

GmB/040/0273/16



XIX Congress of the Socialist International, Berlin, September 15-17, 1992

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19TH SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS



COMRADES,

IT IS FOR ME A GREAT PRIVILEGE TO BE ABLE TO TAKE PART IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF THIS CONGRESS, WHICH, I FIRMLY BELIEVE, WILL DEFINITELY ASSERT THE PROMINENT ROLE PLAYED BY OUR ORGANIZATION IN THE NEW INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO. THE NEW SETTING IS ESPECIALLY COMPLEX AND CHARACTERIZED BY GREAT TENSION, BUT AT THE SAME TIME, RICH IN NEW AND PROMISING PROSPECTS FOR THE AFFIRMATION OF ETHICAL AND POLITICAL VALUES WHICH WE ALL SHARE.

AT THE STOCKHOLM CONGRESS WE WERE BREATHING THE AIR OF THE EXCITING CLIMATE OF PERESTROIKA, BUT THE BERLIN WALL HAD NOT YET COLLAPSED. WE STILL LIVED IN A WORLD GOVERNED BY POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMPETITION, THE WORLD OF DETERRENCE AND OF NUCLEAR DISSUASION.

TODAY, THE EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO, THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH HAS DETERMINED A CHANGE OF POLICY FOR OPPOSING BLOCKS, HAVE ONCE AGAIN DRAMATICALLY BROUGHT TO THE FORE THE NEED FOR A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE, ONE WHICH WE AS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE USED FOR DECADES. WE WERE AMONG THE FIRST TO PLACE THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH ALL GOVERNMENTS ARE CONFRONTED TODAY AT THE CENTER OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE IN OUR COUNTRIES.

WE LEGITIMATED THEMES THAT SEEMED SO FUTURISTIC AND DEVOID OF CONCRETE FOUNDATIONS PRIOR TO OUR BRINGING THEM UP. AND YET, IT IS THOSE VERY ISSUES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL



COMMUNITY IS DRAMATICALLY CALLED TO DEAL WITH TODAY; TAKE THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES, FOR INSTANCE. AS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, WE ENJOY UNIQUE CREDIBILITY IN THIS CONNECTION, WHICH DERIVES FROM THE MANY BATTLES WE HAVE WAGED TO ASSERT THE VALUES IN WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS STRONGLY BELIEVED.

OURS IS ONE OF THE FORCES THAT CAN PREVENT THE OCCURRENCE OF DANGEROUS INVOLUTIONS, AS THE RETURN TO RIVAL CHANCERIES, TO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, AND TO REGIONAL POLICIES. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO FULLY EXPRESS THE STRENGTH OF OUR MOVEMENT, WE MUST GAIN A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF THIS CHANGE AND THE SENSE OF THE NEW LANGUAGE OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

THIS IS NOT AN APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR US TO ANALYZE THE SO-CALLED NEW WORLD ORDER, AS WE HAVE DONE SO MANY TIMES BEFORE. MUCH IS BEING SAID ABOUT THIS NEW ORDER, BUT FEW HAVE REALLY SEEN IT HAPPEN. ACTUALLY, WE ARE NOT EVEN SURE THAT IT EXISTS, CONSIDERING THAT WE ARE JUST AT THE OUTSET OF A PROCESS THAT PROMISES TO BE FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES AND TENSIONS DIFFICULT TO GOVERN.

NEVERTHELESS, I DO BELIEVE THAT A REAL AND CLEARLY VISIBLE FEATURE EMERGING FROM THIS COMPLEX AND AT TIMES CHAOTIC INTERNATIONAL SETTING, IS THE PRESENCE OF TWO GREAT OPPOSING THRUSTS. ON THE ONE HAND, WE ARE WITNESSING A PROFOUND TREND TOWARDS THE DISINTEGRATION OF STATES,



DRAMATICALLY EVIDENT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE SEEMS TO BE A STRONG THRUST TOWARDS THE CREATION OF LARGE INTEGRATED BLOCKS, SUCH AS A UNIFIED EUROPE.

BUT IN SPITE OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES IN PURSUING THIS TREND, EUROPE IS NOT ALONE IN FEELING THE NEED FOR SOME FORM OF UNIFICATION. SUFFICE IT TO CONSIDER THE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL OF NAFTA, THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION, WHICH WILL INEVITABLY AGGREGATE ALL THE COUNTRIES LOCATED IN THAT HEMISPHERE. SUFFICE IT TO CONSIDER THE INCREASINGLY GREAT INTEGRATION OF MARKETS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, CHINA AND OCEANIA WITH JAPAN, THE ECONOMIC GIANT. THEY ALREADY CONSTITUTE AN IMPOSING BLOCK WHICH IS BEING COMPLEMENTED BY EASTERN SIBERIA'S ENORMOUS POTENTIAL, STILL LARGELY UNEXPLORED.

