

Disarmament talks and South Atlantic war dominate Helsinki Bureau meeting

The shadow of the conflict in the South Atlantic, an extremely crowded agenda, and discussion of the main theme of disarmament and arms control, made the Bureau meeting of the Socialist International in Helsinki one of the busiest and most difficult in some time.

The two-day meeting, held on 26-27 May, and chaired by President Willy Brandt, devoted a large chunk of both the official agenda and the private time of delegates to the conflict between Argentina and Great Britain concerning the Falklands/Malvinas. But at the request of the British Labour Party the formal discussion was held until the second day to permit their delegation to be briefed concerning decisions of the national executive committee of the party.

Kalevi Sorsa, the newly chosen Finnish prime minister and chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, welcomed delegates to Helsinki in opening the deliberations. He later reported in his capacity as chairman of the Socialist International Disarmament and Arms Control Advisory Council. Sorsa presented a resolution on behalf of the Council for the Bureau's consideration. The amended resolution is published below.

Commenting on the moves towards serious disarmament negotiations on the part of the superpowers, he noted that 'there are fragile signs of a spring after another cold winter. 'But,' he added 'great-power relations are still tense and characterised by deep mistrust of each other's intentions. We should not be too critical and accuse them, but rather encourage them to take immediate steps to show that they are seriously interested in achieving concrete results.'

Commenting on the rapid growth in the peace movements around the world, Sorsa said:

'These people and movements do not necessarily belong to our ideological family – although, by the way, they very often do – and their proposals and

methods are not always exactly the same as ours, but their concerns and objectives are closer to ours than to those of any other meaningful international political movement.

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RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT

The Socialist International was among the first to advocate disarmament and East-West dialogue, for such a dialogue is indispensable if dangerous escalations are to be avoided and peaceful and just solutions to be promoted. The arms race cannot be stopped without mutual trust. Crises such as Afghanistan, Middle East, Poland, Central America and the South Atlantic have affected the international climate and rendered this task more difficult.

All over the world there has been a growing popular demand for immediate and concrete steps to stop the nuclear arms race and to launch meaningful negotiations on the gradual elimination of nuclear arsenals. The Socialist International supports this demand.

The leaders of the great powers must recognise that the opinion of large masses cannot be ignored. They will meet with a constantly growing demand for peace also at the UN General Assembly's Second Special Session on Disarmament in June 1982. The peoples of the world justifiably expect that the Special Session will recommend strong and credible measures in disarmament.

The resources released from the arms race must be diverted into worldwide efforts for social and economic development.

The Socialist International urges the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to meet on the highest level without delay and to give a new momentum to disarmament efforts. That would contribute to creating favourable conditions for nuclear arms reductions. Above all, they should consider undertaking immediately confidence-building commitments, such as a moratorium on all nuclear weapon tests and refraining from further production of fissionable materials during the negotiations. This would effectively check the qualitative developments of arms systems that tend to destabilise the situation even during the negotiations. The Socialist International also repeats its appeal for an immediate ratification of the SALT II treaty.

The Socialist International welcomes the declared intention of



Charles Kassman

Jaakko Kalela, Walter Hacker, Jacques Huntzinger, Pentti Vaeaenaenen, Oscar Debonne – working on the resolution published below.

majority of whose supporters are sincere peace-loving people, we will cause serious disappointment to millions of people, who in the last few years of tension have got used to the idea that the Socialist International is the strongest and the most stable bastion of detente and disarmament.'

both sides to resume negotiations on the reduction of strategic armaments. As the Socialist International has earlier urged, the objective must be meaningful reductions of all nuclear weapons and an effective check on further qualitative developments. The negotiations can only be successful if both parties respect the principle of undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces, and show political will for necessary compromises.

The Socialist International reaffirms its absolute rejection of the concept of limited nuclear war, because even limited nuclear war would mean unlimited destruction. In the light of recent developments, new, strong efforts must be undertaken in order to stop further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Socialist International calls again upon the UN and the member states to promote more effectively regional approaches in order to achieve nuclear disarmament, among other measures by creating nuclear-weapon-free zones. Any new steps in the chemical and biological arms race must be stopped.

An urgent task during the coming months is to prevent a serious deterioration of the situation in Europe. The Socialist International once again emphasises that time is running out in the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) talks in Geneva and urges the parties to intensify their efforts to reach results before the end of 1983. The Madrid follow-up meeting of the CSCE, when reconvening this autumn, must reach an agreement on a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. Any arms control measures in Europe should not jeopardise the security of other regions in the world by increasing arms deployments there.

