruba in April 1991, at the invitation of the People's Electoral Movement, MEP, the SI member party there. The committee discussed regional economic integration, the human rights situation in the region, and the latest political developments in the Caribbean, in particular in Haiti, Puerto Rico, Guyana, Surinam and Cuba.

At its meeting in Istanbul in June 1991, the SI Council heard a report from SICLAC Chair José Francisco Peña Gómez on the committee's meeting in Aruba, the progress of democratisation in the region and the search for peace in a number of national conflicts. The Council adopted resolutions welcoming the progress of the peace negotiations in El Salvador and noting with satisfaction the consolidation of democracy in Chile.

The first major SI gathering in Bolivia took place in November 1991, when SICLAC met in Cochabamba. The meeting was hosted by the Bolivian Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, and opened by President Jaime Paz Zamora, a founder of that party. The committee discussed regional integration, democracy and economic development, and the current challenges for democratic socialism in Latin

America in the post-cold-war era.

All these matters were subsequently addressed by the SI Council at its meeting in December 1991 in Santiago, Chile, hosted by the Chilean Radical Party. Patricio Aylwin, the president of Chile, opened the meeting, which he said was *'an eloquent symbol of the rebirth of democracy in the country'*. This first meeting of the Council of our International in Chile since the country's triumph over dictatorship was a significant and moving occasion for all those present. SI member parties from Latin America and the Caribbean and all other parts of the world were joined by a large number of guests from Latin America, including delegations from the Chilean Socialist Party and Party for Democracy. A special welcome was given to Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of President Salvador Allende.

The first item on the Council's agenda was 'Latin America and the Caribbean in a Changing World: Integration, Democracy and Economic Development'. After wide-ranging discussions which underlined the commitment of SI member parties to regional cooperation based on shared social and economic goals, a resolution was adopted on Latin American economic integration. The Council also discussed the national situations in a number of Latin American countries, in particular El Salvador, Guyana and Haiti.

1992 has been marked by events which underline the problems and dangers still facing democracy in Latin America.

In February, the Socialist International gave full support to the democratic institutions of Venezuela, its member party, Acción Democrática, and President Carlos Andrés Pérez, following the attempted military coup d'état. An SI delegation travelled to Caracas to meet President Pérez and express the solidarity of the International with the government of Venezuela, and its condemnation of the coup attempt.

Following the assumption of dictatorial powers by President Fujimori of Peru in April 1992, Alan García, the leader of our member party, the Peruvian Aprista Party, and former president of Peru, was forced to seek asylum in Colombia. Other leading members of the party have faced arrest and harassment. In a statement issued on 6 April, the Socialist International condemned the dissolution of the Congress of Peru and the measures against parliamentarians, other national leaders and the judiciary, asserting that the steady re-establishment of democracy and the rule of law in Peru and all over Latin America in recent years must continue.

1992 has also seen positive developments, such as the signing of



the El Salvador peace agreement after many years of war and much suffering for the people of El Salvador.

Most recently, our Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean convened at the end of August 1992 in Santo Domingo, at the invitation of the Dominican Revolutionary Party. The committee considered the democratic socialist platform in the context of today's political and economic challenges to democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean. It also discussed proposals on the regional situation for inclusion in the general resolution of our XIX Congress.

I am confident that, in this period of new challenges for social democracy in the region, the work of our International in Latin America and the Caribbean will continue to bring strength to the forces which have been decisive in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

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The dynamism of SI member parties and the growing interest in our organisation from other political forces in the Asia-Pacific region reflects the rapid changes and developments in that part of the world in recent years.

Addressing the SI Council at its meeting in Cairo in May 1990, the delegate of the Nepali Congress Party reported on the democratic breakthrough in that country, stating: *'Although the people of Nepal attained democracy by their own efforts, the events that sparked this year's successful drive for multi-party democracy occurred not in Nepal, but thousands of miles away. Without doubt, it was the example of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe which provided the inspiration for hundreds of thousands of Nepalese to go into the streets and demand their right to representative government'*. The Council heard with satisfaction, at this and subsequent meetings, of the democratic developments in Nepal and the success of the Nepali Congress Party, which was elected to consultative membership of the International at the Stockholm Congress in 1989.

In Cairo too, the Council was addressed by a representative of the Pakistan People's Party, a member party of the International, and by a minister in the Indian government attending the meeting as a guest, on the conflict in Kashmir. A resolution of the Council called for dialogue and conciliation in the spirit of the relevant United Nations resolution.

At its meeting in New York in October 1990, the SI Council considered the continuing violation of democratic and human rights in

Burma/Myanmar. The Council affirmed its recognition of the convincing electoral victory of the National League for Democracy in the elections of 1990 and its appreciation of the democratic will of the people of Burma. It condemned the military regime for its refusal to recognise the outcome of the elections, and demanded the transfer of power to the elected parliament and the release of the NLD leaders and other political prisoners. In November 1991, following the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to NLD General Secretary Aung San Suu Kyi, Manaé Kubota, a leading member of the Social Democratic Party of Japan and vice-president of Socialist International Women, travelled to Burma on behalf of SIW and of the Socialist International to seek a meeting with Suu Kyi, who had been under arrest and incomunicado since before the previous year's elections. Her application to the Burmese authorities for such a meeting met with no response. At its meeting in Santiago, Chile later that month, the SI Council recalled the grave situation in Burma, reiterating its condemnation of the military regime and calling on the international community to make every effort to help bring about the restoration of democracy.

The situation in East Timor has also been a cause of concern to the Socialist International. At its 1990 meeting in Cairo, the SI Council condemned the widely reported abuse of human and democratic rights and expressed its support for the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor. The SI Committee on Human Rights also discussed the issue at its meeting in December 1990 in Lisbon. The Committee called on Indonesia to comply with UN resolutions, and on Indonesia and Portugal under the UN Mandate to search for a peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor. In November 1991 the SI Council again condemned the continuing situation in the wake of world-wide shock at the massacre of civilians in the cemetery of Santa Cruz, and called for the implementation of negotiations and a UN-supervised referendum on the future of East Timor. These sentiments were reiterated at the meeting of our Council shortly afterwards in Santiago and by the SI Presidium at its meeting in Madrid in March 1992.

A Conference of SI Party Leaders was held in Sydney, Australia, in March 1991, the centenary year of the foundation of the governing Australian Labor Party. The conference was opened by the then Australian prime minister, Bob Hawke, who laid emphasis in his opening remarks on the process of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, APEC, initiated in Seoul in 1989. The Asia-Pacific region, he said, *'is capable of demonstrating the capacity of countries not so*

*long ago torn by conflict, countries at different stages of development, and countries of great cultural diversity, to cooperate together'.*

The Sydney Conference was attended by delegates, guests and observers from the Asia-Pacific region in greater numbers than any previous SI meeting, and by representatives from all parts of Europe, from Central and South America, Africa, and the Middle East. The meeting indicated the strengthening of relations with parties in Asia and the Pacific and the expansion of SI activity in the region.

