SI COUNCIL IN ATHENS

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

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

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

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

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

Evoking these memories, the SI president stressed that 'in setting our priorities, we must look at the road we have travelled...
we must fully take on our responsibility for the times to come. Responsibility for defining a more satisfactory economic system. Responsibility too for the emergence of a new balance in the world... We are now facing profound questions for social democracy in post-communist society.

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

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

He spoke also of the need for ideological clarity when faced with the great questions of social justice, security and economic regulation at national and international level. Alongside the grave military conflicts, such as that in the former Yugoslavia, requiring the clearest and strongest response from democratic socialists internationally, he placed those third world countries struggling for democratisation, and the risk to stability posed by poverty and inequality, as well as the crisis of social progress being experienced by the most developed countries.

'From the Socialist International must come a global plan which builds on all the gains and successes of social democracy in order to sustain those gains and adapt them to the present historical circumstances', he said, 'and we must also seek out many frameworks for debating our ideas, with trade unions, associations, international organisations, representatives of the economic and financial world'.

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

He concluded, on a note of optimism, 'we are fighters for a great cause, which we must pursue for the sake of humanity. Strong in the gains made throughout the last century, we must look to further victories for the next century'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Democracy**

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

Jiri Horak, Czech Social Democratic Party, introduced a discussion on current developments in central and eastern Europe. He stressed that, although economic and political transformation was happening fast all over the
The council adopted a resolution on central and eastern Europe (see page 37), reaffirming the support of the international for the continuing process of democratisation and setting out priorities for assistance and cooperation. The resolution also stressed the right of nations to self-determination, whilst refusing violence or the violation of human rights in the name of that self-determination. Finally, it called for the proper implementation of disarmament agreements to prevent nuclear proliferation in the region and for the development of a defensive pan-European security system.

Lopo do Nascimento, a former prime minister of Angola and member of the leadership of the MPLA, was a special guest at the meeting and spoke on the disturbing developments in his country since the elections held in September 1992. The council adopted a resolution, presented by members of the SI delegation which observed the voting last year, expressing deep concern over the deteriorating situation in Angola and stating that the political bodies democratically elected in 1992 were legitimate and deserved full recognition. (Lopo do Nascimento writes on page 23).

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

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

**Peace**

Turning to the question of ‘Regional conflicts: opportunities for conciliation and dialogue’, the council heard from Thorvald Stoltenberg a report on the grave situation in the former Yugoslavia, following his recent visit - the second such visit he had undertaken on behalf of the Socialist International. At the time of the SI council meeting, Stoltenberg was the foreign minister of Norway. He has since been appointed co-chair of the international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia (see People, page 46). A resolution based on his report and setting out 'seven signposts on the road to peace' was adopted by the council, following a discussion (see page 41).

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

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

Economic cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SI Committee for Africa
SI Committee for the Asia-Pacific
SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe
SI Committee on the Economy, Development and Environment, SICEDE
SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR
SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC
SI Committee for the Mediterranean
SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC
SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD
SI Working Group on Indigenous People
RESOLUTIONS

ALGERIA

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

ANGOLA

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

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

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

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

THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Council of the Socialist International declares that:

During the 90s, Central America has taken steps towards democracy and the consolidation of peace in the region and within the countries. Stability in the region is essential in order to render possible the effective integration of the seven countries of the Central American isthmus and this integration must have strong social democratic participation.

It is important to consolidate peace and democracy in the region, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.
- The SI expresses its satisfaction with the proposal that the government of Guatemala, with the support of all the political parties and other social forces, presented on 19 January this year to the Secretary General and the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as the dispositions of dialogue expressed by the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union, URNG, inviting them to resume the negotiations in order to put an end to the war, within a reasonable period of time.

