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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NASH (New Zealand): Mr. President, may I begin by offering you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You bring to your high office a record of attachment to the ideals of the Charter and mature experience of United Nations activities. Few can claim to have laboured with more devotion in the service of the Organization. I am confident that you will guide our deliberations wisely and impartially. Your election is richly merited.

2. We take up our work here at this Assembly against a background of crises in more than one area. We live in times of peril, labouring under a weight of arms heavier than at any other known time. Even the strongest among us are denied security and are divided by suspicion and fear.

3. The estimated cost of armaments for the current year exceeds \$100,000 million—almost too many naughts to write across a sheet of paper. Mankind has had centuries to learn the hard lessons of interdependence. Yet even now, a brief decade after the most bitter war in history, we have travelled a very little way in applying those lessons.

4. In the great issues of war and peace, while we do not have equal responsibility, none of us are without responsibility. Now, more than ever, it is true that no nation can live unto itself. The success of the struggle to overcome poverty in the less developed countries increases human welfare everywhere. The transition from dependence to nationhood—which implies interdependence—in Africa and Asia, confers benefits that are not confined to the newly sovereign countries. Tension and violence in the area of Taiwan, in the Middle East or elsewhere carry more than local threats. The days of limited war are over.

5. If the United Nations is to grow in strength and if the peaceful world community which our interdependence demands is to come about, no Member State, great or small, can be indifferent when urgent problems are brought to this Organization for examination and, we hope, settlement.

6. This year, a full and wide-ranging agenda confronts us. We shall consider the unresolved issue of disarmament on which the survival of the human race

may well depend. We shall consider problems directly affecting peace and security in important regions of the world. We shall consider the legal conditions governing the use of the territorial sea. We shall consider and examine the control of outer space for peaceful purposes; we shall pass beyond the limits of this planet. We shall consider and study the problems of trusteeship, of economic and social development. We shall consider the extension of human welfare and the enlargement of human freedom, and thus, the be-all and end-all of all things, freedom of individuals to be themselves and of nations to have sovereign power to determine how they are to govern themselves.

7. The agenda is a mirror of men, of nations, of time and space, a mirror of mankind with its restless genius and dreams, and immeasurable capacity for good or evil.

8. During the last year, many major issues confronting mankind have been left in suspense. One is the unification of Germany, the continued division of which is a source of danger and a deep injustice to the German people. We have a divided Korea. We have a divided Viet-Nam. We have other places where nations, loving one another, are divided. Our job is to find a way where those that have been brought up through the ages and have built up civilizations of their own, and have sovereign powers of their own, shall have the right to live together. Yet in those problems to which it has turned its attention, with vitality beyond the normal, the United Nations has helped to point the way to reconciliation; and in some disputes it has itself provided the means to make settlements effective. Much of this credit must go to the Secretary-General. He has been called upon to assume very heavy responsibilities, and has discharged them with distinction.

9. My Government has always seen the United Nations as offering the best means of reconciling divergent policies and of breaking down barriers of misunderstanding and hostility to unite nations and races, so that they may all be one whilst retaining their individual freedom. In a time of rapid change such as this, incomparable in history, there is no period of a half-century to compare with 1908 to 1958, a period when so many profound changes that will affect the future years have taken place. And even excepting that half-century, I do not think it is anything but a shadow of the half-century in which we are now entering—1958, if you like, to 2008. Under the Charter we are enjoined to unite our strength, to maintain international peace and security, to seek to maintain the living standards where they are good, and for many peoples, better standards of life in larger freedom. Those injunctions have been imperfectly observed by many who pursue policies of political adventure harmful to international co-operation and to the welfare of their own people.

10. The outcome of the present Assembly's debates and votes will be different if we achieve a more positive emphasis on the human element in the problems

we confront. We are not dealing here with abstract political concepts. We must be ever mindful that what we in the United Nations do, or fail to do, will have a profound effect on the lives of hundreds of millions of men, women and children.

11. May I turn for a moment to the most compelling, I believe, of our immediate problems, that of disarmament. Weapons have been developed which could leave the world in ruins and reduce humanity to a remnant shrivelled in mind and in body. Agreed measures to break the nuclear stalemate, check the arms race and lift the pall of fear would bring incalculable relief to every country in the world.

12. There would be significant and astounding economic benefit. Together with the representative of Pakistan, to whom I was privileged to listen this morning [769th meeting], I call attention again to the statement by the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report for this year—to which we have come to look, as is usual, for a perceptive commentary on the problems of concern to the United Nations. The Secretary-General, therein, reminds us that

"...the volume of resources which is absorbed each year" in military uses considerably exceeds the total resources available for economic development in all the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America." [A/3844/Add.1, p. 3.]

In terms of human need and of wasted opportunity, it is nothing less than tragic that this should be so.

13. I have two comments to make. How can we have conditions of peace whilst poverty and misery exist for so many hundreds of millions? One and one-half thousand million people are always hungry. How can we justify a life expectancy of little more than thirty years for some with over seventy years for others? I presided over the 1944 International Labour Conference. Out of that Conference came one amazing short statement which is so true: "Poverty anywhere menaces prosperity everywhere."

14. Alongside these first principles and purposes of life, I draw attention again to the international effort to reduce armaments, which up to the present has yielded depressingly meagre results. Yet for all the discouraging history of disarmament, for all the years of apparently fruitless negotiation in the League of Nations and in special disarmament conferences within and outside the United Nations, no Government or person that thinks of the human race as a worth-while body of people in the history of this universe of ours can justify in any way a loss of faith in the possibility of progress and ultimate achievement. Among the many objectives, the primary one at this period must be a comprehensive and balanced programme of disarmament with adequate inspection at every stage. Even if this cannot be achieved quickly, it cannot be achieved too soon. A step-by-step approach is logical and unavoidable. It would be wrong to regard a programme of partial measures as more than a temporary substitute for the comprehensive disarmament that must be sought. We must not regard the cessation of nuclear tests or the establishment of an inspection system to safeguard against surprise attack as a substitute for actual reduction and ultimate abandonment of armaments, invaluable though either step would be in reducing distrust and tension.

15. The New Zealand Government, for which I speak here, welcomes the progress that has been made towards ending nuclear tests. We have consistently urged that this should be done as soon as possible by an international agreement containing adequate safeguards against evasion. Last year, with fifty-five others, New Zealand endorsed the Western proposals which linked a cessation of tests with a cessation of production of nuclear material for weapons. Those were good proposals. They formed an acceptable basis for a programme of partial disarmament. It is to be regretted that after their approval by the Assembly [resolution 1148 (XII)] one Power refused even to discuss them. But we are nearing something better, I believe, perhaps by the end of the present month. If discussions on disarmament proper are to be resumed, as I hope the Assembly will decide that they should be, those proposals will still provide elements for an agreement. Other elements may, of course, be introduced and modifications made.

