# SI COUNCIL IN TOKYO

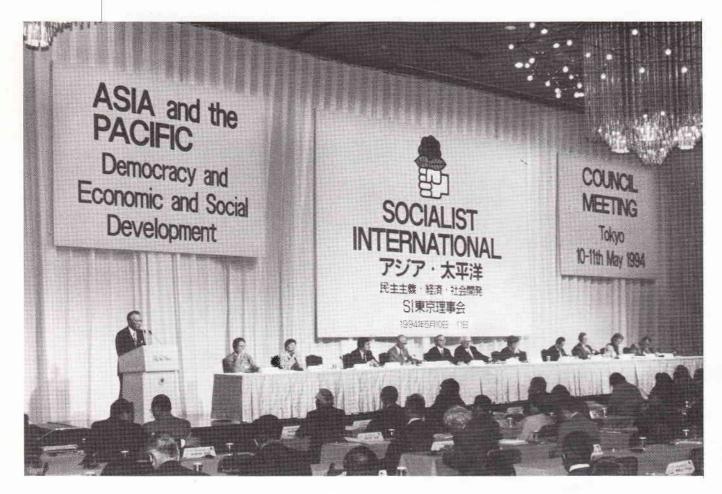
The SI Council met in Tokyo on 10 - 11 May 1994 at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Japan and the Japan Democratic Socialist Party. The main theme on the Council's agenda was 'Asia and the Pacific - Democracy and Economic and Social Development'.

Opening the Council meeting, SI President Pierre Mauroy spoke of Japan's distinguished position on the world economic stage and increasingly, too, on the political stage. He paid tribute to the Socialist International's member parties in Japan, which had recently played an impor-

tant role in the first change for 50 years in the political alignment of the country's government. 'We want to symbolically open, here in Tokyo,' he said, 'a new era for the Socialist International, which is becoming more and more universal'.

Although this was by no

means the first Socialist International meeting in Japan, it was the first meeting there of the SI Council, bringing together all member parties and organisations. 'We are here,' Pierre Mauroy said, 'because we believe the social democratic model is not just a European model. It has



taken root on other continents, and has succeeded. We think we can offer to many Asian powers... a political and social perspective corresponding to a high degree of development'. He referred to the many recent gains for democracy in the region. A number of leading actors in the countries concerned were, by no coincidence, attending the SI Council. 'Belying the ideas so much touted a decade ago, these countries', he continued, 'are discovering that democracy, far from impeding economic dynamism, is one of its essential dimensions'. The International, he said, was proud to count among its members in Asia, along with the Japanese parties, the Pakistan People's Party, led by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto; the Australian Labor Party, which recently achieved a record fifth election victory; the Nepali Congress Party, also in government; the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia; the Philippines Democratic Socialist Party; the Fiji Labour Party; the New Zealand Labour Party, and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party.

The previous Council in Lisbon had agreed that the main work of the SI Council in Tokyo would be the continuation of discussions on democracy and economic and social questions affecting the Asia-Pacific region, already developed in some depth by the SI Committee for Asia and the Pacific, at its two-day inaugural meeting last December in Kathmandu. The discussions in Kathmandu had also underlined the crucial impact of peace and security questions, in Asia as elsewhere, and these too would be on the Council's agenda, the SI president underlined.

'Since the end of the cold war', he said, 'we have entered a period which gave birth to many hopes'. He referred to the signature a few days previously of the Gaza-Jericho agreement, describing this as 'a moment full of promise, but also a moment of sadness', and speaking of the terrible bloodshed in the territories concerned, as well as the steadfast courage of the peace negotiators, to whom he pledged the continuing support of the Socialist International and its commitment to mobilise the assistance of the international community to the new Palestinian authorities.

He referred to the fall of the Berlin Wall, which unleashed a great wave of freedom, but also a new era of acute local crises and conflicts, whose cruellest manifestation was in the former Yugoslavia. A firm stance on the part of the international community in that conflict was essential, he said, but negotiations, at all costs, must also continue.

How best to develop the work of the United Nations was today the central question for our collective security, he continued. The International and a number of its leaders in particular, had been working intensively on that question.

Equally, he stressed, collective security was directly affected by the economic situation. The need for a return to economic growth - a different kind of growth from that of the past was a central plank in the SI's work. He referred to the economic platform currently being prepared by the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, and to other alternative models for growth recently developed by the European Union, in Japan and in the United States. He welcomed the signature of the GATT agreements as the only alternative to - often understandable moves towards increased protectionism in the face of economic crisis, whilst underlining the need to work, together with others such as the International Labour Organisation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for a strong social dimension to future structures of economic cooperation.

If economic growth was one important building block for peace, the other, Pierre Mauroy emphasised, was human rights and freedoms. He spoke of the newly free and democratic South Africa, of continuing democratic development in Latin America, of the threat to human rights in Algeria, and of concern in Europe about certain sentiments expressed by the extreme rightwing element of the new Italian coalition government. The situation in Japan's great neighbour, China, came strongly to mind in this context, he said. The problems were well known: millions of political prisoners, no freedom of expression, trade union freedoms undermined, huge social inequalities, and a dangerous degree of nationalism, manifest not only in the unfair treatment of minority groups but in the international arena. However, China was an important player on the world stage, a member of the UN Security Council, and the country's increasing integration in the world community was both desirable and inevitable. He called for an approach combining openness to dialogue with firmness of principle, as shown by SI leaders in the past in relation to the former Soviet Union.

The third building block for peace, he concluded, was the continued development of our own International. Since the Berlin Congress, the Socialist International had continued to grow, both in terms of participation, with an unprecedented

number of parties applying for membership, and in terms of ideas: 'Political victory comes not just through votes, but also, and perhaps above all, through ideas... The Socialist International is rich in the diversity of its members' experiences and we must learn to share even more... In a time of all sorts of questioning, when humanity seems to be losing the sense of material and human progress... which marked preceding decades, I think it is essential that we make our voice heard on problems such as drugs, AIDS, the psychological and emotional effects of poverty - not strictly political problems perhaps, but problems whose solution always falls finally to those with political responsibil-

'The Socialist International must re-double its initiatives to join in direct dialogue with world public opinion. Our universality... is not an end in itself, but gives us a quite unique

dimension, allowing us, beyond the diversity of states, of peoples, of cultures, to make the force of our values felt'.

#### Asia and the Pacific

Welcoming SI delegates to Tokyo, Tomiichi Murayama, chair of the SPDJ, said, 'Many tasks lie ahead of us, such as the creation of peace on a worldwide scale, environmental protection, human rights protection, conquest of hunger and poverty and removal of the economic gap. In such an age, an important significance is attached to the way the social democratic force, which masses 111 political parties and organisations throughout the world, is going to take the leadership for the progress of the global community, advocating their basic principles of freedom, fairness and solidarity and transcending national boundaries'. His party, he said, was pursuing co-existence and development amid

diversity of political systems and geographical, cultural and religious diversity. He spoke with pride of Japan's post-World-War-II constitution, and of the fact that 'there have been no "made in Japan" weapons in any regional disputes the world over for nearly 50 years'. With today's rapid population and economic growth, he said, 'social progress and economic prosperity are indispensable for mankind to keep living healthily in the 21st century. I believe it is the duty of this Council meeting to consider what joint international actions to launch in order to serve that end'. Turning to the current situation in Japan, he reported that, despite the many difficulties, which had led to his party leaving the coalition government. 'still, popular support for the social democratic forces... is growing strong. This is because in Japan democracy which refuses to allow revival of a power-oriented political force,

Luis Ayala, Pierre Mauroy, Makoto Tanabe

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has taken root among the people'.

Participants were also welcomed by Keigo Ouchi, chair of the DSP. He spoke of his party's close identification with the Socialist International and its pride that 'much credit is due to the member parties of the Socialist International in promoting peace and the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations'.

As minister of health and welfare in the government of Japan, he referred to the 'Welfare Vision for the 21st Century' which he had initiated and of his hopes of beginning to build a true welfare state.

Evoking, as the other opening speakers had, the great unresolved problems besetting the world today, he called for the continued strengthening of solidarity and mutual cooperation, quoting the words of Japanese writer and Nobel laureate Yasanari Kawabata: 'A Japanese thinks about his friends most when he sees a beautiful scene of the snow, moon or flowers. When we come across such a beautiful scene, we do not try to enjoy it all by ourselves. We want to share the joy with our friends, loved ones or families.

This is the essence of the Japanese mind and feeling. This is also the concept associated with the spirit of coexistence and cooperation'.