The conference was addressed by the leaders of SI member parties in New Zealand, Japan, Malaysia and Mauritius and by the leader of the Fiji Labour Party, a specially invited guest. The leader of the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia, Lim Kit Siang, recalled the successful fight for an effective parliamentary regime in his country and the efforts of our International on behalf of 16 leaders of the party, including himself, who were previously detained for 18 months without trial.

Our discussions in Sydney covered economic, political and human rights concerns in the region. The main resolution of the conference focused on all these areas and noted the contradictions inherent in the region's rapid economic progress. It welcomed the encouraging democratic developments of recent years in many countries, for example the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Nepal, Bangladesh, New Caledonia and Taiwan, but reiterated the International's deep concern about the continuing situation in Burma, East Timor, and in Fiji since the coup of 1987. Finally, it stressed the desirability of developing a greater sense of common security in the region, and expressed strong support for the UN peace plan for Cambodia.

Since the Sydney conference, the situation of human and democratic rights in Malaysia has continued to cause concern. DAP Leader Lim Kit Siang, who is also the leader of the parliamentary opposition, is currently suspended from parliament as a result of his criticisms of a cabinet minister.

The attention of our International has also been drawn during this period to developments in Thailand, where, early in 1992, the pro-democracy campaign gathered strength. During the election campaign, SI Vice-President Anita Gradin travelled to the country on our behalf to meet representatives of democratic socialist forces.

During this period the Socialist International has also been in frequent contact with our member parties in Japan, our member party in Pakistan, with democratic socialists in India, with the Social

Democratic Party of the Philippines, and with democratic forces in South Korea.

The importance of Asia and the Pacific in today's world points to the need to strengthen still further the work of our International in the region.

As the resolution of our conference in Sydney affirmed, *'the growing cohesiveness and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region represents a historic opportunity both for the peoples of the region and also for the entire global community to achieve higher living standards together with a more deeply entrenched commitment to democracy, equity and fundamental human rights'*.

## PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

The Socialist International has expanded its work for peace and disarmament during the last three years. The prospects for achieving deep reductions in nuclear and conventional weapons have improved greatly since the end of the cold war, and we are now able to envisage the redirection of resources to development aid. While the International has continued to work towards those goals, it has also adapted to the new international climate by focusing greater attention on conflict resolution and security at the regional level. We have made significant contributions to the positive developments in the Middle East and Latin America, and have actively supported peace initiatives in other regions stricken by conflict.

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The Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC, under the chairmanship of former Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa, Social Democratic Party of Finland, has continued to play an important role in our work for peace and disarmament during the period under review.

In November 1989 SIDAC met in Warsaw, where members had the opportunity to hold talks with the prime minister of Poland, with other members of the government, and with representatives of Solidarity and of political parties. These discussions reflected the already fast-changing situation in that country and the whole of eastern Europe. They covered the future posture of the Polish armed forces; the impact of the country's economic problems on defence spending and the conversion from military to non-military production; the future of NATO and the then still existing Warsaw Pact; and future Europe-wide cooperation.

In May 1990, shortly before the Bush-Gorbachev summit, a SIDAC delegation travelled to Washington for talks on the current arms control and disarmament negotiations and on European security issues. In a series of high-level meetings, the delegation had discussions with officials of the US State Department, the Pentagon, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Subsequently, a SIDAC delegation visited Moscow in August 1990 for talks on the same issues. The delegation met officials of the ministries of defence and foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, and experts from the Soviet administration of that time.

Early in September 1990, a few days after the visit to Moscow, a

special Socialist International Conference on Disarmament was held in Tampere, Finland. This was the third conference on disarmament held since the establishment of SIDAC in 1978. The Tampere conference was attended by representatives of SI member parties and by guests from Colombia, Namibia, Zambia and the USSR, as well as from the ICFTU and the Non-Aligned Movement. The conference convened in a context of renewed hope for global disarmament and international cooperation, but also at a time of crisis precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990.

Calling for speedy progress in arms negotiations, the conference underlined the need to direct the 'peace dividend' resulting from the ending of the cold war towards real cooperation between East and West, North and South. A statement on Global Security issued by the conference affirmed that *'the people of Europe have torn down the walls separating them into hostile camps. The cold war between East and West has come to an end. Security can now be built on new foundations... Measures implementing the ideas of common security and shared responsibility can and must now be forged into a new system of security'*. The statement was subsequently endorsed by the SI Council at its meeting in New York in November 1990.

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Socialist International party leaders met in Tampere in September, just prior to the SI Disarmament Conference. They condemned the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and gave strong support to the United Nations Security Council, urging the UN to step up its activities to resolve the conflict. The party leaders also reiterated the need to support freedom, self-determination and social justice in the Middle East, in order to create conditions favourable to peace and stability in the region.

Meanwhile the SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, closely followed developments in Iraq and Kuwait, through contacts established by SIMEC Chair Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, Social Democratic Party of Germany, and by convening a special meeting of the committee in Stockholm on 24 September. A large number of SI member parties, including those from the Middle East, attended the Stockholm meeting, which was notable for the consensus among all those present in condemning Iraq, supporting the UN Security Council resolutions on the Iraqi invasion, demanding the release of all hostages, and calling for humanitarian aid for refugees.

At its meeting in New York, the SI Council adopted a resolution

on the Gulf crisis, reiterating the International's condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and its demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from the territory of Kuwait. The SI Middle East Committee held a further meeting in Bonn in November 1990, which was attended by SI President Willy Brandt. The Bonn meeting, noting with concern the deteriorating situation in the Gulf, called for every effort to be made to find a peaceful resolution to the crisis. In particular, the SI Committee asked Willy Brandt to continue his personal efforts in this regard.

On 11 January 1991, the SI Middle East Committee met in London, in advance of the 15 January deadline set by UN Security Council Resolution 678 for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. The committee's discussions on that occasion centred on the UN resolutions and on the importance of exploring every possibility for a diplomatic solution. Shortly after the committee meeting, representatives of SIMEC travelled to Paris for discussions with President Mitterrand on the diplomatic initiative headed by the French government.

On 17 January 1991, after the outbreak of hostilities, the Socialist International issued the following statement:

*'It is a tragedy that war has begun in the Gulf, with its inevitable human suffering and grave political and economic consequences.*

*The UN Security Council, in a number of resolutions, condemned the brutal aggression by Iraq against Kuwait and called repeatedly on Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait unconditionally, as did the Socialist International on numerous occasions since August 2.*

*The Socialist International worked from the outset of the crisis for a peaceful political solution, and it is now our hope that the conflict will soon be resolved, that human life will be spared and that the potentially disastrous consequences of this conflict will be avoided.*

*As soon as Kuwait is liberated the international community, with a strong political will, must set about the difficult task of constructing a durable negotiated solution to the problems of the whole Middle East region long called for by the Socialist International.'*

At the meeting of the SI Disarmament Advisory Council held in Stockholm later that month, events in the Gulf and their implications for global security and disarmament were again high on the agenda.

Shortly afterwards, the presidium of the Socialist International convened in a special session. The presidium met in Vienna on 15 February 1991 to discuss the Gulf crisis. The meeting was chaired by SI President Willy Brandt and hosted by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. In line with the concerns expressed by the Socialist

International since the beginning of the crisis, the SI leaders focused both on the situation in the Gulf and on the need for a just and stable order in the Middle East.

