

# GENEVA COUNCIL MEETING

*Developments in Eastern Europe headed the agenda at the meeting of the Socialist International Council held in Geneva on 23 and 24 November 1989, at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland.*

In his opening remarks, SI President Willy Brandt spoke of the exciting and moving events of recent months in much of Eastern and Central Europe. 'When I speak of my meetings with people in my own city of Berlin, people in the other part of Germany', he told the Council, 'this has been the most moving part of my political life.'

The rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union reflected not only the end of communist rule; not only people's demand for pluralistic rule; not only objective needs for economic modernisation, he said. Events in his own country, for example, were a sub-theme of the main theme running through all the recent developments: the growing together of Europe.

This growing together could be traced in a number of different areas: in the positive signs at the Vienna negotiations on arms reduction; in the pressing need for economic cooperation between the present European Economic Community, the EFTA member countries, and the countries still formally connected to COMECON; in what seemed at last to be a real will to European cooperation in the ecological field.

He stressed the speed of developments and that the role of the Socialist International was 'to stay in

very close contact, and to give all possible support to our friends in these countries.' He welcomed to the Council meeting representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, newly re-established in Budapest, and of the Social Democratic Party in the German Democratic Republic.

'Finally', he concluded, 'let me say that what we are experiencing is not only fascinating and encouraging, it is in a way the greatest challenge for democratic socialism in this part of the world since World War Two. We should be open, helpful, but also careful in developing our contacts with these reviving and new democratic socialist forces in the other part of Europe.'

These sentiments were reflected throughout the subsequent debate, at what all those present felt was a particularly memorable meeting of the Socialist International. Speakers included Italian Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi; first secretary of the French Socialist Party, Pierre Mauroy; Norwegian Labour Party leader Gro Harlem Brundtland; and president of the Netherlands Labour Party, Marjanne Sint.

The meeting was also addressed by Anna Petrasovits, newly elected president of the Social Democratic Party of

Hungary. She reported to the Council the re-establishment of the Party in Budapest in January 1989. At a Party Congress on 3 to 5 November 1989, attended by 613 delegates representing more than ten thousand members in Hungary, and by representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in exile, a new party leadership had been elected. Andor Bölcsföldi, leader of the Party in exile, which had remained a consultative member of the Socialist International, through the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE, was honorary president of the newly re-established party.

Petrasovits expressed her happiness at seeing the party once again represented in a meeting of the Socialist International, after an absence of 41 years. She was proud to speak for a constituency which included 'millions of apathetic Hungarians, people of German, Jewish, Gipsy and Slavonic origins, nationalities or minorities, and ... the greatest minority, the exploited women who are more than half the population.' and to represent the 'traditional, 100 years old Social Democratic Party of Hungary, of Ana Kéthly, Antal Bán, Imre Szèlig, and other great personalities'.

Stefan Hilsberg, representing the Social



Democratic Party in the GDR, thanked all those present for their solidarity with the new party, established in the GDR on 7 October 1989.

'With this creation', he told the meeting, 'we were

promote a market economy with certain social and ecological limitations, as well as mixed property ownership situations. ...We want to have a State that guarantees human rights and civil rights, a State in which

want to make a contribution towards comprehensive European integration.'

**Not only in Europe**

Djibo Ka, international secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal, reminded the meeting that momentous developments were taking place not only in Europe. The dismantling of the Berlin wall and the rapid process of democratisation, not only in Europe, but in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, and the elections in Namibia, signifying the completion of decolonisation in Africa, were all major political events. 'We have still to dismantle that wall of incomprehension, of negation of human rights which is apartheid', he said, 'just as the Berlin Wall has been dismantled - by the irresistible impetus of the world's peoples towards freedom and democracy.'



**Stefan  
Hilsberg**

able to link back to the old traditions of social democracy of the past, the social democratic party which was forcibly incorporated in the Communist Party in 1946, since when there has been no more opportunity for any freedom of development of society in eastern Germany. At the same time, we wanted to show very clearly that we rallied to the international socialist movement. On the same day, we applied for membership of the Socialist International. Again, at this point in time, I would like to express our heartfelt thanks for the rapid response ... and for your invitation to attend this meeting of the Council.

