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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the representative of the Republic of Ghana, has been elected President of the General Assembly by acclamation. He comes to this highly responsible office armed with vast political experience and with a personal culture which not only has distinguished itself in the study of the problems of our time but extends also to the world of Greek and Roman antiquity. In the face of the difficulties and the complex troubles which have arisen during this Assembly, Mr. Quaison-Sackey's personal qualities seem to us to guarantee that the methods followed will be skilful and the results effective.

2. His predecessor, the representative of Venezuela, our eminent friend Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodriguez, leaves behind him an indelible imprint of his service as President and an object lesson in good sense, intelligence, vigorous decisiveness, courtesy and dignity.

3. We should like to extend our respectful and cordial greetings to both the retiring and the incoming Presidents.

4. We should also like to welcome the three new countries which have joined our ranks as sovereign and independent States: Malta, Zambia and Malawi.

5. At the inaugural meeting of this Assembly, reference was made to Seneca, "Seneca morale", as the great Florentine described him centuries ago; one of the greatest moralists of all time; a moral philosopher and an eternal example of spiritual calm, of clarity and of serene will. I particularly welcomed your reference to that illustrious figure. From that moment, I realized that not only was the Assembly to be directed by someone whose personal qualities are well known to us all, but that we were to include among our sources of inspiration one of the most venerable teachers in all history. We can expect nothing but virtue and goodness from a man who takes

Lucius Annaeus Seneca as a mentor and who entrusts himself to such a guide.

6. As the President, a good Latinist, is well aware, Seneca was a Spaniard, the son of Seneca the Elder, both of them born in Córdoba, the patrician city of Andalusia which was the cradle and the seat of Roman, Arab, Hebrew and Christian learning.

7. It will do no harm if, in these critical days, the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations remembers that philosopher who, burdened with the sufferings of his fellow men, dreamed of a wide brotherhood of men, all equal in spiritual needs and in the requirements of moral integrity, brothers in suffering, and for that reason called upon to help each other and to serve each other. In one of his letters to Lucullus, Seneca said that "our existence means living together, and we must live for our fellow men, if we wish to live for ourselves". May we all be inspired by the memory of that eminent moralist and let us be careful not to bring to this rostrum passion without dignity, malice charged with resentment, or words which are untrue; for one of the dangers which faces our Organization is that it may be converted into an arena for political dissension and a stage for mutual insults.

8. If one of the main objectives of the United Nations is to create conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations which derive from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and if, to bring this about, all people must unite in the service of peace, spurning abuse and aggression, and seeking negotiation, mediation, arbitration, legal settlement, conciliation, everything except the frenzy of war, this forum must always be kept free from unbridled passions. Everything which, in the name of any specific policy, tends to offend or defame the national characteristics of any of the Member States, by means of judgements or resolutions of a discriminatory nature, whether within the Assembly itself or in any of the specialized agencies, will create serious hazards whose consequences would necessarily affect the very foundations of the United Nations.

9. We cannot spend our lives extolling the merits of peaceful coexistence and yet allow ourselves in this very place, in the body formed to organize and preserve that coexistence, to deride and devour each other, in the service of personal or party interests and in the name of the various fanaticisms which are at present rife in the world.

10. With words that ring out like a call to arms, the Secretary-General has just declared that the United Nations has to face a crisis of confidence in its growth, usefulness and effectiveness and that changes will have to be made in the way it functions;

but that changes must take place, first of all, in the minds of men, and that the spirit of tolerance, the desire to conciliate, the will to harmonize, which are the basic tenets of the Charter, must be constantly invoked.

11. Never has such a statement been more appropriate to the circumstances. The United Nations has experienced, or rather is experiencing, a crisis of confidence in itself. At the moment, this Assembly seems rather like a meeting of invalids. The basic machinery of our debates has stopped functioning, like the limbs of someone who is paralysed. Speaking in strictly legal terms we might say that some important provisions of the Charter are in suspension. We know and we wish to believe that this paralysis is fortunately a passing phase. In the interim, however, the laws of parliamentary democracy, proclaimed as the life and soul of the Assembly, are not being applied: it might be said that they have become impotent. This is certainly not the first time that a conflict of this nature has arisen between the possibilities of strictly parliamentary democracy and the essential political, social or economic reality of the world in which we live.

12. The United Nations Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly grant us two essential rights: the right to discuss and the right to vote; for some time now, we have neither discussed nor voted, we have just talked. The procession of eloquent orators—to whom I must pay an admiring tribute—to this rostrum is given the name of "general debate" but we all share the secret that there is no such debate. It is almost touching to see the care which we all take not to disturb in any way the secret dialogue in which certain matters, theoretically the province of the Assembly but which in practice have been removed from our consideration at this time, are apparently being clarified and I hope settled. If it were advisable for the welfare of the United Nations that the principles and procedures of its democratic constitution should be suspended, I should welcome suspension. It would, however, be well to ponder the peculiar fact that a body which was conceived and designed constitutionally as an Assembly to debate, argue, reason, examine and judge cannot, in a particular crisis, debate, argue, reason, or examine, still less pass judgement. It seems as if it has been frightened by itself. It has lacked the necessary confidence in its own strength. The muse of fear has always been a very bad counsellor.

13. Let us not deceive ourselves. This shirking of our duty, and our evident inability to carry out our basic functions, these are things which always result in a loss of prestige and authority; and if this occurs once only, if this is only the result of chance misfortune, the blow will not be mortal; but crises would be inevitable if we were to allow such things to be repeated.

14. The present crisis is the result of financial problems. Disputes about money are said to be particularly destructive when they occur in families which do not agree. It might be thought, and even feared, that within this Organization composed of peoples of such different religious, political, social, cultural and economic backgrounds, stormy arguments would be

caused by dramatic conflicts of ideals. But it is money which has been the main cause of contention among us, to such an extent that it has made it almost impossible for us to coexist in this universal body, although, as Mr. Velázquez, the representative of Uruguay, said in his excellent statement, behind the present situation there is also a crisis of development and growth related to the different ways of viewing and serving the cause of peace.

15. The Spanish delegation trusts and sincerely hopes that, in those meetings where some light is being found to disperse the shadows, the way to salvation may soon be found. We shall all welcome it with heart and soul. Thus willy nilly, surmounting all obstacles, we shall dispose of an uncertain past; but if we should do only that, we should be doing nothing more than making sure of bread today and hunger tomorrow. We must therefore face the whole problem of future financing and find a system which will not be subject to the myriad complications and disputes which burden us today. Some eminent representatives have suggested possible courses of action. I should like to refer, as an example, to the structural modification of the Charter which was suggested some days ago by the Foreign Minister of Brazil [1289th meeting]. Whether his suggestion is adopted, or whether some more suitable solution is found, let us decide once and for all what the health of the Organization requires, for it would be intolerable if, after a period of time, this type of trouble were once again to divide us and to threaten us with disintegration.

16. My delegation accepts the principle of mandatory contributions to defray the cost of peace-keeping operations, but we do not deny that the idea of voluntary contributions, supported by some distinguished delegations, seems worthy of consideration and analysis. Nevertheless, together with the principle of mandatory contributions, we affirm and register the fact that there is a fundamental discrepancy in regard to the criteria at present governing the distribution of expenditure. The present system seems to us unfair. The existence of privileged countries within the United Nations is accepted as a factor of special importance; and we feel that in every case privileges should carry with them special economic obligations, as the counterpart of the particularly advantageous position which those countries have established for themselves.

17. We also share the idea, which has been outlined on more than one occasion by various representatives, that at the centre, and even on the periphery, of any conflict threatening international peace and security there are countries directly and particularly concerned which have, in one way or another, special responsibility and which, in the last analysis, receive direct benefit from United Nations intervention. In other words, certain countries, quite apart from the general benefits of peace which accrue to them to the same degree as to all the other Member States, gain certain benefits of a very special nature from the settlement of a conflict. Would it not be fair to impose on them some special contribution?

