

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWELFTH SESSION

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**President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).**

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CAÑAS (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like first to congratulate the President on his election and the Assembly on having placed him in that high office. For me, it will be a particular privilege to work under his leadership, for my long and fruitful association with him has been a stimulating experience in the past and will, I am sure, continue to be so in the future.

2. I also consider it my duty to comment on the high-minded action of Mr. Charles Malik, whom we all have known for years as one of the figures who, by strength of character alone, has enhanced the prestige of the United Nations.

3. On behalf of the Government of Costa Rica, I should like to extend a warm welcome to the two new Member States, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, the latest products of the remarkable movement for independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa and of the progressive and constructive policy of the United Kingdom.

4. My Government is also happy to express its gratification at the reappointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We are proud of having voted for him on the two occasions when he was appointed to that high office, and we are grateful to him for having placed his ability, devotion, tact and generosity in the service of the United Nations. We can and we do expect a great deal from his work and his zeal.

5. When we suspended the work of the eleventh session in March of this year, there was an atmosphere of optimism in the United Nations. The Assembly had shown its effectiveness by achieving a reasonably satisfactory solution of the Middle East situation, which three months earlier had been so threatening and difficult; it had demonstrated practical wisdom by adopting compromise resolutions on the thorny questions of Algeria [*resolution 1012 (XI)*] and Cyprus [*resolution 1013 (XI)*], on which debate had been expected to be bitter and turbulent. Moreover, the circumstances in which the *resolution [1011 (XI)]* on disarmament had

been adopted gave promise of a clear and final agreement of the great Powers on that question.

6. Unfortunately, the optimism inspired by the latter resolution was of short duration. The long months of discussion in London did not produce the result for which the peoples of the world had hoped. One by one, all the proposals put forward were rejected, and it is a bitter blow that the Soviet Union did not consider it in its interests to accept the final proposals, which constituted a serious and honest contribution to the settlement of the problem. The tone in which they were rejected by the Soviet Union may lend force to the views of the pessimists who argue that the Soviet Union has no interest in the achievement of any real progress towards disarmament. Nevertheless, here in the United Nations, it is our duty to profess our faith by setting aside our pessimism and continuing to hope against hope that intransigent positions will be modified and that effective progress will be made in the matter of disarmament.

7. We are encouraged in that hope by the fact that none of the great Powers involved considers the time spent in negotiation wasted, that each is preparing to discuss the question in this Assembly, apparently with fresh enthusiasm, and that none of them has closed the door to the possibility of a new understanding. Moreover, we must recognize that the text of the proposals rejected in London is in itself a substantial step forward. There have been times in the last eleven years when the very existence of such proposals would have seemed fantastic, the pipe-dream of political visionaries. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in future - and not in the remote future, but in the near and foreseeable future - the Soviet Union will become convinced of the good faith and honesty of the Western proposals.

8. All that the small countries can do is to offer their disinterested co-operation and their devoted efforts in the search for an effective solution to this question. Perhaps during this session, we shall witness the result of the common efforts of all Member States, and the encouraging response to the appeal of the small nations that the proposals on disarmament should not be rejected arbitrarily or out of hand, but should be discussed and negotiated until the last drop of patience has been exhausted.

9. During the ninth session, we saw how the Soviet Union gradually withdrew its categorical objections to the bold "atoms for peace" plan, and the representatives of the small nations sometimes felt, with understandable vanity, that the weight of their number and their sincerity might have induced it to adopt the constructive attitude towards that question which it ultimately did adopt and of which we are already seeing the effects. We hope the Soviet Union will take a similar course this year in the case of disarmament.

10. The months of relative peace on the borders between Israel and its neighbours have shown the effectiveness of the General Assembly's resolutions on the Middle East, on which we spent so much effort at our last session. The many problems created by Israel's offensive against Egypt and the participation of the United Kingdom and France in simultaneous military operations have gradually become less acute. Perhaps the day is not far distant when we shall achieve a true coexistence of races and nations, of religions and peoples in that troubled area.