'The SPD in the GDR', he continued, '...wishes to have a democratic, ecologically oriented social democracy in the GDR. ...We want to

every individual has the right to defend his or her interests and to speak of his or her interests. ...This is why we want to defend the social democratic principle of sharing these responsibilities, these social responsibilities, and also defend the principle of equal distribution of wealth. In foreign policy, we see ourselves as a member of a society of nations. We have a share in world politics nationally and internationally. We want to help solve the problems that beset our planet and in economic terms we want to trade fairly. We want to defend human rights all over the world, in all countries, and declare our solidarity with all the repressed and disenfranchised nations of the world. In Europe, as part of the German nation, we

**Position paper,  
resolutions**

The Council endorsed a Position Paper on Eastern Europe which was a major and comprehensive statement of the SI's position in a rapidly changing situation. Since the publication of this document, which is reprinted on page 44, the political circumstances in many of the countries mentioned have significantly altered. Resolutions in support of the movements for democracy in Czechoslovakia and in Romania were also approved, together with resolutions on Disarmament, on Haiti, on Namibia and on El Salvador (see full texts of all documents on page 47).

**SI missions**

Peter Jankowitsch, Socialist Party of Austria, reported to the Council on behalf of the



Socialist International delegation which travelled to Namibia to observe the first free and democratic elections there (see page 55).

The Council also received from mission chair Irmtraut Karlsson, Socialist Party of Austria, and a vice-president of Socialist International Women, a report of the SI mission to Cyprus which took place in October 1989 (see page 54).

### **Elections**

A mission of the Socialist International would be in Chile to observe the elections (see Mission report, page 58). Alejandra Faulbaum, Radical Party of Chile, reported on the development of the election campaign.

Results of the first round of presidential elections in Brazil, held on 15 November 1989, left Leonel Brizola, chairman of the Brazilian Democratic Labour Party, PDT, in third place - party international secretary Bocayuva Cunha reported - with Fernando Collor de Mello, supported by the right-wing parties which formerly sustained the dictatorship, in first place, and Luis Inácio 'Lula' da Silva of the Workers' Party in second place.

Brizola gained around 11.5 million votes, trailing Lula by some 400,000 votes only.

Major factors in this disappointing result for the PDT were Collor de Mello's control of a large communication network, including the widely received Globo TV channel; together with the grass roots support of the Brazilian churches for Lula's campaign. (Final election result: see page 60).

### **Middle East Committee**

Committee chair Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski reported

to the Council on a meeting of the SI Middle East Committee, held in Geneva on 22 November.

At the 1989 Stockholm Congress, the Socialist International considerably expanded its membership in the region, accepting as members the National Democratic Party of Egypt, the Constitutional Democratic Assembly and the Popular Unity Movement of Tunisia, and the Pakistan People's Party. All these parties were represented for the first time at the Committee meeting in Geneva, which was also attended by representatives of the governments of the USA and the USSR and of the PLO.

Naseer Shaikh of the Pakistan People's Party presented the views and policy of his party, now in government, on the situation in Afghanistan, opening the Committee's

first discussions on this question. Soviet representative Gennady Tarasov also took part in these discussions.

The Mubarak 'ten point' Plan for assisting the Middle East peace process was introduced by Kamal El Shazly of the Egyptian National Democratic Party, and a large number of the SI member parties and special guests attending were able to take part in the ensuing discussions.

The final item on the Committee's agenda was the present situation in Lebanon - a discussion abruptly overshadowed when news reached the meeting of the assassination that day of President Moawad.

### **SI Committees**

The Geneva Council reviewed the composition and work of all Socialist International Committees.

## **SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEES**

**SI Committee for Human Rights**, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch, Austrian Socialist Party; Vice-Chair: Anita Gradin, Social Democratic Party of Sweden

**SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC**, chaired by José Francisco Peña Gómez, Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic

**SI Committee on Local Authorities**, chaired by Pierre Mauroy, French Socialist Party

**SI Committee on Economic Policy, SICEP**, chaired by Michael Manley, Peoples' National Party, Jamaica

**SI Disarmament Advisory Council, SIDAC**, chaired by Kalevi Sorsa, Social Democratic Party of Finland

**SI Environment Committee**, chaired by Birgitta Dahl, Social Democratic Party of Sweden

**SI Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC**, chaired by Thorbjørn Jagland, Norwegian Labour Party

**SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC**, chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, Social Democratic Party, Federal Republic of Germany

**SI Southern Africa Committee, SISAC**, chaired by Wim Kok, Netherlands Labour Party, and Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Progressive Front of Upper Volta, Burkina Faso

**SI Study Group on Africa**, chaired by Jorge Sampaio, Socialist Party of Portugal, and Djibo Ka, Socialist Party of Senegal

**SI Study Group on the Mediterranean**, chaired by Bettino Craxi, Socialist Party, Italy



Many of the existing committees had valuable work still to do and a number had increased their membership. The Council approved the establishment of a new SI committee on Local Authorities. (see box for details of SI Committees).