18. I do not want to illustrate these general considerations by specific examples. I would venture, however, to suggest to all the delegations which, like

the Spanish delegation, consider the present way of conducting these matters to be unfair that when the present episode is settled, or at the time of its settlement, we should start to study new methods for special financing, in conformity with principles of more equitable distribution.

19. Everything I have just been saying has been prompted by the best spirit of service to the United Nations. The foreign policy of Spain and all its international activities, based on principles and traditions which have successfully stood the test of centuries, are in complete accord with the ideals of fair co-existence among peoples. We feel ourselves to be active members of that international community whose legal and historical background has been described in masterly fashion by the representative of Uruguay in the statement [1302nd meeting] to which I have already referred. The Spanish people have always striven towards the universal and the ecumenical, and we therefore find no difficulty in interpreting and serving loyally the purposes of this Organization, which was established as a point of reference, a haven of refuge and a guiding light for the hopes of mankind.

20. The territory of Spain is situated in a part of our planet where vital geographical and historical routes meet and cross. It will not be inappropriate to recall, in this connexion, that for a long time it was said, with the idea of insulting us, that Africa begins in the Pyrenees. Although this is not so, I must say that we never regarded our identification with Africa as a humiliation. Speaking from this rostrum last year, Mr. Castiella, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said:

"Spain is a deeply European country, and because it is so and because it feels that it is the spiritual forerunner of the continent, it is inspired at the same time with a universal mission." [1213th meeting, para. 46.]

21. We are, indeed, European from the very roots of our basic concepts of man and of society. In the speech I have just quoted, Mr. Castiella also stated:

"It is this Europe, loyal to itself, that we Spaniards want to serve without political prejudices, without dogmatic or restrictive definitions, and without transforming our idea of what Europe is into something like a club reserving arbitrarily the right of admission, for we know that the political formulae of our times are in constant evolution, that no one has the monopoly of Europe and that what really and truly remains standing is the solidarity in various fundamental beliefs and in a spiritual inheritance of which Spain feels it is as legitimate an heir as any other European nation." [Ibid., para. 49.]

22. This European heritage of Spain was immensely enriched through two developments of unsurpassed magnitude. One was the discovery and colonization of this American continent, an event or a succession of events in which the name of Spain acquired immortal fame. From that great enterprise, notwithstanding all the weaknesses and errors to which mankind is subject, our people emerged with a new and imperishable individuality in the sight of all men of all times, present and future.

23. The other development consisted of eight centuries of Spanish coexistence with Arabs of the Middle East and with Africans, present and aggressive as they were on our very soil; those 800 years present an impressive story of construction, heroism, triumph and suffering, philosophies, marvels of art and poetry, scientific progress and social coexistence. That past engenders and encourages one of the enduring features of our foreign policy: the friendship, more durable than bronze or gold, between the Arab peoples and Spain.

24. As Europeans, we believe in a splendid future for our old and great continent, in which new generations are laying the foundations for future achievements. We are today witnessing a revivification of the lands of the men of Europe, a revival destined to serve the world of the future just as the golden ages of Greece, Italy, England, France, Portugal, Spain, the Nordic peoples, the imperial Germanic dynasty and the powerful Slavonic culture served man's destiny in the past. For that mission to be fully accomplished, there must be a redeemed Germany, completely reunited and incorporated without dismemberment into the great community of European nations.

25. Spain wishes to be always in the forefront of this Europe, an advanced nation with its arms stretched out towards America, first and foremost, with friendship and love for a race and for nations whose every enterprise we would wish to share and whose every effort we would wish to support. We should like there to be no single plot of land in the whole of Latin America deprived of the benefits of freedom or overshadowed by colonialism, no home without its due measure of happiness, and none of its peoples for whom the dream of greatness fails to be a reality.

26. In a Europe conceived as I have described, Spain aspires also to be a link with the peoples of Africa. From the mountains to the south of the city where Seneca was born, if we stand on tiptoe we can descry African territory, but above all we can interpret clearly the messages that the wind carries from the open spaces beyond the great Atlas mountains.

27. Spain has never sought material profit in Africa. We were never attracted there by the slightest ambition for economic gain; on the contrary, we can point to a history of sacrifices, which at times have demanded considerable efforts. In the cities and villages which we founded in Africa or whose growth and development we helped, we have always shown sincere feelings of brotherhood towards the indigenous people. There is no sphere of life, from the hospitality of the home to the education of the children, in which the desires of the protectors and the protected, the administrators and the administered, Spaniards and Africans, were not constantly linked. This has been so at all times and it is so today. Whether with monarchies or with republics, we have never failed to observe this golden rule of coexistence; thus when we state that the ideals cherished in those parts of Africa where Spain is present will be realized without the slightest doubt or deception, we are not uttering empty words or trying to find loopholes; we are simply stating what we are, what we feel and how we understand our relationship with the African

peoples. Any malicious and offensive accusation which tries to present us as contriving some kind of fraud will meet with our most forceful rejection. Spain is incapable of deceit; throughout all the centuries it has never learned the art of deception. In the intricate labyrinth of world politics, our lack of hypocrisy has caused us more than a few setbacks, because men often impose on the sincerity and honesty of others. But that is how we are, and we think it is worthwhile to be so.

28. Having reached this point in my statement, in which I am speaking of our sense of belonging to Europe, I cannot help referring in particular to a country to which we feel bound by ties of brotherhood. That country is Portugal. Everyone knows the general lines and the basic structure of Spain's foreign policy. I need not stress the importance which the bilateral agreements signed by Spain have in maintaining peace in a critical part of the world. Without, however, detracting from the importance of any of the others, but rather in a spirit of appreciation of their scope, I am pleased to draw attention, however briefly, to the links uniting us with Portugal.

29. In the south-west of Europe, Portugal and Spain, each of them a free and sovereign nation, remain true to their past and to the duties that their past imposes on them. By virtue of a pact of honour for the defence of Christian civilization in these peninsular lands of south-western Europe, the two countries are the guardians of the West between the Mediterranean and Atlantic. The injustices perpetrated against Portugal cause us as much pain as if they were directed against ourselves. It seems incredible to us that a nation such as the Portuguese, with such a glorious past, more African in its historic destiny than any other nation, anti-racist by tradition and, more important, multiracial by conviction and in its social conventions, a master in the field of discovery, should not be accorded the treatment to which these outstanding qualities entitle it. In politics, error is usually more serious than even injustice itself; and in our opinion it is an error not to have tried to find, either within or outside the United Nations, better ways of dealing with the point of view and the spirit of the Portuguese, who are given by nature to discussion and negotiation. I have here placed on record our loyal feelings, as neighbours and brothers, towards one of the most remarkable peoples in the history of civilization.

30. To the peoples who have recently become independent, we express our good wishes for the peaceful consolidation of their free institutions and the orderly development of their potentialities. I stress the words "orderly development". I have in mind the fruitful order and the creative peace in which the political, social and economic development of Equatorial Guinea is being brought about. Although I hope to be able to deal at greater length with the policy of Spain in the sphere of decolonization at a later stage of this session, I should like to take this opportunity of making a few preliminary observations.

