

## SI COUNCIL IN ATHENS

*The first meeting of the SI Council to be held in Greece took place on 9 - 10 February 1993 at the invitation of PASOK.*

*The main theme on the Council's agenda was 'Peace, democracy and economic cooperation'.*

In his opening address to the Council in Athens, SI President Pierre Mauroy said: 'Let us not forget that the very idea of democracy was born here thousands of years ago. But it remains a new idea which must still today inspire and guide our work'.

He recalled a visit to Athens in

the early 1980s, when then Prime Minister Papandreou hosted a meeting of European social democratic heads of government, including Olof Palme, Mario Soares, Bettino Craxi, Kalevi Sorsa, Felipe González and Mauroy himself. He remarked on how little able they had then been to predict developments.

However, he added, 'the choices we made at that time, the choice for Europe, for firmness towards communism, certainly played an important role in subsequent events'.

Evoking these memories, the SI president stressed that 'in setting our priorities, we must look at the road we have travelled...





*Pierre  
Mauroy with  
Andreas  
Papandreou  
and Luis  
Ayala*

we must fully take on our responsibility for the times to come. Responsibility for defining a more satisfactory economic system. Responsibility too for the emergence of a new balance in the world... We are now facing profound questions for social democracy in post-communist society'.

Pierre Mauroy went on to address the Council's main theme of 'Peace, democracy and economic cooperation', expressing his conviction that 'the Socialist International is the best possible framework for tackling the immense challenges of this new period'. Willy Brandt, he said, had left behind him an organisation whose universality and influence made it a point of reference for all those on the side of progress and struggling against poverty and injustice.

He spoke of the International's active work for freedom, human rights and democracy, and of the need for ever more systematic initiatives in support of the democratic electoral process worldwide; in particular, the International, he said, would seek to collaborate more closely with the United Nations in its work of assisting and observing elections.

He spoke also of the need for ideological clarity when faced with the great questions of social

justice, security and economic regulation at national and international level. Alongside the grave military conflicts, such as that in the former Yugoslavia, requiring the clearest and strongest response from democratic socialists internationally, he placed those third world countries struggling for democratisation, and the risk to stability posed by poverty and inequality, as well as the crisis of social progress being experienced by the most developed countries. 'From the Socialist International must come a global plan which builds on all the gains and successes of social democracy in order to sustain those gains and adapt them to the present historical circumstances', he said, 'and we must also seek out many frameworks for debating our ideas, with trade unions, associations, international organisations, representatives of the economic and financial world'.

The SI president made a number of suggestions for future initiatives, such as the organisation of a 'summer school', and increased activities at regional level. He also stressed the importance of the concentrated and specialised work carried out by various committees of the International.

He concluded, on a note of optimism, 'we are fighters for a

great cause, which we must pursue for the sake of humanity. Strong in the gains made throughout the last century, we must look to further victories for the next century'.

Welcoming the SI delegates to Athens, PASOK Leader Andreas Papandreou paid tribute to the International as a 'meeting point for all progressive and democratic powers', and to those SI leaders who had been good friends to the Greek people and stood by the country during the hard period of resistance against dictatorship.

Papandreou referred to 'startling developments on our planet' - the internationalisation of production and the development process, the degradation of the environment and the new forms of concentration of economic power. The greatest challenges facing the Socialist International and its member parties, he said, were to project strongly our vision for people and the world, both North and South; to distinguish our policies from those of reactionary, neo-liberal forces which had led to worldwide recession and the dramatic rise of unemployment and increase in inequality; and to give radical meaning to our ideals of peace, democracy, development, social justice and solidarity.

He also referred to the instabil-

**President  
Aristide**

ity prevailing in his own region, as in many parts of the world, with the risk that the war in the former Yugoslavia might spread. Given the geopolitical situation of their country - a member state of the European Community, with historical and traditional ties with the Balkans and the Mediterranean - the Greek people were fully aware of the present risks and of the need to reach a peace agreement. Having gone through two world wars, the first of which started in the Balkans, he added, they firmly believed that peace terms must be imposed not by means of military supremacy and coercion, but through close cooperation in pursuit of economic and social development, with full respect for human rights and for the rights of all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. He appealed to world powers to work together to restore peace in the Balkans before it was too late.

Papandreou went on to express support for the United Nations and for the development of collective responsibility and collective security systems. He stressed the need for the international community to ensure with equal stringency the implementation of all UN resolutions.

He underlined the pressing crises around the world, including developments in many republics of the former Soviet Union, and the extreme situation facing many countries of the South, where the dilemma, he said, was: 'peace or war; development or poverty; life or ecological destruction'.

He supported, in particular, regional integration efforts and the systematic ideological countering of neo-liberalism, in defence of workers' rights and social justice. The dominant factor distinguishing socialist economic policy must be concrete proposals on employment.

The leader of the host party ended by recounting an ancient Greek myth:

'When Epimetheus was distrib-



uting the gifts of the gods to all earthly creatures, he completely forgot to spare some for humans. In order to remedy this injustice, his brother Prometheus stole fire and the arts from the workshop of the gods and offered them to men, so that they could manufacture weapons to defend themselves from the strongest animals. Nevertheless, the beasts continued to kill many people, as they lived alone and scattered. So the people got together and built cities. But even then, they treated one another unjustly, lacking the necessary political art, so they continued to scatter and to perish. So Zeus, the father of the gods, fearing that the human race would become extinct, sent Hermes to bring people decency and justice with which to restore harmony to their cities and create the bonds of friendship.

'People today, like those of the ancient myth, are threatened with destruction. This time not from the beasts, but from ignorance of the political art which could peacefully settle differences in today's universal 'city'. To my mind it is obvious that we must find refuge in the old divine gifts of decency and justice.'

Pierre Mauroy welcomed to the Council meeting Jaime Paz Zamora, president of Bolivia and a vice-president of the Socialist International. President Paz spoke about the opportunities and contradictions facing social

democracy in today's world and the Socialist International under its new president. He invoked 'the profound contradiction of those peoples who are moving towards the universality of integration, but have an equally passionate and insistent impulse to live their personal identity, to live in their immediate, everyday, local world' - a contradiction whose most extreme example, he said, was to be seen in Europe, where the conflict of nationalisms in the former Yugoslavia was taking place alongside the creation of the single European market and the greater integration brought by the Treaty of Maastricht. This striking juxtaposition of universality and localism was, he said, the sign of our times, and he expected to see it lived out all over the world during the coming century.

**Democracy**

Under the heading of 'Securing democracy: regional priorities', the SI council focused on the situation in central and eastern Europe, in Angola, in Haiti, and in Pakistan.