**General Secretary's report**

Reporting to the Council on activities since the Congress in Stockholm, SI general secretary Luis Ayala said that much attention had naturally been on events in Eastern Europe, with intensive contacts being maintained. However, there had also been frequent exchanges with many SI member parties around the world, including those who joined the International at the Stockholm Congress in June 1989. The National Democratic Party of Egypt,

one of these new member parties, had invited the Socialist International to hold its next Council meeting in Cairo.

The general secretary had represented the SI at political events in a number of countries over the past months: occasions for much satisfaction, like the inauguration of Jaime Paz Zamora as president of Bolivia in August 1989, and of great sadness, like the memorial service for Michael Harrington held in New York in September.

During this very busy period, SI missions had visited Namibia and Cyprus, as reported to the Council. Arrangements were now in hand for a delegation to travel to Chile for the elections there in December 1989, and for SI groups to visit Nicaragua both before and during the elections in

February 1990.

The SI Disarmament Advisory Council met in Warsaw on November 15-16 and held talks with a number of Polish officials and political representatives.

Meanwhile, the SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was planning its first meeting in Ecuador, to be hosted by President Rodrigo Borja, leader of the Democratic Left Party, PID, in January 1990.

**Future Work**

Introducing the second main theme of the Council meeting, the general secretary outlined to the Council perspectives and priorities for the activities of the International in the coming period.

SI membership was expanding and the organisation had an ever-higher profile in many regions, with great hopes being invested in democratic socialism at this time.

In the coming years the SI would have to respond to the challenge of such expectations, he said, not only with vision, but also with effective organisation and clear priorities.

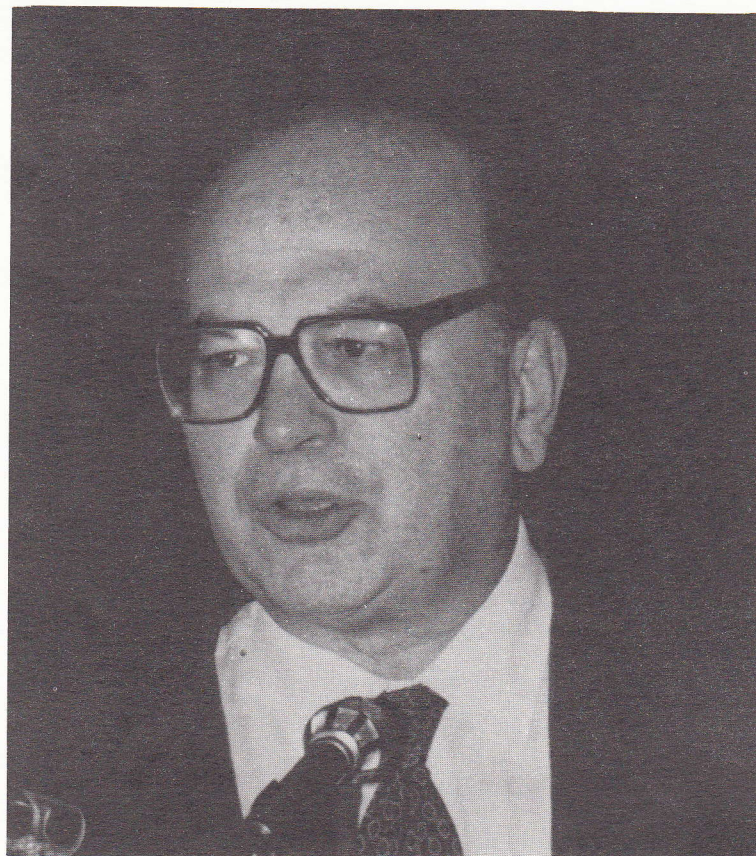
Peace and disarmament, North-South relations, Human Rights and the Environment would continue to be high on the agenda.

As discussions at this meeting had shown, the SI was well placed to play an important and constructive role in Eastern Europe.

In Latin America, the struggles against dictatorships had borne fruit and in a number of countries SI member parties were now in government. Enormous difficulties and challenges, however, remained.

Another challenge in the near future would be to respond to the strong voices of growing progressive movements in Asia.