11. The United Nations Emergency Force has been a notable factor in restoring calm in the area, and the world is indebted to the countries which have provided troops for that Force for their selfless and substantial contribution to world peace. In my delegation's view, we should give careful consideration to the argument that this Force, or a similar one, should become a permanent United Nations police force. The advantage of having troops to act as observers or to be prepared for action on short notice has been dramatically illustrated, and Costa Rica will support any proposals to that end.

12. Once again our agenda includes the proposal put forward by the Latin American countries and Spain for a revision of the Charter with a view to increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the number of seats on the Economic and Social Council. We believe that the substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations in recent years warrants a change in the number of elective seats on the two Councils and in other subsidiary organs. The proposed change is a matter of form; its sole purpose is to bring the provisions of the Charter into line with reality of the United Nations. Accordingly, we would consider it deplorable if a vote in favour of those proposals were made conditional on concessions or even political considerations entirely extraneous to the problem we are trying to resolve: the equitable representation of the various geographical areas in the basic organs of the United Nations.

13. In recent years, many anomalies have arisen in connexion with geographical representation and the definition of the various geographical areas. We believe that it would be useful to consider, in conjunction with the question of increasing the membership of the Councils, the possibility of drafting a formal document clearly defining the geographical areas which are to be represented, with a list of the States in the different areas and the number of seats to be assigned to each area. Such a document would be more formal than the London agreement and would bring it up to date and into line with the present membership of the United Nations.

14. The present composition of the United Nations is the best proof that the world is changing and that we must adapt our ways of thinking to these changing times and circumstances. It is natural that there should be concern in some quarters because the increase in the membership of this world Assembly is depriving the original members of certain prerogatives, possibly of some influence, perhaps of guarantees regarding the outcome of its deliberations. We are living in uncertain times, times in which problems are not always settled as we would wish, or by the methods used in the not so distant past. But we cannot halt the course of his-

tory, although there are always those who urge us to build a dike against change.

15. It comes as a shock to find one of the most venerable and respected figures in the world joining in that chorus and calling upon us to abandon the system of voting in this Assembly and to replace it by a system of weighted voting in which the raised hands of some delegations would count and weigh more than those of others. There are few countries in which it has not at some time or another been suggested, in scarcely veiled aristocratic tones, that the votes of some citizens are worth more than those of their humbler fellows. Generally, such ideas do not prosper, but in the few cases in which they have prevailed, the result has been the dictatorship of one class, party, man or race.

16. We should bear in mind that of all the organs of the United Nations, the one which has not fulfilled the hopes cherished by the peoples of the world in 1945 is the one in which all the votes do not have the same weight. It is not explained how such a system of weighted voting would be established, whether on the basis of seniority or material wealth or military power, or perhaps on the basis of spiritual wealth, which cannot be measured; whether greater weight would be given to countries with larger populations or larger armies, or to those like my own where the power of governments traditionally is derived from the freely expressed wishes of the people.

17. The weight of a vote in this Assembly is a moral question. And if the time should come - and I hope it never does - when anyone claims that the vote of any one representative should be given greater numerical weight than that of any other representative, I am sure that those countries among us which are not economically or militarily powerful, but which can boast a clean record of service in the cause of the United Nations and adherence to the letter of the lofty principles of its Charter, never having violated it either as Members of this Assembly or within the limits of our own territories - and we are not so few - would demand of world opinion that those factors should also be weighted, and not merely the brute force used at times against the principles of coexistence to which we subscribed at San Francisco, and which we reaffirmed in good faith during the final meetings of the eleventh session of this Assembly.

18. But I fear I am wearying this Assembly by speculating on a dreary prospect. The legal equality of States may be what lawyers call a legal fiction, but there are many legal fictions here, and we live by them. The equality of the votes of the permanent members in the Security Council is one of them and I cite it as an example. Sometimes the results of the voting in this hall may not please us, but reason and truth ultimately prevail. We do not need a logarithmic weighing of every vote to ensure the triumph of a good cause. Those of us whose hands are clean will always raise them, in overwhelming numbers, to condemn what should be condemned, irrespective of the differences between us on questions of lesser importance.