16. Even though in itself it is not enough, there is some common ground now between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom that the question of suspending tests should be taken first. My Government hopes the Assembly will endorse that position. In the absence of an agreement which would link the cessation of tests with other disarmament measures, there is value in a separate agreement to end nuclear tests. For reasons of overwhelming cumulative force, the cessation of nuclear tests is essential.

17. First, it would end the problem of radioactive fall-out from test explosions of nuclear weapons. There has been much controversy about the extent of the danger. Few in the world know its full extent. They only read of it and take the opinion of others. But the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation has clarified the issue a little by making plain its view that all steps designed to minimize radiation, including the cessation of tests, would be to the benefit of human health.

18. Secondly, it would, if it were universal in its application, rule out the danger that efficient atomic weapons will be developed by an ever-increasing number of countries. Any agreement among all countries should provide that those not possessing or manufacturing nuclear weapons will, in the wider interests of humanity, renounce the right to produce them.

19. Thirdly, it would establish for the first time a world-wide inspection system. That is really the key to disarmament. If such an organ could be made to work successfully, it could provide the foundation for control organs to police other and more extensive disarmament agreements. To provide the elaborate control network envisaged by scientific experts who met in Geneva will be costly, but the cost will be minute compared with its value. If it works effectively, as I have no doubt it can be made to do, it will dispel the suspicion that "inspection" is only a cloak for spies.

20. Fourthly, an early agreement to end tests would produce another benefit more general and less tangible, but potentially the most important of all: confidence and trust between the nations. What has frustrated and embittered the disarmament negotiations so far has been lack of confidence, warranted or unwarranted. It is that lack of confidence that today is destroying the

possibility of building something better. It has sometimes been said that until confidence has been re-established through the solution of some of the major political problems besetting the world, no progress can be made on disarmament. That is a counsel of despair. But if we forego speeches of mistrust and misrepresentation, so many of which I have heard in this Assembly during the last few days, we could agree on disarmament better than we would be able to do otherwise. By that time, we would, I think, create an atmosphere of confidence and trust in which the great political differences would have a chance of being reconciled. The two things are complementary. Progress on one is bound to make progress easier on the other. If agreement to end tests can be completed and its observance can be verified—that is most important—tension will be lowered, trust will begin to grow and the way will be open for more fruitful negotiations on the other issues, including disarmament proper, which continue to divide the major systems of power in the world.

21. We should not lightly dismiss the obstacles which still stand in the way of agreement, even on the limited issue of discontinuing tests. There is still a difference among the nuclear powers on the precise terms of reference for the talks to be held at the end of this month. There is the problem of securing universal acceptance of whatever may be agreed upon. There is the problem of the place of China in this particular field. To complete the control system, there must be several testing posts on the Chinese mainland, and this will require the consent of the Government in Peiping. New Zealand feels that any meaningful disarmament agreement must include mainland China. Geography and the population statistics underline this proposition for us in the South Pacific.

22. We must start again the special United Nations disarmament machinery. No negotiations could bring practical results in a committee of the entire eighty-one Members of this Assembly. Negotiations can best be carried forward by a small group meeting in private as in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission or in the conference of experts on the cessation of tests. I will never forget the despair of Mr. Herriot, one-time Premier of France and later President of its National Assembly, when I talked to him at the disarmament conferences where Arthur Henderson of Great Britain and others were fighting to see if there was a way through after the First World War. But that despair shown by that great man, Herriot, was not justified. If we cannot win through, we are not worthy of being human beings. This problem of organizing discussion of disarmament within the United Nations framework must be considered with the seriousness it merits. The United Nations must play its full and rightful part.

23. No country should refrain from stating its views on these problems when they are before the Assembly. Our voice, small as it may be, will be spoken with optimism. Our vote will be cast with faith. Obstacles that seemed insuperable have been overcome in the course of the past few months. With the great weight of public opinion behind us, I believe that human ingenuity can and will find a way to meet a great, if not the greatest, challenge that the United Nations and history have had to face—namely, disarmament.

24. Just as New Zealand looks forward to progress at this session on the issue of disarmament, so too do we hope for progress in relation to the Middle

East. Such a development is long overdue. From the inception of this Organization, the problems of the Middle East have been among the most difficult and the most persistent with which it has had to deal.

25. It is true that much has been done to diminish their magnitude. At this moment, the United Nations Emergency Force, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon reflect in practical terms the efforts of the United Nations to preserve stability and to provide assistance to the people of the area.

26. But there is much more that could and should be done. In great degree, Middle Eastern difficulties have been intensified by past failure to face them directly. Arguments in favour of inaction or limited action have always been persuasive, and they still are. But evasion of a difficulty often merely ensures that it will have to be faced later in more complex form. That, I suggest, has been previous practice. But all those who desire to attain the objectives of the United Nations will hope that that experience will have ended in relation to the Middle East.

27. Varying opinions have been expressed concerning the outcome of the third emergency special session. We were disappointed that there was so little response to suggestions that an effort be made to deal with Middle East issues on a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal basis. On the other hand, the resolution adopted by that session [1237 (ES-III)]—drafted and worked out magnificently, I thought, by the Arabs themselves on the specific issue before the Assembly—contained several valuable elements. It enjoined all Members to observe the obligations of mutual respect, non-interference and non-aggression. It applied to all States, Arab and non-Arab, of the Middle East.

28. The Assembly has received the Secretary-General's report [A/3934/Rev.1] on his efforts in association with the States concerned to give effective expression to the principles outlined in the resolution. The special purpose of the resolution was to relieve Lebanon and Jordan of the fear of external pressure or interference. It is desirable that there should be a fundamental change in the spirit governing relationships among countries of the area. The practical arrangements suggested by the Secretary-General should encourage the change of spirit. This is essential to the creation of that state of confidence within which the impulse towards brotherhood among the Arab nations may have full scope.

29. Most of my listeners here today have given much time to the study of history. Let them look back and think of the peoples of Asia, some of Africa and of Europe and of this continent of America, where reconciliation has taken place between peoples of different outlooks, different views, different colour. They have brought into being something that has enabled them to live, each with the other, in freedom. There are examples by the dozen throughout the world of what has been done, and I see no reason why it should not be done in the Middle East.

30. The General Assembly will later discuss the future of two organizations, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and UNRWA, which in different ways contribute signally to the maintenance of stability

in the Middle East. The latter organization is now in its eleventh year, and UNEF will soon be in its third. Both are beset by great financial difficulties. Both are efficiently administered and operated, but in a condition of financial emergency and stringency. In UNEF, the number of troops has been somewhat reduced; in UNRWA, many important activities have been curtailed. In the case of UNEF, these reductions do not appear to have impaired its efficiency. In the case of UNRWA, on the other hand, the very character and purpose of the enterprise is in danger of being transformed. It is still able to provide the refugees with food, but it is less able today to give them hope—and hope is more valuable sometimes even than food. I believe it is correct to say that more than half of the refugees now are less than fifteen years of age and knew nothing of the original troubles.

