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Mr. Chairman,

Dear Comrades and guests,

It is my great pleasure and honour to address the distinguished and devoted members of the XIX Congress of the SI. I wish you all great success on behalf of the Social Democratic People's Party of Turkey.

I also express my best wishes and all the good wishes of my party members to our beloved President, Willy Brandt, in his fight against his illness. We continue to believe that he will be winner in this fight too.

Dear Comrades,

In considering the place, role and mission of social democracy in a changing world, it is best to start from the observations and predictions expressed in the declaration of the preceding General Congress. Because already at that time it had become clear that the world political scene was undergoing a crucial change. The control of the nuclear weapons was really undertaken, the cold war was ending, the Communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe were disappearing and new democratic regimes were appearing everywhere. The Stockholm Congress met at this juncture of history and prepared the well-known Declaration.

Remembering the main ideas clearly expressed in this Declaration as well as in the brilliant opening speech of Willy Brandt at the Stockholm Congress, I cannot but admire the foresight of that Congress. The Stockholm Declaration introduced as the new guiding principles of social democracy, to be applied at the global level, in addition to our traditional arms of freedom, social justice and solidarity which guide our national policies, the search for world peace and global security, protection of the environment and closing the north-south-gap. The Declaration called, among other things for an unbiased approach to economics, to obtain efficiency by observing the rules of the market and to achieve a better distribution of income through the mechanisms of democratic control, in international affairs it called for a strengthened role for the UN, asked all member parties to take the necessary measures to ensure equal participation of women in politics within a reasonable period and demanded full respect for the human rights of all peoples, including in particular ethnical groups of minorities everywhere.



All these aims are equally and even more importantly valid today and they provide the essential framework which determines the crucial role of social democracy in our changing world. The recent environmental summit in Rio, with its various Declarations, the recent report of UNDP on Human Development which points out that the world's richer nations, making up one fifth of the total population, benefit from 83% of the world output, while the poorer fifth receives only 2,3%, and the unsuccessful efforts of the UN to prevent new bloodshed of various nex points of conflict are clear examples of the importance of the aims put forth by our Stockholm declarations. The General Resolution of the present Congress must certainly reiterate these aims and must go into some details with respect to present difficulties and problems.

One expectation, shared by many comrades who participated in the Stockholm Congress did not quite materialize in the past three years; namely ; that the disintegration of the communist regimes, with the final acceptance of the essential principle, the "socialism without democracy is not socialism", would increase the chances of social democratic parties in elections everywhere. It is true that many of the social democratic ideals and aims were in fact taken up and used by parties on the right or under-right in election campaigns; but roughly speaking, the final electorate successes of our member parties turned out to be less than expected. At first sight, one reason for this surprise seems to be that in countries which have newly acquired their democratic freedom from communist regimes, the immediate reaction of the public was to support parties as far away from any kind of socialism as possible; another reason being that, compared with social democratic parties, it turned out to be easier to organize conservative parties in these countries. Yet another reason may be the resurgence of nationalistic terror in many countries which began to play a critical role in rivalries between newly independent nations or between various ethnical groups in the same nation.

Three developments require special attention as they carry, although at different levels, seeds of instability. One is the unemployment which became the main social problem within the developed and developing countries. It is up to democratic social policies to find better ways to decimate unemployment and its unhealthy effects on society. The other



two social ills which, though they have different sources do thrive on the bad effects of unemployment, are firstly the more recent phenomenon of Xnephobia an irrational hatred and sporadic attacks against foreigners living in particular in Europe and secondly terrorism which continues to harass people in many parts of the world yet.

I hope the Socialist International will once more take a clear stand, as I always did, against all these social ills.

Dear Comrades,

Another series of developments which came as an unfortunate surprise has been the reappearance of militant nationalism in the new republics which led to severe, ruthless fighting and even to massacre of innocent peoples. How are we, how is the world going to deal with such gross violations of human rights? Take the case of the Bosnians. After the dissolution of the old Yugoslavian Federation and the separation of Slovenia and Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina also declared its independence. This new state was quickly recognized by many states and we are hoping to see a peaceful settlement of the various issues arising from this restructuring. Unfortunately this was not the case. The Serbian "MILITIA" began to attack the Bosnian Muslim population wherever they could find them, in particular from the hills surrounding Sarajewo and the result has been a continuous massacre of innocent civilians, occupation by force of Bosnian towns and the flight of countless refugees. CSCE, NATO, the UN have all condemned these inhuman attacks, called for immediate cease-fire, surrender of the arms of the Serbian militia, imposed an embargo on Serbia as a whole; but the killing of innocent people still continues. At the London Conference in which all the parties to the dispute were present, very sensible resolutions were agreed upon, but who is going to see that these are implemented and how is this going to be ensured? In fact, the bloodshed continued after the London Conference. Who else but the UN can stop this bloodshed?

We remember that the UN in its foundation, did foresee such eventualities and has included in its Charter a special clause which calls for the establishment of a UN security force strong enough to enforce peace in any violent confrontation between various countries. This Security force could



never be established in the past because of the rivalry between the superpowers; but now that this rivalry has disappeared, there is no more such an obstacle.. There are all the reasons for creating such a permanent force; the situations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Nagorno-Karabagh in Azerbaijan or in Somalia being living examples of the need for such a force. Of course the materialisation of a regular security force as envisaged in the UN charter will take some time and until it arrives on the scene, ad hoc arrangements by CSCE or the UN Security Council are needed to bring peace to areas of conflict. That is why I believe it is important not to disallow in our Resolution dealing with such areas of conflict, the possibility of a forceful intervention by a regional organisation or by UN itself.

We must appeal to all these new states not to engage in any aggressive action against their neighbours and ask the regional organisations like the CSCE to organize peace-enforcing and peace-helping operations to maintain peace. The CSCE has recognized that Nagorno-Karabagh is part of Azerbaijan and has convened the responsible parties to a Conference in order to arrive to a negotiated solution, but so far a durable cease-fire has not been established.

There is no doubt that a lasting solution to any conflict can only be found through direct negotiations among the involved parties. No matter how long they may take, one must have the patience to see it through, provided a way is found to stop the bloodshed in the mean time. As the shadow of nuclear catastrophe, the threat of a nuclear World War has disappeared, for good, we hope, the real challenge facing humanity is to find ways and means to resolve old local conflicts through negotiations, and without resorting to fighting. A good example in this direction will be given, we hope, by the eventual success of the negotiations now going on between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus under the aegis of the UN Secretary General, prepared sufficient patience and wisdom shown by all parties concerned. In the last round of talks in New York during the last month the two leaders have taken appreciable steps toward a solution and we all hope now that continuing these discussions, they will be able soon to arrive to a final frame of a federation acceptable to both communities on the Island. At this critical step of the negotiations, it is important for the SI not to give the impression that it is favoring one or the other of the two parties.



In the main area of conflict the Middle East in the Israel Arab relations, we are happy to see that fruitful negotiations are now underway and we wish them real success. When a negotiated solution acceptable to all sides is found for the main dispute in the Middle East, its solutary effect on world peace and stability will be immense.

Dear Comrades,

Concluding my remarks, I wish to say that we approve the declaration on "Social Democracy in a changing world" and hope that it will contribute to reach the humanitarian aims shared by all our sister parties.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.