*Bettino Craxi: one of the keynote speakers*







**Anna  
Petrasovits**

Whilst the successful holding of free and fair elections meant that a free, independent and democratic Namibia was now a realistic goal, the struggle against apartheid and oppression in South Africa continued, despite recent moves, to be a priority.

The Study Group on Africa would be building on the cooperation established in recent years with progressive political forces in a number of countries.

The Middle East Committee, now enlarged to include the new SI member parties from the Arab world, would be doing everything possible to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution to the region's conflicts.

Continuing the work of the SI Study Group, a Conference on the Mediterranean was planned for the near future.

It had been suggested by the French Socialist Party that the Socialist International should also extend its work to an

important area of democratic political life where it has not previously been active: elected local authorities.

Cooperation with fraternal organisations, Socialist International Women, the International Union of Socialist Youth, and the International Falcon Movement, would of course continue, as would a long

tradition of collaboration with the ICFTU.

Finally, Ayala said, the SI would be taking the opportunity to associate itself with the revitalisation of support for the United Nations, and in general with the newly positive international climate which had given renewed impetus to all our work.

### **SI RECEIVES 'LET LIVE' AWARD**

At the Geneva Council meeting, SI President Willy Brandt accepted on behalf of the Socialist International from Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson the 'Let Live Award', presented annually by the Swedish newspaper *Arbetet*. Sten Andersson told the Council that the award, of 100,000 Swedish Kroner, is made each year to an individual or an organisation for 'important contribution to humankind.' Former recipients include Lech Walesa, Alva Myrdal and Olof Palme. The 1989 award went to the Socialist International for its 100 years of struggle for a world of freedom, equality and democracy; for its active support for national liberation struggles in the Third World; for its commitment to promoting a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict; its constructive role in creating an open dialogue between East and West, and its important contribution to international détente and disarmament.



## POSITION PAPER ON EASTERN EUROPE

## PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

**A. Fundamentals**

In our Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist International at its recent Congress in Stockholm, we stated in point 76:

'The Socialist International supports all efforts aimed at the transformation of communist societies through liberalisation and democratisation. The same support must apply to the development of decentralised market mechanisms, struggles against bureaucratisation and corruption and, above all, the realisation that human rights and political openness are important elements of a dynamic and progressive society.'

The course of events since then confirms these basic affirmations and permits their use as a basis for further reflections.

**B. The Present Situation**

1. The communist dictatorships established in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the Second World War with the help of the Soviet Union have clearly reached a dead end. The decline in the political influence and status of the classical communist ideology in these countries has gathered speed in recent months. Even the political power of the USSR has decayed and economic goals have foundered on realities.

The disaster of a centralised State-controlled economy in tandem with an absence of political freedom has led to a growing pressure for reform (to which Gorbachev above all is trying to respond). A further consequence is that tens of thousands of people (from the GDR in particular) have left their homes and that profound changes are occurring which are clearly by no means yet complete.

The views of European social democracy, particularly its views on democracy and human rights, as well as on detente and

cooperation in Europe, are inspiring points of reference for committed groups in their efforts to bring about change and to jettison previous forms of domination.

Since it is quite impossible to ignore the fact that the term 'socialism' has been grievously burdened by the policy of what was called 'real socialism' in these countries, democratic socialism must, more than ever, clearly differentiate its basic positions and basic values from totalitarian positions.

2. In **Poland** the central communist party apparatus is responsible for an almost hopeless situation and has forfeited its credibility. Counterweights to the State bureaucracy, especially the Catholic Church and the Solidarnosc union movement which represents a broad political spectrum, have inherited the legacy left by the ideological, political and economic disintegration of communism. The economic situation is catastrophic and the resultant confrontations and contradictions throughout society will also leave their mark on the organisation of political life.

To the extent to which Solidarity assumes additional tasks including responsibility for government, it is possible that centrifugal forces will increase so that the 'party landscape' in Poland today cannot be regarded as a stable one even in the medium term.

Further changes are also to be expected in the Communist Party, since the PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party) is in a process of clarifying its position and is interested in broadening its contacts with the Socialist International.

3. In **Hungary** the revived forces of classic Hungarian social democracy have created a party structure. There are still difficulties, however, to connect the social democratic heritage with new ideas and a new generation, from which a strong

social democratic movement could become politically decisive.