THESE TWO PHENOMENA, DISSOLUTION ON THE ONE HAND AND INTEGRATION ON THE OTHER, SEEM TO BE CONTRADICTIONARY AND INCOMPATIBLE, WHICH INDEED THEY ARE. HOWEVER, THEY BOTH HAVE THE SAME MEANING AND GENERATE THE SAME CONSEQUENCES. THEY BOTH CHALLENGE THE VERY IDEA OF BOUNDARIES, OF A CLEARCUT SEPARATION BETWEEN NATIONS, A CONCEPT WHICH IS THUS ENTERING AN EXCEPTIONAL CRISIS FROM WHICH IT MAY NEVER RECOVER.

BUT A CONCEPT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND, IN THIS CONNECTION. WHETHER STATES MERGE TOGETHER AND BECOME BROADER POLITICAL



AND ECONOMIC ENTITIES, OR WHETHER, BY CONTRAST, THEY BREAK DOWN AS A RESULT OF ETHNIC PROBLEMS, THE FINAL OUTCOME IS VERY MUCH THE SAME: THE COLLAPSE OF THE BORDERS THAT USED TO DEFINE THE IDENTITY OF STATES AND OF THEIR CITIZENS.

SINCE THE CONCEPTS OF TERRITORY AND NATION CONSTITUTE THE BASIS OF A STATE, SHOULD THEY BE CHALLENGED SO WILL THE TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY, BOTH IN ITS FORM AND ESSENCE. AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS PHENOMENON ARE FAR FROM BEING MERELY THEORETICAL.

ONE OF SUCH REPERCUSSIONS IS DEFINITELY VERY CONCRETE. I AM REFERRING TO THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE, WHICH WAS RESORTED TO IN ORDER TO SAVE THE IRAQI KURDS FROM GENOCIDE. PREVENTIVE PEACE KEEPING IS ALSO BEING REFERRED TO INCREASINGLY, AS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO SECURE PEACE. THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE AND PREVENTIVE PEACE KEEPING, HOWEVER, MAY BE SECURED ONLY IF WE ACCEPT A MODIFIED CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY, WHICH NO LONGER REPRESENTS A SORT OF SACRED SYMBOL IN THE LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE CRISIS AFFECTING CONCEPTS SUCH AS BORDERLINES AND SOVEREIGNTY HAS ALSO BROUGHT ABOUT VERY SEVERE RISKS. AFTER ALL, THE TRAGEDY RAVAGING FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IS THE RESULT OF THE WEAKNESS OF THE BORDERS DELIMITING THE NEW REPUBLICS. IT WAS FIRST AND FOREMOST THE LACK OF RECOGNIZED AND STABILIZED BORDERS THAT LED THE SERBS TO BELIEVE THAT



THEY COULD CONQUER THEIR OWN SPACE WITH THE USE OF FORCE. THE ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UN, NATO AND THE WEU ARE NOT ONLY GEARED TOWARDS STOPPING THE MASSACRE THAT HAS AROUSED INDIGNATION IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD. THEY WERE ALSO AIMED AT PREVENTING THE SPARK FROM EXTENDING TO OTHER AREAS WHOSE BORDERS ARE JUST AS FRAGILE, IF NOT MORE, SUCH AS THE COMMUNITY OF INDEPENDENT STATES.

THERE MAY BE A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE VINDICATION OF THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE AND THE ATTEMPT TO DEFEND THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS. IF SUCH A CONTRADICTION DOES EMERGE, HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE VIEWED IN A CREATIVE LIGHT, FOR IT IS CALLING US ALL TO SEEK NEW SOLUTIONS AND NEW APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS THAT ARE BECOMING MORE URGENT WITH EACH PASSING DAY.

AND IT IS PRECISELY IN THIS WORLD CHARACTERIZED BY WEAKER BOUNDARIES AND ATTENUATED SOVEREIGNITIES THAT MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION MAY AND SHOULD PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE. HAVING MEMBERS ALMOST ALL OVER THE WORLD AND THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENTS, OURS IS THE IDEAL POLITICAL FORCE FOR AN INCREASINGLY GLOBAL FUTURE, IN WHICH DIVISIONS WILL BE EVER MORE LABILE. WE MUST TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY THAT WE HAVE TO PROMOTE COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS THAT NOW AFFECT THE ENTIRE PLANET, FOR THE INTERDEPENDENCY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IS BOUND TO GROW WITH TIME.