31. Despite these limitations, there is still a reluctance among Members of this Assembly to accept the financial obligations involved in maintaining these organizations. This reluctance might be more explicable if their value and effectiveness were in doubt. Yet, their benefit is beyond question.

32. As the result of UNEF, a condition of quiet has been maintained in the area of the southern armistice lines, and this condition has been reflected in other regions.

33. As a result of UNRWA, a great social and political problem has been contained—not solved. Several hundreds of thousands of people have been given food and shelter, and many have been given education, training and opportunity, through work, to regain their self-respect. And there is no self-respect in anyone who is denied the right to work: that is one of the fundamentals of human freedom.

34. Were there no UNEF or were there no UNRWA this Assembly would undoubtedly be faced with massive difficulties. These would not be solely financial—but, in financial terms alone, they would far outdo the demands at present imposed.

35. New Zealand has always held that the United Nations will be limited in its work and results so long as its Members do not accept the implications—financial as well as political—of the decisions of the Organization. It is essential that at this current session there should be wider recognition of this fundamental principle. There should be a more generous and general response to the needs of UNEF and UNRWA. The mandate for UNRWA expires in 1960, two years from now. If by that time there is no wider disposition to share financial responsibility more fairly, there will be many loyal supporters of the Agency who will be reluctant to support its extension on the old basis. I hope that we would do this and that many would; but there will be some reluctance. Fundamentally, the change to which we look is a change of heart. The repeated failure—sometimes refusal—of our age is to see human problems in human terms. Nowhere is this failure more apparent than in relation to the Palestine refugees. The essential tragedy of their present situation is that its human dimensions have been almost completely obscured.

36. Now may I turn for a moment to the Far East, where there is one problem which causes us some concern. I refer, of course, to what has been happening in the off-shore islands area in the Formosa Strait.

The possibility that a widespread conflagration could at any time be sparked by hostilities there must be a source of grave disquiet to all in this Assembly. Certainly it is a matter of serious concern to New Zealand which, as a Pacific country, has a particular interest in the maintenance of peace in the Pacific region. While we should be careful not to exaggerate the dangers, neither should we underestimate the gravity of the tension which the mainland Chinese have created in seeking to secure their demands by methods of war.

37. There is an urgent need for the utmost restraint on all sides. Surely it is better to leave the rival claims to these islands undecided in the meantime if the alternative is to be armed conflict and the risk of a major disaster. We will all hope that a cease fire will be brought about as a result of the discussions now proceeding. The United States, for its part, has taken the initiative in endeavouring to find a peaceful solution. It has been met by the mainland Chinese, who have sent their representatives to Warsaw, and discussions are now taking place there. It is equally to be hoped that the mainland Chinese régime will agree to a settlement without bloodshed and violence. Military measures cannot settle this problem. Each side can stop fighting without giving up what it regards as its legitimate claims. I believe that, given the right approach, the Warsaw discussions could provide a solution to the problem. Should those discussions not be fruitful, other peaceful avenues present themselves. One of these is to be found in the valuable suggestion, made by the Foreign Minister of Norway when he addressed this Assembly the other day [765th meeting], that the parties might be assisted either by a small, balanced group of nations or by the Secretary-General. I believe that the United Nations does not take all the value that it could and can out of the smaller nations that have no axe to grind and no power to exercise except the power of thought and of reason. I welcome this suggestion from the Foreign Minister of Norway because of that. Small nations do not necessarily mean small minds. We find big minds sometimes in small nations and, as I say, they have no power that they want to exercise and no axe to grind.

38. Now may I come to another point, technical assistance. I believe that the programmes of technical assistance and other measures of aid to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America represent one of the most constructive and valuable activities of the United Nations. New Zealand has been a consistent supporter of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme and will this year contribute £75,000 to the Expanded Programme.

39. The activities of the United Nations in this field will be extended when the Special Fund, which is to be discussed here, is established. As a result of the work of the Preparatory Committee and the Economic and Social Council, there is a common-sense and practical plan^{1/} for the efficient development of the Fund's operations. At the appropriate time, New Zealand will make its contribution to the Fund.

40. Because of our close association with the nations of South and South-East Asia, nearly all of which have

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 692 (XXVI).

achieved their independence since the United Nations came into being, we in New Zealand have been able, particularly through our participation in the Colombo Plan, to see at first hand the magnitude of the tasks, the intensity of present domestic effort and the importance of international assistance to the people of South-East Asia. The Colombo Plan stems from the initiative taken by the Commonwealth countries in 1950. Since its inception New Zealand has made available—and remember that we have only two and a quarter million people—more than \$20 million for agricultural, industrial, food-processing and other technical assistance projects. The reason behind that is to help the countries concerned, in a preliminary stage of industrial development, to expand their own food supplies so that in later years they will be able to exchange inside the world of trade the commodities that they produce out of their resources for the commodities which other countries produce out of theirs. But since the inception of the Plan we have found £1 million, except for one year when it was £750,000, or, to give it in another currency, something over \$20 million in all.

41. Training has been given in New Zealand to more than 550 persons from the Colombo Plan countries and about ninety of our own nationals have been sent to the different regions as experts in the particular field for which we are noted, agricultural development, and also in social welfare. We are glad indeed that we have been able to provide this material assistance, but we welcome even more the closer relationships and deeper understanding which we share, as a result, with our neighbours in South and South-East Asia. In March of this year I spent thirty-two days there, visited perhaps nine or ten countries and travelled 25,000 miles. I was never more inspired than I was in meeting the people we were able to help and who were also helping us by developing their own resources. We are happy to think that the Colombo Plan has met the prescription given by the representative of Burma when he said that the important thing is to establish partnership, not patronage. Because of our appreciation of the great values, both material and spiritual, which spring from this form of activity, we welcome particularly the work which the United Nations is doing through the specialized agencies and under the programmes of the Technical Assistance Board.

42. No experience of mine during the present year was more inspiring than a visit to an Indian village where the people, with an enthusiasm which was to me unparalleled, said that they had, with old and worn-out tools, achieved their quota under the current Five-Year Plan of India. It was a magnificent example of what can come out of untrained industrial minds because of the vision that their Government had and because they could make their contribution towards it. Everywhere I went I saw evidence of outstanding advances. I know that the achievements of many other new nations are equally impressive. Nationalism has the power to release superb creative energies. In its constructive endeavours this great force—not to divide but to unite—deserves all possible help and encouragement.