31. The inhabitants of Fernando Poo and Rio Muni are masters of their own future; the principle of self-determination applies to them and it is a source of legitimate pride to us that they are showing dis-

tinct signs of capacity for self-government. These peoples are advancing from stage to stage on their appointed course, without at any time losing touch with reality, without endangering their well-established position of increasing well-being, and without risking through useless violence either the peaceful progress of their domestic life or the orderly exploitation of the country's natural resources, whose products are reaching the homes of the indigenous people, in increasing quantities. We have heard the Foreign Minister of Gabon [1301st meeting] tell us the truth about the present position in Equatorial Guinea. His testimony is that of a neighbouring country which, from across the frontier, sees, analyses and passes judgement. The delegation of Spain publicly expresses its gratitude to him. I can assure the General Assembly that Spain will be very careful, in Equatorial Guinea and in any other place where it has responsibilities, not to provide any reason or any occasion for bloodthirsty battles or cruel slaughter. Our African brothers will reach their goals by peaceful means. Decolonization and its demands do not worry us, but destructive anarchy, disorders and outrages which give rise to unrestrained demagogic certainly do. Some words spoken here a few days ago by the representative of Somalia are fresh in our memory. He said: "We are advocating a rational, practical principle, not anarchy." [1290th meeting, para. 78.] We also endorse wholeheartedly the sound judgement of the representative of Dahomey: "The abandonment of generally accepted moral principles will be fatal to peace among men." [1290th meeting, para. 108.]

32. On 16 October the Special Committee entrusted with the study of problems of decolonization adopted some resolutions relating to our Territories of Guinea, Ifni and the Sahara. My Government has taken careful note of those resolutions.

33. Within the Committee of Twenty-Four, as in the other forums of the United Nations, our ideas are well known and no one should doubt our intentions. We have no wish—and I am anxious that my words should be noted by all those countries with which we have, or may have in the future, problems to discuss and resolve—to add to the work of this Organization and to bring before it, time after time, disputes for which adequate solutions can be found elsewhere always, of course in accordance with the principles of the Charter. The Committee's resolutions to which I have referred are receiving and will receive the full attention of the Government of Spain. We are working, quietly but unremittingly, towards the establishment of those conditions which the nature of things demands as the minimum for the achievement of satisfactory results. The Committee and the Assembly will be notified of these matters in due course.

34. Faithful to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, Spain will pursue its political course, and in the determination of that course the decisive element will be the aspirations expressed by the inhabitants of the territories in question. Loyal friendship with neighbouring countries is an unchanging principle of our policy. This governs our conduct in Europe and it will always guide us in our relations with our African neighbours.

35. Representatives are aware—and it would be a serious contradiction and an even greater injustice to forget it—that Spain is the only European country which suffers from the presence on its metropolitan territory of a foreign colony: that colony is named Gibraltar. As a British Crown Colony it has been the subject of study by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which considered the question of Gibraltar at its 208th to 215th meetings, from 11 to 20 September 1963, and at its 280th to 291st meetings from 22 September to 16 October 1964. The study of Gibraltar was completed at this last meeting and the Special Committee arrived at a decision which is reflected in the following consensus:

"The Special Committee, after considering the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Gibraltar and hearing statements by the representative of the administering Power and the representative of Spain and by petitioners, affirms that the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are fully applicable to the Territory of Gibraltar.

"In its consideration of these statements, the Special Committee noted that there was a disagreement, or even a dispute, between the United Kingdom and Spain regarding the status and situation of the Territory of Gibraltar. In the circumstances, the Special Committee invites the United Kingdom and Spain to begin talks without delay, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, in order to reach a negotiated solution in conformity with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), giving due account to the opinions expressed by the members of the Committee and bearing in mind the interests of the people of the Territory.

"Under its terms of reference laid down in resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee requests the United Kingdom and Spain to inform the Special Committee and the General Assembly of the outcome of their negotiations." [A/AC.109/SR.291.]

36. In a letter dated 22 October 1964, Mr. Sori Coulibaly, the Chairman of the Special Committee, communicated this consensus to me, for the information of my Government, and drew my attention to the need to inform the Special Committee and the General Assembly of the outcome of the Spanish-United Kingdom negotiations recommended in the consensus.

37. The Spanish Government, which naturally welcomed these United Nations recommendations, informed the Government of Her Britannic Majesty that it was prepared to start negotiations as soon as possible. This communication from my Government was made in a note dated 18 November 1964, which I shall read out:

"His Excellency Sir George Labouchere, K.C.M.G. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, Madrid.

"Sir,

"Mr. Sori Coulibaly, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Im-

plementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has transmitted to the Spanish Government, through the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, a letter in which he communicated the consensus on Gibraltar adopted by that Committee at its 291st meeting, on 16 October 1964. I am enclosing copies of these documents.

"According to the terms of this consensus, the aforementioned Committee, after noting that 'there was a disagreement, or even a dispute, between the United Kingdom and Spain regarding the status and situation of the Territory of Gibraltar', considered that it should be settled without delay by means of negotiations between the Governments of Spain and of Her Britannic Majesty.

"The Spanish Government is prepared to open with Her Britannic Majesty's Government the negotiations referred to in the said consensus, which should start as soon as possible in order that the outcome may be reported to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, as also by reason of the special delicacy of the problem of Gibraltar, which has been made more acute by certain measures adopted unilaterally by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in respect of which Spain has formulated due reservations.

"In the interest of the maintenance and strengthening of firm and promising relations between our two countries, of which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty has in recent years shown itself to be in favour, the Government of Spain has so far refrained from adopting the appropriate counter-measures. In so doing it has considered that the problem of Gibraltar could and should be resolved bilaterally in a friendly fashion, whereby it should be possible to find a solution satisfactory to both parties.

"Failing this negotiated solution, which is recommended by the consensus of the 'Special Committee', the Spanish Government, having no other alternative, would find itself compelled, in defence of its interests, to revise its policy in regard to Gibraltar.

"Accept, Sir, with my best personal wishes, the assurance of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) "Fernando Ma. Castiella"

38. As I have just said, my country is under an obligation, as pointed out by the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four, to inform the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of the outcome of the negotiations called for in the consensus I have mentioned.

39. In normal conditions I might perhaps have left part of what I am going to read out for a later occasion, when this matter could be discussed in the appropriate Committee or in the plenary meeting of the Assembly, but the present situation is far from normal and we all run the risk of finding one day that we have decided, by acclamation, to postpone our meetings indefinitely or until doomsday. In order not to expose myself to this risk I shall ask the indulgence of representatives and shall proceed to read out the following.

40. In fulfilment of the duty imposed upon us by the consensus of the Committee of Twenty-Four, of which I was reminded by Mr. Coulibaly, Chairman of the Committee, I think it is of interest to read out the full text of the "note verbale"^{1/} which the British Embassy in Madrid sent to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs on 11 January 1965. This note reads as follows:

"Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have the honour to invite the attention of the Ministry to the serious situation obtaining on the frontier between Spain and Gibraltar.

"The delays and restrictions on transit of the frontier in both directions began on 17 October 1964 and were first brought to the attention of the Ministry on 6 November. On 9 November Her Majesty's Ambassador was assured that the Customs delays imposed at La Linea were not the results of any deliberate policy on the part of the Spanish Government. The restrictions on the frontier have nevertheless since been continued and intensified and further requests for their withdrawal were made by Her Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid during November and December.

"Despite these representations there has been no improvement in the situation. The Spanish authorities at the frontier have imposed deliberate, unnecessary and discourteous delays in dealing with vehicles crossing the frontier which have in some cases resulted in certain vehicles having to wait anything up to ten hours before being cleared. The delays caused in this manner to tourist buses have resulted in serious inconveniences to travellers of various nationalities and have imposed consequential delays on the departure from Gibraltar of scheduled airline services. The decision, announced without any previous consultation, that as from 23 November the frontier at La Linea would be closed earlier than was formerly the practice, has caused substantial inconvenience. The consequences of all these measures have been to impose hardship on large numbers of residents of Gibraltar and persons in transit.

