

Council debates Africa, Central America

'Africa in crisis – the socialist response' was the main theme on the agenda of the SI Council meeting held in Dakar, Senegal, on 15-16 October.

Hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal and chaired by SI President Willy Brandt, the Council meeting was attended by representatives of thirty-two SI member parties and organisations, and observers and guests from twenty-two other organisations and parties, including the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia.

The Council meeting was opened by Abdou Diouf, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal and president of the republic. The other speakers in the opening session were SI President Willy Brandt; Djibo Ka and Peter Jankowitsch, co-chairs of the Study Group on Africa (SISGA), who reported on the SI Conference on Democracy and Develop-



Les présidents Abdou Diouf et Willy Brandt accueillis par les militants du PS du Sénégal à leur arrivée sur les lieux du conseil.

LA SOLIDARITE SERA LE GENRE HUMAIN

ment in Africa held also in Dakar on 12-13 October (*see page 27*); Joop den Uyl, co-chair of the Southern Africa

Committee (SISAC), who reported on developments in the region; Gro Harlem Brundtland, leader of the Norwegian

Labour Party (DNA) and prime minister, who spoke on environment and development in Africa; and Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO of Namibia, who spoke on the plight of his country under the illegal occupation of the South African apartheid regime.

Commitment to Africa

In his opening address, Brandt observed that the two meetings in Dakar that week (the conference and the council) were the largest meetings ever held by the International in Africa, and provided an indication of its commitment to the African continent.

Africa, he said, suffered many severe and often related crises. Among them he mentioned the debt burden, acute and recurrent famine, worsening ecological problems, and the lack of provision of basic needs such as food, clean water, shelter and jobs for large sections of the population.

He appealed to those northern governments which had promised to help Africa in the

SI congratulates the superpower leaders on INF agreement

SI President Willy Brandt and the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), Kalevi Sorsa, on 11 December issued the following statement on the occasion of the summit meeting between the US and Soviet leaders in Washington on 7-10 December and the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

'It is with great pleasure that, on behalf of the Socialist International, we congratulate President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on reaching the agree-

ment to eliminate all land-based intermediate-range nuclear weapons.

'This agreement, which for the first time in history reduces existing nuclear arsenals, strengthens the security of all nations, those in Europe in particular.

'The INF agreement should also pave the way for new results in other fields. As the two leaders also indicated in the summit meeting, it is vital that the agreement will be followed by deep cuts in strategic nuclear forces on the basis of the joint

understanding in Reykjavik. It is also important to agree upon a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear weapons tests as well as to start a process of real conventional disarmament.

'The Socialist International will give its full support to realise these goals. We believe that the historic agreement which was signed in Washington on 8 December will significantly contribute to promoting disarmament and to building a more peaceful and secure world.'

SI NEWS DAKAR COUNCIL MEETING

1986 UN Special Session on Africa to put their words into action. 'Without a reduction of debts on the one hand, and a limitation of debt service on the other, there is no way out of this situation', he said. 'What we demand is a constructive development aid policy - a policy that pursues the struggle against hunger and misery by concrete measures, a policy that is oriented towards the satisfaction of basic human needs, a policy that is adapted to the local conditions in the various countries.'

Brandt also reaffirmed the SI's solidarity 'with those who want to see to it that the legacy of colonialism and racism in Africa is completely overcome'.

He went on to highlight in particular two initiatives in recent years to strengthen cooperation between the SI and political forces in Africa: the formation of the Study Group on Africa (SIGA) in 1985, which had organised the Conference on Democracy and Development; and the work of the Southern Africa Committee (SISAC), which had held regular contacts with senior representatives of both governments from the region and the liberation movements on numerous

occasions since the landmark Arusha conference in September 1984 (see *SI NEWS* 3/84, page 5).

At the end of the debate, the Council adopted a resolution on Africa (for full text, see page 34) in which it stressed the variety and diversity of political and economic situations in the continent, called on socialists to support current democratic experiments and further the search for alternative ways for democracy in Africa, and invited socialists in the industrialised countries to work for changes in the criteria by which loans are granted to African countries.