The Council of the SI expresses its support for the incorporation into the Guatemalan government peace commission, of two delegates of the Democratic Socialist party, convinced that their presence will help to find ways leading to reunion and reconciliation. Furthermore, it supports all efforts contributing to the peaceful return of the Guatemalan refugees, guaranteeing their safety and the economic situation of the returned families. It also expresses its hope for the implementation and enforcement of human rights in Guatemala.
- Expresses its satisfaction with the suspension of the armed confrontation in El Salvador from 15 December 1992 and urges the government to fully comply with the Peace Agreements, especially with regard to the changes in the armed forces, the transfer of land and the electoral process and congratulates the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN, on their incorporation into institutional political life, a fact that contributes to reinforcing the climate of goodwill which became apparent after the signing of the Peace Agreements.

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

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

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

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

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

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

1. The Socialist International fully supports the process of development of democratic institutions and market economies in central and eastern Europe. We reaffirm that pluralistic democracies tackling the problems of their integration, national, economic and social cohesion, will be protected from, and defended against, threats from all directions. In this context we see it as very important that the principles of law and democratic and human rights are applied by the governments when reappraising their own regimes.

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

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

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

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

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

There is a need for coordinated support for the reforms carried out not only by providing financial aid but also by exchanging experiences and by
offering training opportunities for managers. Training programmes for state employees will help to avoid the possible politicisation of the state bureaucracy resulting from a partisan approach to the reform of that bureaucracy.

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

3. The Socialist International defends the right of nations to self-determination, laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. However the SI categorically rejects the type of nationalism which leads to hatred, discord and war. The Socialist International reaffirms force and with respect for the rights of the national and ethnic minorities. In this connection, the Socialist International supports the international development of new states established by the peaceful means of negotiation and ratified by a referendum, and their full and immediate integration in all international organisations.

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

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

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

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

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

4. The dramatic spread of nationalism through central and eastern Europe poses a risk that violent conflicts might emerge in this part of Europe. In this context, it is particularly important to ensure the proper implementation of the disarmament agreements and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms.

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

CUBA

The Socialist International observes the situation in Cuba with concern.

FURTHERING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

A strategy for growth and employment

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

Support for the reforms in eastern Europe and the former USSR

The end of the cold war is an unprecedented opportunity to promote peace, democracy and economic prosperity. But these goals will not be realised if the reforms in eastern Europe are allowed to fail. Increased levels of aid and technical assistance, combined with easier credit terms and improved access to the markets of the major industrialised countries are urgently needed. The G7 itself will have to assume greater political responsibility than at present and assist and ensure the success of eastern Europe's political and economic reform.

Reviving the North-South dialogue

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

Encouraging the environment and sustainable development

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

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

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

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

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

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

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

HAITI

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

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

Acknowledging the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, and by the governments of democratic countries who, acting together or individually, have consistently demanded the re-establishment of democracy in Haiti, conscious of the threats posed to democracies in many parts of the world, and the negative effects that would result if dictators and those who usurp power are immune to justice,

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

Resolves to:

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

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

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

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

Appeal to its member parties for their respective countries to assist, once the legitimate government is reinstated, towards the realisation of a comprehensive development plan for Haiti, of which the following essential elements should be underlined: the improvement of the administration of justice and the penitentiary system, the modernisation of civil and penal legislation, the clear separation of the police from the armed forces, the elimination of the position of section leader, the solution of the problem of land-ownership, the real separation of state powers and the mutual respect of their spheres of influence. The SI condemns the elections of 18 January 1993, organised in an unconstitutional manner, which have already been rejected by the UN, the OAS and various other democratic governments. The SI also calls for the setting-up of social and economic programmes aimed at improving the deplorable living conditions of the vast majority of the population, and

Pay constant attention to the development of events in Haiti; to cooperate with the efforts being made towards the restoration of the legitimate government and for President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to the Haitian people.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbours, started in November 1991 in Madrid, have reached a serious crisis. It was after a new increase of brutal terrorism by the fundamentalist Hamas and Islamic Jihad organisations in the occupied territories and also in Israel itself, that the Israeli government expelled, on 17 December 1992, 4,166 Palestinians accused of being leading activists of these organisations. This expulsion is contrary to international law and an infringement of human rights. For this reason, the Security Council of the United Nations, in its Resolution 799, demands that Israel revoke these expulsions.

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

The Socialist International therefore demands the following:

1. All terrorist activities must be firmly condemned both for their own nature and because they represent a fundamental obstacle to the current peace process.