19. We, the small countries, come here with the past as our example and our hope in the future. The past provides us with an example, and that example should also be given by the great Powers. As for the future, we are building it in this very hall, and in the task of building the hands of all the workers are needed.

20. Mr. CHAMANDI (Yemen): The delegation of Yemen takes great pleasure in congratulating Sir Leslie Munro on his election to the presidency of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. We are confident and hopeful that this session will be a success under his presidency and through the mutual understanding of the Members of this Organization.

21. Also, on behalf of my delegation, I warmly welcome the two new Members, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, recently admitted to membership of the United Nations, and I extend to them our hearty congratulations and our brotherly hand which we extend to all the peace-loving peoples.

22. When we stood up to speak in this hall during the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly, the sombre clouds of the serious events which were taking place then were filling the atmosphere with tension and uneasiness.

23. It must be a source of elation to all of us that we are able to speak today in a clearer atmosphere, and with more relaxation, because most of those sombre clouds have been dissipated as a result of the firm stand taken by the United Nations and as a result of the efforts of the Secretary-General. We wish to thank Mr. Hammarskjöld for his efforts and for the impartial stand he took in the Suez Canal crisis. It is our sincere hope that this Organization will take the same stand in the future every time a strong Power tries to impose its will on a weak nation, and every time serious events threaten the peace and security in any part of the world.

24. The Suez crisis proved two important facts to the world. First, it increased the prestige and authority of the United Nations and the importance of its role in the course of world events, and it showed the world that when the Members fully co-operate, the United Nations is able to take clear decisions and to prevent serious events from developing into armed clashes.

25. Secondly, it proved that the propaganda carried out by the colonialist Powers to the effect that Egypt and the other Arab nations were not capable of taking care of their own affairs and of fulfilling their international obligations was false. Egypt has proved to the whole world how efficiently it is administering the Suez Canal, and it is pledged to fulfil its obligations in regard to the Canal and other matters. The other Arab nations also, if left alone, can prove that they are able to take care of their own affairs and to contribute to the maintenance of peace and to co-operate with each other and with other nations for the welfare of mankind.

26. The Government of Yemen and its people for their part, while determined to protect and defend their independence, their rights and their dignity, are also working for their advancement in the administrative, social and economic fields and for the strengthening of friendly relations with all other nations. Ever since its admission to membership of the United Nations, Yemen has been co-operating with this Organization in all its activities, especially in respecting the principles of the Charter and in carrying out its resolutions to the full extent of its capacity. We harbour only goodwill and the desire for mutual understanding with all nations. We are fully capable of taking care of our own affairs, and we are pledged to fulfil our international obligations.

27. Unfortunately, we have not been left alone to realize these aims peacefully. The colonialist Powers, anxious to sow the seeds of discord among the Arab nations in order to prevent them from uniting and strengthening Arab nationalism, did not leave us alone. The Power which declared last year that the administration of the Suez Canal should not be left unfettered is attacking our territory every day and is not trying to feiter its own acts of aggression.

28. It is true that some of the sombre clouds that hovered over our heads during the last session have been dissipated. But the atmosphere is still electric with tension, and the world has not yet entered into a completely calm phase as yet. The foundations of world peace are still shaky because peace is threatened from two directions: the armaments race and the crisis in the Middle East.

29. In the case of the armaments race, all that a small nation like Yemen can do in the interest of peace is to appeal to the two antagonistic sides not to raise any obstacles in the way of the achievement of a reasonable and just agreement through the negotiations which are scheduled to take place again in the Disarmament Commission for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the pledge not to use atomic and nuclear energy except for peaceful purposes. Humanity will be grateful to them if they do so, because a heavy burden will be removed from its back, and the people will sleep in peace, free from the nightmare of the outbreak of a third world war in which atomic and hydrogen bombs and guided missiles would be used.