The Socialist International's Japanese vice-president, Makoto Tanabe, described in his address at the opening of the discussions a global situation where 'with the end of the cold war as the turning point, antagonism between blocs and between states in military and economic respects has become meaningless and a new order of cooperation of human society is being groped for, while at the same time a path is being opened up in the economic area, for the first time in history, toward a single market with a rule common to the entire world'.

He continued, 'the picture of the world economy headed for the 21st century depicts an image of a global economy with the economic spheres of the European Union, NAFTA and East Asia, which are achieving reinforcement of integration and also expansion, as three supporting pillars, open to each other and dependent on each other. Moves of the three regional economic spheres are progressing in

the direction of preparing regional conditions for responding to an age of "global economy" and in that sense the current development of regionalism is realising a positive significance of being a complement to globalism'.

A wide-ranging network had been formed, Tanabe said, centring on the 17 nations of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation conference, APEC, and drawing on the rapid growth of the Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs), the Association of South-East Asian Nations, ASEAN, and China, as well as the increasing regional involvement of Japan and of the United States.

Japan, he said, had in the past pursued rather old-fashioned policies, inclining too much to protectionism and to a backward-looking concept of 'national interest'. The reform of certain old systems and practices within the country had been too slow. The change of government in 1993 had opened up real possibilities of reform and the Social Democrats, despite their withdrawal from the government, remained committed to such reform.

JAPAN SDPJ JAPAN

Gro Harlem Brundtland, Tomiichi Murayama, Keigo Ouchi

He called for a positive acceptance of the 'new tide' in world affairs; for cooperation in tackling the extreme social and economic inequalities in many Asian countries and in protecting the environment, with more advanced countries assisting 'sustainable development' in poorer nations; for a concept of international relations which would clearly respect regional positions; for an understanding of the limitations of the market. and finally for a commitment to peace.

'In the Asia-Pacific region at present', Tanabe said, 'there are no fiery conflicts like those in the Middle East, Africa and the former Yugoslavia. However, as all are aware, threats of potential disputes are smouldering on the Korean Peninsula and in some parts of Central and South Asia'. These should be resolved through persistent dialogue.

'Peoples of advanced countries', he concluded, 'should not spare their efforts to shoulder certain burdens and impose selfrestraints on themselves... In Japan, acceptance of liberalisation of rice and other farm products was indeed a painful choice. The nation is pressed for the establishment of burden-sharing of the current generation in order to preserve the environment and ecological system, prepare for an aging society and actively promote international cooperation'.

The first vice-president of the Socialist International, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, prefaced her remarks with a reminder of predictions that by the year 2,000 more than half the world's people were likely to be in the Asia-Pacific region, and the dynamic economies of the region were likely to be growing by around seven per cent annually, as com-

pared with around two per cent in Europe.

'The Socialist International', she said, 'should play a leading role in bringing home to millions, even billions of Asians the need for more democracy, more equal opportunity, and the right of all people to take an active part in shaping their own societies and their own future.

'Asian countries have their own traditions and cultural roots which are much older than those of Europe. Each country will have to draw on the best of its traditions. However, there are certain universal elements of democracy which should be respected regardless of cultural and religious traditions or the degree of economic and social development.

'As social democrats we see democracy as the only workable framework for positive and sustainable change... Democracy owes its superiority to its built-in mechanism for coping with insecurity, acquiring new insights, making adjustments, and learning from mistakes. It cannot be achieved by top-down processes. It must have its base in our communities, in the minds and priorities of the individual citizen and voter, in political parties and in the network of interest groups and non-governmental organisations which are an essential part of any pluralistic society...

'As social democrats we view the government as an agent of its principals, the citizens... "That government is best which governs least" is an alien concept to us. We want a dedicated, active government...

'Economic growth will not automatically lead to increased stability and greater welfare for everyone. In order to improve living standards and social welfare for all people, it is absolutely essential that economic and



political changes go hand in hand'.

Helen Clark, recently elected leader of the New Zealand Labour Party but active for many years in the Socialist International, pointed out that geographic and social conditions in many parts of Asia and the Pacific had made the establishment of democracy and of social democratic parties very difficult. However, with the extraordinary economic dynamism of the region, as so often in the early stages of industrialisation anywhere, a heavy price for growth was being paid in many countries by workers and by the environment, and the perspective on development offered by labour and social democratic parties was vital. Around the Pacific Rim, she added, there were now nations at all stages of economic development. In some countries, it was already the pattern for the huge increases experienced in gross domestic product to be reflected in rising living standards for most people, together with retirement pensions, major investment in housing, employ-

Right: Helen Clark ment insurance, and other forms of collective provision. These were encouraging models for other fast-growing nations in the region.

Meanwhile, in New Zealand, as in many other countries around the world which had industrialised earlier, the movement in recent years had been to cut back on such provision - surely not the way to maintain a highwage, high-skill economy.

She paid tribute to the way that economic and social development had gone hand in hand in Japan in the last decades.

'Our movement', she said, 'expresses universal values. In practice they may be expressed in different ways, but the objectives are shared. Respect for human right is a widely shared value irrespective of culture... The social democratic movement in the past has successfully bridged the gap between cultures and between national traditions. The success of the SI, for example, in promoting democracy in Latin America, in promoting the dialogue with eastern Europe and on disarmament which played such an important role in ending the cold war, in supporting dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, and in supporting the transition to democracy in South Africa, shows what can be achieved.'

Norberto Gonzales, chair of the Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP, recalled that the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos used to claim that 'western-style freedoms' were a stumbling block to the Philippines becoming a great nation, a hindrance to faster economic growth and fuller development. However, the years had shown that 'social justice was inherently incompatible with dictatorship, the gap between the rich and the poor became wider, poverty incidence reached a high of 50 per cent in 1985... the economic policies and practices of the Marcos dictatorship left the country's economy in a shambles - a mess that the PDSP believes will take decades to cor-

'The Filipino people', he recalled, 'launched a peaceful uprising that had come to be known as the People Power revolt of February 1986. The world for some golden months looked at Filipinos not as illegal migrant workers, but as a great people that showed the world a peaceful way of toppling dictatorships'.

However, subsequent governments had shown a lack of political will to foster economic growth and social justice and a tendency to serve only the narrow interests of an elite. The PDSP was advocating political reform and the promotion of parties genuinely based on policies and programmes rather than traditional politics based on patronage and personalities, he concluded.

Founded in 1990, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party had

played a leading role in the process of democratisation in Mongolia, Party Chair Radnaasumberel Gonchigdorj told the Council. In the first democratic elections, held in that year, the party had won several seats and joined in a coalition government, with himself as a vicepresident of the country. Mongolia had made its choice for a free market economy and the political and economic transition was inevitably fraught with hardship. The MSDP was now in opposition, the former ruling communist party having won more than 90 per cent of seats in the most recent elections. In a deteriorating situation, with curbs on freedom of expression, government corruption and retreat from democracy and market economy principles, members of the parliamentary opposition, including himself, had recently staged a hunger strike which had attracted international attention. Mongolia's potential remained great, he stressed, with rich mineral resources, a well preserved natural environment, and an increasing population in a large and as yet sparsely populated country. Current concerns for the future of democracy, economic growth and regional peace must be forcefully tackled.

Ahmed Nor, of the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia, warmly welcomed the series of SI meetings in Asia and the Pacific over the past three years and expressed his hope and confidence that the International, and in particular its recently established Committee for Asia and the Pacific would have an ever-more direct and positive role in the region. He recounted to the Council some adverse developments in Malaysia, where the governing party was to introduce in parliament that

Left: Ian McLean





Hun Sen

very day amendments to the constitution which represented a further attack on democracy and human rights and posed a major threat to the independence of the judiciary.

Ian McLean, of the Australian Labor Party, underlined the role played by the country's present Labor government in the establishment of the Asia and Pacific **Economic Cooperation Confer**ence, APEC, and in pointing Australia towards Asia, where its future, without doubt, increasingly lay. The ALP, he said, had been stimulated, not least by its recent work in assisting the African National Congress during the South African election campaign, to renew its commitment to internationalism. It wanted to play a more active and constructive role in the Socialist International and, under its banner, to support the developing parties in its region, where there were many strong and established parties, and also many new and struggling ones which needed the support of their international 'family'.

The SI meetings in Tokyo, he said, encouraged him to the view that the International and its member parties recognised the

golden opportunities to advance their cause in the Asia-Pacific region, as indeed was also the case in eastern Europe, in Latin America and in Africa after the fall of apartheid. He described the recent secondment of ALP officials to the election campaign in South Africa and stressed that his party wanted to be similarly available to give practical assistance to other developing parties in formulating policy and in fighting elections.

