



# ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS

November  
2005

MINISTERIO DE ASUNTOS EXTERIORES Y DE COOPERACIÓN  
DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE COMUNICACIÓN EXTERIOR

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## **I. Basic documents**

## **I.I. INITIATIVE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT FOR AN ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS**

1. In his speech at the 59th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the President of the Spanish Government called for an Alliance of Civilizations. The intention of this Initiative is to increase world awareness to the risks that a wall of misunderstanding may arise between the West and the Arab/Islamic world, and thus the threat of the “clash of civilizations” may become a reality and put at risk the many positive aspects of mutual relations, and even imperil the whole framework of international relations. At the same time, the initiative seeks to encourage governments and leaders to establish appropriate measures on a global scale, especially in the political and cultural fields, in order to prevent the present divide between the West and the Arab/Islamic world from becoming entrenched, and perhaps jeopardize international peace and stability.

2. In different sectors in the West today there are growing signs of rejection of Arab and Islamic values, which are seen by many to be intransigent and a threat to their way of life. Yet more worrying is the association sometimes made between such values and acts of violence or even terrorism. In parallel with this reality, the Arab and Islamic worlds are vigorously upholding their own symbols of identity,

and at the same time transmitting a distorted image of an alleged Western aggressor, frequently willing to make use of military superiority, discriminatory in the application of international legality, and insensitive to justified political demands, as in the case of Palestine.

3. The President of the Spanish Government proposes to undertake a joint thought process to enable us to overcome the risks of the above-described situation, and to open up new prospects for understanding and cooperation, within a global framework.

4. The United Nations Organization enjoys an irreplaceable mandate and legitimacy. Kofi Annan, the Secretary General, is its guarantor and has provided ample evidence of his capacity to respond to today's challenges. The efforts made by the Organization in the past, in the context of the “Dialogue between Civilizations” which subsequently gave rise to the text “Crossing the Divide: Dialogue among Civilizations” were not intended to be definitive. The work carried out in other respects by the Organization has also been very valuable and will serve as a guideline for the future. Nevertheless, it is now time to take new steps towards furthering

actions in common. For this purpose, the President of the Spanish Government has proposed to the Secretary General that a High Level Group be set up to examine the question and suggest measures within an ambitious, specific programme focused on the goal of an “Alliance of Civilizations”.

5. According to the Secretary General's criteria, the High Level Group could be composed of relevant figures from governments, international organizations and civil society who have rendered outstanding services to furthering understanding between peoples and nations. The Group could meet in the near future and Spain could host the first meeting.

6. The High Level Group could organize its work under two main headings:

### **Political and Security Panel**

A) The consolidation of a more fair international order, the promotion of democracy, national cohesion and human rights, in the framework of already existing initiatives such as the Barcelona Process and the Broader Middle East.

B) Global security and concerted international action and cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Peacekeeping operations in close collaboration with the competent regional organizations.

There can be no justification whatsoever for terror, but security questions should be addressed by combining action and cooperation among all the agencies involved with rational activities to take into account, also, the factors that nurture radicalism and violence.

C) Effective multilateralism. Non-discriminatory implementation of United Nations resolutions. The non-selective use of multilateral instruments, with equitable participation of all actors, to solve common problems. Eradicating the illegitimate use of force as a means of resolving conflicts.

### **Cultural Panel**

A) Culture as identity and as a model: promoting a dialogue among cultures, enhancing shared values, studying and reacting to common threats, finding a suitable response to migratory flows, reinforcing models of cultural integration, preventing discriminatory phenomena and racial or ethnic violence.

B) Attitudes in the media. Ways and means of promoting greater understanding and eliminating prejudices.

C) Education as a way of promoting dialogue among civilizations and of preventing intolerance and conflict. Sharing university experiences. Education in schools, curricula and text books.

7. Taking into consideration the

conclusions and recommendations of the High Level Group, a possible objective could be the adoption of a Declaration by the General Assembly containing a

programme setting out common goals and intentions, together with actions to be undertaken at universal, regional and national levels.

## **I.2. CONCEPT PAPER**

### **Context**

In support of a call by Minister José Rodriguez Zapatero of Spain, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has agreed to launch an initiative for an “Alliance of Civilizations”, which will be co-sponsored by the Prime Ministers of Spain and Turkey.

The call for an “Alliance of Civilizations” responds to the need, felt across many divides, for a committed effort by the international community – both at the institutional and civil society levels – to overcome prejudice, misconceptions, misperceptions, and polarization. The Alliance will address dominant narratives in diverse societies, with the aim of providing an effective response to emerging threats to world peace emanating from hostile perceptions that foment violence. The Alliance will seek to bring about cooperation between various initiatives aiming to bridge these divisions.

Events of recent years have heightened the sense of a widening gap and lack of mutual understanding between the Islamic and Western societies. This environment has been exploited and exacerbated by extremists in all societies. Thus there is a need for a comprehensive coalition to counter the trend toward extremism

and avert a deterioration of relations between societies, which could even threaten international stability. An Alliance of Civilizations is a reaffirmation of the increasing interdependence of all societies around the world, be it in the environmental or health sectors; in economic, financial, or security relations; or in the development field.

In essence, the call for an Alliance is a call to all of those who believe in building rather than destroying, who embrace diversity as a means of progress rather than as a threat, and who believe in the dignity of humankind across religion, ethnicity, race, and culture.

### **High-Level Group**

To guide this effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation with the Prime Ministers of Spain and Turkey, will convene a High-Level Group of committed eminent persons. The members of the High-Level Group will be drawn from all regions and civilizations and will include leaders in policy-making, academia, civil society, and the media.

The High-Level Group will complete its work and present its report with recommendations by the second half of

2006. The recommendations will include practical policy and action-oriented measures addressed to states, international organizations, and civil society. The report will be submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations who, in consultation with the cosponsors, will determine the appropriate forum in which the programme of action will be presented to the international community. The implementation of the programme could then be overseen by a small group of similar stature.

## Goals

The Alliance of Civilizations aims to forge a collective political will to establish a paradigm of mutual respect between civilizations and cultures. The initiative will take into account the work done by the “Dialogue Among Civilizations” and other related programmes. The Alliance aims to launch a coalescing movement of the vast majority of peoples who do not identify themselves with extremism in various societies in order:

- To strengthen mutual understanding and respect in practical ways;
- To counter the influence of those who feed on exclusion and claim sole ownership of the truth;
- To counter, through such measures, the threat to world peace and stability that emanates from the trend toward extremism in societies;
- To promote awareness that security is indivisible and a vital need for all and that global cooperation is an indispensable

prerequisite for both security and stability, as well as development; and

- To promote common values among different peoples, cultures and civilizations.

## Methodology

The Secretary-General will establish the Terms of Reference for the High-Level Group. The Secretary-General and the Governments of Spain and Turkey will seek the support of other committed governments and organizations through a “Group of Friends”.

The High-Level Group will produce a report in the second half of 2006 that will present a programme of action with practical measures seeking, inter alia:

- To emphasize the importance of the dissemination of moderate ideas, mutual understanding and moderation through media channels, including the Internet, with the aim of countering the extremist ideas fed daily into the world media;
- To foster cooperation between current initiatives aiming at enabling those in the mainstream majority – who are overwhelmingly moderate and reject the views of extremists – to set the agenda;
- To establish partnerships between interested entities in a wide range of countries that will actively promote cooperation toward countering misperceptions across cultures;
- To establish a defined and practical mechanism, based on the

recommendations of the High-Level Group, with the objective of reducing antagonism and misunderstandings (principally between the Arab/Islamic and Western worlds, but also between other regional and cultural groups);

- To reach out to the youth of the world to promote moderation and emphasize commonalities between different peoples, cultures, and civilizations rather than differences.

### **Support structure**

A research staff headed by a qualified director will prepare studies and analyses and also establish a network to enable it to draw on work accomplished or under way in other fora. They will propose

alternative strategies and approaches to the High-Level Group. A small secretarial staff will provide support services.

### **Funding**

The initiative must be assured of funding for the duration of the term of the High-Level Group and its support staff. For that purpose, a United Nations dedicated account will be established, and the Secretary-General will call for voluntary contributions. Major contributions have already been pledged by the co-sponsors to enable work to commence.

The High-Level Group's report should address the question of securing funding to implement the proposed plan of action that it recommends.

## **1.3. HIGH-LEVEL GROUP:**

### **1.3.1. TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL GROUP**

The Secretary-General of the United Nations has launched an initiative, co-sponsored by the Prime Ministers of Spain and Turkey, for an Alliance of Civilizations.

#### **Context**

- The initiative responds to a broad consensus across nations, cultures and religions that all societies are interdependent, bound together in their development and security, and in their environmental, economic and financial well-being. The Alliance seeks to forge collective political will and to mobilize concerted action at the institutional and civil society levels to overcome the prejudice, misperceptions and polarization that militate against such a consensus. And it hopes to contribute to a coalescing global movement which, reflecting the will of the vast majority of people, rejects extremism in any society.

- Events of recent years have exacerbated mutual suspicion, fear and misunderstanding between Islamic and Western societies. This environment has been exploited by extremists throughout the world. Only a comprehensive coalition will be able to avert any further deterioration of relations between societies and nations, which could threaten international stability. The Alliance seeks

to counter this trend by establishing a paradigm of mutual respect between civilizations and cultures.

#### **High-level Group**

- To guide this initiative, the Secretary-General, in consultation with the co-sponsors, has established a High-level Group of eminent persons with the following objectives:

- To provide an assessment of new and emerging threats to international peace and security, in particular the political, social and religious forces that foment extremism;

- To identify collective actions, at both the institutional and civil society levels, to address these trends;

- To recommend a practicable programme of action for States, international organizations and civil society aimed at promoting harmony among societies.

- Toward this end, the High-level Group will consider practical strategies:

- To strengthen mutual understanding, respect and shared values among different peoples, cultures and civilizations;

- To counter the influence of groups fomenting extremism and the exclusion

of others who do not share their worldviews;

– To counter the threat to world peace and stability posed by extremism;

– To foster awareness in all societies that security is indivisible and is a vital need for all, and that global cooperation is an indispensable prerequisite for security, stability and development.

• The High-level Group will present a report containing analysis and a programme of action for States, international organizations and civil society with practicable measures designed, inter alia:

– To emphasize the importance of mutual understanding, and to propose specific mechanisms by which it can be advanced, including but not limited to developing better international cooperation frameworks and using mass media (including the Internet) to foster and frame public debates in constructive ways;

– To cultivate cooperation among current initiatives aimed at enabling those in the mainstream majority – who are overwhelmingly moderate and reject the views of extremists – to set the agenda;

– To establish partnerships that will help diverse societies to better understand their differences while emphasizing and acting on their commonalities;

– To propose measures through which education systems can foster knowledge and understanding of other cultures and religions;

– To reach out to the youth of the world, in order to instil the values of moderation and cooperation, and to promote appreciation of diversity;

– To promote awareness that security, stability and development are vital needs for all, and that global cooperation is necessary to achieve them, and to present practical proposals for advancing mutual security.

• The High-level Group will present its report in the second half of 2006 to the Secretary-General, who will determine, in consultation with the co-sponsors, the appropriate way to present the programme of action to the international community. Implementation of the programme could then be overseen by a smaller group of similar stature.

## **Support Structure**

A secretariat headed by an experienced director will prepare studies, analyses and proposals for the consideration of the High-level Group. It will also cooperate with similar initiatives and draw on work accomplished or under way in other forums.