Jirí Horák, Czech Social Democratic Party, introduced a discussion on current developments in central and eastern Europe. He stressed that, although economic and political transformation was happening fast all over the



**Far right:  
Lopo do  
Nascimento**

region, the moral and personal transformation that would have to take place in the wake of communism's collapse would take at least a generation. The region's social democrats must take a long view, therefore, in building themselves into a viable alternative to the present governments. (See Jiri Horák's article, page 15).



The council adopted a resolution on central and eastern Europe (see page 37), reaffirming the support of the International for the continuing process of democratisation and setting out priorities for assistance and cooperation. The resolution also stressed the right of nations to self-determination, whilst refusing violence or the violation of human rights in the name of that self-determination. Finally, it called for the proper implementation of disarmament agreements to prevent nuclear proliferation in the region and for the development of a defensive pan-European security system.

Lopo do Nascimento, a former prime minister of Angola and member of the leadership of the MPLA, was a special guest at the meeting and spoke on the disturbing developments in his country since the elections held in September 1992. The council adopted a resolution, presented by members of the SI delegation which observed the voting last year, expressing deep concern

over the deteriorating situation in Angola and stating that the political bodies democratically elected in 1992 were legitimate and deserved full recognition. (Lopo do Nascimento writes on page 23).

Another special guest at the meeting was President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti. The president addressed the SI council on the grave situation in his country since the coup d'état of September 1991 which ousted the democratically elected government he headed. The council was also addressed by leaders of the SI member party in Haiti, PANPRA, and the SI consultative party in the country, KON-AKOM. The resolution subsequently adopted (see page 39) gave the strongest support to all efforts being made both in Haiti and internationally for the re-establishment of democracy and the return of President Aristide. (President Aristide writes on page 8).

Senator Iqbal Haider, representing the Pakistan People's Party, a member party of the Socialist International, spoke of the abuse of the democratic and judicial process by the government of that country in recent months, of which the opposition PPP and its leader Benazir Bhutto had been victims. In its resolution on the situation in Pakistan the SI council deplored governmental abuses and failure to tackle lawlessness and crime and called for the protection of political activists and of religious and racial groups in Pakistan.

### **Peace**

Turning to the question of 'Regional conflicts: opportunities for conciliation and dialogue', the council heard from Thorvald Stoltenberg a report on the grave situation in the former Yugoslavia, following his recent visit - the second such visit he had undertaken on behalf of the Socialist International. At the time of the SI council meeting, Stoltenberg was the foreign min-

ister of Norway. He has since been appointed co-chair of the international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia (see People, page 46). A resolution based on his report and setting out 'seven signposts on the road to peace' was adopted by the council, following a discussion (see page 41).

Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the SI Middle East Committee, reported to the council on his recent high-level talks with political leaders from the region. He stressed the unique forum for dialogue between all parties which the SI Committee could provide in the efforts to overcome the present difficulties in the regional peace process. He also called attention to other important issues which the SI Committee hoped to tackle in the future, including the situation in Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Western Sahara, and affecting the Kurdish people. The council adopted a resolution (see page 39) calling for all parties in the



Middle East to comply with resolutions of the United Nations and for the resumption of the Middle East peace negotiations, as the only solution to the problems of the region.

António Guterres, SI vice-president and leader of the SI delega-

*Left:  
President  
Paz  
Zamora*

*Gro Harlem  
Brundtland*

tion which had just returned from Somalia (see page 30), made a report to the council on that visit. The council adopted a resolution (see page 40) based on the delegation's findings, which, while recognising the enormous efforts of US and United Nations forces, of other UN agencies and of the many relief organisations involved in Somalia, and the vast improvement in the security situation there, stressed that humanitarian relief alone could not bring a solution and called for the implementation of further United Nations intervention in the form of the proposed UNOSOM II operation. (To the satisfaction of all in our International, UNOSOM II has since been set in motion).

**Economic cooperation**

British Labour Leader and SI Vice-President John Smith introduced the council's discussion on international economic cooperation. (John Smith writes on page 4).

Also intervening in this debate, Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway and first vice-president of the Socialist International, said that 'the neo-liberalist market attitudes of the 1980s stand in stark contrast to the real needs of our societies, east and west, north and south. We should now be through with the period of monetarist experiments. It should be overwhelmingly clear that we are suffering from a governance deficit. Twenty million people are out of work in Europe, an obvious sign that we have not been on the right track'. She spoke of the need for a framework to promote economic recovery and innovation as well as environmental improvements.

A resolution of the SI council (see page 38) set out the International's view on a strategy for growth and employment, on support for reforms in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, on reviving the North-South dialogue, on encouraging the environment and sustainable development, and on reforming and strengthening international financial institutions.

Other resolutions adopted by the SI council dealt with Algeria, the consolidation of peace and democracy in Central America, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea,

Mozambique, Togo, and Zaire.

The council decided on the re-establishment of a number of SI committees for the current inter-congress period, and on the establishment of several new committees (see box) as well as on the membership of the statutory SI Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC.

It was agreed that the Council would next convene in October 1993 and that the main theme of that meeting, to which the whole of the first day's session would be devoted, would be The World Economy.

**SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL  
COMMITTEES RE-ESTABLISHED OR  
NEWLY-ESTABLISHED BY THE  
COUNCIL IN ATHENS**

SI Committee for Africa

SI Committee for the Asia-Pacific

SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe

SI Committee on the Economy, Development and Environment, SICEDE

SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR

SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC

SI Committee for the Mediterranean

SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC

SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD

SI Working Group on Indigenous People

## RESOLUTIONS

### ALGERIA

The Council of the Socialist International

- expresses its serious concern at the maintenance of the state of emergency, the continued existence of detention camps, the institution of special courts, the absence of judicial guarantees which comply with international norms, as well as the use of torture;
- supports the action of democratic forces for a rapid return to the democratic process.

### ANGOLA

The Socialist International expresses a deep concern over the deterioration of the political and military situation in Angola caused by the non-acceptance by UNITA of the outcome of the legislative and presidential elections held simultaneously on 29 and 30 September 1992.

The SI delegation, which observed the elections in Angola along with the National Electoral Council and the United Nations, declared that the elections could be considered free and fair, and that the results should be accepted by all.

The SI considers that the political bodies already democratically elected are legitimate and deserve international recognition.

The SI calls for an immediate ceasefire, and the full respect for the peace agreements reached in Bicesse, in order to allow the second round of the presidential electoral process to take place.

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Council of the Socialist International declares that:

During the 90s, Central America has taken steps towards democracy and the consolidation of peace in the region and within the countries.

Stability in the region is essential in order to render possible the effective integration of the seven countries of the Central American isthmus and this integration must have strong social democratic participation.

