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The Turkish Delegation believes that it is necessary to include within the Charter an exact and explicit formula that would determine whether a dispute is or is not of the kind that falls within the reserved class. And a recognition of the sphere of jurisdiction of the Court of Justice in this matter would be, it seems, an adequate solution to this problem.

In order to implement the machinery of regional arrangements, whose principle is recognized by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, with the full effectiveness that is required of it and at the same time to set into motion the machinery of defense provided in such agreements, without having to submit to the inevitable delays in resorting to the procedure of military sanctions, it would be necessary to introduce some such automatically functioning arrangements as constituent elements of collective security, on condition, however, that they be used exclusively for purposes of defense and that the signatory states which might be led to make use of them be held to account by the Security Council for all the emergency measures which they might have been led to adopt as a consequence of such arrangements, and that they should also be bound to justify these as emergency measures.

Finally, the Charter should contain some clause expressly devoted to the case of legitimate defense.

Such, in brief, are the considerations that were suggested to us by a study of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I took occasion a few moments ago to tell you that Turkey felt itself immediately in sympathy with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The causes for this sympathy are to be sought in the history of the Turkish Republic.

The fundamental document on which is founded the whole national and foreign policy of Turkey is the National Pact, published a quarter of a century ago, at the time of the foundation of the New Turkey. This document is nothing but an expression of faith in the principle of a Turkish state whose limits would remain purely national, which would enjoy national freedoms and recognize the right of all peoples to existence, to independence, to equality, and to freedom, condemning aggression

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of every kind and upholding as a doctrine the pursuit of peace both within and without the national frontiers. And the Turkish Republic, inspired by the principles that guided this Pact that is founded on a broad and generous national ideal, has thus followed, in its national and foreign policy, a clear and straight forward course.

It is in the same spirit that the Turkish Government heartily endorsed the activity of the League of Nations, including the application of sanctions and the Nyon agreements.

Confronted by the bankruptcy of collective security, my Government resolutely aligned itself with the peace-loving nations, even before the beginning of the present conflict.

This summary stresses clearly the parallel that exists between the fundamental principles of Turkish foreign policy and the essential Proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks.

The Turkish Delegation has thus come to the San Francisco Conference in order to bring its modest contribution to the rebuilding of a world where right and justice would prevail over any other considerations, a world whose evolution through the years to come would bring it ever closer to the ideal in whose name we are here gathered together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, all mankind is grateful to the great Allied nations for their glorious effort, which has been the determining and decisive factor in the defeat of Fascist and Nazi imperialism. A few moments ago, I stressed my belief that it would be right to entrust great powers to them proportionate indeed to the heavy responsibilities that they will assume toward each other and toward other powers in order to prevent any attempt at aggression in the future. We are sure that the spirit and the ideal that inspired their magnificent struggle will likewise determine useful decisions in the organization of future international security to which they will contribute all the material elements, and especially the moral ones too, that such an undertaking demands. I said, "moral elements". And I certainly appreciate the great value and sure effectiveness of an international force offered to implement right and justice and thus prevent aggression. But I attach as great a price to the organization of an equitable world in which the rights of each would be guaranteed under the auspices of justice in such a manner that respect for the new world Organization would

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