The resolution also highlights the essential role played by African women in the development of their countries, and urged that 'women's objectives be taken into consideration in plans for economic development, as well as in the conception of aid programmes'.

Resolutions

Apart from the crisis in Africa, the perspectives for peace in Central America since the signing of the Esquipulas accord in August figured most prominently in the deliberations in Dakar.

In the resolution on **Central America** (for full text, see page 34), the Council expressed 'full support' for the peace plan and also congratulated President Óscar Arias of Costa Rica - whose National Liberation Party (PLN) is a member party of the SI - on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to secure a negotiated settlement to the conflicts in the region.

The resolution welcomed, among other developments, the Nicaraguan government's measures and decisions adopted in compliance with the Esquipulas agreement and the resumption of the dialogue between the left-wing opposition and the government in El Salvador. It also appealed 'once again ... strongly' to the Reagan administration to desist from giving military aid to the contra forces.

In a major statement on **disarmament and development** (for full text, see page 34), the Council endorsed the conclusions of the UN Conference on Disarmament and Development held in August-September in New York. The final document of this conference had rightly pointed out that, although disarmament and development should each be pur-

sued regardless of the pace in the other field, 'each of them can have an impact at the national, regional and global level in such a way as to create an environment conducive to the promotion of the other'.

'Disarmament and development are processes which require political consciousness and political will. Now is the time to seize the opportunity and make a breakthrough', the statement urged.

The statement also said that the general disarmament process should be extended to all geographical regions, including Africa, and aim at making that continent an area free of nuclear weapons.

Another focus of the statement was the progress of the superpowers' disarmament negotiations (see also page 25). The Council welcomed the forthcoming double-zero agreement on eliminating land-based intermediate nuclear weapons as being 'of historical, political and symbolic importance', which was in line with what the SI had been demanding for a long time. Such an agreement should be followed by a series of further steps towards reducing armaments and increasing security.

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VAR GOD TEXTA!

The resolution on Southern Africa adopted by the Council (for full text, see page 34) reaffirmed the SI's implacable opposition to apartheid and the Pretoria regime. It also called for increased humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements and increased economic assistance to the Front Line States.

The Council also adopted resolutions on Chile and Paraguay, Haiti, Panama and Fiji (for full texts, see pages 34-35).

Committee reports

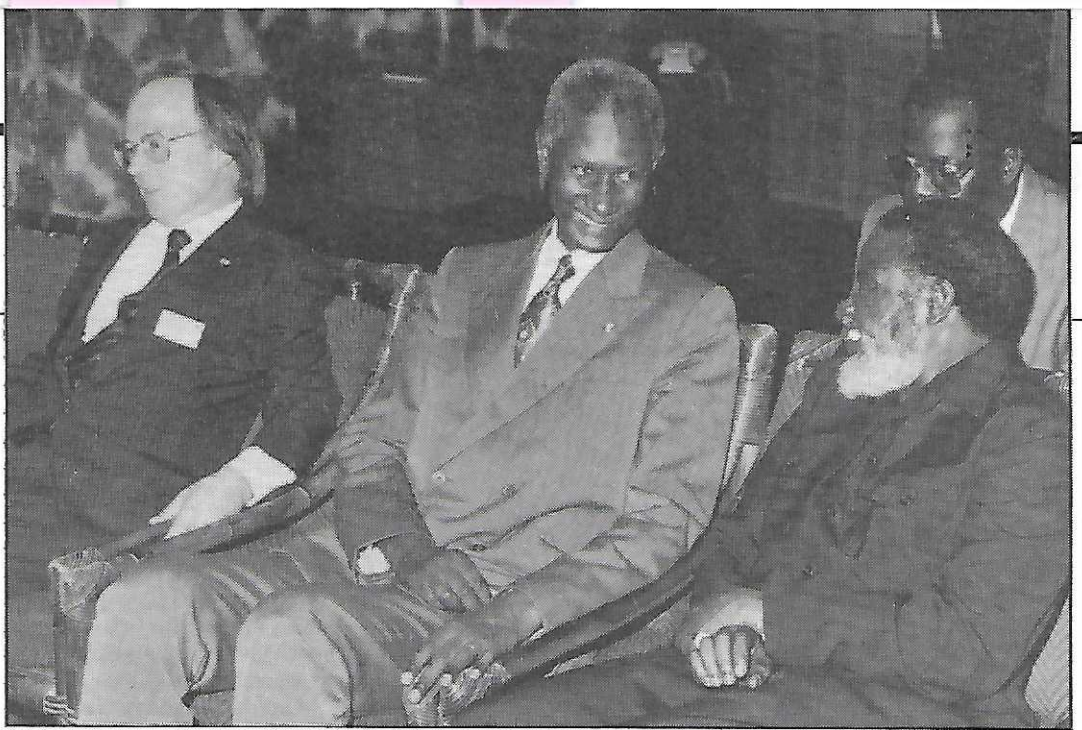
Among the committee reports, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the Middle East Committee (SIMEC), reported on his talks with Yasser Arafat, the chair of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), in Tunis on 9 October. He had discussed in detail the PLO chair's views on the proposed international peace conference to resolve the Middle East conflict. (For a detailed report of the meeting, see page 32.)