The meeting heard from Felix Anthony, of the Fiji Labour Party, an account of the situation in Fiji, where the constitution promulgated in 1990 following the military coups of 1987 was, he said, 'rightly described as a travesty of democratic principles, human rights and the rule of law'. The constitution was, he said, in gross violation of the principles set out in the Geneva Convention and other conventions of the United Nations. It enshrined the political supremacy of the Fijian over the Indian race - and, indeed, also of the rural over the urban Fijian population - and vested undue power in the prime minister. He brought from the Fiji Labour Party an appeal for the Socialist International to send a team of observers to Fiji to examine cases of human and trade union righs abuse and the Council subsequently agreed to undertake such a mission.

Sagar Rana of the Nepali Congress Party recalled the history of his party, from its foundation in 1947 and through two democratic revolutions in 1951 and in 1990, when the Nepali Congress led a successful, peaceful movement to restore democracy. Now, he said, the party faced the challenge of translating its commitment to social justice into reality, in the context of a world environment much changed

from that of 20 or 30 years ago.

Intervening in the debate, Raimon Obiols, the new international secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, recalled the many occasions in the recent past on which SI leaders has stressed the importance of an active presence for the International in Asia and the Pacific and added his own welcome to the many already expressed for the holding of this major meeting in the region. He spoke of the priority currently given by democratic socialists in Europe to the construction of European unity. 'But', he said, 'this should not lead us to a closed-in attitude. We want to build a politically united Europe and at the same time a broader and more open Europe, as a strong contribution to increasing cooperation with the rest of the world, as a means to work for peace and to struggle for greater equality between North and South, East and West'.

Among the guests at the SI Council was the second prime minister of Cambodia, Hun Sen. He told the Council of his gratitude to the international community for supporting his country in the search for peace, national reconciliation, democracy and development. The peace process in Cambodia was widely regarded, he said, as a model of a successful operation by the United Nations. He also thanked the international community, and in particular Japan, for economic assistance to the government elected in 1993.

The remaining difficulties in the path of peaceful democratic and economic development were great. He stressed the continuing violent threat of the Khmer Rouge, who still refused to implement the Peace Accords they had signed, as well as the enormous human, material and financial resources needed for the reconstruction of what was now one of the world's poorest countries.

However, Cambodia now looked to the future with some hope, with 'the end of the period of confrontation and the emergence of a peaceful and cooperative South-East Asia, conducive to development of all the countries of the region'.

Present too were representatives of FUNCINPEC, partner of the Cambodian People's Party in government. Om Radsady told the Council that the priorities of the Cambodian government were education, security and peace and democracy. He too spoke with hope of the future, referring to his own recent time observing the first democratic elections in South Africa. The Cambodian and the South African people, he said, 'both have stood in line for many, many years before we were able to witness these beautiful achievements: freedom and liberty in democracy'.

Sheikh Hasina, president of the Bangladesh Awami League, reminded the SI Council that relations between her party and the Socialist International were longstanding. They remembered with appreciation and gratitude that the SI had supported the people of Bangladesh in the past. She welcomed the opportunity provided by the Tokyo meeting to discuss how to strengthen the structures and institutions on which the success of a truly democratic system depended.

The past three years of rule by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, she said, had been a period of economic stagnation, growing poverty and rising unemployment, during which the country had failed to keep pace with much of the region. Meanwhile, her party had been developing



policies for the encouragement of foreign investment alongside governmental action to improve the basic services of the state and infrastructure.

Another guest was Win Khet, chair of the National League for Democracy, Burma, who told the Council that 1994 was a very critical year for his country, where real political change was a possibility, but there was also a possibility that the dictatorship might succeed in legitimising and consolidating its power. (Win Khet writes on page 10).

Araz Alizadeh, chair of the Social Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, said that the problems and principles being discussed had great importance for his country in its current conflict situation.

Chansamone Voravong, president of the Organisation of the Laotian Communities for Refugees and the National Accord, OLREC, echoed the views expressed by many when he spoke of the important role he saw for the Socialist International in improving the prospects for a peaceful world order by enhancing social justice and incorporating a standard of morality and ethics into the

world. He went on to outline the situation in his own country, in practice little changed from the one-party dictatorship in place since 1975, with its consequent lack of respect for human rights, apathy among the citizens, and an ever-deteriorating economy. There had, however, been some hopeful developments, he said, such as the easing of travel restrictions both within the country and internationally. He called for support for initiatives of reconciliation and democracy and stressed the tradition of peace and solidarity among the Laotian people.

Also among the guests was Akira Yamagishi, president of the Japan Trade Union Confederation - RENGO. He underlined the support of his Confederation for political reform in Japan and the eventual establishment of a two-party system. 'Social democracy', he said, 'has so far in history built welfare states in developed countries with the substantial backing of workers. Also in the international community from now on, facing the 21st century, I firmly believe that social democratic forces will play a more significant role towards meeting the challenges for mankind, such as peace, human rights, development and environmental issues'.

Discussion of the main agenda item concluded with the Council's adoption of a resolution on Democracy and Development in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as resolutions on Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma and Fiji.

#### Regional security

The second theme on the Council's agenda in Tokyo was regional and global security. Introducing the discussion, SI Vice-President Kalevi Sorsa, chair of the SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD, said

Left: Sheikh Hasina Right: Felix Anthony

Sagar Rana that the present balance of power in Asia was complicated. 'There are five distinct powers influencing the region: China, India, Japan, Russia and the United States.' he said. 'None of these can be considered as being in an overwhelming position. The situation is rather one of a delicate balance of power. What is important in the future is that Asian states do not engage in even fiercer disputes over economic and territorial issues than during the cold war.

'The new cooperation between East and West has given Asia also the opportunity of resolving conficts through regional cooperation. A comprehensive regional security policy may, however, prove a more difficult objective to achieve than in a bipolarised world. We have seen several examples illustrating this in Europe over the last few years, and indeed in other continents'.

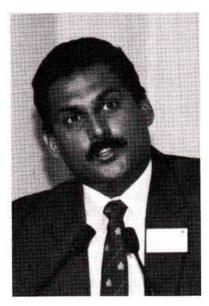
He described the experience of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, whose role in helping to end the cold war was, he said, routinely underestimated. A CSCE-type model had, in his opinion, much to offer the Asia-Pacific region,

and indeed other regions of the world.

He went on to introduce the draft resolution on global and regional security prepared by SIPSAD and subsequently adopted by the Council (see page 36).

SIW President Anne-Marie Lizin said in her intervention, 'It is essential to redefine the concept of security... The main factor responsible for conflicts is the great poverty in which hundreds of millions of the world's peoples find themselves. This poverty is linked and perpetuated by a high level of malnutrition, illiteracy and population explosion. In despair, with no possibility of improving their lot in the foreseeable future, these peoples are ready to follow any discourse, however fallacious, which promises a better life'.

Introducing a draft resolution on nuclear weapons, Maj-Britt Theorin of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, spoke first of the many hopeful signs of recent years: the START I and II agreements, the dismantling of many nuclear weapons, the moves towards a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. However, she said, there were also negative developments, 'the spread of nuclear technologies usable for nuclear weapons, new nuclear-weapon states, where export control laws and norms are almost non-existent, the obvious risk of proliferation of plutonium and highly enriched uranium and the spread of former Soviet nuclear weapons, experts and technologies'. The draft resolution - which the Council subsequently adopted called, she stressed, for a halt to nuclear testing for all time; for the prolongation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty until a more comprehensive measure could be implemented; for effective



export-control legislation and enforcement systems in the new nuclear-weapons states; for all existing stocks of weapons-usable nuclear material to be put under the control of the United Nations; and for governments to support the case currently before the International Court of Justice, which sought to clarify that the use of nuclear weapons was in contravention of international law.

#### Africa

António Guterres, co-chair of the SI Committee for Africa, reported to the Council on the Committee's activities, describing the feelings of Committee members as a mixture of hope and despair - hope because of the amazing success of the South African elections, and a renewed resolution to work for maximum support to the new government. But, it must be said, some despair when looking at the political, social and economic situation of the majority in Africa.

At its very successful meeting in Johannesburg in March the Committee had also discussed the situation in a number of other African countries and



reached consensus on future action in a number of areas. A working group had been formed to focus on the economic situation. Other priorities were assistance to African parties with political training, and a system for rapid reaction to threats to peace and the democratic process in Africa.

Efforts by the international community in a number of African countries had been insufficient, he said, as in Angola, or less than well organised, as in Somalia. New approaches were needed on the part of individual countries and of the international community in assisting African nations to build up the conditions and institutions of stability and democracy. Also needed was an honest evaluation of the role of international economic factors in perpetuating poverty and conflict in Africa.

