

DOCUMENTS

**STATEMENT BY H.E. PROFESSOR MÜMTAZ
SOYSAL, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY, AT THE 49TH
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Mr. President,

Please allow me to congratulate you on your election to the high office of the President of the General Assembly.

Allow me also to thank the distinguished outgoing President, His Excellency Samuel Insanally, for his wise leadership during the 48th session of the General Assembly.

Mr. President,

Many had hoped that the fall of the Berlin Wall would put an end to the divisions of the world and usher in a new era of peace and harmony among nations. This has not happened. Today, humanity faces a new division or fragmentation far more dramatic in essence: The world is torn between hope and despair. This is the new division we are facing.

On the one hand, hope: The spirit of democracy is kept alive. The global commitment to the universal principles of respect for human rights, rule of law and fundamental freedoms has been maintained.

On the other hand, despair: The eruption of long-suppressed evil forces such as ethnic and xenophobic nationalism, racism and tribalism has caused new conflicts. They have emerged as new threats to international peace and security.

On the darkest side, there are new genocides. Slogans of racial hatred have resurfaced. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed or wounded. Hundreds of thousands of people have become refugees or displaced persons. Human dignity has been violated.

On the brightest side, historical breakthroughs have been achieved in South Africa and the Middle East. The courageous stand of some eminent statesmen has been instrumental in translating the basic vision of the United Nations into reality. In this respect, our praise goes to the leaders of Palestine, Israel and South Africa for their courage and farsightedness. Their bold steps towards peace fostered our optimism to counter the negative trends.

In order to be able to plan a better future, we must take account of the achievements and the failures of the past, and meet the challenges of the present. Time has come to start to realistically contemplate on how to create new and workable mechanisms to respond effectively to the challenges of our times. But, we first have to accept the fact that euphoria is almost always short-lived.

Mr. President,

Today, we observe two contradictory trends, one towards fragmentation and conflict, the other towards globalization and cooperation. This new dialectic defines the framework within which we have to work together to find a balance between optimism and pessimism; between the integrity of the nation-state and the demands of an even more interdependent world.

This Organization was built on the ashes of World War II. The War's aftermath left its imprint not only on the United Nations Charter, but also on the rules that govern its work as well as its structure. Hence, the crucial challenge before us today is to make the United Nations the real center of universal solidarity by improving its effectiveness and by harmonizing its work with these new imperatives. It is in line with this reasoning that we attach utmost importance to the process of reform and restructuring of the United Nations.

Mr. President,

In this exercise, the pivotal point of focus should be the Security Council. The widespread demands for making that principal body more representative, responsive, transparent and accountable have imposed upon us a historic task which we must fulfill. The democratization of the Security Council is a challenge of our times; a challenge which requires adequate response. The moral authority of this body needs to be reinforced. We have to enhance the representative weight of the Security Council by enlarging its size and by establishing a more fair and orderly system of rotation within the geographical groups.

We must make sure that the Security Council is not perceived as the tool of a small group of big states that seeks to impose their will and their national policy objectives on others. Indeed, the moral and legal authority of the Security Council decisions emanates from the fact that the Council, in accordance with article 24 of the Charter, acts on behalf of all member States of the United Nations. Consequently, it is essential that the working methods

of the Security Council should be reviewed to reflect the spirit of democratization.

With this understanding, my country has been actively participating in the deliberations of the Open-ended Working Group on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. We expect that this Working Group becomes a genuine driving force for a real reform of the Security Council. Therefore, any "quick fix solution" in which the reform may be interpreted in a rather narrow sense cannot be accepted. In the same vein, we also fully support the efforts underway to revitalize and rationalize the work of the General Assembly as the central and universal forum for deliberation.

Mr. President,

The ongoing conflict and tragedies all over the world underscore the urgency of our task in strengthening the United Nations particularly in the field of collective security. In the past five years, the UN peace-keeping operations have undergone considerable expansion. The nature of peace-keeping is changing. Preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace enforcement, peace-building and global human security have emerged as new concepts which need further reflection.

As an active participant in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, Turkey believes that their success ultimately depends on the support and assistance received from the community of nations. This, in turn, requires the awareness of a sense of shared responsibility in addressing our common concerns.

The United Nations stand-by forces, in which we have decided to participate, would play an essential role in promoting such awareness. Only when a potential aggressor clearly perceives that the international community will retaliate in a timely and effective manner, may it change its behaviour.