Other committees which reported on their work were the Committee on the Environment, the Human Rights Committee, the Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP) and the Study Group on the Mediterranean.

Reports on developments in Latin America and the Caribbean – in particular, in addition to Central America, Chile, Panama, Haiti and Paraguay – were presented by the SI vice-presidents from the region, José Francisco Peña Gómez of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD); Carlos Andrés Pérez of Democratic Action (AD) of Venezuela; Guillermo Ungo of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of El Salvador; and Enrique Silva Cimma of the Radical Party of Chile (PR).

Regarding organisational matters, the Council discussed future activities of the SI and adopted the budget for 1988.

● The Council accepted an invitation from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) to hold the next Council meeting in Madrid on 11-12 May 1988.



Discussions: Peter Jankowitsch, Abdou Diouf, Sam Nujoma

SI pursues dialogue with Africa

The Socialist International took a major step forward in its efforts to develop contacts with the peoples and parties of Africa at the Conference on Democracy and Development in Africa, held in Dakar, Senegal, on 12-13 October. The two-day meeting was organised by the SI Study Group on Africa (SISGA) and hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal.

The conference offered possibilities for the SI and its member parties to develop a dialogue with progressive political forces in Africa, many of which are seeking to develop contacts with the International.

The organising of such a conference had been one of the main tasks which SISGA set itself when it was set up by the Vienna Bureau in October 1985 (see *SI NEWS* 3/85, page 35; 2/86, page 20).

The discussions centred around the three related main themes of development and North-South cooperation, democracy and human rights, and the environment. Specific areas of debate included the link between economic development and the consolidation of democracy and human rights, agricultural problems, the external debt burden, desertification and regional economic and political integration.

The meeting was chaired jointly by the two co-chairs of SISGA, Peter Jankowitsch of the Socialist Party of Austria

(SPÖ) and Djibo Ka of the Socialist Party of Senegal.

Representatives from forty-two different organisations and parties participated in the conference (see boxes). These included, in addition to delegations from SI member parties, nineteen delegations from African parties, organisations and liberation movements.

A prominent place among the participants was taken by the president of SWAPO of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, and the representative of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, Ahmed Qono.

Link

The opening address was given by the president of Senegal and general secretary of the Socialist Party, Abdou Diouf.

President Diouf said it was high time for all democrats worthy of the name to begin a frank discussion and undertake a thorough analysis of democracy and development in Africa.

'To begin with', he stressed, 'we must be aware that democracy is not an automatic result of development. Indeed, some countries which are among the most developed in material terms are, nevertheless, subject to autocracy and dictatorship.'

'This then raises a crucially important question of approach concerning the notion of democracy. To many people, democracy seems to be a legitimate product of development. But

the relationship should rather be reversed: a country is not democratic because it is developed, it is developed because it is democratic.'