The transformation of the former communist State Party USP into a new type of socialist party has given Hungarian domestic and foreign policy new impulses. The degree to which this will change the broad spectrum of Hungarian politics will depend on whether or not people see in the transformation of parts of the old USP into the new USP a really credible fresh start. The Socialist International itself will also need to examine very carefully whether or not the USP is able to concretise its intentions and promises in the direction of a pluralist democratic movement, especially since the USP is requesting membership of the SI.

4. In the **German Democratic Republic**, a development has taken place which would have been inconceivable even a few months ago. The departure of many of the old guard, the opening of the frontier with the Federal Republic of Germany, and steps in the direction of a *de facto* surrender of the Socialist Unity Party's monopoly of power, can only be described as a peaceful revolution.

Above all, the breaching of the Berlin Wall, this symbol of the cold war and the division of Europe, is welcomed wholeheartedly by the Socialist International as an historic event. The Socialist International combines with this welcome the hope that the division of Europe will be overcome.

In the context of the changes in the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist International is of the opinion that the process of reform and democratisation in the GDR must take its course without outside interference and that forward-looking forms of cooperation in Germany and Europe should be elaborated.

The union of citizens to form a Social Democratic Party of the German Democratic Republic, whose representatives have already established contact with



the Socialist International, is part of a democratic mass movement embracing all sections of the population, a movement to which the ideas of democratic socialism make a decisive contribution.

5. Clearly the **Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR)** could not avoid the winds of change either. Powerful demonstrations put pressure on the ruling State Party whose security forces tried ruthlessly to suppress the mass movement. Uncertainty remains as to how the demands for reform and the unqualified maintenance of the Party's leading role can be reconciled. It can be expected that the pace of developments will rapidly accelerate in the next days and weeks. The Socialist International in any event demands for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, too, a democratic, peaceful and pluralist development and unequivocally condemns any massive deployment of State coercion against peaceful demonstrators.

In addition to the already well-known personalities of Charter 77 and other civic groups of reformers, parts of the Catholic Church are also among the opposition movement now emerging as the Civic Forum. There is courageous protest which will most certainly lead to fundamental changes. The SI expresses its firm conviction that the ideas of democratic socialism will play an important role in the future of this country.

6. In **Bulgaria** a group within the Communist Party is opting for pragmatism and sapping the previous leadership's power. This group is seeking to reform the system. But the acceptance of the leading role of the Communist Party on the basis of Leninist principles, on the one hand, and the promise of free elections on the other, are goals which are hardly compatible. Therefore it is hardly conceivable that the present situation could constitute the basis for a fresh start.

Reform currents in Bulgarian society are already pressing for economic, ecological and political changes which leave the goals of the present group of leaders far behind.

7. Even though in **Romania** the recent Congress of the ruling party showed no signs of change

it is hardly likely that the dictatorship - one of the most authoritarian and ruthless regimes of today - could escape the fundamental changes occurring among its neighbour countries. We deplore this resistance to reforms and encourage all forces struggling for democratic change.



*Berlin wall:  
fewer  
divisions in  
Europe*

8. In the **Soviet Union**, the SI earnestly desires to see the continuation and success of the transformation initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev. Attempts at economic reforms and the struggle for political democratisation go hand in hand with ecological concern to put an end to the over-exploitation of natural resources and, most notably, pressure for national and cultural autonomy. In the **Baltic Republics** we find the strongest national emphasis in the reform movement. The popular fronts which have emerged have become a powerful motor in the process of reform and the quest for national identity which the communist parties have been unable to evade. The social democratic forces in all three Baltic Republics are in the process of radically reorganising their parties which already existed before the Second World War. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the national emphasis is undeniable.

9. The controversies within the **Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia** betray with increasing clarity the features of a national quarrel combined with the

energetic striving for a democratisation of society.

What the Socialist International would like to see is a Yugoslavia which is politically sound, economically successful, democratic, and a safeguarded united federal state. And the call for unqualified respect for human

rights as a fundamental and indispensable concern has also to be addressed.

The Socialist International assures the forces of reform in Yugoslavia of its readiness for dialogue; contacts should accordingly be made also with all groups which see themselves as social democrats and are prepared to provide concrete evidence of their commitment to our basic values.

### **C. What can be done?**

1. For the Socialist International, but particularly for its member parties in Europe, the situation which exists at the end of 1989 as a result of developments in Eastern Europe is one which calls for the maximum attention, awareness, and also firmness.

The reform processes which so far have taken a peaceful course and which at least in Poland, Hungary and the GDR can be described as peaceful revolutions have reached a stage which should exclude any return to the *status quo ante*.