It is important to consolidate peace and democracy in the region, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

- The SI expresses its satisfaction with the proposal that the government of Guatemala, with the support of all the political parties and other social forces,

presented on 19 January this year to the Secretary General and the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as the disposition to dialogue expressed by the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union, URNG, inviting the parties to resume the negotiations in order to put an end to the war, within a reasonable period of time.

- The Council of the SI expresses its support for the incorporation into the Guatemalan government peace commission, of two delegates of the Democratic Socialist Party, convinced that their presence will help to find ways leading to reunion and reconciliation.

Furthermore, it supports all efforts contributing to the peaceful return of the Guatemalan refugees, guaranteeing their safety and the economic situation of the returned families. It also expresses its hope for the implementation and enforcement of human rights in Guatemala.

- Expresses its satisfaction with the suspension of the armed confrontation in El Salvador from 15 December 1992 and urges the government to fully comply with the Peace Agreements, especially with regard to the changes in the armed forces, the transfer of land and the electoral process and congratulates the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN, on their incorporation into institutional political life, a fact that contributes to reinforcing the climate of goodwill which became apparent after the signing of the Peace Agreements.

Gives its support to its member party, the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, in its actions towards the establishment in 1994 of a unified national government in El Salvador, a government of national unity, reconciliation and reconstruction.

Acknowledges the historic responsibility of the MNR to consolidate the social democratic option in El Salvador and encourages the unity of the democratic forces.

Supports all the decisions of the MNR to make the elections of 1994 an instrument that will contribute to the democratisation of the country.

The economic adjustments in Nicaragua have led to social instability and a high rate of unemployment. The Council of the SI is concerned at the attempts to return to armed confrontation in order to solve differences, and invites all political and social forces to make efforts to further dialogue and negotiation as a way to advance in the development of democracy and reconciliation.

A delegation of the Socialist International will travel to Central America in support of this resolution.

### CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

1. The Socialist International fully supports the process of development of democratic societies in central and eastern Europe. We reaffirm that pluralistic democracies tackling the problems of post-communist society must be protected from, and defended against, threats from all directions. In this context we see it as very important that principles of law and democratic and human rights are applied by the governments when reappraising their own past.

2. We know that the stability of these democracies will depend to a large extent on the success of their economic efforts. In this context we see as very dangerous the tendencies to apply neo-liberal economic theories in the process of economic transition without due care for the social impact of the process.

The Socialist International urgently calls on its member parties and trade unions in advanced industrial countries to directly aid the new social democratic parties and institutions in central and eastern Europe. This aid should be directed to helping them gain access to mass media and an effective press. This direct aid should be distinct from the economic aid to the governments in the region.

The governments of the countries whose economies are currently being transformed should realise that the fair distribution of income, the sharing of the social burden, the achievements of the welfare state and strong democratic trade unions are indispensable to the stability of the market economy system.

Substantial transfer of real resources, technology and investment from the western democracies is essential, as is the development of legal and democratic institutions. Without the concrete transfer of resources there is an obvious risk that economic development will be held back, with dangerous consequences for democratic development.

We consider the conversion of the military industry in these countries to be a necessity, helping to pave the way for democratic reform and social stability. This process of arms conversion must also take place in the industrialised countries, so that they do not simply expand their sale of arms to replace sales from central and eastern Europe.

There is a need for coordinated support for the reforms carried out, not only by providing financial aid but also by exchanging experiences and by

offering training opportunities for managers. Training programmes for state employees will help to avoid the possible politicisation of the state bureaucracy resulting from a partisan approach to the reform of that bureaucracy.

A major requirement for economic development of the countries of central and eastern Europe is an expansion of their trading opportunities with the outside world. Only a combination of trade and aid can successfully support the reform process. The lack of trade possibilities for these countries should be at the top of the agenda in the EC, GATT and other relevant bodies.

3. The Socialist International defends the right of nations to self-determination, laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. However the SI categorically rejects the type of nationalism which leads to hatred, discord and war.

The Socialist International reaffirms the need to combine the right to self-determination with strict respect for internationally established and recognised borders, and not to modify these except by an agreement of all nations involved, achieved without the use of force and with respect for the rights of the national and ethnic minorities. In this connection, the Socialist International supports the international recognition of new states established by the peaceful means of negotiation and ratified by a referendum, and their full and immediate integration in all international organisations.

Bearing in mind that ethnic conflict poses a growing danger to peace and stability in central and eastern Europe, the Socialist International calls for full respect for the rights of national and ethnic minorities in the spirit of international conventions on human rights.

Emphasising one's own identity and ethnic origin must under no circumstances lead to violence or the violation of fundamental and human rights.

The Socialist International should also support women's campaigns to resist the spread of new discrimination in work, health and social security. Women should have the right to self-determination in maternity.

The SI must support the political forces which defend and strengthen the rule of law and democratic freedoms. It believes that international aid must be dependent on respect for these principles by the countries concerned.

In a period when xenophobia and racism are growing in Europe, the SI calls on all its constituent organisations to outlaw incitement to racial hatred and introduce formal and informal education at all levels to encourage tolerance of minorities and refugees and opposition to racism and to xenophobia, including the denial, trivialisation or glorification of genocide.

4. The dramatic spread of nationalism through central and eastern Europe poses a risk that violent conflicts might

emerge in this part of Europe. In this context, it is particularly important to ensure the proper implementation of the disarmament agreements and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms.

The Socialist International calls for the development of a defensive pan-European security system to guarantee security and stability for all European nations on the basis of common principles.

## **CUBA**

The Socialist International observes the situation in Cuba with concern.

Internally, the economy is deteriorating day by day, and the plight of the Cuban people is worsening.

Externally, the continued illegal blockade by the US is aggravating both economic and political conditions.

We appeal to the new US Administration to lift the blockade and to declare itself ready to talk to Havana.

The Socialist International, anxious to support a peaceful transition to a democratic, multi-party system in Cuba, without foreign interference, suggests to the Cuban government to free all political prisoners and initiate a dialogue with the patriotic and democratic forces.

## **FURTHERING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

### ***A strategy for growth and employment***

In a world of ever increasing international interdependence it is now essential that growth and employment be put at the forefront of the international economic agenda. To avert the risk of worldwide recession a new growth-orientated strategy, designed to secure the highest possible levels of employment, should be considered as a top priority by the Group of Seven leading industrialised countries. Key elements of such a strategy should include: coordination by the G7 of their fiscal and monetary policies (including exchange rates) to promote economic expansion and job creation, and to counteract the harmful and destabilising effects of international currency speculation; and an early agreement on the outstanding issues that have delayed the completion of the Uruguay Round of GATT, to ensure that the threat of recession is not exacerbated by the downward spiral of beggar-my-neighbour trade disputes. The European Community must for its part elaborate a programme of regeneration able to put in motion an active policy for growth and employment.