The Socialist International strongly appeals to all parties concerned to start and stimulate international and regional negotiations on the reduction of conventional armaments, arms trade and arms transfers.

The role of the United Nations must be strengthened particularly in arms control, disarmament, peace keeping and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The Bureau considered the tragic war in the South Atlantic at length on the second day. The discussion had been preceded by extensive efforts by Thorvald Stoltenberg (of the Norwegian Labour Party), at the request of the Bureau, to arrive at a text which would have the support of the Latin American parties and those of Europe and elsewhere.

The position of the Socialist International Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean was initially outlined by former Venezuelan president Carlos Andres Perez. Pointing to decisions of the United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement, Perez said that Argentina's claim to the islands was legitimate and widely recognised. While conceding that Argentina had used force in its attempt to secure its claim, he concluded that Great Britain's response had been far out of proportion to the initial attack. He was sharply critical of the position of the European Community saying that they had committed economic aggression against Argentina. Perez characterised the conflict as more than regional and termed it a West-South war, perhaps in reference to the involvement of NATO.

Alex Kitson said on behalf of the British Labour Party that the issue of self-determination for the people of the islands must be considered in addition to the demand for decolonisation. He pointed to the long anti-colonial tradition of the British Labour Party as demonstrated by their tradition in India and Africa.

The position of the national executive committee of the British Labour Party, which was conveyed to the Bureau, was in part that while the mood of chauvinism being whipped up by the right wing in Great Britain and Argentina was to be deplored, it remained true that the first act of war had been taken by the junta – a government which had been justly condemned by the Socialist International for its domestic politics.

Other delegates suggested that the Bureau should bear in mind that other conflicts in the region loom, as a result of border disputes and territorial claims. Richard Cheltenham of the Barbados Labour Party refused to endorse the resolution because it failed to condemn Argentina explicitly. He cited Guatemala's claim over Belize and Venezuela's territorial conflict with Guyana as potential flash-points if aggression was not condemned.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS

HELSINKI BUREAU MEETING

A series of other subjects were dealt with by the Bureau, including the question of applications for membership. The Puerto Rican Independence Party was recommended to the congress as a consultative member party. All other membership applications before the Bureau were referred to the finance and administration committee for its consideration.

The Bureau expressed its concern over the persecution of political prisoners in Turkey and in particular the treatment of the leader of the member party in that country, Bulent Ecevit. Jenny Little reported on the Socialist International's mission to Cyprus and presented the mission's recommendations on the Cyprus situation, which were adopted with amendments. President Brandt also reported on his impressions of a recent visit to the island.

An exchange between delegates of the Lebanese and Israeli member parties took place over the looming crisis in Lebanon. Janine Rubeiz of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon attacked the role that Israel had played there (this debate took place two weeks before the invasion). Shimon Peres, the leader of the Israeli Labour Party, challenged many of Rubeiz's assertions about Israel's intentions.

There was a brief report on the work of the Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean by its chairman Jose Francisco Pena Gomez. Mario Solarzano of the Guatemalan Democratic Socialist Party reported on the situation there following the coup.

At the request of the Bureau, Commandante Bayardo Arce of the Sandinista Front of Nicaragua reviewed developments in that country. He was questioned by Mario Soares of the Portuguese Socialist Party about criticisms of the direction of the revolution. The Bureau asked Felipe Gonzalez of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Pierre Schori of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and Mario Soares to report to the next meeting of the Bureau on developments in Nicaragua.

After discussion of the proposed Southern Africa conference, introduced by General Secretary Bernt Carlsson, the Vienna conference on economic policy, the Bureau meeting to be held in Basel in November and preparations for the Sydney congress next year, the Bureau adjourned, to conclude an incredibly jammed but productive set of meetings.