This does not mean, however, that the results so far achieved



and the developments striven for in the next stage can be regarded as secured and that an undeviating continuance of the developments of recent years and months is guaranteed. On the contrary, even serious setbacks are not simply to be excluded.

We must not discount the possibility that nationalistic and reactionary forces could rush in to fill the vacuum caused by the collapse of the communist ideology, thus hindering the process of reform and democratisation.

It is in the true interests, therefore, of those countries which towards the end of this century are finding peaceful deliverance from totalitarian political systems, if in the pluralist party spectrum of these countries there exist strong social democratic parties which, together with free trade unions, act as guarantors of a democratic development, strive for social progress and can play a pre-eminent part in the necessary cooperation of these countries with Western Europe.

2. 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. It will be guided here by the effort to contribute to a gradual and peaceful development with the object of avoiding sudden and violent changes which could endanger the stability of Europe.

3. Those social democratic formations in countries which had social democratic parties before the Second World War and which subsequently remained within the Socialist International as parties in exile continue to be an historical and integral part of the SI. The decision as to their future status within the Socialist International is taken by these parties themselves in consultation with the bodies of the SI.

New social democratic organisations or movements which appeal to basic social democratic principles will be welcomed confidently by the Socialist International; it will of course have to insist on carefully observing the unity of theory and practice and will also have to endeavour to safeguard against the division of the social

democratic camp. It will strive to ensure that as far as possible there is only one social democratic party in each country, so as to avoid fragmentation.

4. New democratic movements, irrespective of how they see themselves or the sources from which they draw their strength, are regarded by the Socialist International as important partners in dialogue.

5. The goal of the development in Eastern Europe cannot be a restoration of former political or economic systems but the construction of a democratic, socially and ecologically sensitive and economically viable society.

Free, democratic and secret elections in the GDR and in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe are just as indispensable a goal as the creation of free and independent trade unions.

6. The Socialist International 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 EC and EFTA, must promote the process of economic development in Eastern and Central Europe. What must be avoided is any emergence of new forms of dependence and any weakening of the economies of countries already experiencing massive emigration leading also to social tensions in the countries on the receiving end of such migrations. Aspects of special importance for a policy guided by these principles are:

- Providing emergency aid when needed.
- Support in overcoming the burden of foreign indebtedness by moratoria, interest rate reductions and the partial waiving of claims.
- Coordinated public assistance in the development and renewal of vital infrastructural installations (e.g. in the field of transport).
- Support and coordinated efforts to meet the increasing environmental threats, for instance through an all-European Environmental Agency.
- Credits and insurance schemes

for investments in the field of industry and trade. In order to ensure the coordination of the transfer of financial resources and their proper use, it would be helpful to establish a new European Development and Investment Bank to serve both creditor and debtor nations.

- The promotion of joint ventures for the rapid transfer of technical and organisational know-how.
- The opening up of markets in prosperous West European countries for products from countries in Eastern, Central and South East Europe which are in process of democratisation.
- Assistance for management and vocational training through scholarships and exchange programmes, and help in establishing training workshops and educational centres.

7. To sum up, the Socialist International therefore recommends its member parties to make the principles and ideas outlined above the basis of their policy towards Eastern Europe. It 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. If requested, solidarity and also organisational support should be provided.

The SI calls on trade union organisations close to our movement to cooperate with democratic and especially social democratic union movements in Eastern Europe.

The Socialist International will, whenever possible, send observers to major conferences of newly emerging political groups based on social democratic or progressive democratic principles.

While maintaining its commitments in all parts of the world, and not ignoring the significance of the current changes in the East/West security balance, the SI however recognises the historic nature of the current transformations in Eastern Europe and therefore will make every effort to play a constructive and far-sighted role in these events. As political contacts and economic assistance increase, we must step up our work for disarmament and for a new era of mutual trust and common security.



## RESOLUTIONS

### RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Socialist International welcomes the movement of the people of Czechoslovakia for democracy and free elections.

We support the Civic Forum's appeal for dialogue and ask the Czechoslovak authorities to accept their demands and abstain from using force against the aspirations of its people.

### RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT

The Socialist International recalls the desire expressed at our XVIII Congress in Stockholm that the next decade should see a full implementation of defensive military postures and doctrines and the principle of common security in partnership.

We believe the forthcoming meeting of Presidents Bush and Gorbachev can make an important contribution to this process.