### ***Support for the reforms in eastern Europe and the former USSR***

The end of the cold war is an unprecedented opportunity to promote peace, democracy and economic prosperity. But these goals will not be realised if the reforms in eastern Europe are allowed to fail. Increased levels of aid and technical assistance, combined with easier credit terms and improved access to the markets of the major

industrialised countries are urgently needed. The G7 itself will have to assume greater political responsibility than at present to assist and ensure the success of eastern Europe's political and economic reform.

### ***Reviving the North-South dialogue***

A renewed commitment to the UN targets for financial flows to the developing countries and more generous measures of debt relief are more important than ever before to restore the economic and social progress in the developing world. Special assistance must be provided to the least developed and still 'debt distressed' nations in sub-Saharan Africa, including the early and full implementation of the Toronto Terms for official debt relief. Investment in human resources, in education and in programmes of poverty-reduction as well as in equal opportunity policies for women must become a focus of the international community's development effort.

### ***Encouraging the environment and sustainable development***

The agreements accepted by the international community at the UN Earth Summit on the environment and development must be carried forward. The industrialised countries must take the practical steps that are required to realise the targets accepted in Rio of curbing greenhouse gases and reducing global warming; and they must refrain from dumping the residues of industrial waste on the rest of the world. Developing countries, with the full support of the international community, must ensure that environmental concerns are fully integrated into their own development strategies.

### **Reforming and strengthening International financial institutions**

To improve the predictability, equity, openness and sustainability of the international financial system, in a world of rising protectionism and monetary instability, the fiftieth anniversary of the Bretton Woods system in 1994 should be utilised to establish the conditions for exchange-rate stability and monetary cooperation between the USA, Europe and Japan, as well as adequate levels of development finance. To this end the international economic institutions should be reformed and strengthened and we invite the newly formed SI Economic Committee to develop proposals for consideration by the Socialist International.

### **EQUATORIAL GUINEA**

The Socialist International is following with concern the events which have been taking place over the past months in Equatorial Guinea and strongly condemns the numerous arrests, imprisonments and the torture of members of the democratic opposition, all of which represent serious violations of human rights.

These events constitute a new risk to peaceful co-existence in Equatorial Guinea and threaten to bring to an end any possibility of the establishment of democratic processes publicly promised to the international community by President Obiang.

The Socialist International calls on the authorities in Equatorial Guinea to immediately adopt the necessary measures to initiate a real transition process towards democracy, and publicly expresses its support for the Joint Opposition Platform (POC), the main democratic opposition body which has repeatedly expressed its willingness to talk to the regime in order to find a peaceful and democratic solution to the present situation.

The Socialist International, fully committed to the defence of freedoms, wishes to send a message of encouragement and solidarity to all democrats in Equatorial Guinea and to express its desire to contribute actively to the establishment of a peaceful and democratic future in that country.

### **HAITI**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Athens, Greece, on February 9-10, 1993,

Reaffirming the principles of freedom, justice and solidarity which inspire the Socialist International,

Acknowledging the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, and by the governments of democratic countries

who, acting together or individually, have consistently demanded the re-establishment of democracy in Haiti,

Conscious of the threats posed to democracies in many parts of the world, and the negative effects that would result if dictators and those who usurp power are immune to justice,

Recognising that the definitive solution of the political, social and economic problems in Haiti requires the assistance and help of the international community and the setting-up of multilateral and bilateral programmes of cooperation,

Resolves to:

Reiterate its condemnation of the coup d'état of September 30, 1991 and the policy of repression by the de facto military government, as well as the continuing violations of human rights which have resulted in deaths, disappearances, assassinations, preventive repression, persecution, arbitrary arrests, torture, extortion, ill treatment and other forms of cruelty meted out by the de facto authorities to the Haitian people;

Give its strongest support to the efforts being made both within and outside the country, for the re-establishment of democratic institutions and for President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to the legitimate exercise of power, in accordance with the sovereign will of the people;

Support the sanctions which the international community has agreed against the de facto military government;

Express its concern for the fate of the thousands of Haitians who have been or are being sent back to their country after trying to escape abroad by whatever means, especially in dangerous and fragile vessels; appeal to the international community and particularly to American countries to apply the normal standards of humanitarian law to this situation; and to demand from the de facto government of Haiti that it respects human rights in general and the life and physical well-being of Haitian citizens who have been forced to return to their country;

Appeal to its member parties for their respective countries to assist, once the legitimate government is reinstated, towards the realisation of a comprehensive development plan for Haiti, of which the following essential elements should be underlined: the improvement of the administration of justice and the penitentiary system, the modernisation of civil and penal legislation, the clear separation of the police from the armed forces, the elimination of the position of section leaders, the resolution of the problem of land-ownership, the real separation of state powers and the mutual respect of their spheres of influence. The SI condemns the elections of 18 January 1993, organised in an unconstitutional manner, which have already been rejected by the UN, the OAS and vari-

ous other democratic governments. The SI also calls for the setting-up of social and economic programmes aimed at improving the deplorable living conditions of the vast majority of the population, and

Pay constant attention to the development of events in Haiti; to cooperate with the efforts being made towards the restoration of the legitimate government and to demand respect for the human rights of the Haitian people.

### **THE MIDDLE EAST**

The negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbours, started in November 1991 in Madrid, have reached a serious crisis. It was after a new increase of brutal terrorism by the fundamentalist Hamas and Islamic Jihad organisations in the occupied territories and also in Israel itself, that the Israeli government expelled, on 17 December 1992, 416 Palestinians accused of being leading activists of these organisations. This expulsion is contrary to international law and an infringement of human rights. For this reason, the Security Council of the United Nations, in its Resolution 799, demands that Israel revoke these expulsions.

In this situation, it is crucially important to continue the peace negotiations.

The Socialist International therefore demands the following:

1. All terrorist activities must be firmly condemned both for their own nature and because they represent a fundamental obstacle to the current peace process.
2. Israel should fulfil all the demands of Resolution 799 of the United Nations Security Council and allow the return of all the expelled Palestinians. The Israeli government's decision of 1 February 1993 is a step in the right direction, but is not sufficient.
3. All those who have participated in the negotiations are called upon to return to the negotiating table in order to pursue the negotiations based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 and the Madrid Initiative.
4. The Socialist International is pleased to see that the Israeli parliament has lifted the ban on contacts with the PLO. It is now time to develop the necessary consequences in this spirit.
5. The Socialist International also welcomes the changes initiated by the Israeli government in its settlement policy in the occupied territories.
6. The United Nations, the industrialised nations, and those cooperating with developing countries, are called upon to start examining now what investment projects can be set up in the still occupied territories after the end of terrorism and the return of the expelled Palestinians, especially in the field of infrastructure.
7. The United States, and also the Europeans and the Arab States, must



use their influence on those states supporting groups in the occupied territories which are refusing to negotiate, to withdraw that support.