30. In regard to the crisis in the Middle East, the delegation of Yemen believes that its solution depends on the conduct and goodwill of the contesting Powers which have adverse interests in that part of the world.

31. In view of the distorted information which has been spread about the Middle East, we want everyone to know the incontestable truth and to assure friends and enemies that no Arab State will ever attack another Arab State, and that all the Arab nations will come to the rescue of any Arab State if attacked by an enemy. They will never dissolve the national ties which bind them all and will never attack anybody except for self-defence. The Arab leaders, on many occasions, have made clear declarations to that effect. Therefore we wish that those who are seeking personal gains will desist from troubling the waters of Arab harmony and unity.

32. The Arab States do not harbour any ill will towards anybody. Their policy is based on goodwill and peaceful relations with all the nations. If they are left alone, without outside interference or pressure, they will patch up whatever differences they might have among themselves by mutual understanding and peaceful negotiations.

33. The concern of the Arab States does not stem from their fear of each other. It stems from the intrigues of world Zionism whose aim is to fish in troubled waters and to extend the land of Israel at the expense of its Arab neighbours. World Zionism will take advantage of any opportunity to carry out its historical programme, whose aim is to seize all the area from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

34. As far as Yemen is concerned, we have a problem which is causing us deep concern and which is threatening our very existence with imminent danger. No doubt, all those who have sufficient knowledge of history and geography will know that the south of Yemen, which is under the domination of the British authorities, is an integral part of the Kingdom of Yemen, and that those authorities occupied that area forcibly many years ago and imposed on its sultans and sheiks discriminatory agreements and treaties which made the British officials its virtual masters.

35. The British forces used to attack the territory of free Yemen every time they found a pretext to do so. These attacks have lately increased in frequency and intensity until they have become continuous since the beginning of this year. Almost every day British war planes carry out air raids and drop bombs and incendiary rockets on property and unarmed inhabitants, and the tanks and infantry attack by land. Heavy losses in property and lives have been suffered by the population as a result of these attacks.

36. The Government of Yemen wishes to declare that the continued occupation of southern Yemen by the United Kingdom is an illegal act which violates its sovereignty, international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The repeated acts of aggression of the British armed forces and the disregard of the rights of the people of Yemen will lead to serious consequences.

37. We submit our case to world opinion with the hope that the United Kingdom authorities will put an end to their acts of aggression and co-operate towards the conclusion of a just and satisfactory settlement of this problem.

38. The United Kingdom authorities were not content with the attacks on Yemen. They extended the sphere of their aggression to the weak people of Oman. The people of Oman had not committed any crime except to struggle for their independence and liberation from the shackles of colonialism. The British forces have destroyed towns and killed innocent and unarmed inhabitants of Oman, because the people of Oman refused to accede to subjugation. We deplore the fact that the United Kingdom persists in following its old imperialistic and aggressive policy and we wonder when it will change to a policy based on mutual understanding and respect for the rights of other peoples.

39. The anti-colonialist stand of the Government of Yemen is based on respect for all peoples and their right to freedom and self-determination. Naturally, being an Asian nation, we are especially interested in the future of the subjugated peoples of Asia and Africa.

40. It is universally known that one of the basic factors which has caused all the trouble in the Middle East was the creation of Israel on the ruins of land which belongs to the Arabs, and one must add to that the colonialist policy and Zionist intrigues. It is also a well-known fact that the problem of the Palestine refugees is a product of the creation of Israel. We do not need to repeat what we say year after year about the plight of these refugees who have been driven from their homes and land to wander in the desert and to become the victims of hunger and disease.

41. We deeply regret that the United Nations is not giving sufficient attention to the problem of these

unfortunate refugees. The postponement of the solution of this problem from one session to another increases the gravity of the situation and constantly threatens peace and security in that area. This Organization was established on the principles of the maintenance of peace and the protection of the oppressed. No peace will be attained in Palestine unless the refugees are repatriated and given their full rights.