The presidium renewed its commitment to the full implementation of all relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, and agreed that all possible efforts should be undertaken to continue the search for a political solution, even during the military confrontation, and to ensure full and unqualified respect for the Geneva Conventions and their provisions relating to the protection of civilian populations and the treatment of prisoners of war. It also stressed the importance of avoiding an escalation of the war and any deployment of weapons of mass destruction.

Looking to the future and the ongoing role of the Socialist International, the SI Presidium pointed to the need for a new security order in the Middle East. It affirmed that economic stability in the region was a prerequisite for lasting peace and that outside assistance and support would be needed to secure such stability. It also emphasised the importance of an international agreement on the control and limitation of arms sales.

All these concerns, which were reiterated by SI leaders at the Party Leaders' Conference held in Sydney in March 1991, have been central to the work of our International in the region.

The SI Middle East Committee continued its intensive programme of activities, meeting again in Cairo on 29 April 1991, shortly after the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation. The committee noted with satisfaction that with the freeing of Kuwait, *'notions of international legitimacy were upheld and the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all members of the United Nations was asserted'*. The committee also stated that the end of the Gulf war provided a good opportunity for furthering the peace process in the Middle East. It commended the efforts of the Egyptian government, of the US administration and of the European Community to find a settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and deplored the inflexible policies of the Likud government in Israel.

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The commitment of the Socialist International and its Middle East Committee, SIMEC, to work for peace and security in the Middle East is a longstanding one. In recent years, the SI Middle East Committee has provided an important forum for dialogue between those involved in the Middle East conflicts. Since the SI Congress in



Stockholm, the committee has been further strengthened by the participation of the International's new member parties from Arab countries. Representatives of these parties, together with those of the International's member parties in Israel and of member parties in Europe and elsewhere which are concerned to assist efforts for peace in the Middle East have been meeting for several years, in the context of the SI committee, together with Palestinian representatives.

The Middle East Committee met in Cairo in May 1990 and adopted a resolution which was approved by the SI Council a day later. The SI Council meeting in the Egyptian capital, hosted by the National Democratic Party of Egypt and opened by President Hosni Mubarak, was the first meeting of our Council in an Arab country and symbolic of the commitment of the Socialist International to the Middle East and to securing peace and democracy in the region.

The resolution of the SI Council in Cairo affirmed that our International, in its efforts to assist peace in the Middle East, *'is guided by the following principles: A political solution on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 which excludes the use of force; the secure existence of the State of Israel, and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people'*.

At the meeting of the SI Council held in Istanbul in June 1991, the agenda was headed by the theme, 'Peace, Security and Cooperation in the Middle East'. Both the SI Middle East Committee and the SI Disarmament Advisory Council held meetings in Istanbul on the day before the Council, followed by a joint meeting of the two bodies, in order to discuss disarmament and arms control issues affecting the region. The SIMEC meeting was attended for the first time by representatives of the Crown Prince of Jordan, and also of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK.

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, chair of the Middle East Committee, and Kalevi Sorsa, chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council, reported to the Council in Istanbul on these deliberations and led a discussion among leaders of SI member parties and guests from the Middle East and Europe. The Council subsequently adopted a resolution on peace, disarmament and development in the Middle East.

SIMEC met again in October 1991 in Strasbourg, where representatives of the Syrian Baath Party took part in a meeting of the SI committee for the first time. The SI Middle East Committee thus succeeded in bringing together all the parties involved in the crucial issues affecting the region.

The Strasbourg meeting took place shortly before the opening of

the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid and participants were unanimous in welcoming the peace conference and reiterating hopes for progress in all phases of the planned talks. We were particularly pleased that the government of our member party in Spain, led by SI Vice-President Felipe González, was instrumental in the process by hosting the initial sessions in the Spanish capital.

The SI Council, meeting in Santiago in November 1991, stated that *'the Socialist International will, within its possibilities, extend to the process initiated in Madrid its unrestricted support'*. The Council recalled the efforts of the International over many years to contribute to the promotion of dialogue between the conflicting parties in the Middle East and affirmed that such efforts would continue.

Renewed hopes for positive progress in the peace process followed the elections in Israel in June 1992 and the formation of the new government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the head of a Labour-led coalition which also includes representatives of MAPAM, the other SI member party in Israel.

At the SIMEC meeting in Bonn in July 1992 representatives of the two SI member parties in Israel affirmed that the change in public opinion reflected in the Labour/Left election victory had opened up new opportunities for peace.

The Socialist International will continue, I am sure, to give active support to the peace process by closely monitoring developments, by offering a forum for the widest and most open dialogue between all those concerned, and also by focusing on the economic and social needs of the region.

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Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the attention of the Socialist International has been drawn repeatedly to the situation of the Kurdish people in Iraq. A statement by our president, Willy Brandt, in April 1991, called for the community of nations to show solidarity with the Kurdish people suffering from the atrocities committed by the Iraqi regime and affirmed support for international action to aid and protect the Kurds. He added that *'a sustainable peace in the Middle East must take into account the legitimate interests of the Kurdish people'*.

At the end of April 1991, a mission of the Socialist International travelled to Turkey, where, in cooperation with the Social Democratic Populist Party, the SI member party in Turkey, discussions were held on the plight of the Kurds and other refugees along the borders and in northern Iraq, and the SI group visited the border region.

The SI mission followed numerous expressions of the International's concern about the grave situation of the Kurdish people. The statement of our president was followed on 15 April by a demand issued by the chair and vice-chair of the SI Human Rights Committee, Peter Jankowitsch of the Austrian Socialist Party and Anita Gradin of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, that a political decision on the future of the Kurdish people must be reached. The Human Rights Committee went on to call on the United Nations to provide a political framework for such a decision and to appeal to the international community to combine humanitarian and political initiatives to end the suffering of the Kurdish people of Iraq. Our Middle East Committee also recorded its deep concern for this situation at its meeting in Cairo at the end of April 1991, and the SI Council returned to the Kurdish question at its meeting in Istanbul the following month.

Among the guests at our Council meeting in Istanbul was Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, who spoke about the oppression of Kurdish people in Iraq and the dramatic plight of millions of Kurdish refugees. The resolution of the SI Council on peace, disarmament and development in the Middle East also focused on the situation of the Kurdish people and the need for the international community to help secure a peaceful, democratic solution to this longstanding tragedy which escalated so horribly in the aftermath of the Gulf war.

The Council further resolved that a mission of the International should travel to northern Iraq to observe the situation there and report to a future meeting. After remaining in very close touch with the situation, a delegation of the Socialist International was able to visit the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq in January 1992. The delegation took part in the congress of the PUK and visited a number of ruined towns and villages and refugee camps in the area, meeting Kurdish political leaders, peshmerga fighters and spokespeople in the refugee camps.

At the time of the SI mission in January, preparations were already under way for elections to a Kurdish Assembly and a second SI delegation returned to observe the election process in May 1991. The SI observers held talks with PUK Leader Jalal Talabani, with Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, and other Kurdish representatives, during elections which, despite the many practical difficulties, the SI delegation concluded were generally carried out in a peaceful and orderly way.