43. External aid to the under-developed countries, important though it is, is secondary to the efforts of the people themselves. Perhaps the greatest difficulty which they face in the economic field—a difficulty which confronts many other countries—is the violent

swing in the prices that they receive for their basic exports. During this debate, a number of representatives have referred to this problem. None of these countries, I know, wants charity, and they do not want to be made to feel that somebody is being kind to them. They have something to give to all of us, and it is for us to take it for our own benefit, and for theirs also. There are 1,500 million people with less than enough food to eat—I believe that the average number of calories in the daily diet in some places is 1,200 and in others, 1,800, while our average is 3,350. In that connexion there is only one country in which the people eat more than we do in New Zealand, and that is Ireland. The Governments of the under-developed countries simply want, through a fair return for their own efforts, the means to provide a decent living standard and better conditions for their peoples. We ought to glory in that objective. Clearly, their efforts to meet their own economic responsibilities will be frustrated as long as the major nations fail to recognize the need for arrangements which will assure reasonably stable prices for what these people produce and sell, particularly for their basic commodities.

44. Thus, one of the most important tasks in which the United Nations can engage will be to provide both leadership and assistance in the development of procedures which will avoid, as far as they can, these violent fluctuations in prices.

45. Consideration of the problems of the newly independent countries prompts me to refer to the work of the United Nations in the field of trusteeship. As the Administering Authority of the small Trust Territory of Western Samoa in the southern part of the Pacific, New Zealand has a natural interest in the progress of territories under the tutelage of the United Nations. In Western Samoa we have been able, with the wise guidance and co-operation of the Trusteeship Council, to bring the Trust Territory steadily and peacefully to the threshold of self-government. Samoa has now reached the stage where the representatives of the Samoan people exercise in practice almost complete control over and responsibility for the internal affairs of their country. Next year, a mission from the Trusteeship Council, charged with special functions, will visit the Territory. We welcome the opportunity which this visit will present to discuss matters which must be taken into account when the question of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement is considered. I can assure this General Assembly that my Government will give the mission the fullest co-operation and assistance.

46. The variety of activities encompassed within the United Nations is without parallel in the modern world. The Organization alone provides a forum for the discussion and resolution of political problems. It assists the study of economic and social difficulties affecting particular areas of the world. It provides aid in almost every field of human endeavour. It offers the means of realizing the ideals proclaimed by Abraham Lincoln of the equality, the worth and the essential dignity of all men. Through the United Nations, we can best achieve the hope enshrined in the words of the Atlantic Charter that "all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

47. We are all constantly impressed with the thought of how much still remains to be done; we can take

encouragement and hope from the thought of how much has already been achieved. But—and here I repeat what I said earlier—we must never forget, whatever the character of the problems before us, that we are not dealing with abstractions; we are concerned with human beings. We are seeking simply to provide a better life for people everywhere. The United Nations will continue to be judged on how it helps men and Governments in all parts of the world to secure the full spiritual and material well-being of human beings.

48. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): The fact that we have been friends since our days as Ambassadors in Washington does not detract from the sincerity of my tribute to the President elected by this Assembly. He combines the political experience, mastery of procedure and personal prestige so essential to that office with the vision of a man of high culture and philosophical training, without which the equipment of a statesman is often incomplete. Mr. Malik has all those special qualities and we are particularly gratified by his election and confident that he will carry out his task successfully.

49. Nor do I wish to overlook the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, Mr. Mahgoub, who received the votes of a good many Members of this Assembly and who may rest assured of the sympathy and admiration of all. I wish also to bid farewell to Sir Leslie Munro, the distinguished President of our twelfth session, with whom I had the honour to serve as an officer of the Assembly. In addition to his experience as a professor, newspaperman and political figure, he also has a broad culture and an unequalled fund of knowledge of the political problems and thinking of all countries. Moreover, he has a delightful bonhomie and impressive personal charm. He has left a lasting impression, which it is a pleasure to recall in bidding him farewell.

50. These elections of distinguished men to preside over the United Nations give us a better idea of the world and the men who represent it, and bring us closer together at the highest level by giving us an opportunity to appreciate the best qualities of all men as they demonstrate their ability, with equal cultural backgrounds, to assume the highest responsibilities with honour and with the respect of all mankind.

51. It is our turn to speak in this debate after most delegations, whose arguments and views we have followed with keen interest, have already taken the floor. We have not heard the representatives of the powerful nations only, but those of all countries, and we must attach great value to their general views. The military power of those seated in this Assembly is not what will count; what will count in the development of world events are the words, concerns and anxieties expressed in this most crucial period of history. It has been said again and again, and it cannot be said too often, that the United Nations makes an immense contribution to the cause of world peace and understanding among peoples.

52. Here, the clash of ideas, the expression of authoritative opinions—which in former times were buried in the silence of diplomatic discretion and reduced to a few controlling voices—marks a great step forward, both moral and political, in the history of man. From every corner of the earth ideas, questions and answers to the problems of the moment are brought to this forum.

53. Those problems are serious ones. Perhaps the broadest and most all-pervasive of the questions is that implicit in the entry of Asian and African nations, whose people are usually of a different colour from Europeans, to the international community. If we take 1900 as a typical year and compare the world then with the world today, we cannot but be impressed by the diplomatic monopoly that existed: at that time, there were three, four or five ruling voices and the other countries followed their lead, and if they did not do so willingly, measures of coercion were applied on occasion to bring them to their senses. That was not true only of the African and Asian peoples who now have most to complain of. The rest of us were treated in much the same way. Whole continents, such as Africa and Asia and a large part of Central and South America, experienced the effects—and they are not very pleasant to report—of the system which then prevailed.

54. The world had not always been so divided. In their day the great peoples of Asia and Africa had been invaders and conquerors. Because this is a time of reconciliation and, one might say, of rehabilitation, we cannot whitewash those who later bowed to the superior might of others. That is one of the most elementary lessons of history. I speak as a Spaniard with a history of eight centuries of Afro-Asian domination, followed by a friendly merging of cultures in many ways, and today a common heritage in many respects. Now all we remember of that Afro-Asian domination are the monuments of beauty and the friendship it left. Throughout the Middle Ages and up to the beginning of modern times, Eastern Europe and parts of Southern Europe were also overrun by powerful masses from Asia and Africa, and memories of their invasion remain. I am not trying to blacken the name of those who, in 1900, in another guise, so to speak, and with other means, occupied—at least in the eyes of those who reluctantly submitted to their rule—positions similar to those which might have been held by Genghis Khan or Tamerlane, or the Conquerors of Byzantium, or—to mix dates and times—of those who crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and invaded Spain under the leadership of Muza and Tarik.

55. Some of the great nations represented here, with great influence in our deliberations, were simply colonies in 1900 and even much later. The point is obvious, but necessary for purposes of illustration. Those who held them in subjection were not—I hasten to say, any more than those to whom I referred earlier—motivated by malicious or evil intentions. They were carrying out a mission, for mixed motives, and often with a certain creative heroism. Human beings—according to our Christian interpretation, since the Fall—have not distinguished themselves by gentleness and consideration in the course of their history. The white glove has rarely been their hallmark.