### 1.3.2. MEMBERS OF THE HIGH-LEVEL GROUP

7 September 2005

HIGH LEVEL GROUP.....21 Nov 2005		
1. Mr. Federico Mayor (co-chair)	Spain	President of the "Culture of Peace" Foundation and former Director-General of UNESCO
2. Prof. Mehmet Aydin (co-chair)	Turkey	Minister of State of Turkey and Professor of Theology
<b>MIDDLE EAST</b>		
3. Seyed Mohamed Khatami	Irán	Former President of Iran
4. Her Highness Sheikha Mozah	Qatar	Consort of the Emir of the State of Qatar and Chairperson of the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development
<b>NORTH AFRICA</b>		
4. Her Highness Sheikha Mozah	Qatar	Consort of the Emir of the State of Qatar and Chairperson of the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development
5. Dr. Mohamed Charfi	Tunisia	Former Education Minister of Tunisia
6. Dr. Ismail Serageldin	Egypt	President, Bibliotheca Alexandria
7. Mr. Andre Azoulay	Morocco	Adviser to His Majesty King Mohammed VI of Morocco
<b>WEST AFRICA</b>		
8. Mr. Moustapha Niasse	Senegal	Former Prime Minister of Senegal
<b>SOUTHERN AFRICA</b>		
9. Archbishop Desmond Tutu	South Africa	The Rt. Hon. Archbishop of Cape Town
<b>WEST EUROPE</b>		
10. Mr. Hubert Vedrine	France	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of France
11. Ms. Karen Armstrong	UK	Historian of Religion
<b>EAST EUROPE</b>		
12. Prof. Vitaly Naumkin	Russian Federation	President of the International Center for Strategic and Political Studies and Chair, Moscow State University
<b>NORTH AMERICA</b>		
13. Prof. John Esposito	United States	Founding Director-Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding-Georgetown University and Editor-in-Chief of the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World
14. Rabbi Arthur Schneier	United States	President, Appeal of Conscience Foundation & Senior Rabbi, Park East Synagogue
<b>LATIN AMERICA</b>		
15. Mr. Enrique Iglesias	Uruguay	Ibero-American Secretary-General and former President of Inter American Development Bank
16. Prof. Candido Mendes	Brazil	Secretary-General, Académie de la Latinité.
<b>SOUTH ASIA</b>		
16. Dr. Nafis Sadik	Pakistan	Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General
17. Ms. Shobana Bhartia	India	Managing Director of the Hindustan Times, New Delhi
<b>SOUTH-EAST ASIA</b>		
18. Mr. Ali Alatas	Indonesia	Former Foreign Minister of Indonesia
<b>EAST ASIA</b>		
19. Prof. Pan Guang	China	Director and Professor, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

## **1.4. STATEMENT BY THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS (LAUNCHING)**

14 July 2005

### **Secretary-General announces launch of “Alliance of Civilizations” aimed at bridging divides between societies exploited by extremists**

The following statement was issued today by the Spokesman for UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan: The following statement was issued today by the Spokesman for UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan:

The Secretary-General is pleased to announce the launch of an initiative for an “Alliance of Civilizations”. The initiative is intended to respond to the need for a committed effort by the international community – both at the institutional and civil society levels – to bridge divides and overcome prejudice, misconceptions, misperceptions, and polarization which potentially threaten world peace. The Alliance will aim to address emerging threats emanating from hostile perceptions that foment violence, and to bring about cooperation among various efforts to heal such divisions.

Events of recent years have heightened the sense of a widening gap and lack of mutual understanding between Islamic and Western societies – an environment

that has been exploited and exacerbated by extremists in all societies. The Alliance of Civilizations is intended as a coalition against such forces, as a movement to advance mutual respect for religious beliefs and traditions, and as a reaffirmation of humankind’s increasing interdependence in all areas – from the environment to health, from economic and social development to peace and security.

The call for an alliance was initiated by Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero of Spain, and co-sponsored by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey. Both Governments will continue, as co-sponsors, to provide support. Several other Governments and organizations have expressed interest in joining them, and the Secretary-General hopes that more will do so. The co-sponsors have already pledged substantial initial contributions to a Trust Fund set up to finance the initiative, and the Secretary-General will be inviting other Governments and entities to contribute.

The Secretary-General is also bringing together a high-level group of eminent persons to guide the initiative. The group is expected to present a report with recommendations and a practical plan of action in late 2006.

## **1.5. 2005 WORLD SUMMIT OUTCOME (PARAGRAPH 144)**

United Nations \*

General Assembly Distr.: Limited

20 September 2005

Original: English

05-51130\* (E) 230905

\*0551130\*

Sixtieth session

Items 48 and 121 of the provisional agenda\*\*

Integrated and coordinated implementation of and follow-up to the outcomes of the major United Nations conferences and summits in the economic, social and related fields

Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit

Draft resolution referred to the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly by the General Assembly at its fifty-ninth session

2005 World Summit Outcome

The General Assembly

Aadopts the following 2005 World Summit Outcome:

2005 World Summit Outcome

### **Culture of peace and initiatives on dialogue among cultures, civilizations and religions**

144. We reaffirm the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace as well as the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations and its Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly and the value of different initiatives on dialogue among

cultures and civilizations, including the dialogue on interfaith cooperation. We commit ourselves to taking action to promote a culture of peace and dialogue at the local, national, regional and international levels and request the Secretary-General to explore enhancing implementation mechanisms and to follow up on those initiatives. In this regard, we also welcome the Alliance of Civilizations initiative announced by the Secretary-General on 14 July 2005.

## **2. Speeches**

## **2.1. SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN, 59th PERIOD OF SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

New York, 21 September 2004

Mr President,

For the first time, I am addressing the United Nations General Assembly representing my country. Ours is an old and diverse country, with several languages and different traditions and cultures. Ours is a European, Mediterranean and Ibero-American country.

I am speaking on behalf of a country that has had its share of difficult experiences throughout its history. A country in which still living generations have known a civil war, a dictatorship of almost four decades and a democracy that is now 25 years old. We have also experienced the scourge of terrorism for more than thirty years.

Over the last thirty years we, Spanish women and men, have learned much about and from terrorism. We soon learned about its iniquity. We have learned what it is about. We have learned how to defy it, how to withstand its blows with courage and dignity. We have learned how to fight it.

Precisely because of this, because we have been experiencing it for thirty years, we Spaniards deeply sympathised with the suffering of the American people on 9/11. We knew how they felt. We know how

they feel. Here in New York I would like to convey the Spanish people's hard felt solidarity with this great American nation.

We fully understand the terrible pain that in these past years has been inflicted upon Jakarta, Bali, Casablanca, Riyadh or Beslan. We know all about enduring kidnappings, bombings and cold-blooded killings. We are well acquainted with the meaning of the word compassion.

On March 11 this year a terrorist attack took the lives of 192 people in Madrid. We had never experienced this kind of terrorism in our country before, but we were familiar with the bloodshed and the pain that it caused. From this platform, I want to express my deep appreciation to all nations for their solidarity, extended to us at a time of such suffering with the brutal events that took place in my country.

Spanish women and men were not afraid. On the very next day after the bombings, millions of people left their homes, took to the streets and squares of the cities and towns of my country and, once again, we expressed our rejection and disgust, our unanimous contempt for terrorist brutality.

From thirty years of terrorism we have learned that the risk of a terrorist victory rises sharply when, in order to fight terror, democracy betrays its fundamental nature, governments curtail civil liberties, put judicial guaranties at risk, or carry out pre-emptive military operations. This is what our people have learned: that it is legality, democracy and political means and ways what makes us stronger and them weaker.

We will resist terrorism. Our history endorses our resolve. We will pursue our fight against terrorism. But we will always do so within the framework of both domestic and international legality. We will do so always respecting Human Rights and our commitment to the United Nations, and in no other way. It is not only the ethics of our beliefs that move us, but also and above all our belief in ethics. Our conviction is that legality, and only legality, will allow us to prevail in the fight against terrorism.

Nothing justifies terrorism. It is irrational, like the Black Death, but the roots of terrorism, like those of the plague, can and must be uncovered. We can and must rationally analyse how it emerges, how it grows, so as to be able to fight it rationally.

Terrorism is insanity and death and, regrettably, there will always be fanatics who are ready to kill to impose their insanity through force. Ready to disseminate the seed of evil. The seed of evil cannot take root when it falls on the rock of justice, well-being, freedom and hope; but it can take root if it lands on

the soil of injustice, poverty, humiliation and despair.

Thus, redressing the major political and economic injustices that affect our world would deprive terrorists of their popular support. The more people there are who enjoy dignified conditions around the world, the safer we will all be.

Mr. President,

In this context, I would like to speak about Iraq. But above all I would like to speak about the thousands of victims of this conflict, about the Iraqis and about the soldiers and civilians who lost their lives. We express our permanent solidarity to them and to their countries.

The overwhelming majority of people in Spain spoke out against the war. We were not persuaded by the reasons given by those who promoted the war.

We expressed this view both at the Spanish Parliament and in the streets. We spoke out loudly, we shouted. We also said that winning the war would be much easier than winning the peace. Peace must be our endeavour. An endeavour that requires more courage, more determination and more heroism than the war itself. That is why the Spanish troops returned from Iraq.

In any event, what really matters now is to contribute to restoring the full sovereignty and independence of Iraq, of a democratic Iraq in peace with its neighbours. We will spare no effort to achieve this goal. Because of this, Spain

actively participated in the elaboration of Resolution 1546 and will continue to give political and financial support to the process of political normalisation and to the strengthening of democratic institutions in Iraq.

Mr President

There will not be either security or stability in the world as long as the Middle East conflict continues to bleed. This conflict is the primary tumour for many sources of instability.

Spain firmly supports the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on this issue, as well as other instruments such as the Quartet's Road Map, which is yet to be implemented. And the time we are wasting is to be measured in terms of the loss of human lives.

Spain stands by Israel against the terrible scourge of terrorism, which it is entitled to defend itself against by legitimate means. Spain strongly advocates the establishment of a viable, democratic Palestinian State that can live in peace and security with the State of Israel. Israel will be able to count on the international community to the extent that it respects international law; but the layout of the dividing wall fails to do this.

Spain commits itself to spare no political, diplomatic or cooperation effort to try and bring about the peace that is so necessary in the Middle East. But it also wants to address an urgent appeal to the United States, to the European Union,

to Russia and to the United Nations to implement the Road Map. These are four powerful players, which we want to see exercising decisive diplomatic pressure.

Mr. President,

In the humanitarian field, Spain has contributed several million euros to help alleviate the terrible crisis in Darfur. However, the Sudanese authorities must, without delay, take all measures necessary to end the atrocities, bring the perpetrators to trial and normalise the situation in the region. It is also necessary that the rebel groups and militias respect the cease-fire and show a constructive attitude at the negotiating table. In this context, we must support the initiatives launched by the African Union.

Mr. President,

Spain considers that we can no longer passively accept the continuation of Africa's forgotten conflicts, which is why, along with our partners in the European Union, we have supported the establishment of the Peace Facility for Africa, an instrument designed to promote regional solutions to the crises suffered by the continent.

Mr. President,

In the Maghreb, Spain is pursuing an active and comprehensive policy to enhance political stability and economic and social development in the region. Regional integration and interdependence with Spain and Europe is, we believe, the way to achieve these goals.

Regarding the Western Sahara, Spain vigorously supports the pursuit of a just and definitive political solution that is acceptable to all parties and respects the principles set out in the Resolutions of this Organisation. From this platform, I would like to call upon the international community to redouble its efforts, within the framework of dialogue and negotiations established by the United Nations, to resolve a conflict that has dragged on for far too long.

Mr President,

I would also like to reiterate Spain's commitment to peacekeeping operations, which are a fundamental part of the effective multilateralism we are seeking to promote. Our political commitment has already been reflected through specific contributions in the form of military contingents for Afghanistan and Haiti, in accordance with express Security Council mandates.

Peace and security will only spread over the world with the strength of international legality, with the strength of human rights, with the strength of democracy, of abidance by the law. With the strength of equality: equality between women and men, equal opportunities, no matter where people are born. With the strength of our rejection against those who manipulate or want to impose any kind of religion or belief. With the strength of education and culture: culture is always peace; let us ensure that our perception of others is coloured with respect. With the strength of dialogue among peoples.