2. Israel should fulfil all the demands of Resolution 799 of the United Nations Security Council and allow the return of all the expelled Palestinians. The Israeli government's decision of 1 February 1993 is a step in the right direction, but is not sufficient.

3. Th e Security Council of the United Nations, in its Resolution 799, demands that Israel revoke these expulsions.

4. The Socialist International is pleased to see that the Israeli parliament has lifted the ban on contacts with the PLO. It is now time to develop the necessary consequences in this spirit.

5. The Socialist International also welcomes the changes initiated by the Israeli government in its settlement policy in the occupied territories.

6. The United Nations, the industrialised nations, and those cooperating with developing countries are called upon to start examining now what investment projects can be set up in the still occupied territories after the end of terrorism and the return of the expelled Palestinians, especially in the field of infrastructure.

7. The United States, and also the Europeans and the Arab States, must
use their influence on those states supporting groups in the occupied territories which are refusing to negotiate, to withdraw that support.

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

9. A peace agreement must include, as well, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the withdrawal of all outside military intervention in Lebanon, where a member party is active, and the full restoration of that country's unity, integrity, and sovereignty.

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

**MOZAMBIQUE**

In view of the new and very important phase opened in Mozambique by the peace agreements signed in Rome on 4 October, which should lead to peace in the country through disarmament, unification of the armies and new democratic elections, the Socialist International expresses its grave concern over the state of human rights in Pakistan and the gross abuse of the due process of law, massacre of the legislative and executive authority on the part of the state machinery in Pakistan, particularly in the following aspects:

1. Failure of the government to protect citizens and prevent lawlessness and heinous crimes like gang rapes, kidnappings, terrorism, organized robberies; to eliminate private prisons, violence against journalists and other sectors of the public, and desecration of places of worship, and to contain ethnic and sectarian prejudices.

2. Harassment and victimisation of political dissidents by kidnapping, unlawful detentions, false implication on penal charges, torture and other coercive methods to force them into submission and change their political loyalty.

3. Abuse of due process of law by arresting political opponents on repeated trumped-up charges, and growing incidents of death, rape and torture in prisons or police lockups.

4. Inhuman treatment of prisoners in custody, overcrowding of jails, denial of basic amenities to prisoners and failure to ensure trials within a reasonable time.

5. Constitution of special tribunals and courts, denying selected groups of prisoners the basic requirements of due process of law and fair trial.

6. Erosion of the independence of the judiciary by victimising individual judges and interference of the Executive in the performance of judicial functions.

7. Violations of the normal legislative process in the assemblies and legislation by the Executive through ordinances, some of which are patently designed to vitiate political opponents.

8. Misuse of the laws of religion and persecution of minorities and other disadvantaged sectors of the population.

The SI Council calls upon the government of Pakistan to uphold human rights, to redress the present state of affairs and ensure equal enjoyment by all citizens of all fundamental rights, civil liberties, the rule of law, freedom of the press and independence in letter and spirit of the judiciary as guaranteed under the constitution of Pakistan, to abolish special courts and tribunals and to stop the victimisation of political opponents and discrimination against minorities, of any gender or sector of the population, on any pretext whatsoever.

**PAKISTAN**

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

- Urges the Security Council of the UN to adopt a resolution for UNOSOM II, giving a mandate to the Secretary General of the United Nations for peace enforcement in the whole of the Somali territory; aiming not only at humanitarian relief but also at creating the necessary conditions for social and economic rehabilitation and giving the Somali people the power to decide their own fate in their country.
- Appeal to the international community to provide the necessary military, financial and technical means for that operation to be successful, namely, taking into consideration the recent proposals of the UN Secretary General for a more effective role for the United Nations in the preservation of world peace.