#### The United Nations

Lasse Budtz, Social Democratic Party of Denmark, reported on behalf of the working group established by SIPSAD to study the reform of the United Nations in matters relating to peace and security, which he had chaired. He said that the United Nations was, without a doubt, passing through a crisis, with many new members, and with the vast and continuing global repercussions of the events of 1989. The new role of the UN was currently the subject of intense discussion within the organisation itself. Also of considerable significance was the Commission on Global Governance headed by former Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, which was expected to present its report late in 1994 or early in 1995. Proposals from the SIPSAD working group would be presented to the Carlsson Commission, and these same proposals formed the basis of a draft resolution presented to the Council and subsequently adopted (see page 37). The main proposals were the decentralisation of crisis management to regional organisations; the strengthening of the role of the UN secretary general, and the reinforcement of the legitimacy of the Security Council, by reform of its membership.

Gérard Fuchs, Socialist Party, PS, France, another member of the SIPSAD working group, also underlined the view that the role of the UN is still insufficiently defined to allow it to play its role to the fullest in the post-coldwar world.

#### **UN Social Summit**

Among the guests at the Tokyo Council meeting was Juan Somavía, the chair of the preparatory committee for next year's UN Social Summit. He reported to the Council on preparations for the summit, which he described as one of the most political processes yet undertaken by the UN. For the first time, he said, the UN would convene heads of state and leaders of governments to discuss three basic issues: the reduction

of poverty, the generation of productive employment and the promotion of social integration - the issues at the heart of politics; the issues on which governments won and lost elections. He looked forward to a major input from the Socialist International and its member parties in the summit.

# Socialist cities conference

The Council agreed to convene a Conference of Socialist Cities in Bologna, Italy. Socialist mayors from all around the world will have the opportunity to exchange their experiences, problems and achievements at the level of city administration; resolutions based on those exchanges will be presented to a subsequent meeting of the SI Council.

The Tokyo meeting, Pierre Mauroy said in his closing remarks, had brought forward many new perspectives. Much had been learned, and many hopes and fears expressed: hope because the Council met at a great and symbolic moment, as Nelson Mandela assumed the presidency of South Africa; hope because of the positive election results in Hungary, which opened up new perspectives for restructuring the unity of international socialism; continued rejoicing over the peace process in the Middle East. There were, he said, both hopes and apprehensions with regard to Asia, and great work to be done. The meeting in Tokyo had brought together an unprecedented number of Asian parties under the auspices of the Socialist International, and highlighted many significant developments and important links between countries and parties in the region.

Left: Radnaasumberel Gonchigdorj

# REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE COUNCIL IN TOKYO

My first task is to thank our comrades of the Social Democratic Party of Japan and the Democratic Socialist Party for their generous hospitality and support for the first Socialist International Council meeting held in Japan. This is a meeting of great significance for the further consolidation of our International's active presence in Asia and the Pacific. It provides an extremely valuable and welcome opportunity for all of us to deepen our knowledge and appreciation of political life in Japan, and to strengthen ties with all our member parties, friends and guests in the Asia-Pacific region.

#### II

At our last Council meeting in Lisbon we were honoured by the presence of two men upon whom the eyes of the world continue to rest - Shimon Peres, and, as a special guest, Nelson Mandela. We saluted their leadership and determination and reaffirmed the deep commitment of the Socialist International to the struggle for peace and democracy in the Middle East and South Africa, and throughout the world.

After the meeting in Lisbon, we heard with satisfaction and pride that Nelson Mandela, together with F W De Klerk, had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Our president, Pierre Mauroy, and our vice-president, António Guterres, conveyed our congratulations in person when they travelled to South Africa in December. They met with Mandela and other ANC leaders, as well as with President De Klerk and trade union, church and business leaders to gather information on the situation and reaffirm the support of the Socialist International for democratisation.

In January, I was in South Africa to meet with ANC leaders and to make preparations for the first meeting ever held by our International in South Africa. Our SI Committee for Africa met in Johannesburg in March, with the participation of an ANC delegation led by Walter Sisulu and Thabo Mbeki. The meeting was a concrete expression of the International's support for democracy in South Africa. It also underlined the importance of South African democracy for the whole continent, and provided an opportunity for an exchange of views between political leaders from South Africa and a number of other countries on the continuing struggle for peace and democracy in Africa.

In April, I returned to South Africa with an SI delegation that was privileged to be among the many international observers of the historic elections. In addition to the official SI observer delegation, many members of SI member parties were in South Africa to support the ANC, to promote the electoral process and to observe the voting. It was a truly rewarding experience for all.

As our Council convenes in Tokyo, Nelson Mandela assumes the presidency of South Africa. The elections were a great victory for the ANC and its supporters throughout the world. The new democratic government now has the enormous task of addressing the conditions of poverty and underdevelopment left behind by apartheid. At our meeting in Johannesburg, we declared our readiness to support the new government and pledged to urge our governments and international institutions to do the same. As we rejoice with South Africans today, we must look to the fulfilment of that pledge.

#### Ш

In Lisbon we hailed the signing of longawaited agreements between the government of Israel and the Palestinians and reaffirmed the International's support for the peace process in the Middle East. We have continued to follow closely and to support the latest stage of the process begun in Washington last September. We take pride in the role of our member parties in the Israeli government, of our Palestinian friends, and of the many parties of our International within the region and around the world, whose representatives have worked tirelessly to foster the peace process. On a sad day in January, many of us attended the funeral of one of them, Jøhan Jürgen Holst, the foreign minister of Norway, whose government played such an important role in helping to achieve the agreements last year.

When our SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC, chaired by Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, met in Brussels in February, we heard first-hand reports on the progress of the latest negotiations. Our Committee agreed on the importance of continuing to provide a forum for contacts between all parties. We underlined the need for agreements involving Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, as well as between Israel and the Palestinians. We emphasised the importance of economic aid to the Palestinians, and heard a report from Juan Prat, director general of the Commission of the European Union, on EU aid and cooperation in the territories. Finally, we stressed the need for confidence-building measures at all levels of society.

The most recent agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, achieved after many difficulties, bear witness to the determination and commitment to peace on both sides. They will continue to have full support from our International in their efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace. In this regard, we are looking forward to holding the next SIMEC meeting in Israel and Jericho.

#### IV

Our attention has also remained focused on the continuing tragedy in former Yugoslavia. The Socialist International has supported all attempts to achieve peace, and has urged ever greater commitment by the international community toward that end. Our president, Pierre Mauroy, has emphasised this in

a number of personal statements in recent months.

In an article in the current issue of Socialist Affairs, our comrade Thorvald Stoltenberg, co-chair of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, provides a personal account of the many contradictions and the incredible difficulty of the task that has been given to the United Nations in attempting to resolve this conflict.

The co-chairs and members of our SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe are in contact with social democratic groups in various parts of the former Yugoslavia that are struggling to give expression to social democratic ideas and priorities under extraordinarily difficult circumstances.

Committed as we are to securing peace and democracy, and to furthering international cooperation, this grave situation will continue at the centre of our concerns.

#### V

In the former Yugoslavia, and in so many other conflicts and emergencies around the world, our hopes are more than ever vested in the United Nations. Supporting the UN and helping to give the organisation the structure and resources it needs is a priority commitment for the Socialist International, as set out in a resolution of our last Congress, and as reflected in our work since then.

Last year the SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Committee, SIPSAD, established a working group, chaired by Lasse Budtz, on reform of the United Nations in matters of peace and security. The group has met several times. In January I went with the working group to New York and Washington, where we had meetings with UN officials and with national ambassadors representing the various regional groups at the UN. We also met with representatives of the US State Department, staff of the US Senate, and representatives of political parties and non-governmental organisations concerned with peace, security and international relations. A report was presented to SIPSAD and a draft resolution on these issues will be presented to the Council.

For the Socialist International and its member parties, securing peace depends

on furthering democratic, economic and social development which ultimately are the only guarantors of peace. Thus, the work of the United Nations and its institutions in these fields is of great importance. In this regard, our Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, SICEDE, chaired by John Smith, focused its discussions at its most recent meeting in Geneva in February on the need to reform the international financial institutions established almost 50 years ago at Bretton Woods, in order to make them effective instruments for supporting development.

In the recent period, we have seen some very positive developments in the relationship of our International with the United Nations. We were pleased to note that in New York the SIPSAD working group was received with great interest and at the highest level.

Fruitful discussions were also held at a Round Table of the four Political Internationals organised by the United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA, in November, with the hospitality of the Austrian parliament in Vienna. This was the latest in a series of such Round Tables. High-level delegations of the Internationals were joined by the executive director of the UNFPA, Dr Nafis Sadik, and her deputy. Dr Sadik is also the secretary general of the International Conference on Population and Development to be held later this year in Cairo. Useful discussions were held on our priorities for the Conference and in preparing a joint manifesto adopted by the four Internationals, which was later distributed at preparatory meetings for the Cairo Conference, laying the foundation for positive participation in the Conference.