42. In regard to the Algerian problem, we are surprised, and no doubt many people are surprised, at the intransigence of the French Government and its insistence on suppressing the Algerian nationalist movement by killing the Algerians and destroying their homes. It seems that this is the French way of influencing people and winning enemies. It is time for the French Government to abandon its attempt to impose French citizenship on the Algerians by insisting that Algeria is an integral part of France. It is time for the French Government to come down to realities and admit that there is no way out of its dilemma except by recognizing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence which is coming to them anyway.

43. A serious attempt on the part of France to solve the Algerian problem in a just and equitable manner is in fact in the interests of France itself in many ways. Because an independent Algeria will be the friend, not the enemy, of France, both sides will benefit. Then, and only then, will France liberate itself from Algeria, as the representative of Ireland has said [682nd meeting]. It will also liberate itself from the criticism of the world for its action, which has no parallel either in an advanced country or in an under-developed country.

44. One of the subjects which are of special interest to the Asian countries is the settlement of the problem of West Irian. We see no reason why that land should not be restored to Indonesia, its mother country, and to the people with whom it has geographic and ethnic ties. We are hopeful that the Government of the Netherlands will listen to the voice of justice and liquidate this problem through friendly negotiation with the Indonesian Government, and that the General Assembly will take adequate steps to realize the hope of the inhabitants of that area.

45. Another problem which increases international tension is the problem of Cyprus. This problem is a living example of the conduct of the colonial Powers in regard to the principles of the Charter and of their disregard of the human and political rights of other peoples. The United Kingdom cannot ignore the legal and human right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination. Here, again, we are hopeful that the General Assembly will deal with the problem in a manner which will guarantee to the people of Cyprus its liberty and its right to self-determination.

46. The United Nations was established on the principle of the protection of the weak and unprotected nations, the guarantee of the rights of all peoples, the end of colonialism, the maintenance of peace and security and the endeavour to promote the welfare of mankind. We sincerely hope that this session will be more successful than the ones that have preceded it in the attainment of these aims.

47. Mr. ESIN (Turkey): At the outset, I wish to offer my heartiest congratulations to Sir Leslie Munro on

his election to the presidency of this Assembly. In adding my tribute to the sentiments expressed by other delegations, I wish to reiterate the confidence which we all share in his eminent qualifications for meeting the heavy responsibilities that accompany the honour and dignity of that high office.

48. I am equally happy to express the gratification of my delegation at the re-election of Mr. Hammarskjöld as our Secretary-General. Mr. Hammarskjöld has won general recognition for his outstanding qualities of statemanship and his profound understanding of the problems facing our Organization. His re-election is indeed a happy and propitious event for the United Nations.

49. The eleventh session of the General Assembly ended some two weeks ago, having had to deal in its deliberations with some problems of outstanding importance concerning, in some instances, the preservation of peace, and, in others, the defence of the most elementary human rights. The eleventh session was successful in certain tasks which confronted it. It failed to produce any noticeable progress in some of its other endeavours. Throughout those deliberations, however, a principle of vital importance gained ground: the cause of the pacific settlement of disputes, in justice and security, has taken deeper root in the hearts of millions of human beings who have followed our proceedings. May the twelfth session contribute further to this end.

50. The unanimous admission of Malaya to membership in the United Nations is a happy and auspicious event which took place during the first deliberations of this session. The cause of freedom and independence is one which is very dear to my countrymen, as it is to the majority of mankind. It is therefore a great pleasure and privilege for me to extend, on behalf of the people and the Government of Turkey, our heartiest congratulations and our warmest welcome to the Federation of Malaya, as we did last year to Ghana.

51. Among the many vital problems which await consideration by this session of the Assembly, the problem of disarmament stands out as of paramount importance for the cause of peace and security as well as for furthering economic and social progress.