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While the situation in the Middle East has rightly been a focus of attention for the world community and for our International during this period, our work for peace and disarmament has also been concerned with serious conflicts in a number of other regions.

In Central America, the Socialist International has been actively involved for many years in efforts for a peaceful solution to the long-standing conflicts in that region.

In February 1990, after the successful carrying out of free and fair elections in Nicaragua, the SI observer mission stated that *'Nicaragua has for many years deserved peace and an end to foreign aggression. In the new phase which begins following this electoral process, our firm expectations are for a future of peace for all Nicaraguans, which at the same time will strengthen the prospects for peace in the Central American region'*. Despite continuing problems, Nicaragua has largely remained at peace since those elections.

In El Salvador and Guatemala, the situation in 1990 continued to be one of violent conflict and serious abuse of human rights, underlined for all of us in the International by the murder of our comrade Héctor Oqueli.

In February 1990, the second Socialist International/ICFTU-ORIT joint conference on Peace and Democracy in Central America was held in Guatemala City. This event further consolidated the cooperation between the Socialist International and the ICFTU and reaffirmed the commitment of both organisations to efforts to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflicts in Guatemala and El Salvador.

At its meeting in New York in October 1990, the SI Council adopted a resolution on Central America, introduced by the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, which concluded that *'current pressures in other regions of the world should not let us forget that much of the aggravation of the conflict in Central America has been the result of the interference of powerful nations in the developed world; to the extent that if now, under the pretext of other geo-political and geo-strategic priorities, the nations of the developed world neglect their cooperative efforts in Central America they will be committing an irresponsible act of simple inhumanity'*.

SI representatives again addressed the issue of Central America at the meetings of SICLAC in Aruba in April 1991 and in Cochabamba in November of that year, as did the SI Council, meeting in Istanbul in June 1991 and in Santiago in November 1991.

The International has followed closely the peace negotiations between the government of El Salvador and the FMLN. In Santiago

the SI Council expressed its satisfaction at the agreement reached by both sides in New York in September 1991, and at the establishment in El Salvador of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, COPAZ. One of the members of COPAZ is Víctor Manuel Valle, who has led our member party in El Salvador, the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, since the death in February 1991 of SI Vice-President Guillermo Ungo.

In January 1992, our International warmly welcomed the signing of the El Salvador Peace Agreement in Mexico City and pledged its best efforts in assisting the Salvadorean people in reconstructing their war-torn economy and in consolidating democracy.

The Socialist International also welcomed the initiation of a peace process in Guatemala and the participation of our member party, the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, in the government formed after the elections of January 1991, whilst expressing deep concern about the continuing violence and the human rights situation in Guatemala.

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In March 1990 an important and concrete step towards peace and disarmament in Latin America was taken when representatives of the Socialist International went to Colombia at the request of the M-19 movement and of the country's government to receive the arms handed over by M-19 and supervise their destruction. The international commission appointed by the Socialist International, accompanied by military aides, accepted the arms and M-19, following an agreement with the Colombian government, was thus incorporated into civilian life. Tragically, M-19 leader and presidential candidate Carlos Pizarro later became the third Colombian presidential candidate to be assassinated during the 1990 electoral campaign. Nevertheless, this important initiative of M-19 and the Colombian government, as well as the involvement of the Socialist International, was an important example of a successful peace effort.

This new role for our International in the cause of peace and disarmament continued when a delegation of the International was again present in Colombia at the end of February 1991, when the Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army), EPL, surrendered its arms and re-formed as a civilian political party.

At about the same time, in Ecuador, SI representatives acted as witnesses to the ceremony in which members of the Alfaro Vive guerrilla movement laid down their arms and returned to civilian life.

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The ongoing conflicts in a number of African countries also continue to be a cause of grave concern to our International. In Cairo in May 1990, the SI Council called for the resumption of the peace process in Eritrea, with maximum support from the international community.

The situation in Western Sahara has long been a concern of the Socialist International. The statement on Africa of the SI Council in Istanbul in June 1991 reaffirmed support for the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. The Council welcomed the United Nations initiative for the holding of a referendum in the territory and called on the government of Morocco and on the Polisario Front to cooperate with the UN in connection with the planned referendum, and to respect its results. When our Council met in Santiago in November 1991 it welcomed the adoption of UN Resolution 690 and the ceasefire in effect since the previous September, whilst expressing concern at the actions of the Moroccan government and urging both Morocco and the Polisario Front to adhere to the provisions of the UN peace plan.

Representatives of parties and organisations from Morocco and Western Sahara, as well as from Chad and from Sudan, attended the SI working meeting on Africa in Dakar in May 1992 and addressed participants on the current situation in their countries. The meeting underlined the commitment of the Socialist International to support efforts to reach a peaceful solution to these and other conflicts.

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Another longstanding concern of our International has been the unsolved conflict on the island of Cyprus. In October 1989 a mission of the Socialist International travelled to Cyprus to gather information on the situation and the prospects for a negotiated solution. The members of the SI mission met the leaders of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, EDEK, and other political parties and the former president of the Republic of Cyprus, the commander of the UN forces and the special representative of the UN secretary general. They crossed the 'green line' for meetings with leaders of political parties in the North of the island and with the Turkish Cypriot leader. The SI delegation reaffirmed the commitment of the International to supporting United Nations initiatives to reactivate negotiations on the island in the context of previous UN resolutions.

The Socialist International has continued to follow closely the situation in Cyprus, especially after the recent proposals of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

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One of the serious ethnic conflicts which have erupted in some countries of central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is that in Nagorno Karabakh. I have already mentioned that in April 1992 our International sent a mission to Armenia and Azerbaijan. The SI mission met a wide range of governmental and other personalities in both countries and expressed the strong support of the Socialist International for the international peace initiatives in Nagorno Karabakh, particularly that of the CSCE.

I have detailed the many occasions since June 1991 on which various forums of our International have focused their attention on the tragic war in the former Yugoslavia. The Socialist International has supported all initiatives of the international community to bring about a peaceful settlement there and continues to follow developments closely. In particular, I should mention again the recent mission carried out by Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The urgent need to realise the establishment of adequate security structures in Europe and elsewhere, as strongly advocated by the Socialist International, is highlighted by the grave developments in the former Yugoslavia.

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At its most recent meeting in Santiago, Chile, in November 1991, the SI Council adopted a resolution on peace and security which called for the construction of a strong all-Europe security system within the CSCE and stated that, *'a new and urgent task for the international community is to find ways and means of peacefully solving local disputes and of pacifying those which are already acute to prevent them from spreading'*.

This last emphasis was also reflected in the discussions of our Disarmament Advisory Council at its most recent meetings in London in November 1991 and in Helsinki in June 1992.

The meeting in November 1991 began a general review of the role of SIDAC in the light of the fast-changing international situation. New priorities for disarmament and conflict-resolution were defined, including the creation of new European security structures and international control of the arms trade. It was also agreed that future work would focus increasingly on the solution of regional conflicts.