The Socialist International believes that the agenda for the year 1990 should include as a minimum:

- conclusion of an initial START treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning a 50% cut in strategic nuclear arms;
- a joint halt to nuclear testing and decisive progress towards a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT);
- a positive outcome to the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference which should re-affirm and strengthen the non-proliferation regime beyond 1995;
- conclusion of an agreement for a total ban on the production, stockpiling or proliferation of chemical weapons;
- the first Vienna agreement on a reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe (CFE), including restrictions on aircraft;
- the start of a joint move to disengage, reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons below a range of 500 kilometres;
- joint action to devise new military doctrines and new

confidence and security building measures (CSBM's), and verification arrangements. We welcome the seminar on military doctrines to be organised within the CSBM negotiations in Vienna in early 1990, which should provide an important forum for serious discussions;

- to start discussing seriously confidence and security building measures at sea, including in the North Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and naval arms control and disarmament measures, in areas such as the Baltic and Nordic Seas.

We reaffirm that our goal is deep cuts in both conventional and nuclear weaponry. The idea of a 50% cut should apply not only to strategic nuclear weapons but also be progressively applied to conventional weapons too. As a general rule our objective must be substantial (eg 50%) reductions in all armaments to equal levels.

We reiterate our support for the development of regional disarmament proposals.

Our ultimate aim remains the goal of general and complete disarmament of conventional weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction, under effective international verification, and the mobilisation of additional resources which can be dedicated to development aid.

### RESOLUTION ON HAÏTI

The Socialist International notes with regret that in Haïti:

1. insecurity is once again becoming a nightmare for Haïtian people;
2. units of the Haïtian army are once again torturing political prisoners and detaining them in prison illegally; the cases of Evens Paul, Etienne Marineau and Jean Auguste Mesyeux, who were arrested on 1 November 1989, are well known;
3. political assassinations are again taking place and those responsible are not being arrested.

The Socialist International

therefore calls upon the government of General Prosper Avril to take all necessary measures to ensure respect for human rights and to commit Haïti to the process of democratisation in accordance with the wishes of the Haïtian people and democrats throughout the world.

The Socialist International supports Haitian democratic forces in urging the Haïtian Electoral Council to formulate a shorter and less complex electoral calendar. The Haïtian people and international public opinion call for the holding of free elections by secret ballot within a more reasonable time-frame so as to allow Haïti to finish with a provisional situation that has lasted too long.

### RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

The Council, after hearing the reports of the two SI missions to Namibia to observe the electoral process and the elections themselves, expressed its profound satisfaction that free and fair elections could take place as a decisive step towards an independent and democratic state of Namibia.

The Council states its high esteem for the unique and constructive role which the United Nations has hitherto played in this difficult process and which has greatly strengthened its position in the world.

The Council is pleased with the genuineness of the ballot which has proved the maturity of the Namibian people and their will to build an egalitarian and united nation where exclusion and segregation will disappear.

The Council conveys to SWAPO the sincere congratulations of the SI for its impressive victory in the first democratic elections in which the entire Namibian nation has taken part.

The Council emphasises its expectation that all parties represented in the Constituent Assembly will cooperate constructively and responsibly to build the new State of Namibia on a solid constitutional foundation. This must include adequate treatment of human rights violations committed by both sides in the past and necessary consequences, as well as constitutional guarantees for



human rights and civil liberties.

The Council urges South Africa to refrain from any kind of interference in the process but to fully honour, in letter and spirit, its obligations under UN Security Council Resolution 435, including its financial commitments to the territory to the day of independence.

The Council appeals to the international community to maintain their full support to UNTAG to the completion of its task, and to prepare for the necessary assistance to the new Namibia after independence.

The SI member parties undertake to work for these objectives in their countries.

### **RESOLUTION ON ROMANIA**

The SI expresses its deep concern over recent developments in Romania, where human rights are systematically violated, where national minorities' rights are neglected and where the rule of Ceausescu and of a small leading group of the Communist Party is imposing its dictatorship, suppressing any opposition, in flagrant contradiction of the Final Act of Helsinki, signed by the Romanian government.

The SI expresses its solidarity with the Romanian people and with the democratic forces in Romania who are fighting for civil rights and democratic change despite the repression.

### **RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA**

The Council of the Socialist International whilst noting that President F.W. de Klerk has taken some positive steps, e.g. releasing a number of political prisoners and commuting some death penalties in the past months, emphasizes that these steps do not affect the pillars of the apartheid system in any way. The discriminatory legislation and the repressive laws continue to exist. Nelson Mandela and many others are still in prison.