In the context of our participation in United Nations activities, the secretaries general of the Liberal and Christian Democratic Internationals and myself went in April to New York to meet with the chair and other leading organisers of next year's United Nations World Summit on Social Development. As a result of these discussions, the participation of the Internationals in the Social Summit, both jointly and individually, has been formalised and we are planning to hold a meeting parallel to the Summit under UN auspices in Copenhagen. A joint working group is to be

established to prepare for the Summit. The agenda of the Summit goes to the very heart of our concerns as social democratic parties, and this is an opportunity we welcome. We are particulary pleased to have Ambassador Juan Somavía, the chair of the Preparatory Committee of the Social Summit, as a guest at our Council in Tokyo.

In New York, the other secretaries general and myself also had a meeting with the secretary general of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, during which we had a very full and positive exchange of views on the Social Summit and on other aspects of UN activity.

#### VI

Beyond the activities described above, the various SI committees have carried out a very active programme since our last Council in Lisbon.

An occasion of particular note was the first meeting of the SI Committee for Asia and the Pacific, which took place in Kathmandu in December. The meeting was hosted by the governing Nepali Congress Party and addressed by Prime Miniser GP Koirala and Congress Party President KP Bhattarai. SI member parties from Asia and elsewhere were represented, as were other organisations and parties in the region with which the International has good relations. The agenda focused on social democracy and peace, on democracy and human rights in the Asia-Pacific region, and on the development of a common social democratic platform for Asia and the Pacific. The Committee also worked on developing some of the themes and issues for the agenda of our meeting here in Tokyo. All those who took part warmly welcomed the establishment of the Committee and expressed their wish to actively participate in this new body.

The growth of SI membership and contacts in Asia is very encouraging. We expect to see a strong, ongoing programme of SI activities in the Asia-Pacific region, as there has been in Latin America for many years, and as is now under way in Africa. The SI Committee for Asia and the Pacific meets again in Tokyo, and of course our work in this region will gain great impetus from the Tokyo Council meeting.

The meeting of our Africa Committee in Johannesburg in March, while demonstrating our support for the democratic transition in South Africa, also brought together member parties and friends of the Socialist International for important discussions about the struggle for peace and democracy in the whole of Africa. We welcomed to the meeting Chakufwa Chihana, presidential candidate in Malawi's forthcoming and, hopefully, first democratic elections. We discussed hopeful developments in independent Namibia and in Botswana - where our president visited last December - and the possibility of a turn for the better in Somalia. Angola and Mozambique remained causes of grave concern. The Committee made plans for a wide-ranging programme of future activities, including political training and the exchange of information on emergency situations. The Committee agreed to meet next in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan, where the tragedy that has recently struck Rwanda will surely be a focus of concern.

Our newly established SI Committee for the Mediterranean held its inaugural meeting in December in Madrid, at the invitation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, which holds the chair of the Committee. Delegates of SI member parties from throughout the region exchanged information on their national situations and established priorities for the Committee's work, which will begin with the production of a number of policy papers on democracy, socio-economic issues and security questions. The Mediterranean has long featured prominently in the work and deliberations of our International, and the formal inauguration of this regional committee will give added focus and emphasis to that

Among those who addressed our meeting in Madrid was Hocine Aït-Ahmed, leader of the Socialist Forces Front, FFS, of Algeria, who provided a detailed analysis of the deteriorating situation in his country since the suspension of the democratic process more than two years ago. The SI Committee for the Mediterranean issued a statement condemning the escalation of violence and calling on all parties to

seek reconciliation through dialogue. This remains our position, and the International and its member parties continue to follow closely the serious situation in Algeria.

The SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, met last on the eve of our Council meeting in Lisbon. It established an agenda for continuing contacts with and between SI member parties in the region, and for the development of contacts with other political forces of democratic socialist inspiration. Such contacts have been pursued by the co-chairs and members of the Committee, who have participated in a number of party congresses, regional conferences and seminars, and collaborated frequently with the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity. The Committee will meet on May 26 in Hungary, where general elections are taking place this month.

The SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR, chaired by Peter Jankowitsch, met in Paris in February at the invitation of the French Socialist Party, PS. Discussions focused on the theme of Women's Rights - Human Rights: the Advancement of Women. The Committee adopted a resolution drawing attention to the many specific violations of women's human rights and to the need to ensure women's full participation in political life and government as the best protection against such violations. The Committee also reviewed the status of follow-up measures to last year's World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, and welcomed in particular the appointment of the new United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. A resolution approved by the Committee is being presented to the Council for its consideration.

As I have already mentioned, the main theme of the February meeting in Geneva of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, SICEDE, was the reform of the Bretton Woods institutions and the international financial system. The first day of the two-day meeting took the form of a seminar with panel discussions. Delegates of SI parties were joined by representatives of the World Bank and the IMF, a number of UN regional economic commissions, the UN Commission on

Trade and Development, UNCTAD, and the Commission on Global Governance. Guests from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Labour Organisation also attended. Following these fruitful discussions, the members of the Committee considered proposals for the report on the global economy which SICEDE is preparing. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee will be held later this year in Addis Ababa.

The SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD, chaired by Kalevi Sorsa, met in Helsinki in March, at the invitation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, whose leader, Paavo Lixponen, joined the meeting, as did guests from the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the agenda were nuclear non-proliferation and the question of security in northern and eastern Europe, as well as the report from the SIPSAD working group on United Nations reform. SIPSAD, which is meeting again here in Tokyo, also prepared discussions on the issues of peace and security which form part of the agenda of our Council.

The SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, which held a regional conference in the Dominican Republic last year, will be meeting soon, following a period when many of our member parties in the region have been intensely occupied with election campaigns.

An area of work which we have been discussing for some time is the development of SI activity at the level of local government. The SI president has convened this year two preparatory meetings for the proposed Conference of Socialist Cities. Preparations are progressing very well and proposals on the venue and agenda will be put to the Council in Tokyo.

#### VI

Election observation is a vital task and continues to be an important aspect of Socialist International activity. For our International, it is a concrete expression of support for democracy and provides an opportunity to increase our contacts in the countries where elections are being held. I have already referred to the presence of SI observers in

South Africa. International observers played a key role there in ensuring that those elections were satisfactorily carried out.

At the invitation of M-LIDER, a party with which the International has close and longstanding contacts, the SI organised an observer mission to Honduras for the presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections held in that country last November. The voting took place without the irregularities many feared and resulted in the victory of Carlos Roberto Reina, presidential candidate of the Liberal Party and M-LIDER. The election was a positive step towards the consolidation of democracy in Honduras.

In December, an SI mission, led by Herta Däubler-Gmelin, vice-chair of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, travelled to Russia to observe the parliamentary elections and constitutional referendum. These were crucial elections, and despite the short period for preparation and the plethora of parties and candidates, the voting appeared to be carried out in a satisfactory way.

Soon after our Council meeting in Tokyo, an SI delegation will be going to observe the May 16 national elections in the Dominican Republic. José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of our member party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, chair of SICLAC and a vice-president of the Socialist International, has been the leading presidential candidate during the campaign. We express our best wishes for success to him and his party.

#### VIII

The recent period has been one of many elections, with notable successes for a number of SI parties. In October, Andreas Papandreou and PASOK were returned to government in Greece, Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party were victorious in Pakistan, and President Mubarak and the National Democratic Party were re-elected in Egypt.

December's poll in Chile saw the reelection of the coalition which includes our member parties, the Radical Party of Chile, PR, the Party for Democracy, PPD, and the Socialist Party of Chile, PS. In March our president and myself attended the inauguration of President Frei - the first transfer from one democratically elected government to another since the inauguration of President Allende.

In February, José María Figueres and the National Liberation Party, PLN, won elections in Costa Rica, and the SDP candidate Martti Ahtisaari was elected president of Finland. The Liberal Party of Colombia retained its parliamentary majority in elections in March, and President Ben Ali and the Democratic Constitutional Assembly won elections in Tunisia. The Socialist Party of Portugal was very successful in municipal elections held in March and - as Portugal celebrates the 20th anniversary of the overthrow of dictatorship - the party looks forward with optimism to general elections.

In El Salvador, elections were held in March and April, the first since the UN-mediated peace agreements in 1992. Although the ruling right-wing party was returned to power, the left gained a substantial presence in the national parliament.

In Hungary, the first round of elections has just taken place and, as we wait for the second round later this month, we wish success to both our observer parties, the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP, and the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSzDP.