Mr. President,

The challenges we are facing today surpass the means and resources of a single organization. Accordingly, there is a need for a new collective security architecture of mutually reinforcing institutions in which all elements would have a role to play. The interaction between global security and regional security requires effective cooperation and coordination among the United Nations and regional organizations. One thing is clear: Only the United Nations can provide legitimacy to regional arrangements and institutions in the fields of peace-keeping and peacemaking.

Mr. President,

From Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Caucasus to Rwanda, peoples of the world, faced with threats of racist hatred, are desperately demanding the helping hand and protection of the United Nations.

Regrettably, the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina has continued to top the international agenda during the past twelve months. Despite numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the international community has neither been able to put an end to the ethnic cleansing, nor roll back the brutal aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, the lack of effective enforcement measures has encouraged the aggressors to further proceed with their genocidal campaign and their blatant defiance of international law.

Decisive and firm action to stop the aggressions is long overdue. The Washington and Vienna Agreements laid down the foundation for a just and viable peace in Bosnia. These agreements define the framework of a federation which preserves the territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic state. They are also open to the participation of Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian Government accepted the latest international peace plan proposed by the Five-Nation Contact Group in the spirit of peace. However, extremist Serbs, longing for an ethnically homogeneous greater Serbia, have insisted on their defiance of the will of the international community and rejected the peace plan. Their rejection has demonstrated, yet again, that aggression cannot be halted on the shifting sands of promises and declarations.

The Five-Nation Contact Group has committed itself, in case of rejection, to the tightening of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. We deeply regret that the Security Council, by adopting resolution 943 last Friday, moved in the opposite direction despite the efforts of the OIC Contact Group. Once again, aggression has been rewarded. Genocide remains unchecked. The Bosnian people are yet again totally disappointed with the international system. Their disappointment is more and more shared by the rest of humankind, especially in the Islamic world.

We have arrived at a critical juncture. The international community should stand by its commitments and start acting resolutely. We have to admit that only diplomacy backed by sufficient force can make the extremist Serbs realize that more war gives them more pain than gain. There should be no further easing of the sanctions until Serbia and Montenegro recognize all successor States within their international borders.

As winter approaches, the need to provide security, shelter and humanitarian assistance to the civilian population becomes ever more pressing. The safe areas should be extended and effectively protected by UNPROFOR. The strangulation of Sarajevo should be ended. The humanitarian corridors should remain open.

As a matter of principle, the Bosnian Government must be provided with all the necessary means for self-defense, to exercise its inherent right under article 51 of the Charter. This is a moral, legal and political obligation of the international community.

President Izetbegovic, in his statement of September 27 from this rostrum, announced a new formula in this respect. Provided that some conditions be fulfilled, he limited his just demand for the lifting of the arms embargo only to the adoption of a formal resolution, deferring its implementation for another six months. This is a new sacrifice in front of the international community's inability to provide security for the victims or to recognize their basic right to self-defense. We must praise this noble gesture and support the new formula.

The realization of the so far unfulfilled commitments towards a just and viable peace in Bosnia is vital for the restoration of the credibility and moral authority of the United Nations. If we fail the test of history in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the so-called "new world order" could turn into a permanent "new world disorder".

Mr. President,

We are witnessing further potential threats to the peace and stability of the Balkans. The increasing tension between Greece and Albania regrettably runs the risk of creating yet another crisis in the region. In addition, the Republic of Macedonia suffers from an illegal economic blockade imposed by Greece. Moreover, Macedonia is still waiting to be represented at the United Nations under the name and the flag it has chosen.

The Balkans can, in no way, stand the pressure of additional tension. Compliance with the basic international norms such as respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs, and necessity to resolve disputes by peaceful means rather than by the threat or coercion are more pressing needs in the Balkans today than ever before.

Mr. President,

Turkey lies at the very epicenter of the vast geography and the new geopolitics of Eurasia. Most of the conflicts which are high on the international agenda are taking place around Turkey. Fully aware of our responsibilities for the peace and stability in our region and beyond, we try to contain conflicts. We seek to reverse the destabilizing currents. We strive to promote the rule of law and democracy in our periphery. We remain to be a factor of stability. We believe that regional economic cooperation is a driving force for shared prosperity and increased confidence among nations and the most effective way to prevent the spread of ethnic conflicts and potential hegemonic tendencies.

In this awareness, we have developed new creative and cooperative regional initiatives to enhance solidarity and to consolidate the new geopolitical pluralism. We have established the Black Sea Economic Cooperation with Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation and Ukraine. The Economic Cooperation Organization, originally founded by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, is

enlarged to include Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Mr. President,

Another blatant defiance of international law has been unfolding in the Caucasus. Armenian forces continue to occupy one-fifth of the Azerbaijani territory. More than a million Azeris have been displaced. Constant calls by the international community for an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of occupying forces, as stipulated in relevant Security Council resolutions, have fallen on deaf ears. This unlawful situation created by Armenians constitutes a serious threat not only to the stability of a region neighbouring Turkey, but also to international peace and security.