52. The policy of Turkey, both within and without the United Nations, remains based on the conviction that enduring peace can be attained only through security, and that real security can be achieved only through a universal, general disarmament, including provisions for nuclear as well as conventional weapons, such disarmament to be enforced by effective international control. This is the ultimate goal towards which we must strive. This is a goal for the achievement of which we must be ready to study patiently any constructive, progressive steps.

53. We believe that practical proposals to this end, if they are brought forward in goodwill and sincerity, must take into consideration two basic elements, which are interdependent and which form the main pillar around which the structure of disarmament can be progressively erected. First comes the preservation of security and, secondly, the gradual build-up of mutual confidence. There is no other item on our agenda with which the fate and destiny of mankind is so closely linked. We are ardent in our desire to see even the beginning of an agreement achieved in this direction.

54. It is only natural that Turkey should be ready to play its part, even if a modest one, towards the achievement of progress in disarmament. Turkey is a profoundly peace-loving nation. The people of Turkey have no other aspiration but that of devoting their work and resources to the attainment of a higher level of economic and social welfare. If a heavy burden of armaments has been assumed by my countrymen, this has not been a matter of choice but the result of dire necessity, due to the conditions which unfortunately prevail in the world today. Needless to say, the Turkish people would be the first to rejoice over any achievement, even though partial, in the direction of disarmament in confidence and security.

55. We believe that the adoption of measures on conventional as well as nuclear types of armament and the establishment of effective international control are essential for achieving real progress in this question, in which the future of mankind has so much at stake.

56. It is indeed most unfortunate that the world has not yet attained that state of true peace, security and stability to which we aspire and to the achievement of which the Charter is dedicated. Ever since the end of the Second World War, the peoples of the world have been kept on a constant alert and anxiety for the preservation of peace, for the defence of their freedom and independence, for the maintenance of security and confidence, which are all indispensable for the pursuit of happiness and the attainment of a higher level of economic and social development.

57. Although the threat of complete destruction, in the event of a third world war, weighs heavily upon the shoulders of every nation in the world, still there is no part of our globe which has had more to lose from the perpetuation of tension and anxiety than the general region of Asia and Africa. The peoples of that general area are eager for technical development, for industrialization, for the attainment of a higher economic, social and cultural level, and, above all, they are eager to preserve their freedom, independence and sovereignty. Yet the tragedy of Korea, the anxiety over certain actions in parts of South-East Asia and the Pacific, as well as in other regions, the concentration of a violent political propaganda, have each in their turn disturbed profoundly the tranquillity and stability of that region of which my country also forms a part.

58. At the present moment, the attention of the world is focused upon the Middle East. Since the end of the Second World War, the outstanding achievement in the Middle East has been the attainment of full independence and sovereignty by the Arab countries of the region. This happy development is considered by the people and the Government of Turkey as of paramount importance for paving the way towards a bright and prosperous future for the independent nations of the Middle East.

59. Nor is this attitude a new outlook on the part of Turkey. At the end of the First World War, for a brief period, Turkey had to live through some of the darkest days in its history. After four years of futile war, the very existence of Turkey as an independent sovereign State was in danger. In those tragic circumstances, on 28 January 1920, the Turkish Chamber of Deputies voted a resolution called the National Pact. Several articles of that document proclaimed the integrity and sovereignty of territories inhabited by Turks. The

first article proclaimed and demanded self-determination for territories inhabited by Arabs, which territories were at that time under foreign occupation. So, in the darkest and most difficult years of its history, Turkey proclaimed the freedom and independence of its own people and, at the same time, of the Arab people.

60. Later on, during the negotiations for the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey refused to accept any provision which might directly or indirectly imply its approval of the system of mandates over Arab countries.

61. At a still later period, in 1932, when Turkey was admitted to membership in the League of Nations, our acceptance was carefully conditioned not to imply recognition of the mandates over Arab countries which were applied within the framework of the League.

62. Today, too, we consider the full independence and sovereignty of the Arab countries as one of the essential prerequisites for the establishment of peace and security and the progressive development of the Middle East towards a bright destiny.