Willy Brandt, Bob Hawke



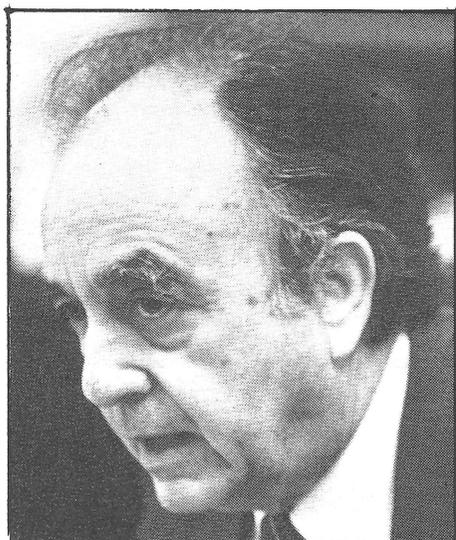
Kalevi Sorsa, Walter Hacker



Alex Kitson, Jenny Little



Lasse Budtz



Vassos Lyssarides



Stanislaw Wasik

Resolution on Falkland Islands/Malvinas

The Bureau of the Socialist International meeting in Helsinki, 26-27 May, has discussed the Falkland Islands/Malvinas conflict.

The Bureau reiterates the principle of the non-use of force as stated in the Charter of the United Nations. The use of force to solve a conflict cannot be accepted.

The Socialist International strongly urges the parties to reopen negotiations immediately. The Socialist International will support efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations to achieve a ceasefire and to secure negotiations linked with the implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions 502 and 505.

These resolutions underline the commitment of any government and people to settle disputes by diplomatic means – not by force.

The Bureau will name a six-member commission to maintain a watching brief on behalf of the Bureau and report to the Bureau. Three members shall represent Latin American member parties of the Socialist International, and three shall represent European member parties of the Socialist International.

All points of view, including those from parties of Latin America and parties of Europe, will be studied at the first meeting of the commission.

Resolution on Lebanon

The Socialist International expresses its support for and commitment to the territorial integrity, unity and independence of Lebanon.

Statement of the Bureau of the Socialist International on the situation in Turkey

The Socialist International:

(1) deplors the continuing drastic restriction of human rights, the dissolution of parliament and a large number of trade-union organisations, the substantial restriction of activities still permitted and the restrictions on the freedom of the press in Turkey;

(2) is deeply disturbed by the continuing political trials, the difficulties with which defence lawyers are confronted and the constant demands for the death penalty which have now become routine;

(3) is particularly distressed at the systematic persecution and the repeated imprisonment of the former prime minister, Bulent Ecevit;

(4) notes the intention of some member states of the Council of Europe to raise the matter of torture and other violations of human rights in Turkey before the European Commission of Human Rights, and urges other member states to support this initiative;

(5) condemns the announced intention of the regime to continue to ban former politicians from political life even if elections are held;

(6) notes resolution no. 765 of 28 January 1982 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which stated that the present situation in Turkey is incompatible with the statutes of the Council of Europe and in which the ban on political parties and the confiscation of their assets were also condemned; also notes decision no. 398 of 13 May 1981 which rejected an extension of the mandate of the Turkish parliamentary delegation in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; and welcomes the actions on this matter by socialist members of that Assembly;

(7) welcomes the initiatives of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, which have led to the blocking of EEC aid to Turkey, and supports the view that aid must not be resumed until pluralist parliamentary democracy and all basic civil, political and trade-union rights are restored in Turkey;

(8) notes that this action can be undermined if individual governments continue undiminished their bilateral aid to Turkey, and urges them to follow the lead of the EEC.

Sorsa on progress of disarmament efforts

At its meeting in Helsinki, the Bureau was hosted by the Social Democratic Party of Finland. The chairperson of the Finnish party, and prime minister of Finland, Kalevi Sorsa, welcomed the delegates to the first Bureau meeting in his country in eleven years. In his opening remarks, Kalevi Sorsa drew attention to the main theme for the Bureau, disarmament and East/West relations, and to the work of the Socialist International Disarmament and Arms Control Advisory Council (SIDAC).

There are fragile signs of a spring after another cold winter. But the great power relations are still tense and characterised by deep mistrust of each other's intentions.

We must welcome the recent statements of Presidents Brezhnev and Reagan, in which both express their readiness to initiate new disarmament negotiations. Both of them have also made proposals that represent a departure from immobility and seem to respond to demands

presented by the new peace movements in various countries and which we social democrats and socialists have shared for a long time.

It is obvious, however, that these proposals are far from mutually compatible and thus do not yet form a common ground for meaningful disarmament negotiations. In taking a positive attitude towards them, we consider this only a starting point and expect that the parties concerned have the good will to negotiate and thus also to make the necessary compromises.

While offering grounds for modest hope, the international situation today also gives sad evidence of the fundamental weakness of the present bipolar world system. It lacks the flexibility to tolerate even necessary internal change in smaller states. The democratic socialists, who understand that societies are living and organically ever-changing, find this rigidity particularly difficult to accept.