Thus, in my capacity as representative of a country created and enriched by diverse cultures, before this Assembly I want to propose an Alliance of Civilizations between the Western and the Arab and Muslim worlds. Some years ago a wall collapsed. We must now prevent hatred and incomprehension from building a new wall. Spain wants to submit to the Secretary General, whose work at the head of this organisation we firmly support, the possibility of establishing a High Level Group to push forward this initiative.

Mr President,

This is the house of Nations, but I only see women and men. I only hear the voices of women and men who represent billions of women and men. And many of these voices – often feeble, barely audible, voices of children, weak, without hope – come from poverty-stricken lands, plagued with inequality.

It is them who I want to address now to declare that Spain endorses the Millennium Declaration objectives as regards development, poverty eradication and preservation of the environment. Poverty is the main cause of uncontrolled migration flows. Let us be certain that no wall, however tall, will prevent those who endure extreme poverty from trying to escape and pursue their dignity as human beings.

For all these reasons, we are firmly committed to the political Declaration we adopted yesterday in the framework

of the Alliance against Hunger and Poverty – promoted by President Lula of Brazil – which envisages new funding mechanisms for development. The government of Spain will substantially increase its official development assistance, in order to reach the threshold of 0.7% of GDP.

Mr. President,

To ensure peace, security and hope all over the world, international instruments for the promotion and protection of human rights need to be strengthened and effectively implemented. This is one of the basic pillars of our foreign policy. Our objectives are the signing and ratification of the optional protocol to the Convention against Torture; the universal abolition of the death penalty; the fight against discrimination of women and gender violence; an end to discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation; the protection of children and the fight against exploitation and abuse suffered by children; the strict observance of human rights in the fight against terrorism and crime.

World peace and security cannot be ensured without respect for legality. Therefore, Spain wishes to promote the effective functioning of the International Criminal Court. To that end, I would call upon all States who have yet to ratify the ICC Statute to do so fully, unconditionally and without delay, and thus help us in our common endeavour to build a more just world.

My government wholeheartedly supports the United Nations reform

process established in the Millennium Declaration and endorses the Secretary General's initiatives for the reform and institutional strengthening of the Organisation.

Spain believes that, for the future of the international order, it is essential that this reform be aimed at ensuring effective compliance with the United Nations resolutions, in particular with those coming from the Security Council.

The representitiveness, democratisation, effectiveness and transparency of the Security Council must all be strengthened. To this end, Spain is willing to consider new proposals that can allow building a consensus on increasing the number of non-permanent members as well as on the use of the right to veto.

Mr. President,

I want to reaffirm here Spain's commitment to the just causes of the Latin American peoples, by consolidating democratic systems and bringing political stability to the region. I also wish to reconfirm our support for Latin America's economic progress aimed to reducing inequality and strengthening social cohesion. Within the European Union, we will continue to promote a closer relationship with this region through the development of a strategic partnership between both sides of the Atlantic.

Mr. President,

I would not wish to conclude my

statement without reference to Gibraltar. Every year the General Assembly reiterates its mandates urging Spain and the United Kingdom to pursue bilateral negotiations in order to reach a definitive solution to this dispute. I want to confirm here that my country will maintain its willingness to negotiate a solution that benefits the region as a whole, listening to the voice of this non-autonomous territory.

Mr. President,

The United Nations was born out of necessity and ideals. It was built by women and men who asserted their faith in the understanding among peoples and cultures. They left us Utopia as a legacy. They thought that every goal was within their reach: settling old conflicts, eradicating poverty, ensuring rights for every human being; and today we could ask ourselves: what is within our reach?

Almost everything. True, human kind's history does not provide us with many

reasons to be optimistic. Nor does the world of today offer us many reasons to feel superior to the women and men that preceded us. One third of the countries that exist in the world does not enjoy a system of liberties. Torture continues to exist. There are more than thirty conflicts around the world today. Half of the war victims are children. Five million people are suffering from A.I.D.S. One billion human beings subsist with less than one dollar a day. More than eight hundred million adults are illiterate. More than one hundred and fifty million children do not have access to any sort of education. More than one billion people are deprived of drinking water. No, we human beings cannot feel very proud of ourselves today.

We definitely need to change this. We, the Spanish women and men of today, are resolved to make it possible for those who come after us to be able to say: "Yes, they did it!".

I thank you very much, Mr. President.

## **2.2. SPEECH BY THE SPANISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION TO THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES**

10 December 2004

Firstly, I should like to express my sincere gratitude for the invitation from the Secretary General Dr. Amr Moussa, enabling me to address you all to share some of the ideas set out in the initiative entitled the Alliance of Civilizations, presented during the most recent General Assembly of the United Nations by the President of the Spanish Government.

For many years the world lived under the threat of the Cold War and confrontation between East and West, which made it very difficult, if not impossible, for there to exist joint initiatives to solve some of the global problems afflicting us, such as underdevelopment, inequalities, armed conflicts and the absence of freedom. The end of the Cold War opened the gates to hope, by removing an important source of mistrust and providing an auspicious opportunity to progress towards a new world order, one of greater fairness and solidarity.

However, the world we are living in today remains far from this ideal. In the last few years, as well as the perennial conflicts in the Mediterranean region, new ones have arisen in the Balkans and in Asia, America and Africa. Extremist groups have sprung up, justifying themselves by new

pretexts put forward by false prophets who preach hatred and the cult of difference based on criteria of race, ethnic group or religion.

Fortunately, on some occasions we have been able to react in time and to reach solutions by means of dialogue, agreement and international cooperation, as was the case with the Balkans and also with certain conflicts in Ibero-America and in Africa. These cases confirm the importance of the fact that the international community should have a coherent, resolute attitude. Such coherence and resolution is needed to reinforce the role of the United Nations and regional organizations in ensuring peace and security, within the limits of international law, to channel solutions to problems via dialogue and the political will to reach such solutions and to ensure the protection of minority groups and the weak against arbitrariness, injustice, prejudice and the abuse of power.

Nevertheless, the international community has not always been capable of resolving problems. This is all the more critical when, as often happens, the values of tolerance, equality, justice and the peaceful settlement of differences have been ignored and replaced by calls for intolerance, privilege, imposition and

confrontation. These calls have been made by Academies, literary media and institutions of civil society, for instance, in defining the theory of the inevitable manifest destiny of a clash of civilizations. They have been made from government offices and political standpoints, proclaiming unconscionable political goals, which only take into account short-sighted national interest, and they have been made from places of worship.

And, what is worse, these messages have been transmitted to the young, in the guise of education, at schools and universities. And they have reached the general public via the mass media, the press, radio and television.

The time has come, therefore, to react. If we do not stop and reverse these tendencies, our world will become an unwelcoming, violent place. In an age defined by globalization, we cannot allow those who preach incompatibility and difference to dominate the debate; on the contrary, we must get to know each other better. This is particularly so with regard to the relations between the West and the Arab world.

It is true that the crimes of 11 September 2001 represented a turning point in international relations. Never before had a terrorist attack on such a scale been perpetrated. It awoke the world's conscience to the urgent necessity to join forces to prevent terrible attacks of this kind. But, apart from the welcome collective resolution, no far-reaching international consensus has been reached

on the best way of preventing and combating global terrorism. Moreover, this crime also encouraged the propagation of evil theories such as the one proclaiming a causal link between terrorism and Islam. We know there are terrorist groups that seek to justify their crimes on the basis of religion, citing the precepts of Islam.

This false reasoning is as old as humanity. There is no religion on earth that has not at some time been abused and twisted to justify violence. Nobody in their right mind would believe that all Moslems, just because they are Moslems, are potentially dangerous. If we have learned anything at all from history, it is indeed that religions are bearers of messages of peace, solidarity and sympathy among people. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that in the West there exist those who wish to erect a wall of incomprehension before the Arab and Islamic world, a barrier of rejection of their values, which are proclaimed to be intransigent and to threaten the Western way of life.

If we look at what is happening from the perspective of the Arab and Islamic world, we are forced to recognize that here, too, while they are vigorously defending their own symbols of identity, which is a legitimate attitude, they are transmitting a distorted view of a Western world, of one that is aggressive and discriminatory, insensitive to their justified claims. This image, also, is unacceptable and should be fought against. It is true that there remain open wounds that should be healed, as is the case of the interminable Arab-Israeli conflict, but it is absurd and

unfair for Western values in themselves to be seen as negative and prejudicial to the Arab and Islamic world.

Beyond a doubt, we must react and open the eyes of our peoples and institutions to the harm done by these ill-focused viewpoints, by these emerging extremisms. We must proclaim a new paradigm and open channels of communication between the different peoples of the world, so that diversity is seen, not as a threat to security, but as a positive value that promotes knowledge and sharing, through dialogue and cooperation.

The best way to structure this proposal is within a universal framework. It cannot belong to any single country. The most appropriate forum is the United Nations Organization, which has a unique mandate and legitimacy and has shown itself capable of responding to the great challenges of the future. Moreover, the UN has already taken steps in the right direction, in the context of the Dialogue of Civilizations, a praiseworthy initiative by President Khatami. By means of the Spanish proposal for an Alliance of Civilizations, we seek to go beyond dialogue to concentrate on shaping a large-scale international political consensus based on a number of specific actions. This emphasis on action is, indeed, the most novel aspect of the Alliance. It is not our intention to replace other laudable initiatives in this field, such as the aforementioned Dialogue of Civilizations, or Senegal's proposals on Islam and Christianity, to mention just two.

As a clear, concrete goal, therefore,

the President of the Spanish Government has proposed that the Secretary General of the UN should constitute a High Level Group, made up of distinguished figures such as former heads of governments and prominent members of international civil society, in order to reflect and to put forward concrete proposals. Kofi Annan has reacted very positively to the Spanish initiative and has resolved that two of his representatives should look into it further, in conjunction with the Spanish representatives, clarifying the issue with a view to activating the initiative within the UN.

Although the specific structuring of the proposed Alliance of Civilizations is open to various possibilities, the Spanish proposal is that the High Level Group should organize its work under two fundamental headings: politics and security, on the one hand, and culture and education, on the other.

Our efforts in the sphere of politics and security should be focused on the consolidation of a more stable, peaceful and fairer international order. Faced with global threats to world security, as is the case of terrorism, we must restate the need to act on two fronts: firstly, to achieve the eradication of terrorism by international cooperation among all the agencies involved. Secondly, and on the basis of the principle that violence can never be justified, to analyse the multiple factors that feed the radical visions responsible for encouraging the terrorists and to propose measures to remedy the problems at their root, that is, conflicts,

injustice and political and economic inequalities.

We believe that the best way to overcome these problems is by abandoning the illegitimate use of force to resolve conflicts, replacing it with effective multilateralism. In other words, providing means and executive power to our global institutions, such as the UN, whose legitimacy and capabilities could be reinforced by the reforms currently under way. We should also ensure the non-discriminatory application of UN resolutions and the use of all instruments in a non-selective way in our solutions to problems that are common to all. Finally, we should take on board the promotion of democratic, participatory values and the universal respect for human rights.

In short, we seek to make intelligent use of the political tools available in order to deprive those who sanction violence of any possible popular support.

In the educational and cultural sphere, the High Level Group should concentrate on promoting dialogue between cultures, advancing on the path of shared values and studying and dealing with threats that face us all. In this respect, especially important is the creation of an adequate response to migration movements and the prevention of discriminatory phenomena and racial or ethnic violence.

Given their importance in the modern world, we should also pay close attention to the mass media, so that these may serve to channel and promote better

understanding and eliminate prejudices. In the area of schooling, we must promote educational policies aimed at preventing intolerance, conflict and prejudice. Perhaps it is in this sphere, above all, where the greatest effort needs to be made.