He also linked democracy and development with the environment. 'If we accept that democracy and real development go hand in hand, it is clear that the serious deterioration of the environment in Africa, which affects development, therefore also hinders the progress of democracy.'

Diouf commented at length on the question of multi-party and one-party systems.

'Is the multi-party system transferable as such to Africa? Some of those who are against such a political system assert that social classes, that is to say, the basis of political parties, are not sufficiently differentiated in Africa; others argue that the system is inappropriate to African social environments because of the low rate of literacy of the population, poverty, and the persistence of pre-colonial traditions; and others again argue that African experiments with the multi-party system have been inconclusive.'

The people of Senegal had made a particular choice, he said. 'The multi-party system is a solution with problems of its own. But in Senegal we consider that a solution that poses other problems is preferable to one that constitutes a problem in itself.'

Further dialogue with CPSU

Kalevi Sorsa, the chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC) and an SI vice-president, represented the International at the celebrations of the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow on 7 November.

On behalf of the International he offered congratulations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to the Soviet people on 'your great day'.

In his address he acknowledged that dialogue between the two main ideological currents of the international labour movement had not always been easy. But, he said, 'I feel that your process of democratisation, through glasnost and perestroika, go in the same direction' as the discussions on a new declaration of principles within the International. He therefore saw a promising future for dialogue within the international labour movement.

That dialogue had, in fact, already started on an issue of vital importance, he stressed, namely peace and disarmament. In this context he referred to the cooperation between the two sides begun at the SI Conference on Disarmament in 1978 and continued since then in a number of meetings between SIDAC and representatives of the CPSU. The International was more than willing to develop that cooperation further, he said.

Addressing the assembled guests at the celebrations, he said that the Socialist International would be honoured to receive the cooperation of all political forces and popular movements present in a joint effort to strengthen peace and to carry forward the disarmament process. 'We are convinced that a real, balanced, simultaneous and adequately controlled disarmament is finally within reach', he concluded.

Resolutions adopted by the Council of the Socialist International

Dakar, 15-16 October 1987

Resolution on Central America

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its full support for the peace plan for Central America adopted at the meeting in Guatemala (Esquipulas II) by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, which has the support of the Contadora Group and its Support Group.

The Esquipulas II agreements demonstrate the will of the people of Central America to seek, through their own common effort, political and diplomatic solutions to the crisis they have been suffering in recent years.

The Socialist International recognises and highly values the initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group, which have made a major contribution to this peace plan.

The Council expresses its great satisfaction at the leading role played by president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, of the National Liberation Party (PLN), a member of the Socialist International, in the initiation, negotiation and adoption of the above-mentioned agreements, and welcomes the decision by the Nobel Committee to award him the 1987 Peace Prize, which reflects the support of the international community for the efforts for peace of the countries of the region.

The Socialist International welcomes the important measures and decisions adopted by the government of Nicaragua in compliance with the Esquipulas II agreement, namely the withdrawal of the case against Costa Rica at the International Court of Justice, the initiation of a dialogue, the proclamation of an amnesty, the decision to allow the publication of *La Prensa*, the appointment of a national reconciliation commission led by a well known critic of the regime, and the proclamation of a unilateral ceasefire.

The Council declares its approval of the statements made by the speaker of the US House of Representatives against the authorisation of further aid to the irregular armed conflict in Nicar-

agua and once again strongly appeals to the US government to desist from military aid to the contras forces and to contribute to the success of the Esquipulas II agreement.

The Socialist International welcomes the talks between the Guatemalan government and the armed opposition initiated recently in Madrid.

The Council of the Socialist International also welcomes the resumption of a dialogue in El Salvador, within the context of the agreement of Esquipulas II, between the government and the Revolutionary Democratic Front / Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN), in which the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), an SI member party, played an important role. The Socialist International hopes that this dialogue will put an end to the serious conflict affecting that country, ensuring peace and democracy, respect for human rights and the incorporation of the MNR and other popular political organisations in the institutional life of the country, with no restrictions limiting the exercise of civil and political freedoms.

The Socialist International calls on the five Central American presidents to intensify their efforts in fulfilling the agreements signed in Guatemala City.