"During their conversation on 10 December, His Excellency the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs indicated to Her Majesty's Ambassador that the restrictions were designed to deal with alleged smuggling across the frontier. But Her Majesty's Government cannot accept that the control of smuggling necessitates the delays and inconveniences which have been imposed and have in any case always expressed their willingness to co-operate with the Spanish authorities in controlling any smuggling which might be taking place. If the Spanish Government regarded any legitimate Spanish interests as likely to be prejudiced by circumstances arising from the situation in Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Government would have expected these matters to be specified and taken up with them through diplomatic channels in accordance with normal international practice. No such approach has been made and instead the Spanish authorities have seen fit to

adopt the measures described above. Her Majesty's Government regret that procedures should have been imposed on the frontier with Gibraltar which are altogether different from those in force in Spain's other international frontiers as well as from the normal standards of international practice and which are directly contrary to the present trend throughout Europe of reducing frontier restrictions and formalities to a minimum.

"On instructions received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Embassy has the honour to protest against the restrictions which have been imposed by the Spanish authorities at La Linea and to request that the Spanish Government will cause them to be lifted forthwith.

"At the same time the Embassy are under instructions to inform the Ministry, with reference to the consensus of the United Nations Committee of Twenty-Four on 16 October 1964 regarding Gibraltar, that, whilst Her Majesty's Government cannot regard the question of sovereignty as a matter for negotiation, they would normally have been willing to consider proposals by the Spanish Government for discussions of ways in which good relations can be maintained and any causes of friction eliminated. They cannot, however, entertain any proposals for such conversations so long as the present abnormal situation on the frontier continues."

41. I leave representatives free to analyse the British reply. The first thought that occurs to me when I read it is that the London Government is now offering Spain things which a few years ago, when it refused them, might perhaps have been worthy of consideration, but which have now become inadequate. Indeed, after the consensus of the Committee of Twenty-Four of 16 October 1964 the problem of Gibraltar is posed in quite different terms. It would truly be an insult to this Organization, which Spain will not and cannot commit, if, after the lengthy debates on this problem in the decolonization Committee—where the difficulties created for Spain by smuggling and by the unilateral British measures were fully examined—my country and the United Kingdom, were now to start negotiations designed exclusively, for example, to determine how many cars pass each day through the gate in the iron railing, the first wall erected in Europe, which the English built in 1906 to separate Gibraltar physically from the rest of Spain.

42. Aware of the significance of the mandate given in the consensus of the Committee of Twenty-Four, Spain replied to the British note in the following terms:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of Her Britannic Majesty in Madrid and, in reply to its "note verbale" No. 5 of 11 January 1965 regarding the alleged restrictions imposed at the police and control post at La Linea de la Concepción, has the honour to inform it that the Spanish Government, following its constructive policy of friendship with the United Kingdom, considers, with regard to Gibraltar, that after the consensus of the Committee on Twenty-

^{1/} Subsequently circulated in document A/5860.

Four of 16 October 1964, any partial consideration of the problems arising out of the existence of a British military base in Spain is pointless; it therefore repeats to Her Britannic Majesty's Government the contents of the note of 18 November 1964 from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty in Madrid, in which it was stated:

"The Government of Spain is prepared to open with Her Britannic Majesty's Government the negotiations referred to in the said consensus, which should start as soon as possible in order that the outcome may be reported to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, as also by reason of the special delicacy of the problem of Gibraltar, which has been made more acute by certain measures adopted unilaterally by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in respect of which Spain has formulated due reservations.'

"While awaiting a reply to its note of 18 November 1964, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs extends to Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration. Madrid, 15 January 1965."

43. We wish to negotiate with Great Britain on the subject of Gibraltar strictly in accordance with the consensus of the Committee of Twenty-Four, bearing very much in mind the interests of the inhabitants of the Rock.

44. We are confident that Great Britain will finally understand that our position is not only the correct position, in conformity with the spirit of the Charter and the process of decolonization, but also the most beneficial in the long run for England, for Spain and for the inhabitants of Gibraltar.

45. Since 16 October 1964, when the Committee of Twenty-Four adopted its decision on Gibraltar, only one thing has disturbed and worried us. We are not afraid that the United Kingdom may delay its reply or advance various pretexts for refusing to negotiate at the behest of the United Nations. What does disturb us is that in the meantime it is quite clear that the policy of the fait accompli, which brought the problem of Gibraltar before this Organization, has not been abandoned; that the political institutions of Gibraltar are being maintained and even strengthened; that the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies speaks of a "Chief Minister" of the "Government of Gibraltar", thus taking it for granted that the people encamped round a military base on foreign soil have the right to dispose of the piece of territory occupied by the base. Before the consensus of 16 October, this policy was an offence to Spain. Since that consensus, it has become an offence to the United Nations, whose recommendations it disregards. Here and nowhere else lies the root of the conflict and of any future disturbance.

46. In view of all the considerations that I have placed before you, you will understand how eager we are that the United Nations should remain strong and independent and should have the means to complete the task which the entire world wishes it to carry out.

47. This Organization cannot be a battle-field of the cold war. No one here can agree to be a passive spectator of a contest between two gigantic Powers, and far less accept the miserable position of a mere "super" on the world stage. Even the decisions on the vast problem of disarmament are not left entirely to the countries which possess arsenals of nuclear weapons.

48. Giving our imagination free rein, let us assume that the day will come—perhaps sooner than we now think—when thanks to technological advances and scientific discoveries it will be possible to produce nuclear weapons so cheaply that they will be within the reach of countries for which they are at present out of the question. But even if this does not happen and the possession of such monstrous weapons continues to be the terrible privilege of a very few, the activities connected with their use, preparation, disposal, deployment, emplacement and servicing must necessarily extend into the fields, mountains, beaches and plateaux inhabited by peoples with distinctive personalities and a determination to survive at all costs. I think it would be an illusion for a nuclear Power to try to dominate another nuclear Power by itself, without the co-operation or alliance of large areas of the world which have no atom bombs but are inhabited and defended by the decisive factor in any battle—men. For this reason, it is neither vain nor presumptuous for the countries without atomic weapons to participate in the debates on disarmament. The very fact that they have no nuclear or thermonuclear weapons, which means that they are well prepared for the supreme task of saving mankind, gives them great moral force. We may do anything in this direction, except sit with our arms crossed, with sad looks and heavy hearts, watching the atomic contest of the great Powers. Everything will be forgiven us except fatalistic resignation and unconditional capitulation in the face of the challenge now before us. But if the non-nuclear countries are to have something to say and to say it effectively, they must stand united, shoulder to shoulder; and until they are united, each country will seize whatever means it thinks best to defend itself and its vital interests; it will form any alliances and join any military groups that give it some hope of survival. No one can be expected to sit paralysed and defenceless, full of naive illusions, awaiting the hour of slaughter. The same might be said about disarmament as about decolonization: let it come soon, but on condition that it is for everyone, that there is no trickery or mockery of the good faith of any country, and that we all know what to expect.

49. If we do not want the prospects of the United Nations to grow dim, and if we work together honestly to ensure that our present opportunities are not lost, we can be sure of a peaceful future for mankind.

50. What my delegation feels about the role of the non-nuclear Powers in the problem of disarmament applies even more strongly to everything connected with the economic advancement of peoples.

51. My Government has been following with deep interest the problems discussed at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Geneva from March to June 1964. Spain itself is not yet sufficiently industrialized. We are on the way to develop-

ment. For that reason, we fully associated ourselves with the concern expressed at the Conference regarding the need to open up new prospects for international trade and to raise the level of living throughout the world.

52. In recent years, my country has made substantial progress in its economic development and has achieved notable increases in income and taken a larger part in international trade.

53. Consequently, on the one hand we have vital experience of the problems which the under-developed countries have to solve, and, on the other, we are beginning to make real and vigorous progress.