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

Recognising the enormous effort made by UNITAF, several UN agencies and non-governmental organisations, the Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Athens, Greece, on 9-10 February 1993:

- Appeal to the international community to provide the necessary military, financial and technical means for that operation to be successful, namely, taking into consideration the recent proposals of the UN Secretary General for a more effective role for the United Nations in the preservation of world peace.
TOGO

Considering the political crisis in Togo with the freezing of the legitimate transition institutions resulting from the national supreme conference of July-August 1991 (High Council of the Republic, HCR, prime minister and transition government); Considering that this crisis is the result of:
- multiple attempts to destabilize these institutions by the Togo army, which did not stop at assassinations, an attack on the Primature by armed vehicles (December 1991), or the taking hostage of the HCR (October 1992), several members of which were victims of physical cruelty;
- the Head of state, General Eyadema, as supreme head of the armed forces, who in 18 months failed to put a stop to these seditions manoeuvres,
- the practices of the Togo People's Assembly, RPT, which among other things, used force to collect funds which had been frozen by the national conference in the banks of Togo.

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

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

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

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

Recalling that the multiple commitments of the head of state to respect the transition institutions and to guarantee the implementation of the constitutional adopted on 27 September 1992 have not yet been put into effect;

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

The Socialist International Council, which met in Athens on 9 and 10 February 1992:
- resolutely condemns the acts of violence and violation of human rights which particularly implicate the responsibility of General Eyadema, Supreme Head of the Armed Forces, and demands that an international commission should conduct an inquiry into the tragic events of 25 January last;

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

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

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

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

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Seven signposts on the road to peace in the former Yugoslavia

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet, let us pause before we join the call to arms. For those who would profit from responsibility for armed intervention, heavy losses seem more certain than success. If we are to avoid the full weight of the war, even massive military intervention will end the conflict.

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

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

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

We propose the following seven signposts for the road ahead:

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

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

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

The danger of proliferation has, if anything, increased. We cannot exclude the possibility that the conflict will spread to areas of ethnic tension like Kosovo, that it will undermine the stability of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, or that the neighbours, countries, and further entangle the wider international community.
With its broad-based approach and its continuous follow-up, the Geneva Process still represents the only viable path, and perhaps the final chance, to settle the conflict by political means. The conference remains the primary tool for coordinating our efforts to make peace. Should the conference end in failure, military options will loom larger.

2) We must support the role of the United Nations

The United Nations is already heavily involved in all aspects of the international effort to ameliorate, contain, and solve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. It is performing an important job under exceedingly difficult circumstances. We must give the United Nations the means and resources to complete its daunting task. But even more is at stake. The former Yugoslavia has become a testing ground for the future role of the United Nations. Allowing the UN to fail in the former Yugoslavia could also spell doom for our hopes and dreams of a United Nations reinvigorated by post-cold-war cooperation leading the way to a new international order. We must not allow it to fail.

3) We must act jointly

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

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

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

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

In most other countries, particularly in the Islamic world, are voicing concern that the Bosnian Muslims are not given fair and equal treatment by the international community.

We must carefully consider such dimensions of the Yugoslav conflict as the threat to create new divisions thatbased on ethnic lines. We must indeed act jointly.

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

All parties must assume responsibility for making peace if the Geneva Conference is to succeed. This oversimplified statement is nevertheless fundamentally true. There is an understandable, and sometimes justifiable, tendency among the parties to the conflict to place responsibility somewhere else, on the opponent, on the international community for failing to take adequate action, and so forth. But if we let any party run away from its own responsibility to stop the war and make peace, there will not be.

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

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

Even as losses mount from continued heavy fighting, it remains the case that cold and hunger may claim many more lives than bullets will before the winter loses its grip on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must therefore continue to give top priority to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees.

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

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

6) We must ensure respect for human rights

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

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

We must make it clear to those who commit or condone atrocities and crimes of war that they are undermining the moral foundation of the very culture and nation they claim to defend.

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

We must support the efforts of the UN and the CSCE regarding the pre-requisites for setting up an international war crimes tribunal.

A major barrier to a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia is the frequent link between minority status and suppression and abuse. We must assist the parties in breaking this link, for example by providing international guarantees to stabilising the security situation of ethnic minorities such as Serbs in Croatia, Hungarians and Turks in Bosnia, and Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo.

7) We must prevent proliferation of the conflict

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

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

Zaire

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

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

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<td><strong>DOMINICAN REPUBLIC</strong></td>
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<td><strong>EL SALVADOR</strong></td>
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