8. The Socialist International invites its Middle East Committee, SIMEC, to search out all the possibilities which, through meetings and through dialogue between all the parties involved in the conflict, may further the negotiations necessary for peace in the region.

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

Terrorism and military force are not the answer to the problems of the region. The only solution for attaining the necessary peace and cooperation is, in the interests of all, to negotiate.

## **MOZAMBIQUE**

In view of the new and very important phase opened in Mozambique by the peace agreements signed in Rome on 4 October, which should lead to peace in the country through disarmament, unification of the armies and new democratic elections;

Aware of the fact that the current pacification process in Mozambique takes on greater importance, given the difficult and troubling events affecting Angola;

Considering that the agreements signed in Rome by the Mozambique government and by RENAMO are very specific and detailed and that they commit the parties concerned to apply them strictly;

Emphasising that the process underway in Mozambique is of considerable significance for the whole of southern Africa and the African continent in general, and that it constitutes a testing ground for the role the UN can play in order to resolve the crisis;

Convinced that unless we can provide the United Nations with all the necessary means to act effectively we will not be able to implement the signed agreements,

The Socialist International:

Considers it imperative firstly that the terms and conditions stipulated in the agreements are faithfully applied, that the deadlines set for the different phases are fully respected; and that in order to achieve the aforementioned, the foreseen 7,000 'blue helmets' must be put at the UN's disposal to implement the disarmament process, to return the irregular troops to barracks, and to allow the integration of the combatants into the army, in compliance with the methods and deadlines set;

Emphasises the significance of the process, by sending a mission to the area, and by the commitment of the Socialist International Presidium to take initiatives to support the UN's peace plan;

Appeals to the government and the international institutions to implement the commitments made for the provision of the necessary means and funds for the implementation of the peace process, and in particular of the electoral process;

Invites its member parties to take all initiatives aimed at focusing due attention towards Mozambique, and to promote in their respective countries the development of projects of governmental and non-governmental cooperation to fully defend the process for peace, and democracy.

## **PAKISTAN**

The Council meeting of the Socialist International expresses its grave concern over the state of human rights in Pakistan and the gross abuse of the due process of law, misuse of the legislative and executive authority on the part of the state machinery in Pakistan, particularly in the following aspects:

1. Failure of the government to protect citizens and prevent lawlessness and heinous crimes like gang rapes, kidnapping, terrorism, organised robberies; to eliminate private prisons, violence against journalists and other sectors of the public, and desecration of places of worship, and to contain ethnic and sectarian prejudices.
2. Harassment and victimisation of political dissidents by kidnapping, unlawful detentions, false implication on penal charges, torture and other coercive methods to force them into submission and change their political loyalty.
3. Abuse of due process of law by arresting political opponents on repeated trumped-up charges, and growing incidents of death, rape and torture in prisons or police lock-ups.
4. Inhuman treatment of prisoners in custody, overcrowding of jails, denial of basic amenities to prisoners and failure to ensure trials within a reasonable time.
5. Constitution of special tribunals and courts, denying selected groups of prisoners the basic requirements of due process of law and fair trial.
6. Erosion of the independence of the judiciary by victimising individual judges and interference of the Executive in the performance of judicial functions.
7. Violations of the normal legislative process in the assemblies and legislation by the Executive through ordinances, some of which are patently designed to victimise political opponents.
8. Misuse of the name of religion and persecution of minorities and other disadvantaged sectors of the population.

The SI Council calls upon the government of Pakistan to uphold human rights, to redress the present state of affairs and ensure equal enjoyment by all citizens of all fundamental rights, civil liberties, the rule of law, freedom of the press and independence in let-

ter and spirit of the judiciary as guaranteed under the constitution of Pakistan, to abolish special courts and tribunals and to stop the victimisation of political opponents and discrimination against minorities, of any gender or sector of the population, on any pretext whatsoever.

## **SOMALIA**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Athens, Greece, on 9-10 February 1993:

Stressing the universal values of peace, democracy and full respect for human rights;

Recognising the enormous effort made by UNITAF, several UN agencies and a large number of NGOs to allow effective humanitarian relief to reach a substantial part of the Somalian population, fighting starvation and disease;

Acknowledging that the security situation in Somalia is incomparably better than that prevailing before UNITAF intervention, but still far from any concept of a 'secure environment', as defined by Resolution 794 of the Security Council of the UN;

Convinced that there is no solution to the Somali problem consisting only of temporary humanitarian relief and a political agreement of any sort among the rival militia leaders, because, as the Angola situation clearly proves, no agreement will ever be respected without effective disarmament;

Noting that, beyond the food and health problems, southern and central Somalia is a largely destroyed and disrupted area, in a state that has collapsed;

Regretting the difficulties in implementing the Addis Ababa agreement signed by the different Somali factions, Resolves to:

- Express its deep belief that there is no solution to the Somali problem without the total disarmament of the rival militias still operating in the territory and across its borders (total disarmament, whatever political means are adopted to achieve it, requires a strong UN military force able to enforce peace and an effective embargo on new arms sales to Somali factions);
- Urge the Security Council of the UN to adopt a resolution for UNOSOM II, giving a mandate to the Secretary General of the United Nations for peace enforcement in the whole of the Somali territory, aiming not only at humanitarian relief but also at creating the necessary conditions for social and economic rehabilitation and giving the Somali people the power to decide the political future of their country;
- Appeal to the international community to provide the necessary military, financial and technical means for that operation to be successful, namely, taking into consideration the recent proposals of the UN Secretary General for a more effective role for the United Nations in the preservation of world peace;

- Express SI solidarity to the Somali people, in whose hands must lie the future of their country, and to all those in Somalia who work for peace and democracy, despite the pressures and threats of those whose only concern is the struggle for power;

- Follow closely the events in Somalia in the near future and participate in or adopt new initiatives aimed at supporting the Somali people in the political, economic and social reconstruction of the country.

## TOGO

Considering the political crisis in Togo with the freezing of the legitimate transition institutions resulting from the national supreme conference of July-August 1991 (High Council of the Republic, HCR, prime minister and transition government);

Considering that this crisis is the result of:

- multiple attempts to destabilise these institutions by the Togo army, which did not stop at assassinations, an attack on the Primature by armed vehicles (December 1991), or the taking hostage of the HCR (October 1992), several members of which were victims of physical cruelty;

- the action of the head of state, General Eyadema, as supreme head of the armed forces, who in 18 months failed to put a stop to these seditious manoeuvres,

- the practices of the Togo People's Assembly, RPT, which among other things, used force to collect funds which had been frozen by the national conference in the banks of Togo.