54. The special position in which Spain finds itself enables my delegation to assess realistically and with a very open mind the problems of peoples which are still at the state at which we stood a few years ago—and where we still stand in various sectors of our economic and commercial development. In the most co-operative spirit we shall make our contribution to the solution of the problems which the Second Committee of the General Assembly will study in due course. The fact that Spain has been chosen as one of the members of the Trade and Development Board for the Western countries, as an under-developed country within the geographical area of Europe though with special relationships with other areas, makes us think that we can be of use in the dialogue that will shortly begin in this Organization. The developing countries can count on us to the full.

55. I now come to the end of my statement. Once again, I apologize for its length. I fear that I have abused your patience.

56. In a statement which was remarkable for many reasons, Mr. Rapachi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Poland, told us the following a few days ago:

"Today, peace and progress are indissolubly linked. . . .

"The final elimination of all forms of colonial dependence, respect for the sovereignty of peoples and for their right to choose the form of development and way of life which suit them best, equitable division of labour and of the fruits of labour among nations, co-operation and peaceful competition in keeping with those principles, the settlement of international disputes by negotiation, disarmament, lasting peace—this is the approach which not only can protect us all from nuclear disaster, but will also place at the service of mankind the most progressive ideas and the mightiest resources of modern science and technology.

"Peaceful coexistence, thus understood, constitutes one of the basic principles of Poland's foreign policy." [1301st meeting, paras. 38, 39 and 40.]

57. I have no hesitation in saying that Spain's foreign policy, too, is guided by these principles. It would seem that with such a concurrence of views it should be possible to produce far more effective and fruitful United Nations action in the world. The reality, however, is quite different. As the Secretary-General tells us, a great deal of thinking has to be changed

and the spirit of tolerance and the will to harmony must be far better served.

58. Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish thinker who is well known to you all, wrote: "The enormous effort which is war can be avoided only if there is an understanding that peace involves an even greater effort, a whole system of most complicated efforts." And he added: "Peace is not simply there, at hand, ready without further ado for man to enjoy. Peace is not the natural fruit of any tree . . . The word 'pacifism' must cease to signify only a good intention; it must represent an entire system of new ways and means for men to consort with each other." Or, to repeat the words of Seneca which I quoted earlier, the cause of peace must have as its basis "a common way of life, living for others if we wish to live for ourselves".

59. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, allow me first of all to take this opportunity, which did not present itself earlier, to express to you the congratulations of the Netherlands delegation upon your election to your present high office. As many speakers have already pointed out, this is not only a tribute to you personally, but also a recognition of the important part which Africa and the Africans play—and are entitled to play—in world affairs today. No greater change has taken place in the United Nations since I first addressed this General Assembly, more than twelve years ago, than this rapid emergence of a continent so frequently but incorrectly termed the "Dark Continent", into the light of world affairs. The accession of so many African States to the United Nations is, furthermore, an important contribution to the universality of the United Nations.

60. This latter reason is also the cause of our rejoicing over a second event at which I should like to express my delegation's happiness, namely the admission of Zambia, Malawi and Malta as new Members of the United Nations

61. Malta we particularly welcome, not only as a new member of the European family of nations, but also as a stepping-stone between Africa and Europe—a stepping-stone which has always served in history to the mutual advantage of both continents and which today is more needed than ever before.

62. With the admission of Zambia and Malawi the number of African Members of the United Nations has increased from three at the birth of the Organization in 1945, to thirty-six today. What a tremendous development—almost two score African States in less than a score of years!

63. This leads me to the present situation of the United Nations. We must view the situation realistically, without ignoring the serious character of its problems. An organization like the United Nations is, like any human being and any other organization, bound to have its ups and downs, which sometimes succeed each other rapidly. The United Nations—let us admit it—is this year in one of its downs. Looking back, we now realize that last year the eighteenth session of the General Assembly met at one of the Organization's high points, in an improved international atmosphere resulting from the Moscow test

ban treaty.^{2/} Today, the General Assembly proceeds through the shadows cast by two huge problems: on the one side, a financial crisis which at present looks almost insurmountable; on the other side, the equally formidable problem of the increasingly diverging levels of prosperity between the developed and the less developed countries. Twenty years ago our Organization was a shining new achievement born from the scourge of war. After almost two decades of expansion well beyond the original exceptions, elements of crisis seem to loom larger now than does the certainty of further progress.

64. Today the United Nations is in the throes of a dispute which threatens to extend beyond all reasonable bounds and to cripple the whole activity of the Organization. My delegation sincerely hopes that there may still be found a last minute solution which will not prejudice the rules of the Charter. If this should prove impossible, my delegation feels that it would be better to come to an unequivocal decision now rather than to have this Assembly drag on further as a half-lame giant. If this problem can finally be solved and the decision loyally respected by all parties concerned, we trust that the Assembly can then proceed to devote its energy again to more fruitful activities.

65. My country considers it an honour to have been made a member of the Security Council for two years. We are thankful for the trust thus reposed in us. Needless to say, the Netherlands, together with the other ten members of the Security Council, will carry out this heavy responsibility in the best interests of international peace and security. In doing so it will base itself on the principles of the Charter and, in particular, on the principle that military force should never be used as a means of solving an international dispute, a principle dear to my country ever since the days of Grotius. It is clear that in our time, more than ever before, this principle should be respected.

66. We hope that within the period of our membership the amendments to the Charter providing for an extension of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council will enter into force. This will at last bring about a better representation of the many new Members that have joined the United Nations since 1945, a representation which these new Members have claimed so strongly and with such good reason. As is well known, my delegation has always been in favour of such an extension, and my country was therefore happy, after receiving parliamentary approval, to ratify the pertinent amendments to the Charter a few weeks ago.

67. A more adequate representation of the new Members should also remove the objections which have been raised during these last years with regard to the more active role which the Security Council is playing. This latter trend became more conspicuous in 1964, when the number of Security Council meetings almost doubled the figure for 1963. Thus it would seem that the Security Council is slowly being restored to the role for which it was originally intended

by the authors of the Charter, namely, that of exercising primary responsibility for peace and security in the world. Although the abuse of the veto has unfortunately not ceased, my Government believes that the more active role of the Security Council is to a certain extent a healthy development. In fact, the unforeseen increase in the number of Members of the General Assembly—which renders it a somewhat cumbersome body—makes it less fit for executive action. This being said, I must immediately add that the General Assembly should, in our view, remain the supreme representative body of the Organization and that my Government could not go so far as to agree to any arrangement which would give the Security Council exclusive jurisdiction over peace and security.

68. These latter principles apply particularly to a field which, in the view of my Government, is bound to become of ever greater importance as a means of preserving peace, namely, that of peace-keeping operations. These operations have developed over the years on the basis of practical needs, and some have been among the most successful achievements of the United Nations. Some operations have had their shortcomings, some have been heavily criticized for one reason or another, but most operations, let us not forget, have helped to prevent some very dangerous situations from bursting into full-scale war. It is all the more regrettable that the financing of two of these operations has given rise to a dispute which, as I said a moment ago, threatens to paralyse this present Assembly. And it is all the more important that we should try to arrive at a more solid basis for future operations, as regards their initiation, their technical organization and their financing. My delegation will indeed be happy to co-operate with interested delegations from all parts of the world to further this aim.

69. It is disappointing that for the last year no further agreement has been reached about measures for disarmament, in which some progress had previously been achieved. However, I derive some hope for the future from the growing realization on the part of the principal military Powers that they all have a common interest in freezing and, if possible, reducing the extent of their armed forces.

70. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament—to which my Government continues to attach great importance—many proposals have been put forward. We hope that when these discussions in Geneva are resumed they will lead to further improved understanding and ultimately to agreements. My Government suggests that high priority should be given to an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms. The recent atomic explosion in China, which we deeply regret, has infused new urgency into this problem. We are profoundly concerned by the realization that we may be well on the way to a most dangerous multi-nuclear world. This development makes it urgently necessary to come to speedy arrangements in order that the number of nuclear Powers should not further increase.