56. But everything was not black in the period of colonization which ended in 1900. Great material progress, the creation of tremendous wealth, the raising of the standard of life of many people were evidence of the better side of human nature, and in men's struggle against poverty, helped not only materially, but spiritually, to improve those areas which have now become part of the international community. If we consider the matter impartially and calmly, we will see that, although those countries have legitimate and

important grievances, they acquired a culture, language, health, and commercial ability as a result of their contact with the colonizing nations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an experience which was not always pleasant, but in the long run proved fruitful and effective. I can say this with impartiality, because although Spain was once a very active expansionist power, it played no role or only a very small role in the colonial expansion of modern times.

57. Let us face the facts. All those people have been welcome and are welcome among us. Some of them are not new because they represented great civilizations, although they were isolated and held in subjection and thus were unable for centuries to express their culture freely or to play a part in political life. They are in large part resurrected nations and it has been our good fortune to witness their resurrection. Happily, they have been resurrected, reborn, and as in all births, their emergence is fraught with illusion and expectation.

58. For those who once held the advantage this phenomenon has, of course, brought difficulties. I repeat that Spain is not really affected; it has been through that period.

59. We would not be human if such change did not evoke a reaction in the international community. It is a matter primarily of habit and custom, not, as is often thought, of pride and the desire to rule and to annex weaker nations. It takes an effort to change a way of life and recognize new phenomena which we could not have imagined possible. But they occur and, despite everything, become facts of life and are accepted without rancour and in a spirit of conciliation.

60. Let the new or resurrected nations not think that the ruling classes of the world during the final period of modern colonialism were much easier on the peoples of their own countries. In an excellent speech [758th meeting] the representative of Italy gave a penetrating analysis of the social mission of wealth, so different from its role in past times, when wealth served merely to satisfy personal appetites. The peoples of the colonizing Powers also suffered myriad hardships because they lived under an economic order that was less soundly conceived and did not follow the precepts of morality, but which has now been in large measure corrected by the observance of better principles and higher standards.

61. The problems of the so-called ruling peoples—or of the mass of the ruling peoples—were not problems of colour or geographical latitude, but, in large measure and to an extent that varied with circumstances, problems of conscience, raised in their countries. The remedy to colonial excesses and the unfair social position of the colonizing peoples came with time. The process is still not completed, but it is under way and we must trust that the outcome will be to the advantage of all parties concerned.

62. It would be a grave error if the nations which have re-emerged into international life, in their understandable eagerness to regain the time politically lost to them while they were under foreign rule, and in order to assert their individuality speedily and violently, were to ignore the lessons of the past and, in their turn, act with unjust violence, forgetful of historical and legal situations created by the nations over the years. Our colleague from Portugal dealt

brilliantly with this aspect of the problem [761st meeting]. It is not enough to collect continents, draw boundary lines and colour the map to suit one's fancy in order to satisfy a somewhat childish desire for territorial aggrandizement and to cut a brilliant figure in the statistics and the atlases. It is as though we were to resurrect the frightening creatures so cherished by map makers before the time of the great Spanish and Portuguese navigators.

63. Fortunately our histories are very much intermingled. Geographical situation exercises an inevitable influence, but there are also—and it is to the credit of human nature that this is so—the creations of the mind, of labour, of sacrifice over the centuries. It is not enough to talk in terms of longitude or latitude; one must also remember all that has been accomplished by men within the areas they denote. The continents and their names, in themselves, merely vaguely imply the rights of nations.

64. As I said earlier, Spain for historical reasons played but a small part in the colonialism of recent times, whose liquidation we are now witnessing. But, as you all know, Spain is not isolated from the currents of world events and the ways of life of other peoples. The fact that today we have no colonial problem does not mean that our existence is confined to the limits of the Iberian peninsula.

65. Strong, well-defined ties bind us to other peoples and even to whole continents. If we consider our place in the world we cannot, however hard we may try, fail to recognize our kinship with the nearly twenty nations of America whose origins are clearly Spanish and with whom we have in common a language, a religion, a thousand spiritual reactions and ways of life and probably a great many objectives in international affairs. I refer to Central and South America, including the America whose roots are Portuguese. This identity of essential objectives in international affairs also extends to the great Brazilian nation by the very fact of its discovery and of our close ties with Portugal, our sister State on the Iberian peninsula. Spain is not linked to the Ibero-American countries by any pact, specific agreement or protocol. But it would be a mistake to imagine that the existence of this bloc of Central and South American States, in itself a fact of overwhelming importance, would not, in this age of shrinking distances, have a decisive impact, both now and in the future, on the thirty million Spaniards of Europe. It would indeed be the strangest of miracles and supreme proof of insensibility and spiritual decadence if Spain were not to follow their march through history and the contemporary political scene with deep and brotherly affection. In one of the finest speeches delivered during the present debate Mr. Florit, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, speaking a magnificent Spanish worthy of Cervantes and Sarmiento, said: "And at the same time we are heirs to a civilization the vitality and spiritual wealth of which has made possible the great adventure which mankind is living today." [751st meeting, para. 6.]

66. While we shall continue to be part of that civilization, our brotherly sentiments will not interfere with the natural processes of expansion and growth of the peoples of America or with their continental unity. As our own Ortega y Gasset said, American man began, from the moment the continent was discovered, to develop a personality distinct from that of his brothers in the Peninsula.

67. We have often felt that Spain's greatest public "business"—using the word in the sense in which it was employed by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in speaking of the supreme task, that of salvation—since the discovery of the American continent has perhaps been the emancipation of America. The generous individual and free policies of the separate States into which it is divided are at once in unison and varying, concordant and reflecting many shades of opinion, with a flexibility and impact difficult to attain by more conservative means. In the world today they may clearly be seen working for peace and for the highest ideals of freedom and wisdom upon which the future of mankind may be built.

68. We Spaniards are sometimes inclined to be touchy about names. When we hear the word "Latin-Americans" we feel that the name of the Iberian peninsula has a strong and unassailable claim—which is reflected in customs and even the popular press—to describe this vigorous new world. These Latins whose historical credentials are so strong and beyond dispute are the original and oldest Americans with prior claim to the use of that great name. The question is merely one of terminology. It is not important and may, as I have said, be one concerning which we are inclined to split hairs. But when people talk about the Latins of America we tend not to think of Latium. We remember that these Latins do not speak Latin but Spanish or Portuguese, great languages which although derived, as we must in all humility recognize, from the vulgar Latin spoken by the common people of the great Roman Empire, have now become highly developed instruments of culture and bonds of brotherhood between our peoples in two separate continents.