As a member of the CSCE Minsk Group since its inception, Turkey remains committed to the CSCE peace process. We firmly believe that solution should be found through collective efforts under the authority of the CSCE. In this respect, we fully support the endeavours of the Chairman of the Minsk Group to organize a multi-national force to assist the parties to reach a just and lasting solution. We stand ready to contribute to these endeavours.

In this context, I would like to reiterate our consistent and firm position which we have expressed from this rostrum on many occasions: *Neither in the Balkans or the Caucasus, nor for that matter anywhere else, will Turkey ever accept the acquisition of territory by force.*

Nor will Turkey ever allow that misinformation and unashamed official propaganda, even from this rostrum, continue to lead the international community to the toleration and perpetuation of conditions of life imposed upon the Turkish people of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots remain totally isolated in their part of the island because of innumerable restrictions that Governments and international organizations have put on their trade, travel and cultural or sportive contacts with the rest of the world. This arbitrary embargo is maintained as a result of a relentless campaign of distortion of the facts relating to the history of events on the island for the last 31 years. Even a UN sponsored confidence building package which was aimed at partially alleviating the ill effects of this embargo was deliberately torpedoed by the short-sighted policies of the other side, and prospects for a just and durable settlement are further eroded.

A realistic and viable negotiated settlement continues to be the objective of the Turkish Cypriot side. We support this and believe that the only way towards a comprehensive solution of the Cyprus question lies in the removal of the obstacles before the confidence-building measures.

Mr. President,

As a neighbouring country, Turkey follows very closely the developments in Georgia. We look forward to the restoration of peaceful

conditions in this friendly country and stand prepared to participate in the concerted international action within the framework of UNOMIG.

Mr. President,

Turkey has embarked on a lasting path of solidarity with the newly independent Central Asian Republics with whom she has historic, cultural and linguistic ties. Turkey fully supports the efforts of these secular Republics in their strive to build pluralistic societies. She extends assistance for their integration with the world community. I would like to underline that Turkey's relationship with these countries is one of cooperation and solidarity. It is a relationship among sovereign countries. It is neither in competition with, nor exclusive of, other countries' relations with them.

Mr. President,

We attach great importance to the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. We had hoped that a broad based national reconciliation process including all groups could have started. However, we have been greatly dismayed by the resumption of armed conflict. We call once again upon all the Afghan parties to put an end to the fratricidal fighting and start working for the establishment of internal peace, so that the rehabilitation and reconstruction of this devastated country could begin.

Mr. President,

In the Middle East, the end of the Cold War has fundamentally altered the bleak picture and opened new horizons for peace. The Israeli - Palestinian and the ensuing Israeli - Jordanian agreements have opened up a new era where enmity is giving way to reconciliation and despair to hope.

The historic breakthrough in the peace process which promises concord and cooperation between the Palestinians and Israel, and between Israel and its Arab neighbours will undoubtedly have positive ramifications on a much wider regional and global scale. Establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East will also create necessary conditions for harmony, economic cooperation and shared prosperity.

As a neighbouring country to the Middle East, Turkey has a record of constructive involvement in the region's affairs and good traditional ties with all the parties. She is actively participating in all tracks of multilateral negotiations. She remains ready to contribute to the economic restructuring efforts of the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho. She will take part in the "Temporary International Presence" upon the request of the parties. I would like to reaffirm our strong support for the process towards a just and lasting peace in the region.

Mr. President,

The rather optimistic prospects for the future of the Middle East needs to be tempered, however, with a degree of realism, in the face of the hardship

the Iraqi people have been suffering. Four years after the outbreak of the Gulf Crisis, they are still waiting to return to normalcy. We are fully aware of the fact that, in order to take its rightful place in the international community, Iraq has to comply with all the relevant Security Council resolutions. However, we cannot and should not turn a blind eye to the fact that Iraq has almost completed its compliance with the disarmament requirements under Security Council resolution 687 and deserves encouragement in this respect.

It should also be borne in mind that along with the Iraqi people the sanctions have also been causing great economic problems to a number of countries, especially Iraq's neighbours. The great economic losses of the most adversely affected countries, particularly Turkey, still have to be addressed.

Here, I must also underline once again our principled stand that we will remain committed to the territorial integrity and unity of Iraq which are vital for peace and stability in the Middle East.