Nevertheless, all these ideas can be further perfected, complemented and, in a word, improved, via the contributions of the other parties interested in the success of the initiative. I have in mind, particularly, the priority that the Arab countries, through the Arab League, should participate from the outset in the elaboration of proposals to shape the initiative known as the Alliance of Civilizations. To this effect, I propose that the Arab League designate a contact group which, together with the Spanish experts, could meet to share ideas and possibly to forward joint proposals to the United Nations.

Thus, the Alliance of Civilizations will comprise an resolute commitment by all countries to work for a world guided by principles of tolerance, understanding and freedom. This is in the interest of all of us, because the alternative, as we all know, is conflict and permanent confrontation.

I should like to conclude by stating that the Spanish proposal is not Utopian. In our closest, common context, we have successfully created mechanisms based firmly on the principles of the Alliance. By this, I am referring to the Euro-Mediterranean Barcelona Process, which will celebrate its tenth anniversary next year. This is a joint, global initiative

comprising the carefully-considered interaction of political, economic, cultural and social aspects of our relation, one that created an unprecedented wealth of instruments. It is a mechanism by which collective ideas, proposals and means are not imposed, but discussed and adopted by all. In itself it constitutes a magnificent channel for dialogue and information sharing between the two rims of the Mediterranean. We have shown ourselves capable of applying the principles of the

Alliance of Civilizations in this part of the world. Let us join together with resolve to extend them all over the planet. I am convinced that the Arab League and the countries that make it up are well equipped to go down this road and that they will be the first and firmest supporters, as well as exemplary members of the Alliance of Civilizations.

Thank you very much for your attention.

## **2.3. SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN AT THE CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY**

Madrid, 10th March 2005

Ladies and Gentlemen, tomorrow will be a day of mourning for Spain.

A year ago, Madrid suffered the worst terrorist attack in its history. Its pain seared all of Spain. Irrational violence proved itself capable of horrific destruction, its scars remain and will remain alive in our memories. Those responsible will pay for their atrocious crime with the full weight of the Law, because this is a country governed by the rule of Law and has serious, effective and independent Justice.

By honouring the victims of 11 March we will also honour the thousands of victims of terrorism in other cities in Spain and abroad, whom we cherish in our memories: New York City, Beslan, Casablanca, Bali and so many others all over the world; cities we are united with in grief and loss.

When we remember 11 March we must also highlight the lesson of the Spanish people, a lesson for the world and for History. Spaniards filled our country's streets with pain and solidarity. Two days later, they filled the ballot boxes and showed us the way towards the defeat of terrorism, towards democracy and the strength of values. They did this a year ago, in the same way as they have been fighting

terrorism for thirty years. It is this society, the Spanish people, which is and feels free and full of solidarity, that I want to honour today.

Victims of terrorism suffer at first hand an attack aimed at society as a whole. Therefore, we owe them an ongoing commitment to remembering, acknowledging and feeling solidarity. I particularly wish to thank all of you for coming to Madrid to express this solidarity with the victims and with the Spanish people as a whole, which reiterates the demonstrations of affection and support we were given a year ago.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We meet here, at this International Summit on Democracy and Terrorism, to find answers to global terrorism: serene answers, complex answers and answers that can be shared, answers that can only be found in the values that have dignified life in common, freedom, respect for human rights, fair relations between peoples, shared progress, cooperation and solidarity.

Terrorism seeks to impose ideas by violence and attacks upon democracy, but other problems also weaken democracy,

make it impossible or harm it beyond repair: poverty, exclusion, alienation, degradation and intolerance. Security, everybody's security, is based on respect for values and the commitment to resolve these problems.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

No cause whatsoever can justify terrorism. Let's say this loud and clear. No idea, no matter how legitimate, can be used as an alibi for random killing. In terror there is only infamy and barbarity, in terror there are no politics, in terror there is no ideology, in terror there is no resistance, in terror there is no combat, in terror there is only emptiness, the emptiness of uselessness, because terror never achieves its goals. Killing to defend an idea is only killing, it is not defending an idea. There may be conflicts, but only political action can resolve them; never the action of terror. Terror aggravates conflicts and makes solutions impossible.

Terrorism is the absolute denial of the values that support human dignity. Thus, we cannot link this phenomenon to any specific civilization, culture or religion. We would be seriously mistaken if we believed that behind international terrorism there were a new ideological division, a clash of civilizations that makes whole societies or communities suspect as accomplices.

History proves that terrorism has been used to support different ideologies or religious creeds. It is not, therefore, a trait of any ideology, of any religion. Nevertheless, some reductionist views

locate terrorism in a predominant place within a radical and fanatical view of a religion that is a distinctive feature of many countries and of many peoples. This is a serious mistake that only leads to misunderstanding between cultures in the International Community and misunderstanding is the first step towards separation; separation opens up the temptation to hate, and hate is the doorway to violence.

This is why last month I proposed before the United Nations General Assembly an Alliance of Civilizations based on knowledge, comprehension and mutual respect. The interest aroused by this proposal, the different expressions of support it has received and the level of specification it has reached prove that the International Community as a whole is fully aware of the need to act in order to bridge the gap that has opened wide between the Western and Islamic worlds. We cannot remain inactive, watching the gap become even wider.

The idea of having the United Nations Secretary General form a High-Level Group has become consolidated. Its mandate must be clear and precise, encompassing the study of the factors that have generated the international breach and drawing up specific proposals by which the United Nations can contribute effective solutions to the current situation. Our shared purpose is to set up, within the United Nations, a common action plan including measures that will contribute to bringing civilizations closer in the spheres of politics, culture, economy and security.

To defeat terrorism we must also make a considerable effort to comprehend the threat, to analyse and reflect upon the conditions that enable fanaticism to spread and provide support for the strategy of terror.

We cannot ignore the tremendous economic, political and social fractures that affect many societies, and which on occasion serve as a pretext or rationalisation for terrorist violence. Extreme poverty, social exclusion, lack of education, a State that does not function as such, these are all factors that provide a rich breeding ground in which terrorism can take root. We cannot aspire to peace and security within an ocean of universal injustice. We must, therefore, work together with firm resolve to overcome these shortcomings and fractures within society.

The fight against terrorism requires us to strengthen the legitimacy of our efforts by developing a shield of moral, intellectual and legal integrity and by the effectiveness of our security forces. Every State is obliged to protect its citizens from terrorism, but it must do so without betraying the principles of democracy and it must preserve our inalienable rights and freedoms. Let us never forget the late Sergio Vieira de Melo, who was brutally murdered in Baghdad, and remember that the best, indeed, the only strategy to isolate and defeat terrorism is founded on respect for human rights, the furthering of social justice, the promotion of democracy and the supremacy of the Rule of Law.

We all know terrorism is a global threat that requires – and we must make this very clear – a global response. It is also a strategic threat that seeks to impose a new political agenda by force. To overcome terrorism, the international community needs to forge a political consensus, with the utmost urgency, and put its differences to one side; it must analyse the threat in all its complexity and address all the dimensions, not just that of security, but also political, economic, social and cultural aspects.

This consensus must be based upon the pillars of effective multilateralism, international cooperation and the defence of legality and human rights; furthermore, respect for these pillars makes our efforts much more effective. We must set out a plan for global, strategic action by the international community to reinforce our capability to fight against terrorism, whilst granting the United Nations the central role of leadership that corresponds to this organisation.

With this in mind, I thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for his resolution and determination in undertaking the responsibility of turning the organisation of which we all form a part into the motor driving our joint enterprise. I am particularly grateful to him for having decided upon Madrid, on this very special date, as the venue in which to advance us his view of the global strategy against terrorism.

I hope his words will create the necessary momentum to enable the

international legality of this fight against the common threat to be consolidated and completed. Specifically, the international community must conclude, as soon as possible, the Convention against Nuclear Terrorism and the Global Convention against Terrorism, adopting a general definition, accepted by all, of the phenomenon. We must also strengthen the institutional framework of the United Nations to enable it to lead this struggle more effectively.

In this respect, it would be very helpful to establish an international fund to provide economic assistance to States with fewer resources, such that these would be able to fulfil their international obligations against terrorism. It would also be an extremely positive development to create an international compensation fund for the victims of terrorism, who should be offered all our attention, solidarity and support.

The United Nations, furthermore, must coordinate and complement the efforts made to improve international cooperation against terrorism. This must be achieved both in a bilateral sense and within the relevant regional organisations.

We must reinforce the mechanism of operational cooperation between States in the political, judicial and intelligence spheres in order to prevent new attacks, to isolate and surround the terrorist organisations and those who support, finance and justify them. There must be more and better sharing of information in order to fight effectively against the

funding of terrorism, to guarantee the security of international trade and to protect infrastructures.

Moreover, it is absolutely fundamental to ensure the tireless commitment of civil society to work for a culture of tolerance, dialogue and mutual understanding, in order to defeat those who seek to perpetuate intolerance.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to congratulate Club de Madrid for calling this Summit, which I am convinced will be remembered as the expression of solidarity with the victims of terror, for the strengthening of our commitment to the defence of freedom and the Law and for the unity and firmness shown in the face of terrorism. In the face of all forms of terrorism, because none of them can have any kind of excuse, impunity or refuge.

The participation of so many dignitaries and representatives of civil society from all over the world is an expression of their feeling for Spain in its moment of pain; but, moreover, the efforts of representatives and experts from so many countries, religions and different outlooks also nourishes our hope that, together, we may be capable of finding democratic responses and solutions in order to defeat terrorism.

The memory of 11 March may lead us to despair, but we must raise our heads and look ahead in these early days of the 21st Century, because today there

are more democracies in the world than ever before. In today's international order, we are not building walls, but processes of political and economic union. More citizens of the world than ever before are working for peace, and societies and their citizens are demanding an end to poverty, misery and marginalisation.

Let us accelerate the decisions that will lead us towards a fairer, safer world; let there be more democracies in the world, achieved by political pressure, reasoning and patience; let us strengthen the United Nations, multilateralism and the international rule of law; let us fulfil the Millennium Goals for the eradication of poverty and misery; let us defend the principle of the peaceful solution of conflicts; let us set into action an Alliance of Civilizations; let us increase our security by sharing legal models, by the effective, sincere collaboration of police forces and intelligence services; let us apply coherence and all possible vigour in our fight against terrorism, and in the name of this vigour and coherence, let us indefatigably pursue, within and beyond national frontiers, the trafficking of the arms and explosives that are used to sow terror, to impose the rule of the strongest, beyond the rule of law.

Let us banish hypocrisy; this, too, is a

prime objective if we are to be victorious in the fight against terror.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This Summit is entitled "Democracy, Terrorism and Security". Terrorism cannot act against democracy. Democracy is the defeat of terrorism. The more and better the democracy, the more freedom, justice, equality and peace, the less terrorism there will be, until it disappears altogether.

Humankind has achieved more difficult feats throughout history and has done so when the great humanity we all harbour has been put at the service of the noblest causes. The cause that has brought us here today is a noble one. Nothing will make us forget the victims of terror or the victims of despair. Their families will never receive enough consolation. But the lives of every one of us, also the stolen lives, make sense in collective life, in the lives of others. Today, 1,200 babies will be born in Spain, and 180,000 in the whole world. We will think of them. Our lives are intertwined in their lives. Their lives carry our lives and those new lives are entitled to a fair and secure world. Loyalty to ourselves demands that we achieve this.

Thank you very much.

## **2.4. SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN AT THE SUMMIT OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES**

March 22nd, 2005

Secretary-General, President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Your Majesties, Heads of State and Government, Your Excellencies,

Allow me first of all to express my deep satisfaction at having this opportunity to talk to you on the occasion of this important Summit. I should like to thank you for your invitation which is a great honour for me – especially since the Arab League is celebrating its 60th anniversary. I feel at home and among friends with you here; therefore, my words are the result of closeness, affection and friendship.