69. And not in two continents only, for during the last few days as I have listened to the splendid Spanish spoken in the United Nations by the distinguished representative of the Philippines, I have been reminded of the fact that our civilization also penetrated to the continent of Oceania where it has taken root among people who shine brightly in the galaxy of nations which form our complex world and to whom Spain has left a legacy of spiritual wealth that has been preserved and enriched for the benefit of mankind. Only a few days ago I read in Toynbee's recently published *East to West* the great English historian's impressions of Manila, "mercureal" Manila, as he calls it. I quote the following passage:

"One might describe the Philippines as a Latin American country that has been torn away from the Americas and been swept off to the opposite side of the Pacific by some legendary tidal wave or fabulous hurricane. But the Philippines are unique in having a North American as well as a Spanish chapter in their history—unique and also lucky, because Spain and the United States are complementary to one another as representatives of different elements in the Western Christian civilization."^{2/}

It is fortunate that Spain and the United States have left their traces in the Philippines for, according to the great historian, the two countries complement each other. We have long suspected it but the fact

that Toynbee says so is significant. It is good news for the American countries of Spanish origin, for the Philippines, for ancient continental Spain, on whose behalf I have the honour to address you and, I venture to suggest, for the United States as well.

70. I have described to you on a number of earlier occasions—and further opportunities to remind you of it will not be lacking—how, after passing through a phase of quarrels followed by one of neighbourly relations, we also feel ourselves to be close to the people of the Arab world with whom we have much in common, both as regards traits of character and points of view, whose problems we are in a position to understand, and whose just claims before our world Assembly elicit our sympathy. That is why we speak to them so freely and frankly, with warm recollections of Muza and Tarik, so that all of us, forgetting the disagreeable past and basing ourselves on that which unites us—the creation of a magnificent culture—may move forward together free of common dangers.

71. I make no attempt to conceal the basic fact that we are Spaniards, Europeans, part of the continent of Europe, whose culture, transplanted to America, the other western continent, is now in fact the heritage of both. They share this priceless treasure and we cherish our share of it for we also laboured to achieve it. We live in Europe, without quarrels or rancour, despite the painful fact that a portion of our land is under colonial occupation, a situation which we hope will be remedied as a matter of right, as we are sure, do all those who have felt and experienced it. We live in Europe, aware of our Hispanic characteristics which have taken root on both shores of the Atlantic, aware too of the part played by the Latin genius. Yet we do so without forgetting that we are part of Europe as a whole in which other great peoples—the Germanic, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian—have played their part. Despite their many disagreements in the past, these peoples are now brothers, Europeans, just as in the days when from Upsala to Salamanca scholars spoke a common language and meditated on eternal problems in a common spirit and with a common purpose.

72. In a word we are men of peace, members of a family of nations, who display our Spanish tradition—so well-known to the scholar—with a sense of pride and satisfaction in the past, that does not preclude a continuing and lively interest in the world of today. We too wish to take our place side by side with those other peace-loving peoples who are alarmed by the threat of war and are groping for peaceful solutions.

73. As we long for this, our thoughts turn to the religious side of our civilization. I deep sense of tolerance and a scrupulous concern to avoid offence lead us all too often in our meetings to lose sight of that cardinal element in the history of mankind whose fate we are debating. The tolerance we must show causes us, unwittingly perhaps, to lose sight of the decisive influence on practical, contemporary problems of faith in God and the communication of a higher eschatological order, the driving force of hundreds of millions of people represented here. Some speakers have indeed alluded to this, although diffidence prevents them from stressing too strongly this major bulwark of the free world. There is no greater virtue than the religious faith of the people

^{2/} Toynbee, Arnold J., *East to West* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 65.

and their traditional, hereditary loyalty to religion. However, the over-all picture will escape us unless, I repeat, we view religion in all its forms, not merely in its individual and concentrated aspects, but as a great, wholesome influence on customs, an everlasting lesson in proper conduct and the supreme moral guide. Sir Claude Corea, the representative of Ceylon, has earned the particular gratitude of Christians precisely because he is not one of them, for having stated this in the noble words which I shall now repeat:

"In fact, to the Christian world at any rate, 'good neighbourly relations' may indeed be a stronger expression. That expression, which implies love of neighbour, is the rock on which Christendom is built... What is needed always, and certainly is most imperative in times of crisis, is the translation of the same belief, expressed in different words, to the facts of life..." [764th meeting, para. 29.]

74. These considerations prompt me to put to the Assembly a specific religious problem of primary concern to the souls of countless believers. I think that everyone, whatever his faith, will wish to contribute to its solution. I refer to the independence of the Holy Places, particularly Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity and the Holy City for three religions.

75. The United Nations has dealt with this matter before and has adopted resolutions, unfortunately as yet unimplemented, which could have set the conscience of Christianity at rest and allowed the Moslems and Jews to live as good neighbours. That is what everyone wants and it would have been a significant step forward.

76. In November 1947 the General Assembly took certain decisions on the basis of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. Included in the resolution [181 (II)] was a partition plan for the territory of Palestine which would have remained divided into an Arab State and a Jewish State, the city of Jerusalem to be established as a *corpus separatum* placed under a special international régime to be administered by the United Nations and, on its behalf, by the Trusteeship Council.

77. The bases for the elaboration of a future statute of the city of Jerusalem were laid down in that plan, which stated as one of the special objectives of the Administering Authority

"(a) To protect and to preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, Christian, Jewish and Moslem; to this end to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem." 3/

The legal status of the city of Jerusalem was subsequently laid down in a draft Statute consisting of forty-three articles.

78. In another resolution adopted on 11 December 1948 [resolution 194 (III)] the Assembly resolved that the Holy Places—including Nazareth—religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice, and that arrangements to that end should be under effective

United Nations supervision. It further resolved that, in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area should be accorded special treatment and should be placed under effective United Nations control by establishing a permanent international régime for the area.

79. The General Assembly adopted another resolution on 9 December 1949 [resolution 303 (IV)] in which it said that the principles underlying its previous resolutions, in particular the 1947 resolution, represented a just and equitable settlement of the question. It restated its intention that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international régime, which should envisage appropriate guarantees for the protection of the Holy Places, both within and outside Jerusalem. In that resolution the Trusteeship Council was requested to complete the preparation of the Statute of Jerusalem, introducing therein amendments in the direction of its greater democratization and excluding the by then inapplicable provisions. On 4 April 1950 the Trusteeship Council approved the Statute for the City of Jerusalem which it had drafted in accordance with the resolutions mentioned. However, the Statute was not accepted by the Governments which occupied the city and was not adopted by the General Assembly.

80. I ask the Assembly which has been giving so much of its time to the problems of the Near East, inspired by the spirit of conciliation that emerged from our most valuable third emergency special session, whether the time has not come to give effect to those resolutions after adapting them to present requirements. I do not believe that the representatives of Israel would have any particular objection. Moreover, I hope that the Arab States most directly concerned in the matter, together with their peoples, would support an agreement the adoption of which would earn for them the grateful sympathy of untold numbers of Christians.