The Socialist International also calls on the international community as a whole to express its support for the peace process begun at the meeting in Guatemala and to redouble its efforts for cooperation with the countries of Central America.

Resolution on Africa

The Socialist International came to Dakar to meet and listen to the Africans.

The SI recognises the variety and diversity of political and economic situations on the African continent.

The SI is convinced of the essential role played by African women in the development of their

countries, and wishes women's objectives to be taken into consideration in plans for economic development, as well as in the conception of aid programmes.

The Socialist International calls on its members to support current democratic experiments and further the search for unity and for alternative ways for democracy in Africa.

In view of the hunger, malnutrition, desertification and debt which plague Africa, the SI urges European countries to develop their own policies towards Africa and hold direct discussions with the African authorities, independently of the options taken up by the big international financial institutions.

The SI invites socialists in the member countries of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to bring strong pressure to bear on their governments in order to modify the criteria by which loans are granted to developing countries, notably the developing countries of Africa, and to apply new mechanisms for long-term rescheduling, at low rates of interest, of their financial burden, even the annulment of all or part of the debt for the countries most in difficulty.

Lastly, recalling the important role played by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the SI calls on NGOs close to member parties to reinforce their efforts and their cooperation to support, together with the African NGOs, significant development projects.

Resolution on Chile and Paraguay

The Council of the Socialist International once again expresses its concern and wish that the people of Chile and Paraguay by peaceful means soon achieve democracy. This has always been SI policy and practised by its member parties, the Radical Party of Chile (PR) and the Febrerista Revolutionary Party (PRF) of Paraguay.

For the Socialist International the perpetuation of dictatorship in both countries constitutes an intolerable situation and one which threatens peace and freedom in the continent.

The establishment and consolidation of democracy in the Southern Cone of Latin America needs the end to dictatorship in both Chile and Paraguay.

The Socialist International thus encourages the joint efforts of the democratic parties in Chile in their campaign for free elections. We commend the unity of the different democratic parties also in Paraguay. The Socialist International sends a message of encouragement and solidarity to our fraternal parties in the peaceful action in which they are engaged.

The Socialist International, at its forthcoming meetings of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) and the Chile Committee, will examine with utmost priority the struggle for democracy in both countries of the Southern Cone.

Resolution on Southern Africa

The Socialist International has analysed critically the grave political and military situation in Southern Africa, especially in occupied Namibia and apartheid South Africa, where the apartheid regime is engaged in mass killings, torture, rape, arrest and detention without trial of innocent people, including children.

The SI also learned with great concern about military attacks and aggression by the Pretoria regime on the Front Line States – Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia – resulting in the death of innocent civilians, especially women and children, as well as the destruction of the economic structures of these countries.

The SI vehemently condemns the apartheid regime's repression of the innocent people of Namibia and South Africa.

It calls upon the Pretoria regime to cease immediately the forced removals of millions of people to the dumping grounds of the bantustans.

The SI further demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Namibia and South Africa, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others.

The SI demands the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and all other democratic forces which are fighting the inhuman apartheid system in South Africa.

The SI demands that the racist regime in South Africa accept without pre-conditions the ceasefire and the immediate implementation of the 1978 UN Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

The SI calls upon governments, national and international organisations, as well as individuals, to increase their humanitarian assistance to SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa.

The SI calls on the international community to render economic and financial assistance to the Front Line States, whose peoples are victims of military attacks, aggression and destabilisation, which would enable them to resist and strengthen their economy and defence capability in order to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Statement on disarmament and development

The Socialist International welcomes and supports the current determination of the Soviet Union and the United States to eliminate long-range and shorter-range land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) and to continue the disarmament process by new agreements in other fields.

The double-zero INF agreement, although covering only a small portion of the existing nuclear warheads, will be of considerable historical political and symbolic importance. It will be the first genuine disarmament agreement affecting major weapon systems and will create a good basis for further progress.