I represent Spain, a country which has always been a cross-roads and a meeting place for different cultures, traditions and religions. We have a multiple and diverse identity, with deep Mediterranean roots, and we cultivate it because we are aware of and appreciate its richness.

Therefore, we aspire, as we did in the renowned Toledo School and have done over the course of our history, to be promoters, translators and facilitators at meetings and dialogues. We believe that in our agitated world which is beset by uncertainties, understanding, mutual comprehension and dialogue are especially

necessary in order to meet the serious challenges we face together.

The Spanish thinker and educator Giner de los Ríos remarked that Spain was “a country indebted to the world, a country that would need to return to other nations at least a hundredth part of what we have received from them”. Humbly, we can perhaps now return at least something of the great amount that our country has received from other countries over the course of centuries and, in particular, from the Arab world. With the contribution of your intellectuals, in particular Averroes, between us we achieved the recovery of classical philosophy, and our creative sensitivity drew decisive sustenance from your poets and artists.

Secretary-General, Your Excellencies,

We are at this time especially aware of the threat of terrorism. Only a few days ago we commemorated the first anniversary of the terrible terrorist attacks that shook Madrid on March 11th, 2004. It was in the same city of Madrid, which had faced up with so much composure and fortitude to the tragedy of that terrorist barbarity, that we had an opportunity to pay emotional tribute to the many victims of the atrocious attack in the “Bosque de

*los Ausentes*" (Wood of the Absent). This tribute was honoured by the presence of many distinguished Heads of State and Government and other representatives of our brother Arab countries.

Our heartfelt appreciation goes to those who shared our sorrow, as did all the Moslem leaders and representatives in Spain who have expressed their solidarity with the victims and stressed the incompatibility of their religious principles with the crime of murder.

During the days prior to March 11th, we also held a Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security in Madrid, which brought together numerous world dignitaries and experts and culminated in a draft project, which obtained international consensus, on how to meet the challenge of terrorism jointly and effectively.

The conclusions of the Madrid Summit were unequivocal: there is no justifiable cause whatsoever for terrorism. No idea, however, legitimate, can serve as a pretext for indiscriminate murder. Terror exacerbates conflicts and hampers their solution. Terrorism is the absolute negation of the values that sustain human dignity. Thus there is no room for it in any project of a just society.

Terrorism has been falsely used throughout history in the name of different ideologies or religious confessions. It is therefore not proper to any of them, and it cannot be linked exclusively to any civilization, culture or tradition.

Islam is a peaceful and tolerant identifying element of many countries and many peoples. The reductionist view that attaches preponderantly radical and fanatical attributes to terrorism is a grave error that places entire societies or collectives under suspicion of complicity. It is an error that prevents comprehension and only leads to lack of understanding between cultures.

The aggravation of differences, of poverty and of discrimination in the present-day world is raising a wall of suspicion and distrust between us. This perverse wall is subtler and wider than was the Berlin Wall because it constitutes a spiritual illness. Extremism is growing and voices are joining together to worship the cult of exacerbation of difference and disregard for other people. Distorted images of other cultures and religions are constantly disseminated.

Secretary-General, Your Excellencies,

The time has come to react and to oppose these trends. Governments – both Western and Arab – are duty-bound not to remain inactive in the presence of the widening of the breach.

On the one hand, we have to act with determination in order to solve the real problems and overcome the huge economic inequalities that exist in the world. My Government is making a great effort to substantially increase the Spanish contribution to development. We are also developing specific ideas and initiatives in the frame of the Alliance against Famine,

to eradicate this blot whose persistence in the 21st Century is morally unacceptable, and an agent of instability which is untenable at the long term. I am absolutely convinced that the more people live in minimally decent conditions, the more secure we will all be.

But we must also be able to erase prejudice from our minds and eradicate intolerance. Against inciting fiery speeches, bombs, discrimination and violence, we must mobilise our citizens in order to overcome the mental barriers of the past and build a better world.

Today I appear humbly before you for the purpose of presenting the proposal for an Alliance of Civilisations that I submitted to the United Nations General Assembly in the autumn of last year, and in connection with which we have continued to think and work together with the United Nations General Secretariat and a good number of countries interested in participating in this initiative.

The sense of our proposal is not in itself entirely new. The need to build bridges of understanding between the different cultures of our planet has already been reflected in a number of initiatives that, as against the dangerous prophecies of an inevitable “clash of civilisations”, advocate – in one way or another – constructive dialogue between civilisations, peoples, cultures and religions.

We are aware that the causes underlying the new threats are sustained by two types of phenomena – on the

one hand by the aggravation of manifestly unjust economic and political situations; and on the other (frequently supported and enhanced by the foregoing), by the radicalisation and distortion of their own culture, which turns its back on itself and sets itself up as the exclusive instrument of its own salvation.

This manner of seeing ourselves betrays the values of all cultures. We are convinced that every culture is an absolutely legitimate way of approaching reality and the ideals of human society. Therefore we can aspire to identify the common foundation of our ideas and feelings, and to uphold it against the spectres of intolerance, incomprehension and exclusion.

We want, in short, to open up channels of communication and practical ways of co-operation between the peoples of the world, so that diversity may not be perceived as a threat, but rather as an immensely enriching potential.

We are convinced that the best way to implement this proposal would be within the universal framework of the United Nations, which has already taken important steps in this direction and which has the necessary legitimacy. We intend to focus on achieving a broad international consensus on a project consisting of specific action. Our approach is pragmatic and aims to include the results of previous initiatives.

We are open to any contributions that other countries and friends might wish to

make and, for our part, we suggest that we concentrate on two areas of special significance: the political and security sphere, and that of culture and education.

Efforts in the political and security field must pursue the consolidation of a more just and peaceful international order, since without justice and peace there can be no progress and stability, and it would be difficult to meet the threats to our security. We must work to attain an effective multilateral system, based on respect for the rule of law, the promotion of democratic values and the strengthening of our common institutions.

In the cultural and educational sphere there is also a great deal that we can do in order to foster concord, promote dialogue and prevent discrimination and violence. We must pay special attention to the media and to the crucial work of our schools.

We hope that the proposal for an Alliance of Civilisations that we support will not be restricted to a particular problem or to specific territorial areas. It is vital that all the different schools of thought should be represented together with us in this common endeavour.

We are pursuing a shared objective: that of overcoming the misunderstandings between the Western and the Islamic worlds, taking the initiative for that purpose and incorporating representatives of other civilizations into this undertaking.

These issues are being dealt with in other fora, but there the global dimension

that only the United Nations can offer is missing. We are working intensively with the United Nations Secretary-General with a view to the setting up of a high-level group with a clear and precise mandate. It is a matter of bringing together a number of world figures who will study in detail the factors that have generated the international schism, for the purpose of formulating specific political measures that will enable the United Nations to offer effective solutions for the situation created.

The process is already under way. I would now like to ask the Arab League Member States, whose contribution is essential, to collaborate actively to this endeavour, in order that it may become a specific plan of action within the framework of the United Nations.

The Alliance of Civilisations is a long-term project that must necessarily be complemented by immediate efforts in order to provide a solution to the conflicts that are tearing our peoples apart.

Secretary-General, Your Excellencies,

We cannot allow yet another generation of Palestinians to be plunged into desperation because they are unable to carve out a decent future for themselves in an independent state, free of occupation.

Now more than ever we have to support – tirelessly and all together – the efforts by the new Palestinian leadership to achieve a just peace with Israel. The risks facing

President Mahmoud Abbas are enormous and he will need our help in order to prevail over the obstacles in his path.

If we talk about peace, we are morally obliged to demand the total renunciation of violence, since its continuation will bring nothing other than suffering, harm and delays to the legitimate cause of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people are tired of violence and of the desperation it provokes. They, like all peoples, want peace, but a just and viable peace, which recognises their rights and their legitimate aspirations for an independent state.

Within the European Union, Spain is determined to take advantage of the fresh opportunity for peace by supporting the Israeli Government's Plan for Disengagement from Gaza, under the conditions stipulated by the EU and within the framework of the Road Map, which continues to be the basic referent.

Egypt, Jordan and other Arab countries are also working very specifically to resolve, once and for all, the Palestinian issue, which constitutes a source of instability and violence for the entire region. The League of Arab States can likewise contribute outstandingly to achieving a just and lasting peace, specifically by relaunching the Arab initiative adopted at the Beirut Summit at the urgings of Saudi Arabia, which offered peace and the normalisation of relations with Israel.

Secretary-General, Your Excellencies,

Nobody is braver than he who risks his

life for peace. So let us be brave in order to achieve it now. Unfortunately other nations also suffer from violence and conflict at this time.

The Iraqi people deserve a future of stability, prosperity and freedom. Collaboration here must be undivided (especially among all the Iraqi communities and political groups) aimed at building a state governed by law in which international law is respected, a state in which there is a place for all (including the important Sunni community), independently of their origin or religious beliefs.

We must likewise back the decision by President Bashir al-Assad to withdraw Syrian troops from Lebanon, thereby complying with the Taif Agreements and the Security Council Resolution 1559. It is crucial that we should respect international law and contribute to ensuring the implementation of all the United Nations resolutions.

North Africa is the Arab region nearest to Spain, close in geography, in vital roots and in shared history. The Western Sahara conflict is one of the main obstacles to the process of regional integration of the Maghreb and to the full development of the Maghreb Arab Union. My government has been intent from the outset on addressing this issue with a large measure of political responsibility, wishing to contribute actively to the search for a just and definitive solution to a problem that has already lasted for 30 years and has become the main impediment in the way of full regional stability and development.

The Spanish Government aims to avail itself of its interlocutory skills with the parties, the neighbouring states, and with other countries with a legitimate interest in achieving a peaceful and agreed solution to the conflict, in order to bring about a rapprochement of positions and reach the longed-for agreement between the Parties.

Secretary-General, Your Excellencies,

Let us say it loud and clear: there is no incompatibility between democracy and the Arab world, as shown by the elections held recently in Iraq and Palestine notwithstanding all the difficulties, and as attested to by the encouraging progress in freedom of the press and the political reforms under way in many Arab countries. These are reforms aimed at improving respect for human rights, consolidating the Rule of Law, improving freedom of the press, securing respect for the religious beliefs of every person ...In short, reforms aimed at allowing all citizens to enjoy their individual fundamental rights.

Progress on that direction is a duty, but also the best long term guarantee for political stability, economic development and social progress. We must not be afraid of freedom. Provided it is exercised within the framework of the Rule of Law, freedom is the best barrier against intolerance and fanaticism.

The best example is the situation of women. The more rights are recognized to women in any society, the more stable, rich and educated the society will be. In

this sense, my Government is making important efforts to improve the quality of life of women in a tangible manner. It is an essential task that concerns us all and cannot be further delayed.

The reforms under way in some Arab countries are democratic responses, which have arisen from the Arab society itself; they are changes perceived as necessary by the Arab peoples and their leaders. There is no place here for imposition. On the contrary, we must create common dynamics based on shared ideals. Through dialogue, debate and mutual respect, we must attain objectives that are beneficial to all of us, without excluding anybody, and which offer advantages that can be seen by all.

This is also the spirit that inspires the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process, which this year celebrates its tenth anniversary.

The Mediterranean is very important for Europe, just as much as Europe is for the Arab countries of the Mediterranean. In order to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Partnership between Europe and the Mediterranean, the city of Barcelona will during the next month of November host a summit constituting a point of departure for new ideas and initiatives, on the basis of the still very valid message of collaboration, solidarity and respect that the Barcelona Process inspires.

We will have a good opportunity to make a critical evaluation of its activities

and results over the course of these ten years, which will serve to resolutely relaunch it, with renewed contents adjusted to the new times and new challenges.