In line with those priorities, at its meeting in Helsinki in June 1992 the SI Disarmament Council focused on the CSCE process in advance of the CSCE summit due to take place in Helsinki shortly afterwards.

The Helsinki meeting also addressed the expanded mandate for SIDAC in the new international situation. SIDAC has focused since its establishment on the 'arms race' and SI policies for global disarmament. It has developed on behalf of the International important contacts with governments, especially those of the United States and the Soviet Union, and with the United Nations and other international organisations. In today's international climate, the bi-polar emphasis has changed, and regional issues, peace and security-building and conflict-resolution will be of increasing importance.



## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

On economic matters, the Socialist International has been prominent among those stressing the need for increased international cooperation; recognition of the relationship between economic development and human rights, employment and the international labour market, and reconciling economic development with a proper concern for the environment. In large part, our work has been a reflection of the vision of our president, Willy Brandt, whose work at the head of the North-South Commission profoundly influenced international thinking on the urgent questions of development and inequality, and of Michael Manley, former prime minister of Jamaica and chair of the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP.

Since the publication of 'Global Challenge', the major report of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, the committee and our International as a whole have continued to focus on the North-South economic relationship, as well as devoting attention in the recent period to the dynamic development of the European Community, the strong moves towards regional integration in Latin America and other regions, and the economic reform process in central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

'Bridging the North-South Divide: New Economic Relations for the 1990s' was the first item on the agenda at the meeting of the SI Council in 1990 in New York. SI leaders from all parts of the world stressed the need to address the urgent problems of the world economy and what SI Vice-President Pierre Mauroy called *'the illusion that global equilibrium can be maintained on the (existing) unequal model, where the comfort of a thousand million men and women rests on the misery of the other four thousand milion. The illusion that we still have time...'*

The resolution adopted by the SI Council at the conclusion of its deliberations in New York focused on a number of key issues affecting the global economy. These included: the need for stronger international institutions and expanded international cooperation for human development; the crucial importance of environmental questions; the need for policies of adjustment 'with a human face'; the 'conditionality' of development aid in favour of progressive social and political priorities; the unjust burden on many poor countries of external debt; the relationship between trade and aid; and the overall requirement for an increased flow of development assistance from the richest countries to the poorest.

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The events of the past three years have brought to eastern and central Europe and the Soviet Union the most rapid and dramatic economic transformation the world has ever seen.

*'The Socialist International', our Council stated at its meeting in Geneva in November 1989, 'assumes as axiomatic that the solution of the economic problems of the east European countries, which are now on the way to democracy, with social justice and solidarity, is decisive for their political and social development. Therefore the democratic industrial countries, especially the prosperous member states of the European Community and EFTA, must promote the process of economic development in eastern and central Europe'.*

In its position paper, the SI Council went on to warn against any emergence of new forms of dependence or further weakening of the eastern European economies already under so much stress. The Council called in particular for: emergency aid when needed; support in overcoming the external debt burden; coordinated development assistance; support in meeting the environmental threat; credits and insurance schemes to promote investment; promotion of joint ventures for the transfer of technical and organisational know-how; opening of markets in prosperous west European countries to the eastern European countries in the process of democratisation, and assistance with training programmes.

These economic policy priorities continue to inform all the activities and exchanges of our International in the region, which, as I detailed in an earlier section of this report, have been numerous.

I have already mentioned, for example, the talks held in Warsaw in November 1989 by representatives of SIDAC, where economic cooperation was included in the agenda and considered inextricable from security and other issues. I have also referred to the economic seminar in Moscow in February 1990, where economic experts from a number of our member parties in Europe held discussions with Soviet economists. Among the issues discussed at that seminar were: the role of property in economic programmes of political parties; the combination of different forms of property in a market economy; forms of transition from state property to shareholding and other forms of property; the role of state property in market economies, and the problems of transition from a centralised to a market economy.

At the SI Council meeting in Istanbul in June 1991, we discussed 'Central and Eastern Europe: Reform, Democracy and Economic Renewal'. Leaders of a number of social democratic parties in central and eastern Europe addressed that meeting on the fast-changing situ-

ation in their countries and the huge economic problems inherent in such rapid change. We also heard from representatives of social democratic parties in Mongolia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation, who described the economic and political context in which their parties were operating. Leaders of our member parties in western Europe responded to these reports, stressing the great responsibility of rising to the challenges of cooperation with the new democracies.

The economic dimension, particularly the alternative offered by the democratic socialist perspective to the ultra-liberal policies of the untrammelled market currently resonating in the new democracies of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, is central to the International's presence in the region.

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Far-reaching economic developments have also been taking place in Latin America during the period under review.

As President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela said a few months ago, Latin America *'is still living through difficult and challenging economic circumstances, but is experiencing those difficulties in a somewhat different context... We are undergoing a profound rethink of all our economic practices'*.

The Socialist International continues to stress the human suffering caused by economic problems and the burden of external debt in many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The International and its member parties in the region have addressed the problems of the falling prices of raw materials, the deterioration in terms of trade, and the conditions imposed by international financial institutions which limit the capacity of democratic governments in the region to respond to expectations of economic progress and development.

At its meeting in Aruba in April 1991, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean resolved to support initiatives for regional economic integration, as a means to advance economic development and negotiate on more equal terms with the wealthy developed countries. In November 1991, when SICLAC met again in Cochabamba, the theme of economic integration headed the agenda. The committee put forward a resolution which was subsequently adopted by the SI Council at its meeting in Santiago later that month. Addressing the Council, leaders of SI member parties in the region underlined their commitment to *'economic development within a conti-*

ment moving towards integration'. The resolution adopted by the Council stated that *'the Socialist International encourages trade and economic integration within Latin America'*, whilst emphasising that *'such integration must be based on the SI's democratic socialist goals'* in the fields of human, social and employment rights. The resolution also stressed that the process of integration required the establishment of regional politico-institutional structures to guarantee the viability of economic integration. Economic issues were again to the fore at the SICLAC meeting in Santo Domingo in August 1992.

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*'The economic drive in the Asia-Pacific region will shift the balance of the world economy even more than it has already in the recent past'*, Willy Brandt told the SI Party Leaders' Conference in Sydney in March 1991. The developing sense of community in the Asia-Pacific region and the progress of the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) process was underlined by all the SI party leaders from that region.

A resolution of our Sydney conference noted that *'recent years had seen both positive and negative developments across... a region characterised by greater economic dynamism than any other in the world but, at the same time, by both poverty and evidence of a growing gap between rich and poor in many countries'*.

The SI Party Leaders' resolution went on to welcome the growing regional economic cooperation evident in the Asia-Pacific region, agreeing that the APEC process and other initiatives *'will clearly be of significant economic benefit to all countries and peoples of the region and will ultimately contribute to the development of higher living standards...'*

\* \* \*

When our Council met in Cairo in May 1990 and focused on the Middle East, we looked beyond the hoped-for achievement of peace in the region, stating in a resolution that, *'the EC, EFTA, the USA, Canada, Japan, and the Arab oil-producing countries are requested to work on a well prepared and large-scale programme to promote economic development and cooperation between the countries of the Middle East. This programme should come into action the day the negotiations achieve their aim'*.