81. At a time when relations between peoples were governed by a different spirit the problem of the Holy Places gave rise to interminable disputes provoked by idealism. No one expects that example to be followed nowadays. Ours is a peaceful crusade in which we seek protection and spiritual independence for the Holy Land. The clash of swords and the chanting of epics on the warlike march to the Jerusalem of the Middle Ages have given way to more peaceful, more lawful but no less idealistic means of solution. May the Arab peoples for whom we have a great deal of affection, whose religious spirit we deeply respect, who are free to undertake pilgrimages on their own soil, on free soil where their prayers and meditation are not disturbed, remember that we do not have that privilege and may they also make available to the Christians that same atmosphere of tranquillity in their splendid churches in the Holy Land.

82. This is not the first time that Spain has raised its voice in the United Nations to make that request. During the eleventh session of the General Assembly, in 1956, Mr. Alberto Martín Artajo, who was then the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated Spain's spiritual position in clear and noble terms. He said:

"My delegation does not believe that there have yet been exhausted the possibilities of a special international régime for the Holy City, according to the plan suggested by the Trusteeship Council

3/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Resolutions, p. 147.

acting on the instructions of the General Assembly, the main features of which are that Jerusalem would be a *corpus separatum*, there should be free access to the Holy Places and they should be protected against all threats, and the spiritual interests of the three great religions should be safeguarded." [588th meeting, para. 68.]

After explaining that we would like the city of Jerusalem and the other Holy Places to be treated, not as a "no man's land" but as an "everyman's land", he added:

"The main object is not to withdraw those areas from either the Arabs or the Israelis but to arrange matters in such a way that they could live there together with each other and both of them with the Christians so that everyone might feel at home." [Ibid., para. 71.]

83. One final solution, and perhaps the best, and one that I believe has already been studied by the United Nations, would be to set up a demilitarized zone under the authority of the United Nations, consisting of Jordan, Jerusalem and part of Gaza, separating the peoples of this area which has been a scene of conflict for so many years. A special legal system might also be set up with courts and authorities of their own religion for each of the peoples concerned, and mixed courts for aliens. A similar system was set up for Tangier and it made peace and good relations possible for over half a century. Economic compensation for the people driven out of their homes—which Israel once accepted—would undoubtedly facilitate the solution of these complicated problems.

84. There will be opportunities to return to this point during future discussions. This does not mean that we have abandoned the primarily religious point of view from which we started to speak, in our search for the best and most disinterested means of securing an agreement which, though difficult, is not impossible to attain.

85. Only minds brought very low by prejudice will argue that this point is superfluous and has no connexion with our present deliberations. The personal qualities of the representatives here and the experience and authority of all the Members of the General Assembly are enough to exclude that possibility. We are all actuated by the highest spiritual motives and the very act of discussing and seeking to repair and remedy injustice is an effective and practical contribution to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter and good neighbourly relations among the peoples.

86. The religious tranquillity of the Christian Holy Places may serve as an example and an inspiration to all who wish to bring about stability in the East and a very effective factor in their work. The prayers of countless believers will reward their efforts.

87. Unfortunately, one part of the world represented here opposes our religious convictions with an explicit and active atheism. I refer of course to the Soviet countries and especially to the USSR, although perhaps in these matters there is little to choose between them. This atheism is accompanied by a violent revolutionary spirit aimed at conversion and conquest, often quite heedless of international law and treaties, quick to resort to force or the threat of force when its violent aims are impeded.

88. The angry and destructive ferment by which the Soviet peoples are inspired is the essential cause of the present tragic difficulties of international life. It is painful to have to say this of these countries, whose considerable efforts in regard to labour, technology and the re-establishment of the social equilibrium are often worthy of respect. Yet, without the "*Furor sovieticus*" and its preaching and example, the social problems so often referred to by all speakers here would follow a better path towards fair economic and social development. The very problem of poverty, which has quite rightly been referred to here as one of the origins of world instability, would find a speedier remedy and would be less acute if it was not exploited by communism. I should like to quote something here from an excellent speech, made in Spanish to our great pleasure, by the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Mr. Negrão de Lima. He said:

"This state of dissatisfaction leads some nations into the dangerous path of accepting ideologies contrary to their own political and cultural tradition in the illusory hope of finding a satisfactory solution of their problems." [749th meeting, para. 8.]

89. The justifiable nationalism of many countries and their gradual rebirth and reoccupation of the place in the world which is fairly theirs would not have the bitterness or malice often breathed into them by the Soviet party for reasons of its own. They would be more easily accepted by those who tend to see—are, indeed, sometimes too ready to see—a Communist plot behind every impulse towards national rebirth.

90. It is hard to retain one's judgement and coolness in the face of international communism, so destructive in itself and served by powerful nations. In these last few years, we have watched its untiring impulse of aggression at work in various parts of the world. To mention only the post-war period, we have seen it on the frontiers of Greece and on the frontiers of Korea, and on the frontiers of Viet-Nam. Today we see it at work about Formosa. The Communist impulse is always skillfully cloaked by national complications, often authentic, mingled with historic and diplomatic necessities, capable of impressing our minds and forcing us to seek honest ways of remedy. Yet the problem, be it geographical or connected with disarmament, or one of general settlement, will always be surrounded by a legitimate mistrust of the violence of purpose, the unreliability in negotiations and the discarding of all scruple, characteristic of the Soviet Union.

91. How can we believe in its good intentions or listen to its representatives' attacks on colonialism without profound scepticism when one of the greatest nations of Europe, namely Germany, is cut in two by Soviet pressure and unable to maintain its unity or go on with its national life, which is one of the most illustrious in the history of world culture and civilization?

92. How can we believe in the peaceful intentions of such countries when we see Königsberg, for example, once so much the centre of human thought—you will understand my reference—in the power of foreign forces, cut off from its past and its significance, now only the wretched European colony of another conqueror nation?

93. Let us think of Viet-Nam and Korea too. Let us also think and think very particularly of tragic, wounded Hungary. Not as the Hungarian problem, but rather as the problem of the occupation of Hungary by the might of the Soviet Union, although appearances have been to some extent saved since then with the establishment of a Government based on the original flagrant act of force. Nevertheless, we shall not desert the way of peace and negotiation. Our indignation, the obvious consequence of this fearful problem, must not drive us from the diplomatic path.

94. I do not know exactly—and I have some hesitation even in speaking on this item, because Spain is one of those countries which has no modern weapons, possessing as it does only conventional armaments, and those in perhaps somewhat insufficient quantities—I do not know what progress it will be possible to make in the field of disarmament. But no one should withdraw from the necessary talks, provided that those who are talking are properly qualified and can act energetically to preserve what is needed to maintain world order. Nor do I believe that if diplomatic conversations on matters in the Far East can be effective in any way they should be rejected. I think, too, that they could be moved from one capital to another without suffering; they might even improve. Let us go on in this way, but do not let what we say, here or on the disarmament question, encourage those who are defending the cause of international order and justice to give up prematurely. The more we mistrust their enemies, which are ours also, the greater is our trust in them.