Secretary-General,  
President Buteflika,  
Your Excellencies,

Let me also mention another commemoration – in this case the sexcentenary of the death of the great Andalusian Ibn Jaldun – by recalling some of his words that seem to me absolutely pertinent for this occasion: “He who makes history must know the rules of politics, the nature of existing things, the differences between nations, places, epochs, human behaviour, the characters, the customs, beliefs, doctrines, and everything that surrounds the life of men. He must establish all these things in order that the present may highlight the concurrences and the contrasts with the

past, while explaining the similarities and the differences”.

I wish to conclude by once more calling upon you to join forces in order to add and not to subtract; to build instead of to demolish; to collaborate instead of to confront; to respect and not show intolerance; to engage in dialogue and not practise imposition. Let us make a great effort to acquire mutual knowledge that will enable us to build a better present and a better future.

Your Excellencies,

Identity is not what we have been, nor what we believe we are; identity is how we look at the world. Spain and Europe wish to look at the world with the will of understanding and harmony. Let us add our identity so that there is only one look at the world: the look of equality and respect.

Thank you very much.

## **2.5. ADDRESS BY H.M. THE KING AT THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH-LEVEL PLENARY MEETING**

14 September 2005

Mr. President,  
Mr. Secretary General,  
Heads of State and Government,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like to convey my congratulations to the co-presidents of this High-Level Plenary Meeting, their Excellencies the President of Gabon and the Prime Minister of Sweden, who – I am sure – will lead our deliberations very ably.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the President of the 59th Period of Sessions of the General Assembly, Mr. Jean Ping, for his efficient leadership during the preparations for this Plenary Meeting. I have no doubt that his successor, Ambassador Jan Eliasson, will implement our decisions successfully.

Above all, however, we owe the holding of this Meeting to Secretary General Kofi Annan, who expressed his belief two years ago that the United Nations were at a critical moment and initiated the steps to see it through this juncture.

Before proceeding with my statement, I would like to reiterate, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the government and the people of Spain, my most sincere condolences and solidarity to the

authorities and to the people of the United States of America, as host country of our Organization, for the tragic aftermath of hurricane “Katrina” that has caused so many victims and destruction.

Mr. President,

I would like to start pointing out that we should strengthen multilateralism, turning it into that useful tool in order to base international order on the three fundamental pillars- interdependent and indivisible- of peace and security, respect for human rights and sustainable development.

Our societies are every day more conscious of the complex prospect of our present world. We can't disappoint them. The commemoration of the 60th anniversary of our Organization affords the ideal opportunity to agree an ambitious programme of reforms aimed at reinvigorating and strengthening the different multilateral mechanisms and institutions of the United Nations system. The United Nations is today, without doubt, the most powerful and inclusive multilateral instrument in the world.

Mr. President,

This Plenary Meeting has an ambitious

agenda. A review about compliance with the Millennium Goals needs to be done. There is no more urgent or crucial task for the international community today. I believe that all of us have come here with the conviction that we are still far from reaching our objectives and yet we cannot disappoint the expectations created. The new and complex realities emerging at the beginning of the 21st century highlight that the world is dramatically struggling between progress and inequality, without having tools good enough in order to allow progress to benefit everyone equally. The reports and information available about the huge needs, inequalities, injustices and suffering that millions of human beings are still going through are devastating. They break our hearts, especially, those affecting children and the most vulnerable people.

Spain has experienced a sustained economic development, and thus understands solidarity as a rising social and personal value. For that reason, we would not be faithful to our principles if we were not ready to translate our prosperity into co-operation and commitment to others.

I am therefore pleased to reiterate Spain's firm determination to increase our commitment to the eradication of poverty and to the development of the least favoured countries of the world, emphasizing particularly on the needs of Africa, although not forgetting medium-income nations too, especially those in Latin America. Spain is firmly committed to peacekeeping efforts and considers that these should be strengthened. A

good illustration of this commitment is the unselfish contribution of our armed and security forces in several parts of the world, including Haiti, the Balkans and Afghanistan.

I want to pay my sincere tribute to all those involved in peacekeeping and international cooperation missions, devoting their best efforts up to the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. They are a moving example of dedication to the others. I am thinking, in particular, of our soldiers who died recently in Afghanistan in the performance of the mission entrusted to them under the mandate of the Security Council to support the current process of reconstruction and political transition.

No State can hope today to resolve on its own the common challenges and threats to the coexistence and well being of our peoples. Terrorism, always cruel, unjustified and inhuman, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the illegal arms trade and the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law all require a decisive and collective response, based on solidarity and should be duly reflected in the conclusions that we shall adopt.

I would like to express before this Assembly Spain's full support for the global strategy against terrorism outlined by the Secretary General in Madrid on 10th March of this year and recall that one of its main components has to be the assistance and support for the victims and their families.

Mr. President,

The reform of the United Nations bodies is necessary to adapt the Organisation to its new challenges. The promotion and protection of human rights is central to Spain's foreign policy priorities and we therefore support the creation of a Human Rights Council which would assume more effectively the mandate of the Commission on Human Rights, perfecting and incorporating into its work the various existing protection mechanisms.

Revitalising the General Assembly in order to focus its attention on the priority issues of our time; reforming the Security Council – based on the broadest possible agreement – to make it more effective, more democratic, more representative and truly capable of ensuring compliance with its decisions; a reinforced Economic and Social Council in an interdependent and globalised world; creating a Peace Building Commission, capable of filling the void that has existed

until now in post-conflict situations and, lastly, strengthening of the Secretariat and management improvement of the Organisation are all objectives Spain shares and hopes actively to contribute to achieve them.

Before concluding, I want to express the satisfaction of the Spanish Government for the Secretary General's endorsement of a Spanish initiative co-sponsored by Turkey, by establishing a High Level Group that will present a report before the end of 2006 with a view to a plan of action for an Alliance of Civilisations.

Mr. President,

In a year marking the 50th anniversary of Spain's membership of the United Nations, allow me to reiterate my country's faithful and firm commitment to the Aims and Principles of the Charter, to effective multilateralism and to a renewed United Nations.

Thank you, Mr. President.

## **2.6. SPEECH BY THE SPANISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION AT THE 60th PERIOD OF SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

20th September 2005

Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Sixty years ago, the Charter of the United Nations was adopted in San Francisco. It was an event that set the path for the future of nations and peoples. An event in which intelligence is resolutely devoted to peace and justice and willpower is forged for the common interest.

With the adoption of the Outcome Document by the Summit a process of paramount importance is set in motion, one in which you will count on the full support of the Delegation of Spain. I pay tribute to the sustained effort of your predecessor, my colleague Jean Ping, and wish to reiterate to our Secretary General my admiration for his personal and diplomatic skills.

Mr. President:

There can be no doubt: The United Nations has taken a step forward since the celebration of the Summit. We have achieved progress in essential areas. Spain is satisfied with the outcome: the importance of assisting the victims of terrorism has been highlighted. The initiative of an Alliance of Civilizations has

been welcomed. The Summit has recalled the need to continue aiding middle-income countries, while supporting innovative sources of financing for the implementation of the Initiative against Hunger and Poverty.

I would like to recall here that an initiative on United Nations reform was carried in the Spanish Parliament on 13 September, urging the Government to attain a number of objectives, which are now reflected in the Outcome Document.

We have recognized that development, peace and security and human rights constitute the three basic interdependent and interrelated pillars of the United Nations system, and the foundations for collective security and well-being. In our globalized world, we can only solve international problems, new challenges and risks through a concerted action and one that is based on solidarity.

In this collective action, the fight against terrorism is an absolute priority for Spain. The General Assembly must adopt a global strategy that would include the objective of creating an International Fund for the Assistance of Victims. Furthermore,

Spain has just signed the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, and in the framework of the Sixth Committee, Spain is determined to facilitate the conclusion of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism before the end of this 60th General Assembly.

Mr. President:

The Summit has stated that tolerance, respect, dialogue and cooperation amongst cultures, civilizations and peoples are essential elements for the promotion of international peace and security.

This is precisely the conviction that inspired the President of the Government of Spain to propose the initiative of the Alliance of Civilizations during the past General Assembly. The High Level Group of eminent personalities appointed by the Secretary General to evolve this initiative will hold its first meeting in my country this Autumn.

This initiative, co-sponsored by the President of the Government of Spain and the Prime Minister of Turkey, is today more necessary than ever. It is imperative to put an end to this negative drift in mutual perceptions that is being fomented and utilized by extremist groups.

The Alliance of Civilizations is an initiative that is eminently political, one that goes beyond the promotion of dialogue and allows for the adoption of a plan of action with concrete steps in areas such as education, media or social integration.

The Summit must give a new impetus to the fight against poverty. The Government and the people of Spain, who have shown their solidarity, are firmly committed with the Millennium Development Goals. I

The Spanish Government will double the amount for Official Development Aid, to reach 0.33% of its GDP in 2006 and 0.5% in 2008, as a prior step to reaching the target of 0.7% as quickly as possible. We shall also significantly increase our contributions to Agencies, Funds and Programs of the United Nations system.

It is urgent to find innovative and additional sources of financing for development. For that reason, Spain is promoting the "Initiative against Hunger and Poverty" together with five other countries, with the aim to identify innovative and additional sources of financing for development.

In this regard, Spain actively participates in the cancellation of debt in favor of Highly Indebted Poor Countries, and is working on a plan to swap debt for public investment in key areas for human development in Latin American countries.

Mr. President:

Let me reiterate once more Spain's firm commitment with peacekeeping operations, which translates into substantial contributions of our Armed and Security Forces deployed wherever needed under Security Council mandate, especially in the Balkans, Haiti and Afghanistan.

I would like to underline before this General Assembly the high degree of commitment and professionalism shown by Spanish contingents and to recall with pride those who have sacrificed their lives for international peace and security.

The creation of a Peace Building Commission is another achievement of this Summit. Spain, as an important contributor to the United Nations budget and to its peacekeeping operations, is ready actively to participate in the work of this Commission.

Since its inception this Organization has been determined to provide the International Community with a legally binding framework for the protection and promotion of human rights.

Spain shares this purpose and is committed fully to implement the international legal instruments in this area. We have deepened our cooperation with the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and we have increased our contribution to its budget.

We are also pleased with the establishment of a Council of Human Rights, and are fully prepared actively to contribute to the work of this new body.

Over the past year, important legislative developments have occurred in my country, and we have taken significant steps in order to promote effective equality among all citizens in areas such as gender violence and for

the end of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. The Government has also tackled the situation of immigrant workers through the implementation of a wide regularization process.

We firmly support the reform process that will allow the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations bodies and that will ensure the effective implementation of its resolutions. It will hardly be of use to improve the existing structures if the decisions adopted are not carried through. The United Nations must regain its credibility. We believe that the reform, and very much in particular that of the Security Council, must be the result of the broadest agreement amongst all of us. A reformed structure with a greater representation, democratization, effectiveness and transparency calls for a Secretariat that is strengthened in its operation and management.

I agree with the Secretary General that our greatest failure has to do with non-proliferation and disarmament. For Spain, nuclear proliferation represents a grave risk for international peace and security. We are concerned about the illicit trade of small and light weapons and we support the preparation of an International Treaty on Arm Trade.

Mr. President:

I cannot but mention, again this year, the question of Gibraltar, and the need to put an end to this dispute through the implementation of the repeated mandates of this General Assembly that have urged

Spain and the United Kingdom to continue their bilateral negotiations, with a view to completing the decolonization process, in accordance with the pertinent United Nations resolutions. Spain is willing to work in a constructive spirit. This spirit is reflected in the creation of a Trilateral Dialogue Forum whose aim is to produce an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation for the benefit and prosperity of Gibraltar and of the surrounding areas.

Mr. President:

I would like now to address certain issues in the international agenda, in which my country is particularly interested.