It is my conviction that our voice is

being heard more and more in the international debate. More and more people have learned that the voice of the Socialist International is one that corresponds to popular aspirations, considerate judgement, peace and justice. This places a heavy responsibility on our shoulders, but I am convinced that we can meet with expectations.

SIDAC chairperson Kalevi Sorsa also opened the discussion of the main theme for the Bureau. He reported in detail on the study travel and recommendations of the Advisory Council. Since the Paris meeting of the Council, meetings were held in Washington with officials of the Reagan administration, the then secretary-general, Kurt Waldheim, and UN officials, and in Moscow with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet experts and officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Council met again in Helsinki prior to the Bureau meeting. Kalevi Sorsa made the following remarks on the Council's view of the new international disarmament movements.

We were of the opinion that everything must be done to make maximum use of the present international atmosphere in order to give the disarmament process a new momentum. This would mean that US-Soviet

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS Helsinki, May 26-27, 1982

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Bernt Carlsson

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Australia
Australian Labor Party
Bob Hawke

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Socialist Party of Austria
Walter Hacker

Barbados
Barbados Labour Party
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negotiations on strategic armaments are resumed and that the deadlocks in other fora are broken.

We must in this context give our full support to the new peace movements in various parts of the world. These people and movements do not necessarily belong to our ideological family, although, by the way, they very often do, and their proposals and methods are not always exactly the same as ours, but their concerns and objectives are closer to ours than to those of any other meaningful international political movement.

If we do not show readiness to cooperate with these movements, the vast majority of whose supporters are sincere peace-loving people, we will cause serious disappointment to millions of people, who in the last few years of tension have got used to the idea that the Socialist International is the strongest and the most stable bastion of detente and disarmament.

According to press reports, certain European conservative parties have established a research institute to counter the Western European peace movement. The institute is based in Luxembourg. As I have already said, we should defend the peace movement.

In our draft resolution, we welcome, cautiously, the declared intentions of

Presidents Brezhnev and Reagan concerning both a summit meeting and the resumption of SALT talks. We need to be cautious, because there is naturally a good dash of propaganda and tactical posturing in the proposals made. And they reflect deep mutual distrust, too.

But we have to encourage the super-power leaders to proceed in the right direction, to give up propaganda and instead show the political will to compromise. We should not be too critical and accuse them, but rather encourage them to take immediate steps in order to show that they are seriously interested in achieving concrete results.

What could immediate steps of this kind be?

We have mentioned three examples in the draft resolution:

- a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests;
- refraining from further production of fissionable materials;
- ratification of the SALT II treaty.

The Socialist International has repeatedly demanded that the two superpowers ratify SALT II. Even if new negotiations were to start immediately, ratification would, in our view, contribute to restoring the credibility of the negotiation process.

The two other proposals are aimed at preventing the destabilising effect of the

qualitative development of new arms systems during the negotiations. We know that many serious difficulties arose from such developments during the SALT I and II negotiations.

The START negotiations should begin as soon as possible. The objective should be as much, or perhaps even more, substantial reductions as qualitative restrictions. The new agreements must not be made obsolete overnight through technological developments. In this context it is important to keep in force the anti-ballistic missile treaty embodied in the SALT I agreements.

The draft resolution also includes a number of recommendations aimed at promoting disarmament in Europe and in other parts of the world. These recommendations are fairly general, for the reason that the Bureau dealt with them at greater length in its Paris resolution last September and because no new developments are to be recorded.

Finally, the Advisory Council wishes to underscore the role of the United Nations in the light of recent events. The authority and resources of the UN must be strengthened in the disarmament process, in peace keeping and in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. All these activities are interconnected and mutually interdependent.

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Norwegian Labour Party
Reiulf Steen
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Rui Mateus

Senegal

Socialist Party of Senegal
Caroline Diop
Joseph Mathiam

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Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
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Sweden

Social Democratic Party
Pierre Schori
Gunnar Stenarv
Ulf Westerberg

Switzerland

Social Democratic Party
Jean Ziegler

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Democratic Socialists of America
Michael Harrington

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Social Democrats USA
Joel Freedman
Rita Freedman

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Saara-Maaria Paakinen

International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY)

Milton Colindres
Bengt Ohlsson

Socialist International Women

Lydie Schmit
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Consultative Parties

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EDEK Socialist Party
Vassos Lyssarides