Considering the general wave of strikes which was initiated on 16 November 1992 by the association of the Democratic Opposition (COD 2) as a result of grievances supported by the Togo National Council of Employers.

Considering the permanent physical insecurity in which the democrats in Togo live (attacks, assassinations, looting), which prevents any prospect of free and transparent electoral consultation as provided for by the national conference.

Considering the machine-gunning of a peaceful demonstration organised on 25 January 1993 in Lomé by democrats, which caused many deaths and about a hundred wounded, on the very day of the Franco-German mediation mission, and the systematic repression of the population of the capital between 27 and 30 January last by the army and militia attached to the former regime;

Considering the massive exodus of the population from the capital to the neighbouring countries and the risks of tension and conflicts which the crisis in Togo might provoke in the sub-region;

Recalling that the multiple commitments of the head of state to respect the transition institutions and to guarantee the implementation of the con-

stitution adopted on 27 September 1992 have not yet been put into effect;

Recalling that on 8 February round table discussions were initiated between the parties of Togo (in Colmar) under the aegis of France and Germany in order to find a way out of the political deadlock;

The Socialist International Council, which met in Athens on 9 and 10 February 1993:

- resolutely condemns the acts of violence and violation of human rights which particularly implicate the responsibility of General Eyadema, Supreme Head of the Armed Forces, and demands that an international committee should conduct an inquiry into the tragic events of 25 January last;

- affirms its support for all the mediation forces and legitimate (transition) institutions and asks that the international community should do its utmost to guarantee their prerogatives and freedom of action; calls upon sponsors to suspend any commitments as long as these guarantees are not ensured;

- in view of the seriousness of the situation in Togo, which might generate major tensions in this part of the African continent, calls upon the competent authorities to refer the matter to the UN Security Council to ensure compliance with the decisions that will lead to the resumption and completion of the democratisation process in Togo;

- follows with interest and supports the continuation of Franco-German efforts, in cooperation with the European Community, until this crisis is settled;

- calls above all for the containment of the Togo armed forces, which is the only way to ensure their political neutrality, and asks that a special intervention force be set up under joint command to guarantee free elections, and commits itself to take an active part in the observation of the electoral process, from the drawing up of the electoral lists to the announcement of the results.

## THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

### *Seven signposts on the road to peace in the former Yugoslavia*

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina continues unabated, cruelly frustrating even our attempts to bring humanitarian relief to the growing and increasingly desperate army of displaced persons and refugees. The stalled peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina has been brought before the Security Council.

There are renewed hostilities in and around United Nations Protected Areas in Croatia, and the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia has not progressed since we met in Berlin in September.

The danger of proliferation has, if anything, increased. We cannot exclude the possibility that the conflict will spread to areas of ethnic tension like Kosovo, that it will undermine the stability of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, engulf the neighbouring countries, and further entangle the wider international community.

In this situation there are, not surprisingly, voices calling for armed intervention and military solutions. The calls are born of exasperation that our efforts to negotiate an end to the war have yet to bear fruit, that our attempts to stop atrocities and crimes of war have been frustrated, and that our efforts to provide humanitarian relief have been frequently obstructed.

We all share the sense of frustration. And let those who taunt our efforts at mediation by continuing to pursue violence and aggression consider the risk that there are limits beyond which our goodwill and patience should not be pushed.

Military options cannot and should not be ruled out, particularly in the event of a wider conflagration.

Yet, let us pause before we join the call to arms. For those who have to bear responsibility for armed intervention, heavy losses seem more certain than success. There can be no guarantee that even massive military intervention will end the conflict.

There is a significant risk that armed intervention may prolong and spread the war and add to the suffering and loss of life.

There is a corresponding risk that a selective lifting of the arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina may only lead to intensified warfare and not achieve its desired objective. There is a high risk that even limited military measures will jeopardise the peace negotiations, the UN peace-keeping efforts, and the humanitarian relief operations.

We must continue to rely on political pressure and persuasion, as well as UN-mandated sanctions, carefully calibrated, as our principal tools of enforcement.

We propose the following seven signposts for the road ahead:

### **1) We must support the London Agreement and the Geneva Conference**

We must reaffirm our commitment to the London Agreement and the international conference on the former Yugoslavia under the joint chairmanship of the United Nations and the European Community. We must all throw our full weight behind the efforts to achieve agreement on the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina and we must strictly adhere to the principle that territorial expansion gained by the use of force and 'ethnic cleansing' will not be recognised by the international community.

With its broad-based approach and its continuous follow-up, the Geneva Process still represents the only viable path, and perhaps the final chance, to settle the conflict by political means. The conference remains the primary tool for coordinating our efforts to make peace. Should the conference end in failure, military options will loom larger.

**2) We must support the role of the United Nations**

The United Nations is already heavily involved in all aspects of the international effort to ameliorate, contain, and solve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. It is doing an important job under exceedingly difficult circumstances.

We must give the United Nations the means and resources to complete its daunting task.

But even more is at stake. The former Yugoslavia has become a testing ground for the future role of the United Nations. Allowing the UN to fail in the former Yugoslavia could also spell doom for our hopes and dreams of a United Nations reinvigorated by post-cold-war cooperation leading the way to a new international world order. We must not allow it to fail.

**3) We must act jointly**

There is a clear and present danger that the international community, instead of solving the Yugoslav crisis, may get caught up in its disunity and divisions. The challenge is two-fold:

First, we must act jointly to achieve our goal of making peace. To be effective we cannot afford any partisanship or pursuit of narrow national interests. We must be even-handed and act in a spirit of solidarity with all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia.

Second, we must take care lest any differences in how we perceive the causes of the conflict or the means to end it create new divisions in the wider international community.

In Russia the government's handling of the Yugoslav crisis has become a focal point for debate over the reorientation of foreign policy in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. There is considerable opposition to the Government's support for the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

A number of countries, particularly in the Islamic world, are voicing concern that the Bosnian Muslims are not given fair and equal treatment by the international community.

We must carefully consider such dimensions of the Yugoslavian conflict to prevent renewed East/West and North/South polarisation along ethnic or religious lines in its wake. We must indeed act jointly.

**4) We must make all parties take responsibility for making peace**

All parties must assume responsibility for making peace if the Geneva Conference is to succeed. This oversimplified statement is nevertheless fundamentally true. There is an understandable, and sometimes justifiable, tendency among the parties to the conflict to place responsibility somewhere else, on the opponent, on the international community for failing to take adequate action, and so forth.

But if we let any party run away from its own responsibility to stop the war and make peace, peace there will not be.

