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NOTE

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2364th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 24 May 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2364)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas):
 - (a) Letter dated 4 May 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15037);
 - (b) Letter dated 20 May 1982 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15099);
 - (c) Letter dated 21 May 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Panama to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15100)

The meeting was called to order at 12 noon.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas):

- (a) Letter dated 4 May 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15037);
- (b) Letter dated 20 May 1982 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15099);
- (c) Letter dated 21 May 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Panama to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15100)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [2360th, 2362th and 2363rd meetings], I invite the representative of Argentina to take a seat at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Antigua

and Barbuda, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roca (Argentina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Street (Australia), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivia), Mr. Corrêa da Costa (Brazil), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Maye Ela (Equatorial Guinea), Mr. Delprée-Crespo (Guatemala), Mr. Lobo (Honduras), Mr. Kamil (Indonesia), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Mr. González Arias (Paraguay), Mr. Calle y Calle (Peru), Mr. Azar Gomez (Uruguay) and Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Greece, Kenya, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Liberia requesting to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite them to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mrs. Jones (Liberia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15104, which contains the text of a letter dated 23 May from the representative of the United Kingdom to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): Mr. President, the month of May has proved to be a very difficult and trying period for the Council and for international peace. But thanks to your committed and judicious leadership, the Council has been able to play a very

responsible and leading role. My delegation is truly delighted to see you, the representative of the People's Republic of China, a country with which Uganda enjoys very cordial and fruitful relations, presiding over the Council during this crucial month.

5. I take this opportunity to pay a very special and well-deserved tribute to my good friend and neighbour, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, the representative of Zaire, for the dynamic and able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of April.

6. On 3 April [2350th meeting], I addressed the Council on the question under consideration now. On that occasion I referred to the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the dispute between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom over the Malvinas Islands. Both the unequivocal commitment of my country to the path of non-alignment and the important role that the Non-Aligned Movement continues to play in contemporary international relations lead me to refer once again to that position.

7. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has consistently maintained a two-pronged approach to the dispute over the Malvinas Islands. On the substance of the dispute, the Movement has consistently recognized the just claim of the Argentine Republic in the special and particular case of the Malvinas Islands, without prejudice to the general principle of self-determination. Regarding the means to be used in resolving the dispute, the Movement has always called for negotiations leading to a peaceful and just settlement of the dispute.

8. As I stated on 3 April—and I reaffirm it today—Uganda, as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, fully subscribes to both aspects of the Movement's position on the dispute over the Malvinas Islands.

9. On 3 April my delegation also voted in favour of the draft resolution which became Council resolution 502 (1982). We did so solely because of our well-known view on the use of force in international relations, a view on which I elaborated in some detail at the time.

10. Since 3 April, the situation in and around the Malvinas Islands has deteriorated dramatically. The crisis has expanded in proportion and dimensions. In the light of these developments, I should like to take this opportunity to indicate the attitude of my delegation, as follows.

1. First, we reaffirm resolution 502 (1982), which remains valid in all its aspects.

Secondly, we cannot accept the use of force and mechanism of war as a method of resolving international disputes. We are mindful of the fact that the

United Nations was founded in order "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

13. Thirdly, we have listened very carefully to the points of view of the two parties. We understand well the issues of principles and national honour involved for the parties in conflict. But, as a member of the Security Council, Uganda is very concerned about the greater danger that this conflict poses for international peace and security. Moreover, we are deeply touched by the tragedy of many innocent lives being lost, needlessly lost, in a war that could have been avoided. For these reasons, we call upon the parties to the conflict, namely, the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom, to cease all hostilities and resume negotiations.

14. Fourthly, we commend the Secretary-General for his tireless peace efforts, which enjoyed the strong and full support of my delegation. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report of 21 May [2360th meeting] that substantial progress had been made before the negotiations broke down. It is a matter for deep regret that this progress could not be pressed to full fruition.

15. Fifthly, my delegation is of the view that the Secretary-General should be mandated by the Council to continue his peace efforts within the framework of resolution 502 (1982).