Reforms of the apartheid system, as announced by the white South African government, are completely inadequate and therefore unacceptable. The apartheid system itself must go.

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, including one person - one vote. The road towards that goal can only be through negotiation with the genuine leaders of the majority.

It is for the government to create conditions conducive to a climate of negotiation which must include:

- the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners;
- the unbanning and lifting of the restrictions on organisations and individuals;
- the repeal of the state of emergency and all repressive legislation;
- the removal of troops from the townships;
- the cessation of political trials and executions.

The final step must be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will hammer out a new constitution.

The Socialist International supports these legitimate demands of the South African majority. The SI welcomes the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity, subsequently supported by the Non-Aligned Movement, as a realistic and feasible basis for a just solution.

While apartheid continues to exist it is necessary to maintain and increase political, diplomatic and economic pressure, including comprehensive sanctions, on the white minority regime.

### **STATEMENT ON EL SALVADOR**

The Council of the Socialist International deplores the intensification of the civil war in El Salvador and expresses its profound sympathy and concern over the senseless suffering and deaths inflicted upon the Salvadorean people as a result of that conflict. We acknowledge the root causes of this war to be the political repression and economic injustice which have beset El Salvador throughout its modern history. We assert that any attempt to achieve a permanent resolution of this war must be predicated on a sincere

commitment to political freedom and economic justice. We call upon all the parties to this conflict and in particular upon the FMLN, the government of El Salvador, and the government of the United States to turn away from policies which use violence as the means for resolving political conflict, and to embark upon a new policy which respects the sacred right of the Salvadorean people to non-violent, indigenous and democratic self-determination. Specifically, we urge our member parties to call upon their governments to give their full, public support to the following course of action:

1. The agreement of the Salvadorean government and the FMLN to an immediate and authentic cease-fire.
2. The immediate suspension of all military aid from all external sources.
3. The establishment of a United Nations monitoring group to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.
4. The conditioning of all further aid to the Government of El Salvador on the strict observance of elemental standards of human and political rights. We are particularly concerned that the government of El Salvador has used the current crisis as a pretext for the annihilation of religious leaders, democratic opposition leaders, labour leaders and other critics of conscience. We call upon the government of the United States to make clear to the government of El Salvador that it must guarantee the personal safety of the leaders of the MNR and of all other political and religious leaders as a condition of receiving further financial or material support.
5. The establishment of an international monitoring group to help ensure the observance of basic human and political rights.
6. The immediate commencement of serious peace negotiations and the participation in those negotiations of a broad representation of social and political forces as called for in the Mexican Agreement of September 1989.



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# SICLAC HOLDS FIRST MEETING IN QUITO

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) met for the first time in Quito, Ecuador, on 17 and 18 January 1990, at the invitation of the governing Democratic Left Party (PID), a member party of the Socialist International.

Participants, representing SI member parties and guest organisations from the region, and also other SI members from Europe and North America, were welcomed by Rodrigo Borja, president of Ecuador and leader of the host party. In his opening remarks, President Borja evoked the historic times in which this meeting was taking place. In 'the death throes of those neo-liberal ideas which gave rise to misery, frustration and marginalisation in the countries of the Third World', and in the spectacular events taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe, we were

witnessing, he said, a vindication of the commitment shared by all democratic socialists to 'the reconciliation of freedom with economic security'. He underlined the importance of the Socialist International as a forum for the exploration and strengthening of that commitment.

Other speakers at the well attended opening session included SI vice president Enrique Silva Cimma, Nicolás Issa Obando, national director of the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador, and SI general secretary Luis Ayala.

The Committee focused on the problem of drug-trafficking, and also discussed developments in relation to foreign debt, processes of democratisation in Latin America, the situation in Central America, and recent events in Panama. It passed a number of resolutions, which are printed here in full.

## RESOLUTIONS

### THE PROBLEM OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, at its meeting in Quito on 17 and 18 January 1990, NOTES:

- that the problem of the illegal trading of psychotropic drugs has turned into one of the fundamental problems facing mankind in the last decades of the 20th century,
- that the problem is universal,

and not confined just to Latin America.

INDICATES:

- that the greatest consumption of these substances is in the developed countries, but that not only the consumption takes place in these countries, but the production of various vital chemical ingredients included in their preparation also takes place there,
- various pieces of evidence also suggest that other aspects of the billion-dollar drug trade - both manufacturing and financial