#### IX

I have had the privilege of representing the International at the Congresses of several member parties, as well as those of the Party of European Socialists, the International Union of Socialist Youth and the Labour Sports International. I also took part, together with the general secretary of the ICFTU, in an international workshop on trade unions and social democracy organised by the trade union movement in Israel. In October, our president and I were among those attending a meeting held in Berlin on the anniversary of the death of Willy Brandt. Fittingly, the theme of the meeting was 'A New Ostpolitik'.

#### X

Clearly, the number and range of Socialist International activities continue to grow. Many initiatives are already being planned for the coming months. In this context, I am pleased to report that the secretariat continues to carry out its responsibilities within a constant budget. However, I must emphasise that for our International to maintain its effectiveness, now and in the future, it must be able to count on the prompt payment of dues by our member parties in accordance with our statutes and, as a matter of urgency, on the rapid clearing of arrears, many of which are longstanding.

With the establishment in this period of the Committee for Asia and the Pacific and the Committee for the Mediterranean, the Socialist International now has committees devoting attention to every region of the world - an accomplishment unprecedented in the history of our organisation. The Socialist International is an expanding and truly global organisation, and our work bears witness to the universality of democratic socialism.

Our International brings together from around the world those who are at the forefront of the struggle for democracy. For example, our member party in Burkina Faso, which last month re-constituted itself under a new name, the Party for Democracy and Progress, PDP. The party brought in new groups and individuals and is now the largest opposition force in one of the world's poorest countries, not long embarked on the difficult transition to democracy. Then, there are our comrades of the Social Democratic Party of Mongolia, some of whom - including Radnaasumberel Gonchigdorj, the party leader - recently joined a hunger strike outside their parliament to draw attention to the deficiencies of democracy under the present ruling party in that vast country just emerging from many years under communist rule. It is a privilege to have these parties in our International, As part of our important global network they lend inspiration to us all to face today's great challenges with renewed determination and confidence.

### RESOLUTIONS

#### AFGHANISTAN

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Tokyo on 10 and 11 May 1994, noting that, two years after the capture of Kabul by the coalition of parties of the resistance, those same parties are waging a pitiless war for power whose first victims are the civilian population, especially in Kabul, appeals to them:

1. that an end be put to the massacre of civilians, in particular women and children, taken hostage by the belligerents,

2. that the most elementary human right - that to life - be respected in Afghanistan by those who today rule the country and who yesterday used to denounce such violations carried out by the former régime, and

3. that the parties in conflict, the supporters of the president and those of the prime minister, agree to resolve their differences by negotiation and by democratic means, respecting the rights and interests of all those who make up

Afghan society;

further appeals to the international community - governments, international organisations and progressive forces at the regional level in the first instance: 1. to respond favourably to the call of the UN on 27 April 1994 and come to the aid of the Afghan people in order to allow the relief of 'one of the worst humanitarian crises' of our times, and 2. to support the UN initiatives aimed at bringing the conflicting forces to the negotiating table with a view to halting the continuing killing of civilian populations.

#### **DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL** DEVELOPMENT IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

1. The world is now going through a historic transition following the end of the cold war and in the aftermath of a world economic recession.

Though the end of the cold war has greatly reduced the threat of world war it has not diminished the possibilities of ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts, or the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Asia is no exception to these global trends. North Korea, which is defying the demand of the UN that it implement comprehensive safeguard measures,

can never gain the support of the international community. Stable peace is, and will continue to be, a key to economic development and democratic progress in the Asia-Pacific community.

The Uruguay Round, which was successfully completed after seven years of difficult negotiations, is expected to stimulate the world economy including the Asia-Pacific region. It is also likely to strengthen economic cooperation within APEC and other regional structures such as SAARC and ASEAN.

2. We are encouraged as we see the pursuit of democratisation continuing across Asia. Inalienable human rights such as freedom of thought, of self-determination, of expression, of political activity, of labour union activities in all sectors, and of business must be protected and promoted. In this regard, we note with continued concern the violation of these rights in Tibet, East Timor, Laos and Bhutan. Similarly, regimes or forces that oppress human rights and control individual ideas must be condemned. In our contacts with the communist regimes in Asia, we have to work for peaceful transitions to democracy and full respect for human and social rights.

We condemn the continued denial of the democratic rights of the Burmese people, as evidenced by the use of military force to prevent the formation of the duly elected government. We also note with grave concern the continued violation of human rights, including political arrest, detention without trial and torture. We urge the State Law and Order Restoration Council, SLORC to immediately and unconditionally release Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners. We also ask that other countries in the region do the same with their political prisoners and re-establish respect for human rights.

With a view to the United Nations World Conference on Women in September 1995 in Beijing, we stress the importance of the respect for and promotion of women's human rights; which are violated in many countries of the region.

3. The official development assistance (ODA) provided by developed countries, has undoubtedly benefitted many developing nations, but it must be constantly reviewed in the search for further improvement.

We consider it important that both

the quality and volume of ODA be augmented in order that it should meet the changing needs of aid recipients.

We propose that ODA be provided with the aims of;

- bridging the gap between poor and rich countries, and between poor and rich people within countries, thus contributing to world peace and stability,

- emphasising the protection of the natural environment, the prevention of aid being put to military ends and the promotion of equality and human rights, while respecting the sovereignty of countries that receive aid and refraining from interference in their domestic affairs, and

- focusing attention on the military activities of developing countries as evidenced by the amount of their defence expenditure, the list of the weapons in their possession and the volume of their arms trade, with the purpose of encouraging such countries to reduce their mil-

itary forces.

Development aid, including technology transfer, should be aimed at facilitating the self-sustaining efforts of developing countries. We reaffirm the commitment of helping the developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region to develop their own economies, to eliminate poverty, to improve their health standards, to establish systems of universal education and to protect the natural environment.

We support the efforts of the Cambodian people to develop their homeland which has been reborn after the democratic elections of 1993. We note that Thailand, Malaysia and other South East Asian countries, known for their high economic growth, suffer from unbalanced economic development. We also note that Mongolia and other former communist countries in Asia are facing a particular set of difficulties in making the transition to democracy.

The Development Forum on Indochina, scheduled to be held in the latter half of this year, is very important and should be supported. The stable development of the South East Asian region is intricately linked to the security of the whole Asia-Pacific region. Efforts for the prosperity of that region must be sustained.

4. The annual report of the OECD predicts that in the year 1994 Japan's economy will remain sluggish, while North America and some European countries will maintain steady economic growth. The average growth rate of the world economy is projected to increase, which could be of benefit to the Asia-Pacific region. However, economic growth in the region and throughout the world must be accompanied by policies that promote employment and more equal distribution of wealth. Moreover, if equitable economic growth is to be achieved by all countries, more financing must be directed towards development assistance.

Strengthening the system of free and fair trade is an important task. We should not accept protectionist measures that undermine such a system. We also recognise that in addition to development assistance, the provision of improved market access for the exports of developing countries to the markets of industrialised countries is a crucial factor.

Environmental degradation, narcotics, refugees and terrorism are global issues that also require the world's attention. The fight against poverty in developing countries continues to demand international cooperation. Our commitment to the solution of these issues will remain unchanged.

#### **BANGLADESH**

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Tokyo on 10 and 11 May 1994, learned with concern about the recent cyclonic storm that devastated the South-East part of Bangladesh.

The Council expresses its sympathy to the people of Bangladesh at the tragic loss of life and property.

In this connection the Council expresses the hope that, given the vulnerability of Bangladesh to cyclones, floods and other natural calamities, the international community, in particular the developed countries, will extend all possible assistance to Bangladesh to cope with the economic consequences of these natural calamities.

#### **BURMA**

The Council of the Socialist International, notes with grave concern that the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) in Burma still has not transferred power to the elected representatives of the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Aung San Suu Kyi, that won more than 82 per cent of the parliamentary seats in the 27 May 1990 general elections:

notes with concern that the National Convention convened by SLORC in 1993 excludes many of the representatives elected in 1990 and other ethnic nationalist leaders, and is designed to reserve a leading role for the armed forces in the future political life of Burma, which clearly contradicts the expressed will of the Burmese people;

deplores the fact that Aung San Suu Kyi, 1991 Nobel Peace laureate, will have been under house arrest, without any charge, for five years on 20 July 1994;

strongly condemns the systematic use of torture, summary and arbitrary executions, forced labour in development projects, forced portering of the military, forced conscription into the armed forces, forced dislocation of the population, mass rape of women, as a tool of repression, in particular against ethnic and religious minorities;

condemns the restrictions placed on the exercise of fundamental freedoms, including the freedoms of expression, association, assembly, and the use of politically motivated arrests and detentions to suppress political dissent.