Mr. President,

The elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa closed a long and dark chapter in the history of humanity. Apart from South Africa, the picture is still gloomy in many parts of Africa. The United Nations conducts half of its peace-keeping operations in this continent and is actively involved in maintaining and building peace in Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi.

The efforts of the United Nations in Africa should be based on a twofold and consolidated strategy. They should not only be directed to maintain peace, but also to accelerate sustained economic development, through which the major causes of continued armed conflict may be defused.

Indeed, Mr. President, the root-causes of conflict require new global commitments. In full agreement with the Secretary-General, my Government subscribes to the view that it is time to balance the old commitment to territorial security with a new commitment to human security; to shift from providing security through arms, to ensuring security through development.

Mr. President,

The end of the Cold War has also ended the compartmentalization of the major components such as political security and social issues. It is now mostly recognized that security cannot be viewed in political and military terms alone, and the peace and prosperity are indivisible.

At a time when disorder and disintegration, both at national and international levels, seem fated to increase, the concept of crisis prevention needs to be elaborated and expanded.

We strongly endorse the view that peace, development and democracy are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. We all recognize the pressing need to

promote a new culture of development. The United Nations' new agenda for development must bring sustainable and people-centered development to the forefront. For this, a stronger role for the United Nations is needed.

Mr. President,

Democracy is the underlying imperative for human security, social integration and good governance. Indeed, during the Vienna Conference last year, the international community reiterated its commitments to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the common struggle against racism, xenophobia and intolerance. Today, pluralistic civil society, free and fair elections, and the rule of law are defined as the common goals of humanity. Dialogue between different cultures could only be achieved within the context of democracy.

Violence and terrorism could and should not be justified under any circumstances. In this spirit, the General Assembly in its resolution 48/122 reaffirmed the Vienna Declaration and described terrorism as an activity which aims at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy as well as threatening territorial integrity and security of States, destabilizing legitimately constituted governments, undermining pluralistic civil society and having adverse consequences on the economic and social development of States. We call upon the international community to stand by its commitments and to take the necessary steps to combat and eradicate terrorism.

Lack of tolerance is the underlying cause of various conflicts which constitute the most important threat to international peace and security. Therefore, promotion of a culture of tolerance has a direct bearing on crisis prevention. We should inject the spirit of tolerance into the young generations.

It is a pleasure for me recall here that upon Turkey's initiative, the General Assembly, last December, proclaimed 1995 as the United Nations Year for Tolerance. By the terms of resolution 48/126, this entire United Nations system has been asked to contribute to its successful observance. This celebration will contribute to the acceleration of the efforts deployed in the prevention of all forms of racism, discrimination, fanaticism and fundamentalism.

Mr. President,

Disarmament should also be seen within the context of preventive diplomacy. We must recognize the fact that the end of the Cold War has not removed the danger of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, in some cases the danger has actually increased. Hence, another field where progress is needed is the prevention of the nuclear proliferation. As we prepare for the Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which will be convened next year, the creation of a climate of confidence will be vital. Measures need to be taken now to create that climate.

In the same vein, we hold the view that full compliance with existing arms control and disarmament instruments at regional and global levels is of primary importance.

Mr. President,

As it was rightfully stated by the Secretary-General, the Children's Summit in 1990, the Earth Summit in 1992, the Human Rights Conference in 1993, the Population Conference in September 1994, the Social Development Summit in March 1995 and the Women's Conference in September 1995 are all linked. By 1995, in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we should reach a global consensus on the way forward to new commitments towards building a better world.

To complete the agenda, we must also add to these major events the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, HABITAT II, which will be held in June 1996, in Istanbul. In this context, we welcome the Secretary-General's call to declare the HABITAT II Conference as the "City Summit" to increase world awareness on this subject and to commit the world's leaders to making our cities, towns and villages healthy, safe, just and sustainable. High-level participation in this Conference will ensure its success.

Mr. President,

We will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of this Organization next year. It is the most opportune time, on the threshold of a new millennium, to take stock of what we achieved and where we failed with a sense of realism and vision.

We are obliged to realize the dreams of the founders of the United Nations. We hope that our deliberations will help to generate a new impetus for positive action to this end.

The member States have set their hopes on the Union Nations which reflects diversity united in a common cause. To the extent that it succeeds, we will have a better world for all peoples, and peace, security, democracy, development and prosperity will be enhanced.

This requires cooperative action which all nations should be engaged in. We have to give full scope to our imagination to keep pace with the winds of change and strive for the realization of the shared dreams of humankind. If we fail, future generations will pay dearly for our mistakes. I am convinced that after all the bitter experiences of the past, humanity has the cumulative wisdom not to make such mistakes.

Thank you, Mr. President.