Next month, Spain will host the XV Ibero-American Summit in Salamanca. It will be a meeting that will constitute a turning point in the creation of a true Ibero-American space, with the institutionalization of its Secretariat and a stronger will further to contribute towards an effective multilateralism.

Spain pays particular attention to its relations with its neighbors in the Maghreb region. Through an active and comprehensive policy, Spain wishes to reinforce its cooperation with those countries, firmly supporting political stability, respect for human rights and those reforms that are put into place to consolidate democracy and its economic and social development.

In this regard, Spain firmly believes that the Western Sahara conflict that has lasted for almost thirty years requires

priority attention. The International Community must contribute to overcome the stalemate and offer a political, just and definitive solution within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with international law. To that end, Spain develops an active diplomacy and believes that steps taken, such as the recent appointments by the Secretary General of his Personal Envoy and of the Special Representative for MINURSO, open the opportunity to relaunch the process.

In the Middle East, the disengagement from Gaza carried out by the Israeli Government wisely and with great effectiveness, may constitute a powerful driving force in the Peace Process. It is only right to congratulate the Government of Israel for its decision. I also extend my congratulations to the Palestinian National Authority for having significantly contributed for the entire operation to be completed in a peaceful manner. Now that the disengagement has been satisfactorily completed, the Road Map must become again a central framework for the Peace Process.

The time has arrived to increase our aid to Africa and to support African countries in their efforts towards integration, peace and progress. In addition to increasing its Official Development Aid, Spain also considers it a priority to promote the definitive resolution of conflicts that still devastate the African continent.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Summit Outcome Document

constitutes a good starting point to continue working towards achieving the agreements that still elude us. We cannot allow inaction, lack of ambition or shortsightedness to prevent the successful conclusion of the task ahead.

Sixty years ago, the signatories of the Charter of the United Nations translated into an agreement a thought that was as solid as it was simple: we can either walk together towards peace or we will never find it. A year ago, the President of the Spanish Government recalled before this Assembly that the history of humanity does not give

us many reasons to be optimistic. Let us work with imagination and commitment to turn this Organization into an expression of common wills, an organization legitimized by its effectiveness and its universal character. Let us work so that some day we will feel proud as human beings.

We are the United Nations and the peoples of the world expect us to act as such in the face of the challenges and opportunities afforded to us in these times of change.

Thank you, Mr. President.

### **3. Media**

### **3.1. PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT**

Moncloa Palace, Madrid, 9th March 2005

**José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, President of the Spanish Government:** Good afternoon. First, I would like to express my deep satisfaction due to the presence in our country of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, and to express our gratitude because this presence, which has as its main objective the Secretary-General's participation in the Conference on Terrorism and Democracy, is an expression of solidarity, first, with the victims of the March 11 attack last year, and solidarity with the people of Madrid and the people of Spain.

This is an abiding solidarity on the part of Kofi Annan and an abiding solidarity on the part of the United Nations, which I would like to highlight, just as I would like to express my conviction that the fight against terrorism and the reduction of terrorism have as their fundamental vehicle the strengthening of the United Nations, the strengthening of United Nations values, the capacity of the United Nations to join efforts, to unite decisions, and to take on those issues that affect international order and security in general.

I would also like to say that the United Nations, for the Spanish people, means international legality, it means peace; it means

the fight against hunger, and against poverty. Every time that the United Nations and its Secretary-General mobilise themselves in favour of these causes, they know that they can count on many countries, and on Spain foremost. The Spanish people have expressed this on many occasions, in the street and in their everyday attitudes. Now, I can tell Kofi Annan in person, and in the name of every one of them: you can always count on Spain.

Therefore, Spain is a country that plays an active role in strengthening the United Nations. We are the eighth contributor to the International Organization, which represents hope for peace, international legality, and understanding. Over the past year, we have been increasing our contribution to the different UN-led programmes. During this year we have been joining initiatives and efforts within the scope of the United Nations, such as our participation in the Alliance Against Hunger, to demand, from others and ourselves, the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals. And also within the scope of the United Nations, which is the cornerstone of a system of international peace and order, we have proposed the Alliance of Civilizations, an idea and a project on which we are working with the United Nations Secretary-General.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General once again for his presence in Spain, for his solidarity and for the efforts that he is making to invigorate an Organization which is, without a doubt, our best hope for a just international order.

**Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the UN:** Thank you very much, Mr Prime Minister, for those warm words and for the wonderful welcome you have extended to me and my team.

*I am extremely happy to be here in Spain to participate in the Conference on Terrorism and Democracy. We live in one world and the issue of terrorism affects us all. When people in Madrid are hit, or people in New York are hit, or in Baghdad, it does have an impact on all of us.*

*I'm here to express the UN's determination to work with governments and countries and peoples around the world to fight terrorism and to express our solidarity to the victims of terrorism here on the 11th of March, terrorism everywhere and all the victims of terrorism in Spain.*

*I hope that this meeting, which is going to bring together lots of the leaders and people from other parts of the world, will allow us to reaffirm the need for international collaboration and for all of us to pool our efforts to ensure that terrorists are not given financial, support, logistical support or a safe haven in any of our countries. Tomorrow I'll be making a statement on this, so I do not want to dwell on this too much.*

*I would also like to thank the Prime Minister for his suggestion that he has made regarding his Alliance of Civilizations where we hope to get governments and peoples to focus on what unites them and how we can work together as peoples sharing one planet and working in harmony and solidarity, to strengthen peace, development and harmony amongst peoples. It is an issue we are working on very closely and I hope that in time I will be able to say more about it.*

*I have also had the opportunity to discuss with the Prime Minister all the issues of great concern: we discussed Iraq, we discussed the developments in the Middle East, the developments in Syria and Lebanon, developments in Africa, including the Western Sahara issue and other issues and of course, UN reform and the Summit that is going to be organised in New York in September. A Summit that I hope will bring Heads of State together to make important decisions that will reform the United Nations. Policy issues, questions on use of force, on the responsibility to protect citizens who are caught in a situation where gross violations of their human rights are taking place, including potential genocide; questions where, when governments fail to respond to their obligations, become the responsibility of the Security Council. It will also touch on the reform of the Security Council as well as economic development and the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.*

*On all these issues, I look forward to strong support from Spain, which I am sure I will get. And I am sure we will be able to work with other governments to adapt the UN to the 21st century.*

So once again, Mr Prime Minister, let me thank you for your hospitality and tell you how glad I am to be here, and I look forward to joining all the others who have come for this important occasion, not only to discuss terrorism but also to offer our solidarity to victims of terrorism, wherever they may be.

**QUESTION:** I would like to ask the Secretary-General a few questions. Could you tell us some more regarding the Alliance of Civilizations? Are you willing to head a high-level group to put into practise this idea of Prime Minister Rodríguez Zapatero?

Secondly, I'd like to know your opinion about the fact that the United States has named as its new Ambassador to the United Nations a diplomat who is openly and harshly critical of, precisely, multilateralism and the United Nations.

**Mr Annan:** Let me first say that that we are working very well on the Alliance for Civilizations and our teams are working together. In fact I have a team here in Madrid, as we speak, discussing with government officials as to where to go from here and I think we are making very good progress. We are going to be able to identify other governments who will join us in this process and, in fact, I have also set up a panel of eminent persons who will work with us on this issue and all the details will be released as we go forward. But I can assure that we are making very good progress, and I think it's an exciting project.

We often talk of a clash of civilizations, and for once we are talking of an alliance of civilizations, focusing on what we have in

common, what unites us, and in fact stressing the fact that you don't have to detest the other person to like what is yours, or what you believe in. We will be able to give you more details, but I am prepared to work with the Government of Spain and the Prime Minister on this project.

On your second question about the new American representative to the United Nations, first of all, the appointment of a new ambassador is the prerogative of the president concerned. President Bush has made a decision as to who should serve the U.S. in the United Nations. I have worked well with previous American Ambassadors and work well with all the permanent representatives in New York, including your own Spanish representative, Juan Yáñez.

We have many challenges ahead, we have a major conference summit later this year, we have a heavy agenda, an agenda of reform, an agenda of fighting poverty, an agenda of looking for innovative sources of finance, an agenda of stressing the importance of international collaboration and the importance of multilateralism, and of course we welcome working with Mr Bolton on all those fronts.

**QUESTION:** I have a couple of questions for Prime Minister Rodríguez Zapatero. Both in the forum that is being held in Madrid, and in the dialogue that you have had, there are calls for unity in the fight against terrorism. Don't you think that this call, this appeal, contradicts what we are seeing in Spain with the division that there has been over the conclusion to the 11th March Commission?

*On the other hand, I would like to know more details about the Alliance of Civilizations project. Specifically, could you give us more details on what the Secretary-General of the UN has told you?*

**President:** Regarding the first question, I have always expressed the need for the unity of all democrats in the fight against terrorism. I have not only expressed it, but I have practised it, because I would like to remind you that when I was leader of the opposition, I proposed an Anti-Terrorism, Pro-Freedom Pact to the previous administration. Since my administration came to power, I have maintained this agreement, and I have extended information and collaboration concerning the fight against terrorism to all political forces.

Of course, in the fight against international terrorism, collaboration, co-operation, and united efforts have to be essential goals, and I am fully convinced that—just as on an international level this unity is increasingly greater and this unity should be based on the defence of the values of democracy as the best path to defeating terrorism—insofar as international terrorism in our country is concerned, we are going to achieve a strong and solid union, beyond the events we have lived through and beyond the development of an investigation committee which has another objective.

I have no doubt that Spain's democratic political forces want very much to unite against terrorism, and above all, our citizens want this very much, and have the

right to demand it from us. Undoubtedly, this is going to be my commitment, and the commitment towards which I am going to be working.

Secondly, the Alliance of Civilizations. A moment ago, the Secretary-General was saying that we have had two areas of debate in recent times: the clash of civilizations and the dialogue between civilizations. The proposal that Spain has made is: an Alliance of Civilizations. The Alliance of Civilizations represents how persons, citizens, who constitute different peoples, different cultures, and different civilizations, can unite to place their condition as a universal citizenry above their condition of belonging to a certain culture, a certain religion, or a certain country.

In a world where globalization presides the course of history, in a world where international order has more possibilities than ever to be built around rule of law rather than use of force, the Alliance of Civilizations is a necessary condition for this goal of a just international order, based on rule of law and not on force, to gain ground and give shape to the desires of the immense majority of countries.

We are working, as the Secretary-General was saying, to develop what could be an organization of sponsors, a high-level group, which should produce an entire programme of action. As I've already said at the United Nations Assembly, this was Spain's proposal to the United Nations. From that moment on, it became a United Nations proposal, and will proceed

according to the timetable, and have the content, and the development, that the Secretary-General and the United Nations consider appropriate, with our collaboration and with the collaboration of many other governments which are interested and which have expressed their commitment to participating in our Alliance of Civilizations.

**QUESTION:** I would like to dwell a bit on what you're saying. These measures, which, as you say, are going to follow the timetable decided upon by the United Nations, these specific measures—have they been discussed during this meeting with the Secretary-General? Is there anything you can tell us about it—although it's now a United Nations measure, is it always a Spanish proposal? Is there some specific measure, bearing in mind that many countries, specifically, those of the Arab League, where you are going to soon present this idea of civilizations, have already expressed their support? Can you tell us something about this timetable? The question is for both of you.

A question for the Secretary-General of the UN: Have you received the support of the Spanish government on your idea of a new consensus in the fight against terrorism, a new consensus in international policy based on multilateralism? This support that you have received from the Spanish government—have you received it from many other countries, and do you hope to receive it from all of them, including the United States?