Calls on SLORC to respect the will of the Burmese people by:

1. immediately and unconditionally releasing Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners;

2. entering into a dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi, and other democratic and ethnic nationalist leaders, to find a peaceful solution to the political situation in Burma:

3. restoring full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including ethnic and religious rights, and 4. putting an immediate end to the use of torture, arbitrary arrests, summary and arbitrary executions, forced labour, porterage, relocation and conscription, and the abuse of women.

Calls on the UN secretary general to appoint a special envoy for Burma to facilitate the transition to democracy.

Calls on the international community to refrain from renewing ODA assistance until SLORC responds positively and with integrity to the efforts of the international community to facilitate the transition.

Calls on the international community to also impose a mandatory arms embargo, and trade and investment sanctions should SLORC continue to ignore the will of the Burmese people.

Calls on foreign companies operating in Burma to withdraw or suspend their operations in Burma until democracy and human rights are restored in Burma.

#### **CHERNOBYL**

The Socialist International Council, meeting in Tokyo on 10-11 May 1994:

calls for the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power station to be considered as a priority issue;

associates itself with the current of opinion of the scientific world who are mobilising in favour of the closure of the power station particularly in the light of the last report of the experts of the IAEA:

calls for the necessary financial efforts to be made, especially in the European and Western context, to meet legitimate requests for compensation of the Ukrainian government;

calls on all concerned governments, and in particular those who share socialist and social democratic convictions, to make common cause to bring this matter to a rapid conclusion, and decides to send a delegation to the Ukraine to this effect.

#### **MISSION TO FIJI**

The SI agrees to send a mission to Fiji to examine the human and trade union rights situation since the military coups of 1987. The mission will also assess the degree to which racial discrimination against the people of Indian origin is entrenched in the 1990 Constitution.

The SI mission will pay particular attention to the racial discrimination practised by the government of Fiji in the areas of parliamentary representation, education, employment, religious practice, and the allocation of state resources.

#### **HUNGARIAN ELECTIONS**

The Council of the Socialist International welcomes the results of the first round of elections held in Hungary on May 8, when the MSzP won 33 per cent of the votes.

These results demonstrate the strong support of the Hungarian people for an effective and forward-looking democratic socialist movement in Hungary.

The Socialist International deplores the negative, personal and prejudicial campaign carried out by the conservative forces during the elections.

The neo-liberal economic policies pursued by the conservative forces in that country have proved unable to satisfy the needs of the Hungarian people and have imposed on them great social cost.

The outcome of the poll, important in the Hungarian context, is also significant in the regional context as a step towards the full democratisation and stabilisation of Eastern and Central Europe.

The Socialist International, which is

proud to have both the MSzP and the MSzDP as an integral part of its organisation, will continue to support and cooperate with the democratic socialist forces in Hungary in their struggle for a more just and egalitarian society. We wish them well in the second round of the elections and hope that they will be in a position to form a new Hungarian government that will be able to meet the social, economic and political aspirations of the Hungarian people.

#### **NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

The cold war is over and, through Start I and Start II, Russia and the USA have agreed to effective reductions of their strategic nuclear weapons. Negotiation on a comprehensive test ban treaty has suddenly started. At the same time there is a possibility of reaching an international agreement on ending production of fissile material for weapons. These are positive trends.

But there are also negative signs. In spite of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) the experience from the Gulf war showed that technologies usable for nuclear weapons production were sold to Iraq from different countries. Through the dissolution of the Soviet Union new nuclear weapon states emerged, where export-control laws, standard safety organisations, procedures and norms are almost non-existent.

There are about 1,000 tons of plutonium and 1,300 tons of highly enriched uranium in the world. Controlling and disposing of these vast quantities is a serious challenge facing the international community. There is an obvious risk of proliferation of plutonium and highly enriched uranium and that former Soviet nuclear weapons, technology or experts will be for sale. Some experts seem already to have moved to interested countries and there are incidents that show that a nuclear black market is already operating.

Another disturbing factor of particular concern in the region, is the refusal of North Korea to allow IAEA inspections of all its suspected nuclear weapon facilities.

The recently released information (Frank Barnaby and Sam Cohen) about red mercury which can be used to press together tritium in order to get a fusion process, raises strong alarm. The heavy-hydrogen isotopes - deuterium and tritium - are not included in the safeguards system required by the NPT. This is a great loophole in the system and makes it possible to trade in the necessary ingredients for a fusion bomb.

The possible production of red mer-

cury - used to produce pure fusion would lead to a revolutionary new type of nuclear weapon. The development of pure-fusion weapons would be bad news for those who want to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons; they are cheap to produce, and they raise the spectre of countries producing large numbers of low-yield neutron bombs.

The NPT is the only international legal measure to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons. That is why it has to be prolonged. It has to be scrutinised with regularity. The loopholes have to be covered and dual purpose technology should be uniform and legally enforce-

able in the treaty text.

Since 1961 the UN General Assembly has declared with a great majority that the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the Charter of the UN and a crime against humanity. Use of nuclear weapons has been illegal in international law since the Geneva Conventions. The principles of moderation, discrimination, and humanity, and the constitution of the World Health Organisation (WHO) are other examples of this. The secretary general has recommended that UN organs turn to the International Court of Justice (ICI) for opinions. The WHO did this in 1993 and by 10 June 1994 the ICI expects responses from governments on their opinion on whether the use of nuclear weapons can be in accordance with international law.

Nuclear weapons cannot be uninvented. This is often used as an argument against a nuclear-free world. It is not a sufficient argument; chemical and biological weapons cannot be uninvented either and yet a ban on biological weapons has been accepted, as well as a treaty to ban all chemical weapons.

The overriding need now is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons capabilities. The goal for the Socialist International is a nuclear-weapon-free world. In order to reach that a comprehensive programme is necessary.

Against this background we demand: 1. A full stop to all nuclear testing for all time.

2. That the NPT be prolonged until a more comprehensive treaty is implemented and that tritium be included in the NPT safeguards system.

3. Effective export-control legislation and enforcement systems in the 'new' nuclear weapons states.

4. Nuclear export policies should be uniform and legally enforceable in a treaty.

5. That all existing stocks of weaponsusable nuclear material be put under the control of the UN and that a UN register of national holdings of plutonium,

uranium and tritium be established. 6. Governments to respond to the International Court of Justice that use of nuclear weapons cannot be in accordance with international law.

#### REGIONAL SECURITY

1. In the wake of the collapse of the cold war structures, the Asia-Pacific region is now given an opportunity to create a new peaceful order despite the fact that major historical changes have caused much confusion there. For instance, the security framework in North-East Asia has been enhanced as a result of the normalisation of South Korea's diplomatic relations with Russia and China, while South-East Asia is developing a new environment for regional security after peace in Cambodia was finally ensured by the establishment of a legitimate government. At the same time no one can deny such disturbing factors as the high rate of increase in military expenditure by some fast-growing Asian economies, and the mounting tension in the Korean Peninsula as a result of North Korea's nuclear ambitions. The increasing discrepancy in wealth distribution, violation of human rights and degradation of the natural environment also threaten security and stability in the

2. The countries of the Asia-Pacific region must promote intra-regional economic cooperation in order to achieve prosperity and stability by means of fair distribution of wealth, seek peaceful settlement of conflicts or disputes, and strengthen the regional regime to protect the political, economic and social rights of the people. To this end, the democratic socialists in

the Asia-Pacific will commit themselves to creating new fora for intraregional dialogue, and to reinforcing APEC and the post-ministerial conference of ASEAN, until the final goal of establishing a regional security and coop-

eration system is achieved.

3. We are deeply concerned about North Korea's defiant attitude towards the IAEA's demand for compliance with the safeguard measures. We strongly request that Pyongyang live up to the North-South Nuclear-Free Joint Declaration by fully implementing the IAEA's safeguard measures. And in order to maintain peace and stability in North-East Asia, both parties concerned and the UN are requested to take necessary measures against North Korea, including persuasion by dialogue. 4. The continuing military build-up by some rapidly growing economies including the NIEs and developing countries in Asia can endanger the stable development of the region. Determined to curb the regional arms race, democratic socialists in the Asia-Pacific region call upon all political leaders of the community to promote the transparency of national military budgets, the international registration of arms transfers, and dialogue among military personnel.

5. Such territorial disputes as the Northern Territories and the Spratly Islands also complicate the relationships of states in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan and Russia should work together to pursue balanced policies to solve the territorial problem and expand economic ties. The issue of the Spratly Islands must be settled by dialogue, as demonstrated by the foreign ministers' conferences of ASEAN. 6. Appreciating the lessons many Asian developing countries have learned in building their democratic systems on the basis of economic achievements, we still need to encourage all countries in the region to protect and promote the political, economic and social rights of people, regardless of their economic levels.