IT IS NOT BY COINCIDENCE THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION DULY UNDERSCORES THE FACT THAT WE DRAW STRENGTH FROM OUR BEING DIFFERENT. OUR DIVERSITY IS AN ELEMENT THAT MAY ALLOW US TO STEM THE WAVES OF NATIONALIST SENTIMENT, THAT OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, HAVE LED TO MUCH BLOODSHED AND DESTRUCTION. BUT THIS IS NOT ALL. WE MUST ALSO BE COMMITTED TO HELPING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FIND SUITABLE STRUCTURES TO INTERVENE IN THE CRISES AND WARS THAT SEEM TO BE ERUPTING INCREASINGLY. THE PROLIFERATION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORA, FROM THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO THE CSCE, NATO AND THE WEU SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A DISADVANTAGE. EACH ONE OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS MAY INTEGRATE OR TAKE THE PLACE OF THE OTHER, AND ALL OF THEM TOGETHER MAY CONFER A CERTAIN FLEXIBILITY UPON THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. NATO, ESPECIALLY, HAS PROVED THAT DECADES OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION HAVE RENDERED IT AN ESSENTIAL POINT OF REFERENCE, BOTH FOR THE UN AND FOR THE CSCE. IF THERE IS A DIFFICULTY, IT LIES IN PREVENTING THE PROLIFERATION OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS, AND THE EXASPERATED REARMAMENT OF MANY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION, ESPECIALLY, IS BECOMING AN AREA AT RISK. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE LOOK UPON THE GERMAN PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WITH GREAT INTEREST. ALTHOUGH THE TREATY OF NON-PROLIFERATION MAY BE ONLY PARTLY



EFFECTIVE, AS BECAME EVIDENT IN IRAK, IT IS STILL THE ONLY INSTITUTIONAL INSTRUMENT OF THIS SORT AVAILABLE TODAY. THE MECHANISMS FOR ITS ENFORCEMENT MUST BE STRENGTHENED, AND ITS RATIFICATION SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE CIS REPUBLICS, FIRST AND FOREMOST. THE RATIFICATION OF THE CFE TREATY BY THE EUROPEAN REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IS ALSO CONSIDERED AS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THIS DIRECTION.

BUT THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH WE ARE FACED ARE NOT ONLY STRATEGIC IN NATURE OR SECURITY-RELATED. THE DYNAMICS OF THE CHANGE HAVING SWEEPED OVER THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM ARE INCREASING THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR, BUT ALSO BETWEEN THE POOR AND THE VERY POOR. THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVISION RUNS THE RISK OF BEING REPLACED BY A NEW BARRIER, AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ONE.

IN A WORLD CHARACTERIZED BY A GROWING NUMBER OF SUBORDINATE PLAYERS, THE END OF BIPOLARISM WILL FURTHER FUEL RATHER THAN QUELL THE VIOLENCE OF CONFLICTS. IT WILL THUS BE NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE VOLUME OF AID AND COOPERATION, AS REQUIREMENTS HAVE GROWN DRAMATICALLY WITH THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT CRISIS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA.

GIVEN THIS DRAMATIC SCENARIO, THE WESTERN WORLD CANNOT LIMIT ITS ROLE TO THAT OF A PEACEKEEPER, ALBEIT AN EFFECTIVE ONE, AS IT DID IN THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE. ACTIVE ACTION



MUST ALSO BE TAKEN, SO THAT THE ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING OF DEVELOPING NATIONS IS ABLE TO GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEMS, IN FULL RESPECT OF THEIR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS.

OUR TASK IN EUROPE MUST BE FIRST AND FOREMOST THAT OF PREVENTING THE FAILURE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION PROCESS ESTABLISHED BY THE TWELVE WITH THE MAASTRICHT AGREEMENTS. TODAY, FROM THE BALTIC TO TURKEY, EUROPEAN INTEGRATION MUST BE A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS. A WEAKENING AND A SLOWING DOWN OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNIFICATION PROCESS WOULD DEPRIVE THE ENTIRE EASTERN REGION OF THE OLD CONTINENT OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT OF REFERENCE, THUS FURTHER INCREASING THE INSTABILITY OF REGIONAL SYSTEMS. IN AREAS SUCH AS THE BALKANS, THE FEAR OF BEING LEFT OUT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMON SPACE IS A FUNDAMENTAL FACTOR FOR ADVISING THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE CAUTIOUS ACTION.

IF THE EC GROWS WEAKER INTERNALLY, ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ATTRACTION POTENTIAL WILL BE REDUCED, THE FEELING THAT OUTSIDERS HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE WILL GROW, AND AGGRESSIVE AS WELL AS DESTABILIZING BEHAVIORS AS THE ONE DISPLAYED BY FORMER YUGOSLAVIA WILL INCREASE. THE MASSACRE MUST BE STOPPED, AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION MUST SUPPORT ALL INITIATIVES IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AIMED AT PEACE-MAKING, AND AT PUTTING AN END TO



AN UNREASONABLE FRATRICIDAL WAR.

IN A RAPIDLY EVOLVING WORLD, TORN BY GREAT STRIFE, THE ONLY AVENUE TO PURSUE IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH TO THE VARIOUS POPULATIONS, IS THAT OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM. ALL OF US COMRADES SHOULD THUS COMMITT OURSELVES TO REACHING THESE OBJECTIVES.