95. Many representatives here this afternoon have referred to the small countries as possible peace-makers between the larger and more powerful countries now at odds over such serious problems. This movement is related to the wide, indeed, universal, desire for peace and the justifiable terror of the consequences of violence in this day of tremendous destructive inventiveness, and Spain sympathises with and supports it. However, we have one reservation: for ourselves, we believe that this movement should not be interpreted as a form of neutrality or indifference in present international disputes. Let us indeed work for peace, but let us not think that this gives us, or at least gives Spain, the right to act as it were as an umpire between two competing sides, both ready to engage in violence at any time. We are quite capable of distinguishing—I have said this before, and I shall say it again—between a band of violent aggressors and free peoples, who respect the law, but are ready to fight against their unfortunately powerful opponents. We owe ten years of peace to the sacrifices they have made in order to keep up their war potential and in those ten years, if there had not been armed nations on the side of peace and justice, there would probably have been many other acts of violence of the kind of which we have already had too many examples. It would be base ingratitude to feel anything else, and it would also be a serious error in international policy to weaken by our indifference, almost distrust, those more powerful countries with whose aims we are in agreement. On this understanding, I repeat, we believe that there can and should be negotiations between all the nations of the earth.

96. This year we are celebrating in Spain the anniversary of our King Charles I, better known as the Emperor Charles V of Germany. In connexion with this centenary, I should like to read a few words addressed by the Emperor to his son Prince Philip. They go as follows: "We must show good faith to all men, whether they be of the Faith or not." We must act in good faith, whether those we are dealing with show good faith or not. Not being of the Faith had a special meaning at that time, possibly closer politically to the way of thought in the Soviet countries today. Let us follow the imperial advice, with adaptations to present-day conditions, and let us deal honestly with them in Warsaw or wherever it may be and carry out our side of the bargain if it can lead to peace.

97. This type of general reflection is very helpful in the day-to-day dealing with the political and economic problems of which the United Nations provides so large a quantity.

98. In the economic field, Spain is following and has followed all the properly so-called economic activities of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies with the greatest interest. Spain is already a member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. One event which occurred during this past year has been termed historic; I refer to the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa, of which Spain is also a member. Another event of world-wide importance which is about to take place shortly is the establishment of the Special Fund which seems to be emerging from the reports of the Preparatory Committee [A/3908] and of the Economic and Social Council [A/3848]. Spain is following the consideration of these reports and the process of setting up the Special Fund with the greatest interest, and will do all that lies in its power to co-operate in the establishment of the Fund.

99. There is one comment which we should like to make, in the friendliest spirit, to Iceland, on the basis of certain legal problems which are not altogether foreign to other Members of this Assembly. The Government of Iceland has adopted provisions extending its territorial waters to a distance of twelve miles. Without departing from the spirit of peaceful relations among nations which should pre-empt over the settlement of all international disputes, we must support the statements made here by the representatives of other Governments in regard to this problem, and particularly the points made in respect of the unilateral adoption of measures affecting the rights of other countries. The delimitation of territorial waters is a problem of international law and should be settled by international law and not by means of a unilateral decision by the riparian States, as the International Law Commission indirectly affirmed and as the International Court of Justice explicitly recognized in its decision of 1951,⁴ so pertinently quoted by Mr. Casey, the Australian Minister for External Affairs. Consequently, we cannot accept the validity of a unilateral decision which affects the rights of other countries, including Spain.

⁴ Fisheries case, Judgment of December 18th, 1951: I.C.J. Reports 1951, p. 116.

100. The less powerful countries should be particularly careful not to infringe international law in such clearly visible aspects as the matter of jurisdictional waters since once the doctrine is accepted and the bad example followed they might themselves be the victims of transgressions which they would be in a worse position to oppose than the more powerful countries.

101. To the full extent of its powers, Spain seeks to contribute to world stability through its own stability. Its people's strong sense of unity in time of danger and the successful guidance of its leaders have enabled it, in a spirit of complete independence, to organize its system of public life according to the standards of Christian teaching and the examples of national history. It will guard its rights in this delicate field zealously. A country in the Spanish tradition, with which so many of you are familiar, could hardly fail to be a true, organic and evolving democracy, created through centuries of experiment. It is a truly national democracy, not a mere imitation or a façade put on to make us more pleasing to outsiders; in it popular enthusiasm, very old with us—almost as old, probably, as in Great Britain, the first parliamentary democracy in Europe—joins in harmony with a potent, powerful, and now in some areas exacerbated love of authority as the safeguard and defender of freedom, to make a way of life that is still evolving.

102. In a powerful speech, the representative of Indonesia told us [762nd meeting] that his country wished to save democracy by adapting it to Indonesian usages and abilities. This is an excellent observation. We agree whole-heartedly for once with this country which is so young and yet so illustrious, so rich in tradition and intelligence, though we are accustomed to disagree with it and to be unable to vote for its proposals, which fortunately are not on the Assembly's agenda. One of the most striking remarks, and at the same time one of the remarks most full of political wisdom, made during this debate came from Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, in his speech in the general debate—a nice example of this impressive attraction exerted by the British freedom of spirit which makes us unwilling to renounce—as I

said before—our share in European culture. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said:

"I once heard it said that democracy only works well if 75 per cent of the people hold approximately the same views on 75 per cent of the issues of the day. All generalizations are dangerous, but I think there is an element of truth in this one. I believe that in my own country it is broadly correct and therefore our democracy works with reasonable tolerance and understanding between the various sections of the community." [758th meeting, para. 47.]

This is the end of the quotation but not of the excellent lesson which it contains.

103. The political and economic work of our Organization should take precedence over the anxiety by which we are beset, which is perhaps rather pessimistic. Let us seek in daily work a remedy for our black visions of the future. The third emergency special session, for example, was an admirable example of political intelligence and labour for peace. The recent report of the Secretary-General [A/3934/Rev.1]—whose hard and intelligent work the whole world should be grateful for—on the specific problem recently entrusted to his experience and authority, a report which we shall be discussing on another occasion, confirms and encourages these hopeful reactions.

104. Despite the ferments of violence and disorder, many problems are being settled by the United Nations. Curiously enough, as the Security Council has lost part of its authority, the Assembly has become more effective and has also formed a greater sense of responsibility, "perhaps" as the Ethiopian representative said in the general debate [756th meeting] "the small States have a keener sense of the urgency and anxiety which prompts other nations like themselves to seek recourse through the United Nations".

105. Let us therefore strive always to be worthy of the great responsibility which lies with all the Members of the Assembly. Encouraged by our recent experience we can look towards the future with measured and serene confidence.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.