The interrelation of peace and economic development in the Middle East informs all the debates of our International on the future of the region. In the context of the new hopes for the peace process following the Labour election victory in Israel, the chair of the SI Middle East Committee, Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, has proposed

that the International organise a conference on the regional economic situation, and in particular the economic development of the West Bank and Gaza. No doubt that proposal will be followed up in the coming months.

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The most severe economic crisis continues to be in Africa. At the SI working meeting on Africa held in Dakar in May 1992, President Abdou Diouf reminded us that the desperate poverty in many African countries still overrides all other considerations and precludes the securing of democracy and human rights.

The unprecedented drought afflicting what were previously some of the most fertile countries of the continent, and its devastating impact on the political and economic reforms instituted by a number of governments were underlined in our discussions in Dakar.

As I write, the spectre of starvation in Somalia and elsewhere is before us and the Socialist International has repeatedly called for urgent and concerted action by governments and the international community. As the SI Council reaffirmed in New York in 1990, and on many other occasions, *'although Overseas Development Assistance cannot solve all the problems of development, especially the poorest developing countries cannot develop without it. Developed countries should implement the undertakings they have made to attain the agreed international target of devoting 0.7 per cent of GDP to ODA and 0.15 per cent to the least developed countries as a bare minimum'*.

\* \* \*

When our Economic Policy Committee met in Amsterdam in May 1992, we again discussed many of these urgent matters affecting the world economy. Our discussions centred in particular on the North-South dimension and the longstanding commitment of the Socialist International to the development of the economies of the South; the East-West dimension and the process of economic reform in eastern and central Europe; and the social democratic stance on the current economic challenges in the industrialised countries.

Participants at that meeting began preparations for the committee's contribution to the XIX Congress of the Socialist International. It was agreed that with the momentous political and economic reforms in eastern and central Europe, in Africa, and around the world, together with the liberation of new resources for cooperation and development by the ending of the cold war threat, the SI congress

would be a significant opportunity to move forward our agenda on economy and development.

## THE ENVIRONMENT

Our president, Willy Brandt, was one of the first to recognise the need for *'a new kind of economic growth that is sensitive to social problems and our natural environment'*. Urgent environmental considerations are an important factor in almost all aspects of the work of the Socialist International.

The Socialist International Congress of 1989 adopted our first major platform on the environment, *'Towards Environmental Security: a Strategy for Long-term Survival'*. Since then, the SI Committee on the Environment, chaired since its establishment in 1986 by Birgitta Dahl of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, former minister for the environment, has been carrying out a programme of activities in support of the practical implementation of the SI programme.

For the Socialist International, effective international action on the environment, as Birgitta Dahl has written, *'means bringing together environment and development as a single concept. It means firm and concrete commitments with a direct bearing on national politics. It means a fairer distribution of resources and responsibilities between rich and poor, between North and South'*.

\* \* \*

During the period under review, a new urgency has been added to our work by the increased availability of information about the severe, and in some cases disastrous, environmental problems in many countries of central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Meeting in Malmö, Sweden, in May 1991, the SI Committee on the Environment discussed the environmental problems of central and eastern Europe. The committee also reiterated the main goals of its programme: an intensification of international cooperation towards a global environmental agreement; the reconciliation of economic development with environmental concerns, with the inclusion of environmental costs in national accounts; the reduction of emissions from industrial processes in the rich countries to harmless levels by the turn of the century and as soon as possible thereafter by other countries; the reduction of environmental damage caused by manufacturing processes; the phasing out of hazardous substances; clean, efficient and safe energy systems; sustainable agriculture and forestry, and an increase in public awareness of environmentally

sound practices, enabling individuals to take personal responsibility for the environment.

The committee also began preparations for our International's contribution to the 1992 United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, the 'Earth Summit'.

In November 1991, the SI committee met again in Rio de Janeiro, the venue of the UN 'Earth Summit'. The meeting was hosted by the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, PDT, and addressed by the party's leader, Leonel Brizola, the governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro and therefore closely involved in the UN conference.

The committee reported to the SI Council at its meeting shortly afterwards in Santiago, Chile, where a resolution was adopted on 'Environment and Development: A Responsibility for All'. The resolution stressed that the environmental threats now perceived as most urgent - the depletion of the ozone layer, climate changes, and the loss of biological species - were global in character and could only be tackled through effective international cooperation. It also emphasised the interrelation of the environment and development.

For democratic socialism, the SI resolution continued, there were *'vast opportunities and serious challenges. The market economy, with austerity measures imposed on developing countries by the IMF, cannot by itself... defend the interests of the poor and the interests of future generations. ...therefore the environment/development nexus must be the point of departure for a new dimension of solidarity, at the global level and in relation to the future... The principle of democratic socialism, of creating development that is tenable in the long term, and which can reconcile progress for human societies with what humankind and nature can withstand, is more valid than ever'*.

Against this background, the SI Council pledged to spare no concrete effort to contribute to the success of the UN Conference on the Environment and Development.

At the meetings in Rio and Santiago, particular attention was given to environmental issues affecting development in Latin America and the need to ensure that countries of the region benefit from their own natural wealth in a rational and sustainable manner.

To continue preparations for the Rio Summit, the SI Environment Committee met in London in March 1992. The committee reviewed the SI platform for presentation in Rio and made plans for meetings which it planned to hold during the UN Summit. The proposal to hold a special meeting of the SI Committee in Rio over several days during the UN conference had the enthusiastic support of SI member parties, including the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, which



would again be hosting the meetings. The London meeting was addressed by Roberto D'Avila, secretary of state for the environment of the state of Rio de Janeiro, representing the PDT, on the preparations under way for the June events.

In London, the SI committee was also briefed by Jacques Baudin, minister of the environment of Senegal, who came to the meeting from the UN Summit preparatory negotiations in New York.

The SI Committee on the Environment subsequently met in Rio de Janeiro from 8 to 11 June. Members of the committee were able to follow the progress of the UN conference and the committee served as a forum for members of SI member parties attending the conference as members of national government delegations to meet and exchange views. Sessions of the SI committee were attended by representatives of SI member parties from all parts of the world, including a number of ministers for the environment and experts who were taking part in the UN conference.

At its open session on 9 June, the committee was addressed by Leonel Brizola, who stressed that the UN Earth Summit was perhaps the largest international government conference ever held. As he said, whether it will prove to be a significant event in history, only time will tell.

At its first session in Rio, the SI committee issued a statement underlining the unique opportunity offered by the Summit for improving the situation of individuals and nations and for reversing the trend towards destruction of the environment. The statement highlighted the active role played by member parties and leaders of the Socialist International like Willy Brandt, the late Olof Palme, and Gro Harlem Brundtland, in campaigning for more sustainable and equitable development.

After an intensive programme of discussions, the committee issued a Declaration which was presented to the UN conference. The SI Declaration of Rio de Janeiro welcomed the fact that the UN Earth Summit had brought to the world's attention the plight of tens of millions of people in developing countries who suffer from the effects of unsustainable development and extreme poverty, and the major responsibility of the richest 20 per cent of the world's people who consume 80 per cent of the world's resources. It stressed that, irrespective of whether all the desired agreements were reached at the Rio Summit, democratic socialists would continue to work at international, regional and local level to bring about sustainable development and equity in the world.