71. Peace and prosperity are, as has often been said, inseparable. Important as it is to maintain peace by the elimination of conflicts, it is equally important

^{2/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed at Moscow, 5 April 1964.

to give peace a solid foundation and a deeper content by raising living standards.

72. Having dealt with the aspect of peace, I should now like to say something about the equally important problem of the economic and social development of the less developed countries. When we look back over the last fifteen years we cannot fail to be impressed by the tremendous activity exerted in that field. At the same time there is a general realization that the great activity and the enormous sums expended have thus far produced only limited results. This paradox is steadily becoming more visible and should induce us to seek a shift in emphasis. If we were to proceed along the same road as in previous years, we would need generations to achieve a higher standard of living for all. This really will not do; it is imperative that we take a short-cut leading to more concrete results within a shorter period of time.

73. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Geneva last year, may provide the impetus needed for a new upward trend. This will depend on the new Trade and Development Board and its subsidiary organs, as well as on the periodic conferences. If successful, these new bodies may prove to be instruments of historic importance for the betterment of the fate of hundreds of millions. One condition for their fruitful activity will be that they are given their right place within the machinery of the United Nations. For my country, Chapters IX and X of the Charter concerning international economic and social co-operation have lost none of their fundamental importance. The new workload for the United Nations in the field of trade and development fits into this pattern.

74. Nowadays voices are being heard to the effect that all United Nations activities in the social and economic field should be transferred from New York to Geneva, or elsewhere, thus bringing about a separation of the political and the economic activities of the United Nations. I deem it right to warn against the danger of separating those two activities that are so closely interwoven. It would indeed be sad if we were already to forget the lesson drawn in 1945 from the experience of the old League of Nations—namely, that no organization of States can confine itself to political activities except at the risk of its own existence.

75. I am gratified that the Secretary-General, in his report on the administrative requirements for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, has given proper weight to the basic need of keeping together in one integrated pattern the total United Nations effort in the economic and social field. In that connexion, the planned review of the role of the Economic and Social Council on the basis of the provisions of the Charter seems a matter of urgency. Here, just as with the Security Council in the political field, there is scope for strengthening the Council's task as an executive body. Under the authority of the General Assembly, but with its own clearly defined powers, the Economic and Social Council can help to guide the execution of the policies of the United Nations throughout the various specialized bodies. The Economic and Social Council should also be developed as the principal executive body of the General Assembly in

co-ordinating the activities of all the related world organizations in the field of economic and social advancement. That is all the more necessary because of the increasing number of new organs inside and outside the United Nations.

76. Inside the United Nations, we shall, in a few months, be considering the new mandates for the World Food Programme. My Government considers that experiment, which has now been going on for three years, a success. Its continuation in a more elaborate form may be an important contribution to the existing form of co-operation between developed and less developed countries. We therefore hope that the coming conference in Rome on this new way of disposing of food surpluses will likewise open up new perspectives.

77. Outside the United Nations, a new chapter has, much to our satisfaction, been added to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). That chapter, due to be signed within a few weeks, is dedicated to the principle that less developed countries are entitled to special treatment because they are in a weaker position, as well as in a phase of accelerated development. The Netherlands fully subscribes to that principle.

78. In that connexion I should like to emphasize the importance of the consultation of a number of donor countries in the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. That Committee provides for an extensive exchange of views on different aspects of the relations between donor countries and receiving countries. It maintains growing relations with other international bodies, such as the United Nations and its regional organizations, as well as with specialized agencies, such as the World Bank. Similarly, the contacts of this donor group with less developed countries is increasing. My Government welcomes those new trends.

79. In a more limited context, my country is making its contribution to the increasing prosperity of the world as one of the members of the European Common Market. That Community, as is well known, is experiencing a rapid and tremendous economic upsurge. It is perhaps not superfluous to mention again that its growing prosperity has wholesome effects on the rest of the world as well. In a direct way, that takes place in the form of aid to the eighteen associated countries, aid which, for the five-year period beginning in 1963, totals \$735 million. Of the total number of 81,000 technicians sent to developing countries, no less than 55,000 have come from Common Market countries. Indirectly, the wholesome effects of the Common Market's progress are visible in its growing trade, which is by no means limited to exchanges between its members. That is shown, for instance, by the fact that from 1958 to 1964 the total imports from countries outside the European Community increased by no less than 66 per cent, whereas the Common Market's exports to those outside countries increased by only 51 per cent. My Country, by its geographical situation, its history, its economic structure, has always had an important stake in trade with the other continents and will continue to exert its efforts to increase the economic relations between the Common Market and the outer world.

80. I have mentioned some aspects of the political and economic situation which give hope for the future. I consider it my duty, in the interests of the United Nations and the promotion of prosperity in the world, to say something about a few aspects which cause concern to my Government. I mentioned before that the United Nations, after many months of rapid growth, is showing signs of a crisis. This derives partially from the fact that the large majority of less developed, young countries have to co-operate with the small minority of older, more developed countries. Fruitful co-operation between those two groups is essential for the well-being of all Members, as well as for the raising of living standards in the world. Such co-operation is possible only if each group, in determining its own attitude, takes into account the views, the interests and the responsibilities of the other group. A mere mechanical application of a voting machine is indeed a serious threat to the future, if it is not restrained by an awareness of the contributions of others. Let me mention a few examples.

81. The mandatory contributions of Member States to the United Nations and its specialized agencies derive from budgets decided by a two-thirds majority of the votes, as is well known. However, less than 20 per cent of the Member States are paying more than 80 per cent of the contributions—or, to put it differently, a majority of 80 per cent is paying less than 20 per cent of the contributions.

82. In order to prevent misunderstandings, I wish to make it clear that the main contributors are perfectly willing to continue and even increase their contributions. Such a situation, however, can continue only if the group commanding the majority votes exercises due restraint when making use of its voting power. If not, it is to be feared that such a lopsided situation may, in the long run, become unacceptable.

83. The same problem plays a part in the matter of equitable geographical representation within different United Nations bodies. Up to now, the composition of some of the executive organs of the United Nations has been based on a situation which prevailed in 1945, and my delegation has for years advanced the idea that that representation should be revised in the light of the entirely changed conditions. We should now, however, guard against falling into the other extreme by introducing methods for filling vacancies based purely on the number of votes, without due regard for an equitable distribution based both on geography and responsibility.

84. Let me mention in this context, as a typical example, the Special Fund. The excellent results obtained by the Fund are, in the opinion of many countries, partly due to the structure of its governing body which provides for parity of representation between more developed and less developed countries, and for an advisory role for the specialized agencies. For this reason the main donor countries place great value on the maintenance of this well-tested structure in the planned merger between the Special Fund and the Extended Programme of Technical Assistance into a new Development Programme. For reasons of wisdom and equity this balance should be maintained; for I seriously fear that if the future structure were to be based purely on voting strength this would

lead, as far as my country is concerned, to a re-appraisal of the extent of our contributions. Basically this is a matter of mentality more than of written texts. No clause about weighted voting, no conciliation procedure, no assurances of self-restraint of the General Assembly will have much effect on the future of the Trade Conference, unless the majority of the Members is conscious of the views, the interests and the responsibilities of the minority.

85. In a debate which took place in this very building a few weeks ago, bitter words were spoken about the humanitarian action of Belgium and the United States of America, by which hundreds of humans of many nationalities and races were saved. Having for years opposed all forms of racial discrimination, my delegation feels obliged to point out that racism in reverse would be as unjust and as dangerous.