We must support the forces of democracy and moderation in former Yugoslavia. We call on SI member parties to support morally and materially the social-democratic parties and journals in the states of former Yugoslavia.

**5) We must continue to give top priority to humanitarian assistance**

Even as losses mount from continued heavy fighting, it remains the case that cold and hunger may claim many more lives than bullets will before the winter loses its grip on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We must therefore continue to give top priority to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees.

We must avoid steps that may impede these efforts carried out under difficult conditions and at considerable personal risk by personnel from the UNHCR and other organisations.

We must strongly condemn the continued shelling of aid convoys and continue taking measures to provide adequate safety for aid personnel.

**6) We must ensure respect for human rights**

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia has been the widespread disregard for human rights and international law, as evidenced in the ugly practice of so-called ethnic cleansing, the indiscriminate artillery bombardment of besieged cities, the killing of prisoners in prison camps.

The horrifying evidence of mass rape must be thoroughly investigated. The SI calls on the UN and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, to recognise these as war crimes, and on governments to recognise women's rights to political asylum as victims of war-related rapes. Further efforts must be made to build support institutions for war-related rape victims and for their children. This support must continue even beyond the duration of the civil war.

We must make it clear to those who commit or condone atrocities and

crimes of war that they are undermining the moral foundation of the very culture and nation they claim to defend.

And we must recognise as well that we are jeopardising fundamental qualities of our own future and that of our children if we fail to ensure that human rights violations and crimes of war are registered and investigated, that those responsible are brought to justice.

We must support the efforts by the UN and the CSCE regarding the prerequisites for setting up an international war crimes tribunal.

A major barrier to a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia is the frequent link between minority status and suppression and abuse. We must assist the parties in breaking this link, for example by providing international guarantees to stabilise the security situation of ethnic minorities such as Serbs in Croatia, Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina, Muslims in Sanjak, Albanians in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, Albanians - and for that matter, Serbs - in Kosovo.

**7) We must prevent proliferation of the conflict**

We must clearly recognise the danger of a wider conflagration. We must support further measures within the framework of the UN, the CSCE, and the EC to prevent the conflict from spilling over to particularly exposed areas such as Kosovo and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

The international community must settle the question of recognition of the latter.

**ZAIRE**

The Council meeting of the Socialist International held in Athens on 9-10 February 1993, gravely concerned by the deterioration of the situation in Zaïre and the generalised chaos in the country:

- strongly condemns the extortion and massacres and holds President Mobutu personally responsible for having blocked and hindered the functioning of lawful transitional institutions;
- reiterates its attachment to the democratic process, the implementation of which constitutes the indispensable prerequisite for economic and social reconstruction of the country and for restoring international cooperation;
- expresses its confidence in the High Council of the Republic instituted by the Sovereign National Conference and in the government, and
- supports the democratic forces of Zaïre and in particular the UDPS of Prime Minister Etienne Tshisékédi.

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**Socialist International**

Pierre Mauroy  
Luis Ayala

**MEMBER PARTIES**

**ARGENTINA**

Popular Socialist Party, PSP  
Guillermo Estévez Boero  
María del Carmen Viñas

**AUSTRIA**

Social Democratic Party of  
Austria, SPÖ  
Peter Jankowitsch  
Irmtraut Karlsson  
Karl Schramek  
Susanne Gaugl

**BELGIUM**

Socialist Party, PS  
Guy Spitaels  
Etienne Godin

**BELGIUM**

Socialist Party, SP  
Dirk Drijbooms  
Leona Dettiège

**BOLIVIA**

Revolutionary Left  
Movement, MIR  
Jaime Paz Zamora  
Oscar Eid  
Carmen Pereira

**BRAZIL**

Democratic Labour Party,  
PDT  
Roberto D'Avila

**BULGARIA**

Bulgarian Social Democratic  
Party, BSDP  
Petar Dertliev  
Peter Kornadjev  
Zahari Karamfilov  
Dimitrin Vitchev  
Isabel Uribe

**BURKINA FASO**

Progressive Front of Upper  
Volta, FPV  
Joseph Ki-Zerbo

**CHILE**

Radical Party, PR  
Carlos González Márquez  
Iván Mesías  
Alejandro Montesino  
Marcos Alvarez

**CYPRUS**

EDEK Socialist Party of  
Cyprus  
Andreas Frydas

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

Czechoslovak Social  
Democratic Party  
Jirí Horák  
Pavel Novák

**DENMARK**

Social Democratic Party  
Steen Christensen  
Lasse Budtz  
Ritt Bjerregaard  
Erik Boel

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

Dominican Revolutionary  
Party, PRD  
José Fco. Peña Gómez  
Peggy Cabral

**ECUADOR**

Democratic Left Party, PID  
Rodrigo Borja

**EL SALVADOR**

National Revolutionary  
Movement, MNR  
Victor Manuel Valle  
Oscar Bonilla

**ESTONIA**

Estonian Social Democratic  
Party, ESDP  
Jüri-Karl Seim

**FINLAND**

Finnish Social Democratic  
Party, SDP  
Kalevi Sorsa  
Ulf Sundqvist  
Unto Vesa  
Tuula Haatainen

**FRANCE**

Socialist Party, PS  
Gérard Fuchs  
Gérard Collomb  
Renée Fregosi  
Bertrand Druon  
Alain Chenal  
Guy Labertit  
Maurice Lazar  
Brigitte Bloch

**GERMANY**

Social Democratic Party of  
Germany, SPD  
Christoph Zöpel  
Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski  
Norbert Wiczorek  
Veronika Isenberg  
Wolfgang Weege

**GREAT BRITAIN**

The Labour Party  
John Smith  
Clare Short  
Murray Elder  
Roy Trivedy

**GREECE**

Panhellenic Socialist  
Movement, PASOK  
Andreas Papandreou  
Akis Tsochatzopoulos  
Melina Merkouri  
Theodoros Pangalos  
Christos Papoutsis  
Karolos Papoulias  
Michalis Chrysochoidis  
Nikos Kouris  
Thanassis Papageorgiou  
Vassilis Konstantineas

**GUATEMALA**

Democratic Socialist Party,  
PSD  
Mario Solórzano  
Lars Pira  
Aracely Conde

**HAITI**

Revolutionary Progressive  
Nationalist Party  
of Haiti, PANPRA  
Serge Gilles  
Anthony Barbier

**ISRAEL**

Israel Labour Party  
Nissim Zvili  
Israel Gat  
Abraham Hatzamri  
Nava Arad  
Daphna Sharfman  
Rodica Tanner

**ISRAEL**

United Workers' Party of  
Israel, MAPAM  
Elazar Granot  
Monica Pollack  
Esther Mordoch  
Abraham Rozenkier