63. I believe that these considerations will shed ample light on the reasons why both public opinion and the Government in my country should have shown concern and anxiety over the recent increase of efforts made by the Soviet Union in regard to the Middle East in general and Syria in particular.

64. We, in Turkey, have affection and respect for the people of Syria with whom, as with all Arab nations, we are linked by cultural, religious and historic ties. We value the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria and consider a strong, prosperous and independent Syria on our southern border as an additional guarantee of our own security.

65. That is the reason why the recent events in that country are being followed by my Government with attention and concern from the viewpoint of our own security. The fact that these recent events took place concurrently with a campaign of propaganda and false rumours aimed at discrediting my country and spoiling our relations with our southern neighbours has made caution and vigilance on our part even more necessary.

66. Allegations of this nature have been made by a powerful country with which we have long common frontiers to the north. If a reserve of arms and ammunition were to be constituted by the same country on our southern flank, my Government would naturally be in duty bound to its people to appraise, in calm and dignity, the significance of such an event from the viewpoint of our own security and to take such internal measures within our own frontiers as were customary in all independent countries desiring to live in peace and security.

67. I should now like to turn to some aspects of our work within the United Nations.

68. First and foremost, in our minds, are the problems connected with the Organization itself and with its future development. It is, therefore, with special care that we have studied the views of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/3594/Add.1]. The comments of the Secretary-General on the role of the United Nations on the real causes of its limitations and on the possibilities it affords for harmonizing the views of its Members, deserve our

special attention. Among other considerations, the Secretary-General points out that the United Nations is not a super-State or a parliament of elected individual members. In spite of these limitations, he stresses the great value of the United Nations as an instrument for negotiation and diplomacy which are conducive to reconciliation. The views of the Secretary-General on the role of the United Nations and the evolutionary processes which are taking place within our Organization are generally accepted by my Government.

69. On the question of the revision of the Charter, we also share the view of the Secretary-General that mere constitutional reforms would not be sufficient for the solution of our problems. However, my delegation would welcome certain revisions in our Charter, after careful study and at a time when a favourable atmosphere prevailed. In the meantime, we would favour at least a limited number of readjustments, which could be brought about in a relatively short time. Among these we would support measures for an appropriate increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, so that the new Members of the United Nations might have more ample opportunity to participate directly in the work of these organs.

70. The agenda of the twelfth session includes a great number of political, social and economic questions which await the deliberation of the General Assembly.

71. Among the political questions, that of Cyprus is of particular interest to my country because this island lies off the shores of Turkey and because part of its population is Turkish. As our views on this question are known to the General Assembly, and as a debate will take place in the First Committee, I shall not make any further comments during the general debate.

72. In the economic field, my Government is most anxious to see the continuance and the increase of appropriate action by the organs of the United Nations, by the specialized agencies and by individual Governments for the development of under-developed areas. The continents of Asia and Africa and Latin America today are most in need of concentrated efforts in this direction.

73. I now wish to refer to Article 52 of the Charter on regional arrangements, and to the role of my country in conformity with the provisions laid down therein. Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the Baghdad Pact, both of which are defensive organizations created for the purpose of maintaining peace and collective security. NATO has already played an outstanding role in the preservation of peace. The Baghdad Pact is aimed not only at bolstering collective security, but has also opened new possibilities for economic and cultural co-operation among its members, which have a total population of 140 millions in the Middle East. We are convinced that the first steps already taken within the provisions of this regional arrangement will be conducive to further development and progress among the countries of the area.

74. Before concluding my remarks, I wish to welcome as an auspicious event, the opening in a few days of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. My delegation is of the opinion that

every Member of the General Assembly should be congratulated on the successful outcome of the debate which took place at the tenth session on certain aspects of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Progress in the peaceful uses of atomic energy opens up new horizons for international co-operation in a field which holds bright promises for the attainment of a higher standard of life for the peoples of the world. We are

convinced that the deliberations of the Vienna conference will be crowned with success.

75. I hope that the twelfth session of the General Assembly will bring forth other opportunities to enhance international co-operation.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.