86. It would indeed be tragic if the East-West conflict, which fortunately has shown some signs of abating in the last two years, were to be replaced by a new controversy between North and South. The problem of raising the living standards in the less developed countries remains one of the main tasks of our Organization, and my country remains determined to give its utmost efforts to that task. But it must be done in forms which take into consideration the interests and responsibilities of both sides. If not, in my own country, as in others, the tendency might grow in favour of channeling aid in new forms and through other bodies. My Government would regret such a development and trusts that with the co-operation of all concerned, this can be prevented and the United Nations will be able to emerge strengthened from the present shadows.

87. I share in this respect the faith in the unrivalled character of the United Nations which was expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his yearly report, where he said that the solution of world problems by the United Nations:

"will depend to a great degree upon the validity of my faith in the unique value of the United Nations as an instrument for reconciling differences of opinion and not only as a framework in which they can manifest themselves ..." [A/5801/Add.1, sect. IV.]

88. The United Nations remains a unique worldwide organization for the solution of conflicts and for increasing the living standards of those hundreds of millions still living in want and poverty. My country is determined to continue its contribution to this double task. May the Almighty give us wisdom and perseverance to fulfil these tasks successfully.

89. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): Great hopes were placed in this session of the General Assembly. Its twentieth anniversary was to be the proof, as it were, of a capacity for survival, of which certain persons had for some time thought the Organization incapable. This hope seemed to be all the more justified by the fact that this year our work was to proceed under the sign of international co-operation, an idea which necessarily supposes the abandonment of sterile confrontations and corresponds with the purpose of our Organization.

90. This, unfortunately, has not been the case. Extremely serious matters, having a direct bearing on the vitality and the very existence of the Organization, have not yet been settled and the difficulties they have revealed have weakened the enthusiasm of some and the patience of others. International events, which have had dangerous repercussions on the Organization's activities, have seriously damaged the balance of the relations which ensured its harmony.

91. It is true that there is an awareness on all sides of the risk to which these converging difficulties expose our Organization, and international opinion realizes the full extent of the abyss in which the world community would again find itself if ulterior motives or certain calculations were to prevail over the imperatives of real responsibility.

92. You, Mr. President, have already reflected this awareness and expressed these concerns in your opening address to the General Assembly [1286th meeting]. You did so, indeed, with that relevance which has always characterized your approach to and analysis of complicated problems, with a profound knowledge of the apparent and hidden realities of the Organization and with the authority of your experience, which your colleagues, all of whom are your friends, have honoured by choosing you, in all confidence, to preside over our General Assembly.

93. On one occasion, when you were welcoming me to the presidency of the Security Council, which was to examine a situation painful for Africa, you were kind enough to remark that destiny had chosen the representative of Morocco to conduct the discussions on those matters. The Assembly will understand why I remark with feeling that today destiny has chosen a distinguished African to conduct the work of this session on which the future of the Organization and the harmonious coexistence of its Members undoubtedly depend. To my country's sincere wishes for your success, I add my own fervent prayer that your action will remove the remaining obstacles and bend the course of events in the direction for which we all hope.

94. This hope is, first of all, that the financial crisis of the United Nations will soon be overcome. It has been rightly said that it is perhaps easier to find the necessary funds to meet the debts and deficits of the United Nations than to secure agreement between the various positions of principle. Everyone, here or elsewhere, knows that the strictly financial obligations of the debtor Members are not beyond their means or possibilities. The flexibility of their national legal traditions and frequently even the part they have played in affirming international law would have allowed them to go beyond the legal grounds for their attitude even though in some respects the latter may be strictly correct. What is at stake in such a confrontation goes beyond the requirements attached to considerations of doctrine, intellectually valid in other circumstances but particularly dangerous when rigorous application would very probably lead to the dislocation of the only instrument of co-operation that the world community has ever been able to establish.

95. Considerations of prestige have been added to positions of principle, thus aggravating the difficulty

and complicating the efforts to find a solution. We can understand that the great Powers may have a scale of priorities in which legal exactitude and reasons of self-esteem rule out any compromise. We also agree that they can by their own means and their own individual power protect their independence, security and interests. But the poorer, weaker States cannot understand that a lawyer's insistence on his thesis may deprive them of the only body which guarantees their sovereignty and protects all the interests they have with difficulty regained and legitimately wish to preserve.

96. In intervening in the Congo in 1960, the United Nations acted in accordance with the Charter, and its action, in all its various aspects, correspond faithfully to its role and its purpose. I do not want to revert to the details of a painful quarrel, but it is beyond question that the events in the Congo in 1960 were not the deed of the secondary Powers. All the great Powers said with a sincerity accepted in good faith, that the peace and security of the world were directly threatened at that time. A large majority of the Member countries contributed, in one way or another, some at the cost of great sacrifice, to this action, which was unanimously acknowledged to be imperative, useful and correct.

97. The vicissitudes encountered in the course of that action were such as might cause any great Power to readjust its political opinions. They could not invalidate the moral responsibility of previous decisions, still less the consequences of every sort which that responsibility entailed. The African countries were—and still are—the chief direct victims of those disappointments. Most of them, however, have abided by their original commitments, and the maintenance of peace in the Congo has cost their homeland lives, and their Treasury valuable resources, and has been a matter of great anxiety to them.

98. The privilege of being a great Power should preclude the liberty of regarding oneself as the sole judge of the validity of a given interpretation in certain circumstances and of another interpretation in different circumstances. At the international as at the individual level, the first duty of the elder is to set a good example.

99. Faced with the difficulties resulting from these contradictions, the small Powers have been sufficiently realistic not to restrict themselves to the logical deductions resulting from the strict analysis of a changing situation. They have considered the political factors, which cannot be disregarded in the present state of the problem. In bilateral contacts, in the Group of Twenty-One^{3/} and in the Group of Twelve, their efforts have been free from bitterness and, whatever the result of their work, they will have helped to clarify a situation in which confusion has sometimes been deliberately maintained.

100. Mr. President, the statement that you made to the General Assembly on 18 January on this question [1315th meeting] shows, whatever one may think, that your action, combined with the efforts I have men-

^{3/} Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations.

tioned, has reduced many differences and should, without undue optimism, permit resumption of a dialogue, either direct or through the Secretary-General, between the Powers whose views have apparently not yet been reconciled.

101. The latter approach, using the fund of goodwill amassed on both sides, may perhaps produce a most meritorious international impetus and may provide the most valid proof of the confidence that the Members of the Organization have placed in it in this year of international co-operation.

102. The problem of the Congo, however, remains undiminished. The last twenty or so meetings of the Security Council on this matter have revealed the full extent of its complexity. Foreign interference, which we tried to prevent in 1960 at the cost of a crisis the last act of which has not yet been played, has now resumed in the Congo in a more direct form and no attempt is being made to justify it by sheltering behind euphemisms. The struggle between internal factions has reopened the way to competing interests and to the struggle of ideological influence. Africa itself has not maintained the lucidity and composure it displayed in 1960 and has participated in the interference at the risk of accentuating some forms of penetration in a desire to avoid others.

103. Morocco's position in this matter continues to be determined by respect for the Congo's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in its domestic affairs. As a member of the Security Council, Morocco has reached the level of international responsibility that its membership of that body demands. It has refused to yield to facile demagogic, because its conception of international responsibility and of African solidarity will not allow it to fulfil the former or give proof of the latter by attitudes inspired by the present situation. Our view of Africa's future destiny and of its part in the future of the world community has led us to choose the narrow way. We have not had to wait long to experience the satisfaction of having been right, as is testified by the tributes paid to our delegation by the partisans of the various trends within the Security Council, by the spokesman for Africa and by the various currents of opinion within the Organization.

104. The tradition determining my country's attitude to this Organization, since it has had the honour of being a Member of it, is its concern to remain faithful both to its friends and to the qualities of the Organization itself. It is this same tradition which today leads us to deplore Indonesia's decision to leave the United Nations, thus interrupting a co-operation the results of which do not need to be described.