**ITALY**

Democratic Party of the  
Left, PDS  
Piero Fassino  
Luigi Colajanni  
Roberto Cuillo  
Donato Di Santo  
Marisa Rodano  
Raffaella Chiodo  
Elga Montagna

**ITALY**

Italian Democratic Socialist  
Party, PSDI  
Ivanka Corti

**ITALY**

Italian Socialist Party, PSI  
Walter Marossi  
Luca Cefisi  
Pia Locatelli  
Gian Piero Orsello

**JAPAN**

Japan Democratic Socialist  
Party, DSP  
Sachiko Taguchi

**JAPAN**

Social Democratic Party of  
Japan, SDPJ  
Manae Kubota  
Kozue Kitsukawa

**LATVIA**

Latvian Social Democratic  
Workers' Party,  
LSDSP  
Egils Baldzens

**LEBANON**

Progressive Socialist Party,  
PSP  
Doureid Yaghi

**LITHUANIA**

Lithuanian Social  
Democratic Party, LSDP  
Daiva Jakaite

**MALTA**

Malta Labour Party  
Leo Brincat

**MAURITIUS**

Mauritius Labour Party  
Joseph Tsang Mang Kin

**MOROCCO**

Socialist Union of Popular  
Forces, USFP  
Mohamed Lakhssassi  
Nouzha Chekrouni

**NETHERLANDS**

Labour Party, PvdA  
Jan Marinus Wiersma  
Arend Hilhorst  
Bert Koenders  
Piet Dankert  
Marlène Haas

**NEW ZEALAND**

New Zealand Labour Party  
Kerry Burke

**NORWAY**

Norwegian Labour Party,  
DNA  
Gro Harlem Brundtland  
Thorvald Stoltenberg  
Siri Bjerke

**PORTUGAL**

Socialist Party, PS  
António Guterres  
José Lamego

**PUERTO RICO**

Puerto Rican Independence  
Party, PIP  
Rubén Berrios  
Fernando Martín

**SENEGAL**

Socialist Party of Senegal, PS  
Papa Amath Dieng  
Alioune Badara Diagne  
Bara Diouf

**SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

Social Democratic Party of  
Slovakia  
Jan Sekaj  
L'ubor Bystricky

**SPAIN**

Spanish Socialist Workers'  
Party, PSOE  
Elena Flores  
Rafael Estrella  
Miguel Angel Martínez

**SWEDEN**

Swedish Social Democratic  
Party, SAP  
Birgitta Dahl  
Pierre Schori  
Conny Fredriksson  
Monica Andersson  
Bo Toresson

**TUNISIA**

Constitutional Democratic  
Assembly, RCD  
Chedly Neffati  
Hechmi Amri  
Mohsen Snoussi  
Emna Aouij  
Lajili Mejid

**TURKEY**

Social Democratic People's  
Party, SHP  
Erdal İnönü  
Ercan Karakas  
Mümtaz Soysal  
Nami Cagan  
Üstün Küsefoğlu  
Sule Bucak

**USA**

Democratic Socialists of  
America, DSA  
Bogdan Denitch  
Mótl Zelmanowicz  
Christine Riddiough

**USA**

Social Democrats USA,  
SDUSA  
Joel Freedman

**VENEZUELA**

Democratic Action, AD  
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli

**CONSULTATIVE PARTIES**

**ALBANIA**

Social Democratic Party of  
Albania, PSD  
Skender Gjinushi  
Paskal Milo

**ALGERIA**

Socialist Forces Front, FFS  
Rachid Halet  
Seddik Debaili

**CAPE VERDE**

African Party for the  
Independence  
of Cape Verde, PAICV  
Alvaro Tavares

**CHILE**

Party for Democracy, PPD  
Sergio Bitar  
Marcia Covarrubias

**CHILE**

Socialist Party of Chile, PS  
Luis Maira  
Juan Gabriel Valdés

**HAITI**

Party of the National  
Congress of  
Democratic Movements,  
KONAKOM  
Victor Benoît  
Jean-Claude Bajoux  
Micha Gaillard  
Jessie Benoît

**IVORY COAST**

Ivory Coast Popular Front,  
FPI  
Laurent Gbagbo

**MONGOLIA**

Mongolian Social  
Democratic Party, MSDP  
D Gankhuayag  
G Urantsooj

**PAKISTAN**

Pakistan People's Party, PPP  
Iqbal Haider

**TUNISIA**

Popular Unity Movement,  
MUP  
Ahmed Ben Salah

**URUGUAY**

Party for People's  
Government, PGP  
Antonio Gallicchio

**MEMBERS OF THE  
SOCIALIST UNION OF  
CENTRAL AND EASTERN  
EUROPE, SUCEE**

**ROMANIA**

Romanian Social Democratic  
Party, PSDR  
Smaranda Dobrescu

**OBSERVER PARTIES**

**COLOMBIA**

M-19 Democratic Alliance  
Antonio Navarro  
Abraham Rubio Quiroga

**HUNGARY**

Hungarian Social  
Democratic Party, MSZDP  
Endre Borbély  
Ilona György  
László Kapolyi

**HUNGARY**

Hungarian Socialist Party,  
MSZP  
László Kovács

**NICARAGUA**

Sandinista National  
Liberation Front, FSLN  
Daniel Ortega  
José Pasos  
Margarita Zapata  
George Hallag

**SLOVENIA**

Social Democratic Party of  
Slovenia, SDSS  
Janez Jansa

**FRATERNAL  
ORGANISATIONS**

**International Falcon  
Movement/  
Socialist Educational  
International, IFM/SEI**  
Jerry Svensson  
Jacqui Cottyn

**International Union of  
Socialist Youth,  
IUSY**

Alfred Gusenbauer  
Roger Hällhag  
Ricard Torrell  
Gabriela Schöfbeck

**Socialist International  
Women, SIW**

Maria Jonas  
Marianne Bargil  
Alejandra Faulbaum

**ASSOCIATED  
ORGANISATIONS**

**Party of European  
Socialists**

Axel Hanisch

**Socialist Group, European  
Parliament**

Barbara Dührkop  
Rob van de Water

**International Union of  
Socialist Democratic  
Teachers, IUSDT**

Christos Sigalas

**World Labour Zionist  
Movement, WLZM**

Henry Smith

**GUESTS**

**ANGOLA  
MPLA**

Lopo do Nascimento  
Eduardo Ruas Manuel

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA**

Platform of the Joint  
Opposition  
Amancio Gabriel Nse

**HAITI**

Jean-Bertrand Aristide

**Democratic Party of  
Iranian Kurdistan,  
PDKI**

Mustapha Kamal Davoudi  
Ebrahim Djourabchi