**President:** Regarding the development of the Alliance of Civilizations, we are at the phase of sharing

ideas and initiatives, of bringing together persons and personalities in order to set out a path, a working agenda, which, I repeat, will follow whatever timetable and calendar that the Secretary-General decides to follow. Without a doubt, there are already specific ideas of including other countries, other administrations with other presidents; but logically, a whole dialogue process has to be carried out with different countries and with different leaders which, of course, we shall specify within a reasonable period of time and which will continue to consolidate, become stronger. What I hope and desire is that it may be an ambitious programme to make this Alliance of Civilizations into a basic element of international order.

**Mr Annan:** On your second question, let me say that co-operation among governments on fighting terrorism already exists. The UN has been very active in this fight. The Security Council has passed very important resolutions and we have a Counterterrorism Directorate chaired by Mr Ambassador Rupérez of Spain, who is here with us. And the General Assembly itself has passed twelve conventions against terrorism and it's working on a thirteenth comprehensive one.

The Security Council's resolution is law and all governments are supposed to apply it. Of course, some governments have better resources and capacities than others, and now we are trying to seek the necessary means to assist governments that do not have the capacity to do it on their own, particularly some of the developing and smaller countries. We are also concerned about weak states and failed states, and the fact that, if we do not

help them, they will become breeding grounds for terrorists or a haven for them, and this is also one of the reasons why we have linked terrorism and development so closely.

The panel I set up to look at Threats, Challenges and Change cannot define threats in the narrow sense: weapons of mass destruction, diseases and environmental degradation—we need to find ways to deal with all these threats.

And quite frankly, if you look to other powers of the world and you were to ask them what is their greatest worry, some would say ‘terrorism’, other regions would tell you ‘poverty’, others would say ‘environmental degradation’, so we need to really tackle these issues as an international community to be able to help each other out.

So the question of international co-operation, international solidarity and a multilateral approach to terrorism is something that is firmly imbedded in the UN approach and UN culture, and we need to work together—the police, the legal officers, politicians, diplomats and the intelligence system will all have to work together to deprive the terrorists of the opportunities to do the kind of harm they do. Of course, sometimes force has to be used, but that is only part of a comprehensive approach in the fight.

**QUESTION:** I would like to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations his opinion regarding Hezbollah’s proposal yesterday in Lebanon, favouring the presence of Syrian troops in the country, which would seem to contradict the United Nations Resolution in September.

**Mr Annan:** We have been in touch with the governments of Lebanon and Syria, and I have a special envoy working on this problem; in fact he is here in Madrid and he is leaving for the region tomorrow to discuss with President Assad of Syria and President Lahoud of Lebanon.

The Security Council resolution demands that Syria withdraw all its troops and security personnel from Lebanon. Syria has indicated that it is prepared to pull back the troops. The Security Council Resolution requires withdrawal into Syria.

There has also been a suggestion from the Syrian side that they implement it in compliance with the Taif agreement. I think that, from the Security Council’s point of view, what is essential is that full and complete withdrawal takes place, regardless of whether it is done based on the UN resolution, on the Taif agreement, or a decision by the government of Syria. The essential point is that they do withdraw. And the government of Syria has not rejected the Security Council resolution and we will be working with them, and I will have a better sense after my envoy comes back to report to me following his discussions as to how quickly the withdrawal can take place, and I hope he will be able to come back with a timetable.

**QUESTION:** I would like to ask the Secretary-General a question. The Spanish stance at this time on the Saharan conflict, or what Spain is suggesting, is that it is necessary to introduce some adjustments to the Baker Plan to make it viable. What do you think of this proposal, and what inclinations to accept

*adjustments do you see in the parties to the conflict?*

**Mr Annan:** *I had a very good discussion with the Prime Minister and the Spanish team on this. On the final objective to resolve this Polisario conflict, the desire to see the issue resolved so that the Maghreb Union will be able to resuscitate its activities and work as a union, and of course, this also has an impact on its relations with the European Union: we are at one that we must resolve this conflict as soon as possible, working with Algeria and Morocco, and the Polisario.*

*I know that Spain has very good relations with all the parties and we will, as we move forward, rely on countries like yours, and others, who have these wonderful relations to help us resolve it.*

*As to what the final solution would be, it will have to be an outcome of the discussions that will have to take place with the parties. We cannot impose the solution on them, it has to come out of negotiations, discussions and we intend to intensify those efforts.*

**QUESTION:** *This is a question about the Alliance Against Hunger. What would be the practical applications of this issue?*

**President:** As you know, the Alliance Against Hunger has two basic objectives, after having been able to bring together a very large number of countries.

The first objective is to raise public awareness and increase the contribution of developed countries to development co-operation. This increase, of course, is

going to happen, it is happening in Spain, and also, as a result of this awareness, it is going to happen in many other countries. I would like to remind you that this year, we have reached a level of 0.3% of GDP earmarked for development assistance, and over the next three years, as a country, we are going to reach a level of 0.5% of GDP going to development assistance.

The second objective is the elaboration of new formulas of international development assistance financing. These new formulas are being studied by a working group including representatives from all of the countries, from all of the principal countries in the Alliance Against Hunger; new formulas of development assistance financing that could include an international tax on certain kinds of transactions, which could have to do with the process of consolidating other kinds of remittances that are generated by or have their origins in immigration, or could have to do with a commitment to applying different international instruments.

Logically, in order for new international development financing instruments to become consolidated and efficient, I repeat, without determining in advance what could be taxed in international transactions, there has to be political will on the part of a sufficient number of countries ready to commit to this. And at this time there is an important number, in our view, of countries that are ready to commit to new rules on the international transaction level, so that there can be a tax going directly to development, to the fight

against poverty and against hunger. This would be a qualitative leap, if it happens.

It's true that it could also come to depend on the attitude of some great power, and the attitude of the world's more developed countries; but we have to keep up our prudent expectations on this.

These are the two great objectives that the Alliance Against Hunger is working on, and which in the end, have a clear purpose: to attain the Millennium Development Goals in the fight against poverty. We are going to examine

current attainment of the Millennium Development Goals and the Alliance Against Hunger so that this exam can be an exam that the international community will be able to pass, and this success on the part of the international community in attaining the Millennium Development Goals and in the fight against poverty is the success of the international community and the developed countries, because by making an effort that is not that great, we can avoid many deaths from hunger and many deaths from illness for human beings around the world.

Thank you very much.

## **3.2. ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY THE SPANISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION IN “LA VANGUARDIA”**

7th August 2005

### **ALLIANCE OF CIVILISATIONS: A PEACE INITIATIVE**

Almost a year ago, the President of the Spanish Government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, proposed the establishment of an alliance of civilisations during his first speech at the United Nations Headquarters. It was not yet another speech of those one can hear, year after year, at the impressive UN Plenary Hall. The speech was clearly in line with the essential priorities of the new Spanish foreign policy, to wit: a determined commitment to an effective multilateralism conferring upon the United Nations the central role in the search and consolidation of international peace and security, as well as the presentation of new initiatives at the beginning of the 21st Century to address the new challenges of the present-day world, making it possible to forget that dramatic 20th Century of which humankind cannot feel at all proud of.

Of these new proposals, apart from the alliance against hunger and poverty, he underlined the so-called alliance of civilisations. This is, in our view, the best way of avoiding the erection of a new wall of incomprehension and rivalry between

cultures and civilisations that, to-day, more than ever before, have to co-exist and to make an effort of mutual comprehension.

The vision of the Spanish Government is quite the opposite to the thesis of the clash of civilisations, to which some wish to take us as a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Our country, with the legitimacy possessed by countries that have suffered terrorist attacks, has been able to give the best response that our civilised world can provide to these fanatics who want to impose fear and terror: the strength of democracy and of elections, the defence of the rule of law, an effective action on the part of the police and the intelligence services, the promotion of our values and principles and international co-operation, together with a society that maintained its values of openness and respect, being aware that discrimination and disdain are also forms of violence.

Precisely the holding out of our hand to other different peoples and cultures that have suffered or are suffering, like ourselves, the same tragedies and attacks, whether in Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia or, more recently, Egypt, sheds even more light on how timely this initiative is. What is involved is not opposing Islam or the

Arab world, quite on the contrary we have to design, develop and implement together a comprehensive strategy to definitively defeat all these groups that are intent on imposing their agendas of fear, de-stabilisation and permanent insecurity and that threaten us equally in the West and in the Arab world.

Hence, it is important that, henceforth, the United Nations lead and promote this initiative. The Organisation of the United Nations enjoys an irreplaceable legitimacy to address these issues. The dialogue between cultures has had a basically academic and cultural character. The aim of the alliance of civilisations is precisely that of embarking on a political exercise to draw up eminently practical recommendations that may be taken on by governments. It is important that the message directed at Arab and Islamic countries does not come only from Western countries but also from third countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Kenya or South Africa that possess sizeable Muslim populations and which have also faced problems with an extremist origin.

Last 14th July, the UN Secretary General formally announced the launching of an initiative for an alliance of civilisations. The moment chosen for the announcement was significant: just one week after the tragic terrorist attacks in London. The initiative- the Secretary General pointed out- is intended “to respond to the need for a committed effort by the international community –both at the institutional level and civil society levels- to bridge divides and overcome prejudice, misconceptions,

misperceptions and polarisation which potentially threaten world peace”. This is the first time that the United Nations takes on an initiative of this importance promoted by Spain.

Kofi Annan’s statement contrasts with the pejorative and dismissive remarks on this Spanish initiative made by certain sectors of the Spanish political opposition. Nevertheless, this is rather more a common sense proposal as the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, pointed out during the press conference he held together with the President of the Spanish Government at the end of July.

Precisely, what Jihad groups fear and worry the most about is being de-legitimised. They intend to base their greatest strength on their ideological foundations. What they seek is a total confrontation with the Western world. Their greatest fear is to see Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus ... condemning them and fighting for the respect of people's life and dignity.

It is not sufficient for Western democracies to strengthen their co-operation. This is unquestionably a starting point. But if we want to definitively defeat our enemies, the West must find allies in the Arab Islamic world and not only on the part of the authorities, but, also, above all, on the part of the peoples and citizens themselves.

This initiative cannot be the only tool to tackle the great challenge of the 21st Century, namely, the fight against

terrorism, but it is undoubtedly an essential tool within an overall strategy that the international community has to decide.

The security aspect is essential in the fight against terrorism and, thus, security measures must be reinforced both domestically and internationally, substantially improving co-operation between law enforcement agencies and intelligence services, as well as between the different judicial systems. Without the maximum effectiveness on the security front, terrorism cannot be defeated. Nevertheless, we must also use all the political elements within our grasp to win the battle of ideas, to corner those who try to use excuses to justify what cannot be justified, i.e. the assassination of innocent people in the name of their particular points of view. Consequently, it can be argued that it is a mistake to try to oppose political strategies and security ones in the fight against terrorism; both are essential and required.

The Spanish Government is pleased that the Secretary General has adopted, as his own, an initiative co-sponsored by the President of the Spanish Government and the Turkish Prime Minister. This is a reflection of the importance the Spanish Executive attaches to multilateral diplomacy as a line of action that complements the bilateral side of our relations. Also, the initiative is directly in

line with some of the most important principles that inspire our foreign policy: respect for international legality, defence of human rights, promoting development and social change and projection of an open and dialogue-rich society, always willing to act as a bridge between different cultures.

In the case of the alliance of civilisations, the Secretary General has entrusted the drawing up of these recommendations – to be presented with a plan of action in late 2006 – to a High-Level Group (HLG) of eminent persons who will present a practical plan of political action. We very much hope that the first meeting of the HLG will take place in our country and wish them every success in this crucial task.

Spain has come of age politically, economically and culturally and this obliges us to assume new responsibilities on the international stage.

Our society has always responded with fortitude and re-affirming the right of citizens to live in peace and freedom. We believe, therefore, that we have legitimacy to promote initiatives such as this alliance of civilisations. We very much hope that this initiative will prove instrumental in transferring to the international sphere this spirit that has guided the reaction of the Spanish people in the face of all sorts of extremisms.