The SI Declaration went on to highlight a series of urgent issues and priorities, citing the major problems caused by inequality, excessive spending on arms, the debt crisis, climate change, ozone depletion, loss of species and desertification, and unbalanced population growth. Emphasising the responsibilities of the rich industrialised countries, whose opulent and wasteful lifestyles were responsible for four-fifths of environmental damage, the Declaration also underlined the new opportunities opened up by the ending of the cold war, the importance of democracy as the precondition for sustainable development, and of full social and political participation by women, who - together with children - were the main victims of poverty and environmental degradation.

Also addressed was the need for: reform of world trade relations, and international financial and other institutions; the inclusion of environmental costs in national accounting; the immediate implementation of the Climate Convention; decisive changes in approach to transport policy; rapid development of sustainable technology, to be made available internationally; the banning of export of waste, especially toxic and hazardous waste; strict international control of all fissile material; the reform of agricultural policy in the industrialised countries, which had been dependent on an extensive price subsidy system; and policies to protect the soil and the forests and to coordinate and conserve water supply.

Finally, the SI Declaration underlined that a major precondition for the preservation of the environment was the improvement of living and working conditions, especially for people in the outskirts of cities and in rural areas, where strong measures to eradicate poverty and to stimulate development are urgently needed.

*'There is no hope for Earth if there is not an ending to inequality among people and between nations'*, the SI Declaration concluded.

The SI Rio Declaration will form the basis of a draft declaration on The Environment and Sustainable Development to be adopted by the XIX Congress of the Socialist International.

The commitment carried forward at the UN Conference of 1992 began with the 'Only One Earth' conference held in Stockholm twenty years ago, at the initiative of the Swedish Social Democratic government, and continued through the work of the International Commission on Environment and Development headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway and a vice-president of our International, who writes in the current issue of the SI journal:

*'Our foremost responsibility to future generations is to ensure that there*

*will be a future world worth living in. The living conditions of our children and grandchildren will be determined now. Since they cannot take care of their own destiny, we must do so on their behalf.*

*The threats we face represent a major challenge to our ability to govern, nationally and internationally. Economic liberalism will not produce the necessary result. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" can become a visible sledgehammer that can shatter the common good. We need a "visible handshake" of joint efforts across national boundaries. We need effective international agreements, policy reform, and a global system of redistribution.'*

Such is the commitment today of the Socialist International and its member parties.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

The Socialist International Platform on Human Rights, adopted at the last SI Congress in Stockholm in 1989, states: *'Human rights are an essential feature of the socialist identity. The ultimate aim of socialism is well-being for all; this goal cannot be reached while human rights are violated'*. It further affirms that *'all humans have equal value; irrespective of age, sex, culture, religion, social or ethnic background'* and that *'a serious approach to human rights work must begin with root causes of human rights violations, including poverty and economic inequality as well as political, military and legal factors'*.

The Stockholm Platform resulted from the work of the SI Committee on Human Rights, founded in 1986 and chaired by Peter Jankowitsch of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, SPOe, former foreign minister. Its vice-chair is Anita Gradin of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, also a former minister. With the SI Platform as the basis and inspiration for its work, the SI Committee has been very active in the period under review, developing policy approaches in the vital area of human rights and focusing on urgent topical issues. At the same time, our International, has, as always, monitored closely developments in countries where the human rights situation is a cause for concern.

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On 12 January 1990, the continued violation of the right to life and to democratic political activity was brought home to all of us in the Socialist International by the assassinations in Guatemala of Héctor Ouelí, the deputy general secretary of the Revolutionary National Movement, MNR, of El Salvador, and secretary of our Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, and Hilda Flores, a member of our Guatemalan member party, the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD. Ouelí was on his way to join an SI mission to Nicaragua.

On 19 January a mission of the Socialist International, including myself, travelled to El Salvador and Guatemala to express our concern and outrage to the authorities and to demand that the governments of the two countries carry out a thorough investigation into the crime. In the absence of any satisfactory outcome, I invited, on behalf of the Socialist International, Professor Tom Farer, a leading US human rights expert, together with Professor Robert Goldman, to evaluate the investigations. Professors Farer and Goldman travelled to Guatemala and presented to the SI Council, at its meeting in New

York in October 1990, a detailed report which concluded that despite the pledges of the country's president, the Guatemalan authorities had not conducted a thorough enquiry. The SI Council endorsed the Farer Report and called for a full and conclusive investigation. The murder of our friend and comrade Héctor Oqueli is still unsolved today.

Our International followed with deep concern the situation regarding political and human rights in El Salvador and Guatemala. A resolution of the SI Council at its meeting in Geneva in November 1989 called for *'the conditioning of all further aid to the government of El Salvador on the strict observance of elemental standards of human and political rights'*, drawing attention once again to the deaths and persecution of democratic opposition leaders, religious and labour leaders. In Quito, following the deaths of Oqueli and Flores, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean underlined these sentiments, at the same time calling for rapid progress towards democratisation. At subsequent meetings of SICLAC and of the SI Council, we have welcomed the implementation of the peace process in El Salvador, whilst noting with concern the human rights situation in Guatemala.

The violence and political repression in Haiti under the provisional military government of General Prosper Avril were condemned by the SI Council at its meeting in Geneva in 1989 and by the SICLAC meeting early in 1990 in Quito. The Socialist International gave its fullest support to democratic forces during the elections of December 1990 and condemned the ousting of the democratically elected government of President Aristide in September 1991. Since then, as the SI Council stated in its resolution in Santiago in November 1991, *'violence, repression, insecurity and the violation of the most basic human rights have increased in Haiti'*, and our International has of course given every support to those, both within the country and internationally, who are seeking the restoration of the constitutional order and an end to the abuse of human rights in Haiti.

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Early in 1990, the Socialist International, which has campaigned for years for freedom, justice and equality in South Africa, was among those all over the world who celebrated the release from prison of Nelson Mandela. In a statement, the International affirmed that it would *'continue to support equal rights for all citizens in a united and democratic South Africa. While we welcomed the changes announced by President de Klerk, much more is still to be done... International pressure on*

*the South African authorities, an important part of the struggle against apartheid, must continue as a priority for the international community'.*

We have returned to the situation in South Africa on several occasions, welcoming the development of negotiations, but expressing concern about the climate of violence and repression, and emphasising that *'the final objective can only be a unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa, in which all citizens enjoy the same human rights and civil liberties'.*

At the meeting of the SI Study Group on Africa held in Lisbon in July 1990, and at the working meetings on Africa held in London in January 1992 and in Dakar in May 1992, we considered the situation in a number of African countries where dictatorship or conflict continue to result in the widespread abuse of human rights.

At the meeting of the SI Committee on Human Rights in London on 29 June 1992, the committee turned its attention to the critical developments in Algeria and issued a statement expressing shock and outrage at the assassination that day of President Mohammed Boudiaf.