Venezuela

Democratic Action
Carlos Andres Perez
Miguel Vega

Venezuela

People's Electoral Movement
Magdalena Becerra

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Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSPEC)
Dick Toornstra

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe (SUCEE)

Bruno Kalnins
Stanislaw Wasik

European Parliament, Socialist Group

Ernest Glinne
David Blackman

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Darcy Ribeiro

Dominica
Labour Party
Roosevelt Douglas

Guyana

Working People's Alliance
Andaiye

Mexico

Revolutionary Institutional Party
Jorge A. Lozoya

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Socialist Union of Popular Forces
Mehdi Aloui

Nicaragua

Sandinista National Liberation Front
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William Vigil
Oscar Cortes

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Puerto Rican Independence Party
Ruben Berrios

Latin American Association for Human Rights (ALDHU)

Cesar Verdoga

Permanent Conference of Latin American Parties (COPPPAL)

Alfonso Zegbe

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL NEWS

HELSINKI BUREAU MEETING

A book on post-war Europe, written by a young journalist in 1943, came into my hands some weeks ago. In outlining pre-war disarmament efforts, the writer says something we might remember and emphasise today:

'What we ended up with, however, were sad disarmament conferences that resulted in an arms race rather than a reduction of armaments. That did not stem by any means from the ill will of individual heads of state, but rather from the uncertainty that prevailed in relations between states and from lack of constructive international politics. The speed of any restrictions on armaments will depend on the stability of international politics and economic cooperation.'

That young man was Willy Brandt.

Finally, commenting on the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament and the SIDAC's meetings with UN officials, Kalevi Sorsa made the following observations concerning the new atmosphere regarding public attitudes to arms control and the role of the United Nations in furthering the process.

The existing nuclear weapons in the world correspond to one million Hiroshimas. 500 billion dollars are spent on arms each year. This sum seems to be increasing. Yet there are a few encouraging features:

- everyone is aware of what the outcome of a nuclear war would be;
- the arms race means an economic burden; there is a will to channel these resources into better uses;
- general awareness of the problem is spreading; this is most important;
- yearly, some 600 meetings are held within the UN framework, so a dialogue is in progress; even though progress is slow, some twenty treaties dealing with limitation have been achieved under the auspices of the UN.

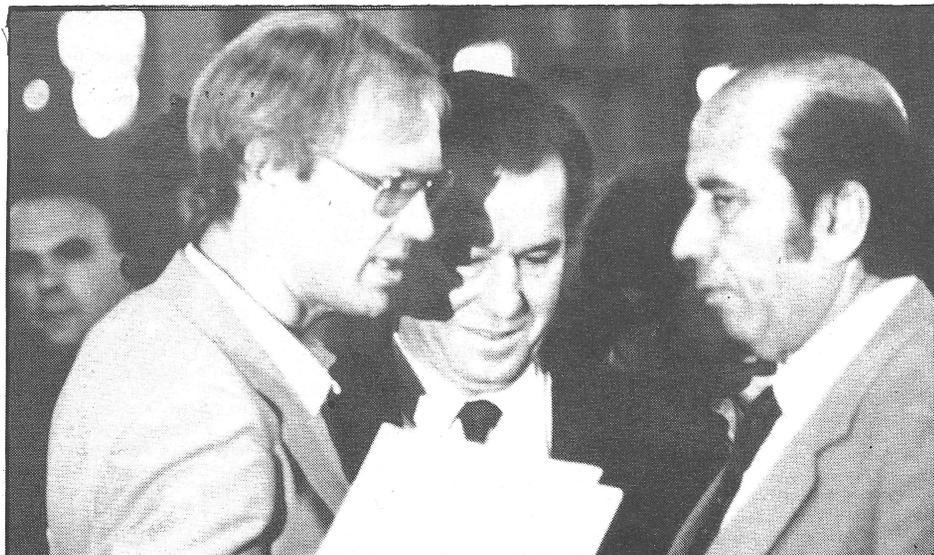
The Socialist International and its member parties played a significant role during the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament in June. Kalevi Sorsa spoke in his capacity as Finnish prime minister. The Socialist International President, Willy Brandt, addressed the session. Max van der Stoep, of the Dutch Labour Party, led a delegation named by the Bureau to the UN session which included the Japanese member parties and the Austrian Socialist Party.



Janine Rubeiz, Brahim Mohsen



Lionel Jospin, Guillermo Ungo, Willy Brandt



Pierre Schori, Anselmo Sule, Carlos Andres Perez