It is also vital that the INF agreement will soon be followed by deep cuts in strategic nuclear forces, by joint measures to preserve and strengthen the ABM Treaty (in order to avoid any form of armaments race in outer space, such as that represented by the strategic defence initiative, SDI, or other similar systems), by a ban on chemical weapons and by the starting of a process of real conventional disarmament, including tactical nuclear systems, further confidence-building measures and a turn to non-provocative defence doctrines and strategies, based on the notion of security in common. It is also important for the INF arms agreement to pave the way to a comprehensive test ban.

The SI will lend its full support for all efforts to realise these goals. We invite all popular movements and political forces to join in a common action to carry forward the disarmament process. We are convinced that a real balanced, simultaneous and adequately controlled disarmament is finally within reach.

The general disarmament process should be extended to all geographical regions, including Africa, and aim at making this continent an area free of nuclear weapons, according to the will expressed by the member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Disarmament is an important factor in lowering tensions and promoting peaceful cooperation, but disarmament alone is not sufficient to guarantee a world free from conflicts and tensions. We need a global organisation and network comprising all the main groupings and political forces of the world. That is why the United Nations should be strongly supported both politically and financially. The UN was originally conceived as an organisation to preserve international peace and security. It is high time that this principal aim of the UN be restored both at the level of the political will of its members and in its day-to-day activities.

The global arms race has reached incomprehensible levels both in terms of destructive capabilities and of waste of human and material resources. Military expenditures are around the figure of one thousand billion US dollars a year. About 6 percent of annual global production is spent on military purposes. These sums are in dramatic contrast to economic and social underdevelopment and to the misery and poverty afflicting two-thirds of humanity. The various aspects of the relationship between disarmament and development have been thoroughly analysed in numerous studies carried out during the past ten years in particular.

The United Nations Charter establishes the goal of maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. Therefore, disarmament can and should be supported both because of its positive impact on international security and because it releases human and material resources to constructive peaceful purposes. Of course, disarmament and development should each be pursued regardless of the pace in the other field, but as the final document of the recent International Conference on Disarmament and Development rightly points out, 'each of them can have an impact at the national, regional and global level in such a way as to create an environment conducive to the promotion of the other'.

The final document of the conference outlines the main characteristics of the present situation and establishes a feasible action programme. The emphasis placed at the Conference on the non-military aspects of security, an increasing openness regarding military affairs and the role played by non-governmental organisations are principles and trends which correspond to the conceptions and demands of the Socialist International.

Disarmament and development are processes which require political consciousness and political will. Now is the time to seize the opportunity and make a breakthrough in disarmament and development.

Resolution on Haiti

The Council of the Socialist International, considering that – the adoption of the constitution by the Haitian people last 29 March constituted a new demonstration of their spirit of citizenship and commitment to democracy; and that

– the work of the provisional electoral council and the leaders of the Catholic Church in the reestablishment of political stability and the preparation for national elections scheduled for November this year are an encouraging sign in the democratisation process decides:

- (a) to fully support the efforts by the democratic parties and movements, the trade unions and the human rights organisations to help the Haitian people in the preparations for the November elections;
- (b) to ask the national governing council to guarantee respect for political freedoms and to grant all the necessary resources to the provisional electoral council so that it can comply with the requirements for carrying out free and democratic elections, such as the finalisation of the national electoral register and the radio broadcasting of electoral information;
- (c) to request all its member parties, parliamentary groups and friendly governments to lend their fullest cooperation to the Provisional Electoral Council of Haiti so that it can comply with its commitment to assist the people in electing their government;
- (d) to be present as an international observer in the November elections.

Resolution on Fiji

The Socialist International is dismayed by Colonel Rabuka's second military coup in Fiji. This violent intrusion into tentative efforts to restore the democratic process has again destabilised the region.

The Socialist International recognises the rights of the Indian population of Fiji to equal political representation within Fijian political structures. Any move to unequal representation is racist and is condemned.

Resolution on Panama

The democratic process in Panama is a fundamental factor in the preservation of peace in Central America.

We therefore make an appeal to all the political forces of Panama, from the government to the opposition, to seek and find peace and democracy.

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its confidence in the faithful compliance with the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the Panama Canal, its concern for any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Panama, and supports the holding of elections in 1989.