16. Finally, it is our firm conviction that there is no alternative to negotiations. Only through the mechanism of negotiation can a just settlement emerge, a settlement which will preserve the national honour and prestige of each party to the conflict.

17. Uganda, for its part, will spare no effort to contribute to the achievement of this goal.

18. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, I wish to extend to you my warm and sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May. The skill, experience and wisdom you have demonstrated since the beginning of the month in presiding over the Council's debates indeed reflect China's age-old qualities of wisdom and finesse. We are convinced that, at so critical a time as this in the history of international relations, and particularly in the recent history of the Falklands/Malvinas war, we need a man of your ability at the head of the Council.

19. I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for the commendable efforts he has made and for the outstanding devotion he has demonstrated in the search for a negotiated solution to the conflict in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, in accordance with the unanimous wish of the members of the Council.

20. Two fundamental principles that are seriously jeopardized in this case guide our approach to this

problem which pits against each other two countries with which Zaire has excellent relations of friendship and co-operation: the non-use of force or the threat of force in relations between nations; and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

21. We are faced here with a very serious crisis that crystallizes the interests of groups *vis-à-vis* other groups and thereby exacerbates tensions in international relations, with all the consequences which that implies, both foreseeable and unforeseeable.

22. Who will agree to lose face? Who will step down in favour of the other? Who, in the final analysis, will make concessions to the other, and at what price?

23. It has been said that one can wage war on the basis of calculation, but after that the dynamics of war take over and are incalculable.

24. As regards international relations, after the Falklands/Malvinas war things will never be the same. I do not know whether they will be better or worse, but I hope and pray they will be better.

25. It is with deep sorrow and with renewed faith in the primary mission of the United Nations that we come today to this meeting of the Council.

26. We come with sorrow because the message of the repeated appeals of both the Secretary-General and the Council to the parties to show the utmost moderation and restraint in their use of force in the interests of international peace and security did not elicit the necessary response from the parties concerned and because resolution 502 (1982), the operative part of which was designed to create conditions favourable to a negotiated settlement of the problem, has to date not been implemented and has not enabled the parties to overcome all their differences; sorrow because the negotiations undertaken by the Secretary-General have not yet made it possible to put an end to the crisis or even to prevent an intensification of the conflict, because today the Falklands/Malvinas war seems to have entered a new and critical phase whose consequences no one can yet determine; sorrow because history has often demonstrated that it is a series of little incidents that causes major catastrophes and sorrow because in this Falklands/Malvinas affair it is hard for us not to remember the past, since we have a vivid impression that we have seen this all before and the certainty of a repetition of history, as has been said in another debate.

27. We took note with satisfaction and, indeed, with some relief of the assurances given, the day before yesterday, by my friend and colleague Sir Anthony Parsons when he said: "it is absolutely inconceivable that Britain would use nuclear weapons in the dispute with Argentina over the Falklands" [2362nd meeting, para. 273]. We would expect no less from the United Kingdom.

28. But in this fight—I do not know if it is a case of David and Goliath—everyone should pay due attention to the fact that one party is living completely in the age of nuclear war, while the other is still trying to acquire and master the means to live fully in the age of conventional war, and this in a nuclear era.

29. All this makes us think of a giant whose huge hand cannot get through the hole in a thick wall to seize from the hands of an adversary cowering behind the wall what he believes is his without destroying the wall itself. First, he attempts to slip his finger through the hole, hoping to grab his adversary and recover what belongs to him. If, however, frustrated by the ineffectiveness of his attempts, he forces his hand into the hole, the wall, in collapsing, could cause damage out of all proportion to the value of what is regained.

30. It is difficult for us not to remember, not to remember situations in which cities with a glorious past, with their inhabitants and their cultural treasures, have been reduced to ashes from one day to the next.

31. We feel sorrow also because it is written somewhere that history offers many examples of the inability or inaptitude of the international community effectively to prevent the use of force and breaches of the peace, which often lead to crises much more serious than the actions that provoked them.

32. When the time comes for future generations to justify such actions, no matter what history may record, the dead cannot be brought back, the damage cannot be repaired.