105. Since 1948 many countries which have struggled or are still struggling for freedom owe it largely to Indonesia that opinions within the United Nations have developed in favour of accelerated decolonization and effective support for the cause of liberty and independence. My country is one of those and is grateful to the people and Government of Indonesia for their work in New York and throughout the world in support of our struggle and of our exiled king. Since our achievement of independence an unfailing friendship has been developing between our two coun-

tries, which have nearly always found themselves sharing the same thoughts about certain international situations. I should like to say, with that frankness which characterizes true friendship, how much we regret this decision, the immediate and long-term consequences of which are clear both to Indonesia's friends and to its foes. The non-aligned countries which have expressed their profound faith and confidence in the United Nations, are deeply troubled by the withdrawal of a country which still has a leading role to play in Asia and Africa.

106. At a time when efforts initiated several years ago in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of China are meeting with a more receptive attitude in circles which have hitherto refused to entertain the idea, the departure of another great Asian country, whose motives we are sincerely trying to understand, cannot fail to pose fresh problems for the African-Asian countries in regard to the periodical adjustment of their international policy.

107. At this time, a few months after the second African-Asian conference held on African soil, it is impossible not to reflect on the particularly important fact of the general confidence that the African Asian countries place in the United Nations and their abiding desire to co-operate with it, as against the situation in which the two greatest Asian countries participating in the Conference find themselves. While the solid friendship which binds my country to Indonesia entitles me to express at this very rostrum, the concern to which such a decision gives rise, I do not think that the United Nations will consider that the frustration felt by a proud and courageous people is completely unfounded.

108. At the beginning of my statement I referred to what might be called the "hot crises" threatening the United Nations. It is generally admitted that such crises provoke sufficiently strong and swift reactions to meet any imminent danger; but there are other crises the chronic nature of which might lead one to think that the Organization is not likely to die of them. Nevertheless, they are of such a nature that the fate of many countries and peoples depends directly on their development.

109. South Africa seems to be establishing itself comfortably, amid indifference, in its policy of apartheid. The economic Press reports that the country is prosperous, and from time to time military reviews give assurances of its defensive capacity. Portugal is strengthening its military potential and continuing its policy of colonialism in Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique, and it considers that the state of war in which it finds itself is in conformity with its destiny and the nature of its régime. These two countries seem to consider that the struggle against racism and the struggle for liberation are secondary phenomena which can have no effect on their chosen political course, but the African population of South Africa and the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, who are engaged in an unequal struggle, cannot rely indefinitely on their courage and their sacrifices alone to bring about a change in the policy of their aggressors.

110. If the struggle now being waged by those peoples is to be regarded as a measure of their desire to be

liberated and if it is to be a determining factor in their desire to forge a new destiny, the international community must not stand aloof and the United Nations must not be content with merely offering sympathy and moral support.

111. The liberation of peoples is the primary objective of the United Nations, and international co-operation, which is its purpose, can be achieved only in a world where all peoples are sovereign and all States are independent.

112. The Organization of African Unity, which came into being mainly because of Africa's unanimous desire to take a direct part in giving all forms of aid and support to liberation movements throughout the continent, cannot, and indeed owing to its still limited resources does not intend to, remain the sole instrument of resistance to colonialism; its existence and its action cannot justify any lack of interest on the part of the United Nations and its Members in regard to colonial domination.

113. The Organization of African Unity derives from the faith of its members and the principles of its charter the strength and means of action which enable it to assume more and more responsibility in international affairs, firstly in the African continent and then at the world level. When it has overcome the natural difficulties of any new organization, and has achieved complete homogeneity among all its members by the acceptance of a common denominator of equilibrium between the various African trends existing prior to its constitution, it will provide the United Nations with a valuable instrument for further action for the achievement of all its objectives and greater co-operation between the Powers of yesterday and the new States.

114. It is equally essential for the future and for the moral and political authority of the Organization of African Unity that it should not hold aloof from the problems that are not strictly African. Colonialism is still to be found in other regions of the world, although in different forms from those of traditional colonialism.

115. The tragedy of Palestine is not solely an Arab problem: it is a problem of foreign occupation and domination. It is indeed a particularly odious one, in that the authentic inhabitants of the country have been expelled from their homeland for the benefit of heterogeneous immigrants who have no connexion with Palestine. In order to remain faithful to its ideal, the Organization of African Unity, taking a firm stand on the issues of colonialism and racism, should not allow its liberating zeal to weaken and should denounce with equal ardour and indignation South African racism and Israel racism. At a time when the Arab countries are studying the possibilities of legitimate exploitation of all their natural resources for the benefit of their peoples, Israel's sophistry should be met with a common front in which the conscience of Africa would play a role commensurate with its responsibilities.

116. It has become truly painful for the representative of Morocco to refer at every session to certain problems in connexion with the principle of our country's territorial integrity and the exercise of its sove-

reignty over the whole of its territory. Having faith in the virtue of negotiated solutions, we sincerely believed, at the time that our independence was recognized, that the disappearance of such forms of foreign presence as military bases or temporary occupation of certain regions of our country would be brought about through negotiations, not perhaps fixed for any definite date but accepted in principle and with their objective agreed upon. We have had many difficulties which our people have faced with courage and we have overcome them by dint of perseverance and patience. The former colonizers have evacuated the military bases and withdrawn their troops. Here and there they have handed over pieces of territory which were still under their authority or which they occupied on a de facto basis because of their colonial presence in other countries of Africa. Ever since then we have constantly declared our willingness to settle all the other matters in dispute by the same methods of negotiation and mutual understanding.

117. The same has not always been true of those with whom we would negotiate: at times they have tried to repudiate our rights and at other times have replied with promises, which we always trusted. Morocco's pleaders still have complete confidence in them, but as far as the settlement of such problems is concerned, the world situation is developing at such a rate that leaders cannot disregard the impatience of their people. Genuine co-operation cannot neglect such factors, and the settlement of these disputes is a condition for loyal collaboration in the various matters in which higher interests in a particular region coincide or complement each other.

118. Furthermore, the countries of the Maghreb, which have already made an encouraging start in co-operating with each other in certain matters, are equally sincere in their desire to strengthen the factors of harmony with a view to an ever closer regional union, homogeneous within its boundaries and presenting a solid front to rival or hostile groupings. Our country knows, and our friends know too, that the elimination of certain vestiges which circumstances have made anachronistic and which are incompatible with a profession of friendship is the only sound way to achieve our peoples' unanimous objective, which daily becomes more imperative in the light of past circumstances and future prospects.

119. I have deliberately refrained from mentioning certain problems to which our delegation usually devotes its attention in the course of the general debate. We hope by so doing to influence destiny a little and that the efforts of the President and Members of the Assembly, who are endeavouring to resolve our present difficulties, will enable us to tackle them directly in the committee meetings by next week. With that wish, Mr. President, I shall conclude my statement.

120. The PRESIDENT: In exercise of his right of reply, I give the floor to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom.

121. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): The representative of Spain has referred to the fact that we may be denied by unfortunate developments from

making subsequent statements. I join wholeheartedly with him in most sincerely trusting that the misfortune which he feels will not arise. But for the same reason which led him to raise the question, I must not now deny myself the opportunity of making a reply rendered familiar to this Assembly, I might say, by ancient custom.

122. I speak in exercise of the right of reply to the references to Gibraltar in the statement earlier today made by the representative of Spain. For more than 250 years the United Kingdom Government has exercised sovereignty over Gibraltar, a sovereignty estab-

lished and reaffirmed by treaty, and my Government has no doubt whatsoever of its sovereignty and I formally reserve its position.

123. The representative of Spain also referred to recent difficulties on the border between Gibraltar and Spain and to the exchange of notes between my Government and the Government of Spain on this question. My delegation wishes formally to reserve its right to reply to those remarks on a subsequent occasion.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.