7. Today, the Asia-Pacific region has become the world's most dynamic community, where fast-growing economies flourish in the geographical, cultural and political diversity. This dynamism should be harnessed to creite a regional peace order, accomplish social justice, and ensure basic human rights for all people. Democratic socialists in this community will make further efforts to this end in concert with all like-minded and liberal-oriented individuals, groups and parties.

#### **RWANDA**

Very concerned by the civil war which is ravaging Rwanda, and which is claiming hundreds of thousands of victims and has provoked the flight of populations into neighbouring countries, thus risking the destabilisation of the entire region, the Council of the Socialist International:

- demands the despatch of an international force charged with halting the massacres, and
- calls on all parties concerned to restart dialogue on the basis of the Arusha agreements.

# THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND GLOBAL SECURITY

The Socialist International has always fully supported the United Nations. And

the SI has consistently called for the strengthening of the UN to provide the foundation for a new system of global security and governance.

The global scene has changed fundamentally since the establishment of the UN in 1945. Consequently the conditions under which the UN is working have also changed considerably. Today the concept of security has a completely new meaning and this fact must inevitably influence the work of the UN during the coming decades. The Social Summit taking place in Copenhagen in 1995 will underline this new situation at the same time as marking the 50th anniversary of the UN.

Bearing in mind the above and realising that there is still a great risk of local and regional crises and wars caused by political, religious, social, environmental and ethnic conflicts, the Socialist International declares:

1. Continued staunch support for the UN by all social democratic and democratic socialist parties is absolutely neccessary.

2. Within the UN, its 184 member states must intensify their efforts to achieve a solution to social, development and environmental problems.

3. In order to give the UN greater meaning in current and future world conditions, the concept of security must be broadened to include non-military aspects of security.

4. The UN must give greater priority to preventative diplomacy and crisis prevention in order to minimise, wherever possible, the use of force. A mechanism should be established to go into operation immediately and automatically as soon as sanctions are approved which may cause special economic problems to those states imposing sanctions. This would encourage states to cooperate with UN decisions.

5. The handling of crisis management should be decentralised, with a greater role for regional political organisations.

6. A reinforcement of the role of the secretary general must be considered.

7. The legitimacy and the role of the Security Council must be reviewed and reinforced. In part this will be achieved by making its membership more reflective of the overall UN membership, especially from the developing world. The Socialist International supports an increase in the number of permanent members to include Germany and Japan as well as a number of regional representatives, whilst ensuring that the developing world is properly represented.

8. In order to maintain its reinforced legitimacy the UN must be seen to be

following even-handed criteria in all its decisions and actions.

9. The link between the Security Council and the General Assembly should be reinforced.

10. Regional organisations must be more fully involved in all consultations. 11. The Security Council should establish clear priorities, with the first form of action being prevention. The Council should, for instance, regularly monitor developments in countries where famines and social revolts might occur. 12. When peace-keeping and/or peace-enforcing becomes necessary the role of decision-makers has to be clarified.

13. The member countries of the UN should be ready to supply specific quantities of personnel and materials to carry out the UN's mandates. Existing defence organisations can support with their capabilities peace-keeping operations under the responsibility and political leadership of the UN. Peace-keeping missions in the CIS area must be undertaken under the same criteria as UN peace-keeping operations. Operations in the CIS area should be based on mandates by the UN or the CSCE. UN standby forces established in the member countries should be welcomed. They could also be of possible use in situations where human rights and/or minorities are seriously threatened.

14. Member states should be deprived of their right to vote sooner than is now the case if they do not pay their contributions to the organisation in due time. Expenses in connection with peace-keeping and peace-enforcing should partly be covered by means of new funds to which member states should contribute.

15. The UN should work for the introduction of an international ban on the production of nuclear, chemical, biological and bacteriological weapons. Furthermore, the UN system ought to introduce strong control of the development of equipment and raw materials for use in the production of the above-mentioned weapons.

# **WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS**

1. The basic democratic right to organise politically, to vote and to be elected has been obtained by women in most countries. However, there are still some countries, member states of the United Nations, who deny their female citizens this essential human right. The Socialist International calls on the UN General Assembly and member governments to demand that UN member states grant

to all citizens the right to vote and to be elected.

- 2. The right to education is a fundamental human right, regardless of gender, race, ethnic origins, family background or personal wealth. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate are women and girls who are denied access to education. The SI believes that every effort has to be made to drastically and speedily reduce illiteracy amongst women.
- 3. All human beings have the right to decide on their own fertility and to decide whether to have children, their number and spacing. Access to information on contraception and family planning methods is essential to help women realise their right.
- 4. All human beings have a right to physical integrity and personal fulfilment. The SI is appalled by the barbaric practice of genital mutilation, affecting 80 million women worldwide. The SI calls on governments and NGOs to help eradicate this practice by providing information on the grave risks to women's life, health, and sexuality caused by genital mutilation.
- 5. All human beings have a right to be protected from violence, and physical and psychological abuse. Rape, wherever it is committed, including rape in marriage, is despicable and must be recognised in legislation as a crime.
- 6. Violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law. All violations of this kind, including in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy, require a particularly effective response.
- 7. Sexual exploitation of women in prostitution and pornography and the traffic in human beings must be ostracised and eliminated by legislative measures and law enforcement, since they represent a gross violation of human rights.
- 8. The SI notes that 80 per cent of the world's refugees are women and children. However, when women are persecuted or not protected because of gender-related violence, they do not have the right to asylum and refugee status. The SI calls for international legislation and measures to protect women who seek refugee status.
- 9. Women, like men, have the right to own property, and to equal participation in the labour market and in economic life; the SI notes with concern that in many countries women are still denied the right to employment, to inheritance on an equal footing and to ownership of land and property.

- 10. The SI therefore considers the full representation of women in politics as indispensable to overcome male domination in public office and all institutions of democricy. The SI considers it the special responsibility of its member parties to ensure this. The SI is deeply concerned about the spreading of ideological and religious fundamentalism wherever it occurs. Fundamentalist principles restrict and oppress the civil and personal liberties of women, and curtail their human rights.
- The SI insists that infringements and violations of women's rights are violations of human rights. The SI calls on its member parties to actively promote the prompt implementation of all UN Conventions concerning women and to strive for the modification of social and cultural structures which are obstacles to the implementation of UN Conventions. Change can be brought about through information, education, and a better understanding by women of their rights, including their basic rights, but will only be achieved if women are fully integrated into decision-making bodies.
- 12. The Socialist International welcomes the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, June 1993, which recommends the appointment of a special rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. The SI notes with satisfaction that the UN Commission on Human Rights has established such a position, giving it a clearly defined mandate. The SI looks forward to the appointment of a woman to the post.

#### THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The Council of the Socialist International, confirming the previous statements adopted by the SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, and by the SI Council meeting in Athens, the SICEE meeting in London, and the Council meeting in Lisbon:

stresses its concern at the continuing war in Bosnia and the absence of any initiative so far capable of securing peace;

condemns the continuous violation of the UN Resolutions by the Serb forces and demands an immediate halt to all armed action against zones and towns under UN protection:

condemns the continuous violation of human rights, ethnic cleansing, rape and sexual violence, and urges the international community to adopt all measures against those found responsible for war crimes;

reaffirms its opinion that no solution will be possible without the recognition of the value of multi-ethnicity and that negotiation is the only way to solve the present conflict;

notes the usefulness of the deterrent action and the threat of the use of force by NATO in securing respect for the UN Resolutions and the need to coordinate such action closely with international diplomatic action;

emphasises that any solution, if it is to be stable and acceptable, must secure the territorial unity of Bosnia and its multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural characteristics;

commends the Croatian-Bosnian agreements signed in Washington on 18 March and looks forward to their rapid application as the first step towards a peaceful solution, which would also include the Bosnian Serbs;

anticipates the holding at the times scheduled and under international supervision of the elections stipulated in these agreements;

confirms that the European Union, the United States, Russia and the United Nations must be actively and directly engaged in the search for and attainment of any peace process;

emphasises that the United Nations must be given all the financial resources and means necessary to strengthen its military presence and its action to aid and rescue the civilian population and refugees:

urges the international community to take urgent measures to prevent the explosion of tension and the outbreak of hostilities in Kossovo;

seeks a solution of the problem of the relations between the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Greece, capable of ensuring peace, security and good neighbourliness in the region, and

considers it necessary to maintain and comprehensively apply sanctions against Serbia until a peace agreement is signed.

The Socialist International:

supports all efforts of mediation aimed at halting hostilities and promoting the peace process;

expresses its solidarity and its support to the parties of socialist and social democratic inspiration in all the republics constituted from the former Yugoslavia;

recommends that SICEE adopt all initiatives useful to peace and supportive of a continuous presence of the Socialist International in the region.

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