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At its meeting in Lisbon in December 1990, our Human Rights committee discussed the question of East Timor, occupied by Indonesian forces since 1975, and the subject of strong resolutions by our International on a number of occasions. As I have mentioned elsewhere in this report, the SI Committee issued a statement, condemning the violations of elementary human rights by the Indonesian authorities and calling for the implementation of UN resolutions on East Timor. The Socialist International reiterated those calls in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991 and at its Council meeting in Santiago shortly afterwards.

The SI Council, at its meetings in New York in November 1990 and in Santiago in November 1991, addressed the continuing oppression and denial of human and political rights in Burma, and in particular the imprisonment of Aung San Suu Kyi and other democratic political leaders.

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The violation of human rights in the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East have long been a cause of concern to the Socialist International and the SI Middle East Committee. As SIMEC met in Geneva in November 1989, on the eve of our Council meeting, news reached the

committee of the assassination of President Moawad of Lebanon, underlining the continuing climate of violence and violation of human rights in that country, and reinforcing the commitment of our International to the restoration of a lasting order of peace and democracy there.

Our International has also focused on the plight of the Kurds in Iraq and given its support to international action to secure an end to the persecution and killing of Kurdish people. A number of SI missions have travelled to the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq to monitor the situation. The chair and vice-chair of our Committee on Human Rights underlined in April 1991 the need for any new peace settlement in the Middle East to take into account the rights of the Kurdish people.

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The meeting of the SI Committee on Human Rights in Prague in March 1990 was the first meeting of our International in that part of Europe after the dramatic changes of 1989. Focusing on the human rights situation in central and eastern Europe, the committee welcomed to its discussions the deputy premier of the newly designated Czechoslovak Federal Republic and representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, the Social Democrats of Slovenia and the Social Democratic Association of the USSR. Members of the committee representing SI member parties in Europe, Latin America and the Middle East, were also joined by experts on human rights questions from Austria and from the International Helsinki Federation.

The committee, while adding its voice to the celebration of change in the region, considered a number of areas of future concern for central and eastern Europe. These included rapidly increasing unemployment and other economic and social problems inevitable in societies undergoing rapid change, and the resurgence of extremism and prejudice in societies liberated from state repression. These concerns were reflected in the reports of the Czechoslovak, Slovenian and Soviet guests. The committee's discussions emphasised the close relation between human rights and the strength or weakness of democracy, and the need for protection against human rights violations perpetrated not only by the state, but also by other individuals or groups.

In January 1991, our International condemned military action against civilians in Latvia and Lithuania, calling on the then Soviet government to renew its search for political solutions through negotiation and in an atmosphere of strict respect for human rights.

Happily, since that time we have seen the peaceful consolidation of independence in the Baltic Republics.

The Human Rights Committee also discussed at its meeting in Prague the question of refugees and asylum seekers and the need for a humane immigration policy. This question was again on the agenda when the Committee held a meeting in Lisbon in December 1990, hosted by the Socialist Party of Portugal.

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Another issue of concern for the SI Committee on Human Rights has been the rights of minorities. At its meeting in Vienna in October 1991, hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Austria, the committee discussed the situation of minority and ethnic groups in an emerging new European and world order. As well as representatives from SI member parties in Europe, Africa and Latin America, the meeting was attended by several specially invited guests from central and eastern Europe who contributed their expertise and personal experience to the debate on minority rights. In this connection, the escalating inter-ethnic violence in Yugoslavia was a special point of consideration for the committee, which was addressed by a Social Democratic minister of the government of Croatia and by a member of the national executive of the Serbian Democratic Party.

At the meeting in Vienna, the committee decided to draw up a document on minorities and human rights for presentation to the SI Congress in 1992.

At a meeting in London in June 1992 the committee discussed the definition and rights of a minority in today's world and developed a draft text which sought both to elaborate the SI perspective on this crucial issue and to make concrete proposals on how the International might take action in international fora in furtherance of its platform on minority rights.

'Human Rights - The Rights of Minorities' is thus one of the main themes to be discussed at the XIX Congress of the Socialist International in Berlin. The need to defend and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms is, as always, a major priority for our International.



## A FINAL NOTE

During the period covered by this report the Socialist International has been represented at numerous congresses of SI member parties, and meetings of our fraternal and associated organisations, and of other national and international institutions.

Along with the vital role of cooperation between our own members, the Socialist International has continued to cooperate with other international organisations.

Our closest collaborators naturally are our own fraternal organisations, Socialist International Women, SIW, the International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY, and the International Falcon Movement, IFM/SEI.

Statutory meetings of SIW continue to be held in conjunction with the statutory meetings of the Socialist International. This promotes a fruitful exchange of ideas and encourages the attendance of an increasing number of women delegates at both SIW and Socialist International meetings, in line with our commitment to ensure participation by women in all our activities. IUSY has also held meetings at the time of various SI activities, thus facilitating the participation of younger comrades in the work of the International.

Effective cooperation with our associated organisations, including the Socialist Group of the European Parliament and the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community, has also been one of our priorities.

Our cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU, was further reinforced during the recent period by the holding of the second joint conference of our two organisations on Peace and Democracy in Central America and through other coordinated activities.

I should also mention our productive collaboration with the labour movement foundations of a number of European countries, whose work is very important to the Socialist International.

Contacts have also been maintained with the Liberal and Christian Democrat Internationals.

Finally, the Socialist International is encouraged by the key role now being played by the United Nations. When our Council met in New York in October 1990, our president, Willy Brandt, said, *'The world is looking towards the United Nations with new hope... Joint action to endorse the principles of the UN Charter is imperative... and the chances of such action have greatly improved, in particular owing to East-West détente...'*

In 1991 a vice-president of our International, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was elected secretary general of the United Nations. He has assumed the leadership of the body at a moment of great hope and enormous challenges.

Support for the United Nations, enabling it to become, as we stressed in New York, '*a reliable system of maintaining peace and security*' has been an important part of our endeavours.

\* \* \*

It is important to note that our activities in each of the last three years have been financed within the budget approved by our International. It must be said, however, that regrettably not all member parties have honoured their financial commitments. Some remain in arrears while others have been late with their contributions. This inevitably places a strain on the secretariat. Therefore member parties are urged to fulfil their financial obligations.

It also remains for member parties to ensure that Socialist Affairs, our quarterly journal, which provides up-to-date information on the activities of the International, enjoys a wide circulation.

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The entire range of our activities has been supported by the dedicated effort of the members of our secretariat. I must give a warm word of thanks to those who have so ably assumed the growing responsibilities involved in the expanded work of our International. They have done so with efficiency, diligence and devotion.

I must acknowledge all the men and women from our member parties whose dedication and support have been indispensable in carrying out the activities of our International. I also owe a particular debt of gratitude to Klaus Lindenberg, the head of the office of our president.

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Finally, we all recognise the incalculable contribution of Willy Brandt himself. As a leader of great vision and energy, he has overseen the great transformation of the Socialist International into the organisation it is today. For me, it has been an honour and a pleasure to work with such a man.

*Luis Ayala*  
*Secretary General*  
*September 1992*