33. During another debate in the Council, I had occasion to recall that in the interest of the cause of humanity, particularly the cause of peace, an imperfect out-of-court settlement, with a minimum of ambiguity, is better in some circumstances than a good trial.

34. Clearly we must put an end to the cycle of violence in the world and apply to disputes that give rise to violence the methods and principles of peaceful settlement and dialogue provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

35. Of course, no one can deny that an attack gives rise to acts of self-defence. But it is equally true that destruction of any kind, loss of life and property, infringements of dignity and the resultant damage to values held dear by individuals and peoples, result in a buildup of frustration and produce violent reactions.

36. In this particular case, nobody has any interest, direct or indirect, in freezing the evolution of the situation that existed in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands before 1 April, when vigorous efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement existed.

37. The spirit of dialogue and peace must replace the spirit of confrontation. I have said that it is also with

renewed faith in the primary mission of the United Nations that we are taking part in this debate, because the peoples and nations of the world have placed and are placing great confidence in the Council to find a solution of crises such as the present one and because the members of the Council are aware—and this justifies this meeting—that the inability of the United Nations to find an appropriate solution to this crisis could lead to tragic developments.

38. The real question that concerns the rest of us here is that of knowing what is the real meaning of the Malvinas/Falklands war. Is it a matter of law, of dignity, of honour or of interests? The origins of certain crisis situations in the world today have their roots deep in time, and also undoubtedly in the conquests of the last century and of centuries past, whereas today these crises can be resolved only by recourse to positive international law, even if such positive law has not yet succeeded in this troubled world in enriching itself over the years with the experience and the genius of many peoples of the world who have not committed that experience and genius to writing. But that international law is and remains one of the surest guarantees of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and preservation of the identity of those who cannot defend themselves alone: the small and medium-sized nations. Everyone recognizes that the situations arising from the conquests of the last century are not necessarily equitable ones, and that is why the international community, through the United Nations, has set up rules and procedures to resolve the problems resulting from such situations.

39. International law was conceived to govern and resolve relations among States, and not to crystallize conflict situations.

40. Thus, to give the impression, rightly or wrongly, that international law, in certain of its highly honourable principles, could have been drafted to confirm certain situations arising from crises is not intended to placate those who believe themselves to have been deeply injured. It poses for everyone unending problems of interpretation, which are themselves the source of conflicts between nations at a time when all of us aspire to peace, peace within our nations, peace within continents, peace between nations and throughout the world, for progress, security and the survival of mankind.

41. In the present state of international relations, and in the absence of an authority, an international public power responsible for sanctioning international law, that law, it is true, is necessarily imperfect and reflects the world's power struggles.

42. The differences of interpretation given rise to by this situation, in view of the clash of State interests, themselves become a source of conflict. But, I repeat, that law is for the nations and peoples who cannot defend themselves alone and is one of the surest guar-

antees of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

43. Therefore, the principles of equity and justice must, in re-balancing the law which was the basis of the old order and in adapting it to new requirements, enable us to move towards a new international political and economic order by means of the democratization of international relations.

44. It is here, we feel, that the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), and all the normative work of the United Nations, take on their importance. While there are various interpretations of it today, no one can deny that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was certainly not designed to confirm situations of conflict, situations that are not within the perspective of decolonization, but to redress them. Thus, in cases such as these, common sense, realism and fairness must come to the aid of law.

45. The United Kingdom, a friend of Zaire, has been scrupulous in acting to decolonize in the world and those actions will be noted in the annals of mankind.

46. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that its current problem is not so much having to decolonize at the other end of the world, but rather seeing its hand forced militarily by a young third-world nation which turned to the use of force, prohibited by the Charter of the United Nations and international law, to resolve a question which has been in negotiation for many years in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; the United Nations itself has noted those negotiations with satisfaction and encouraged them.

47. Is this a question of national pride? Some might think so, even understand it.

48. Argentina, a young third-world nation, its power emerging, a friend of Zaire, wishes and is determined to renew its ties with its history and to recover lands over which it lost control over a century and a half ago. Its emotions are those felt when a lost child returns to its parents' house. But is this a question of law, of sovereignty, of dignity, of honour or of pride? Some might think it is all of that, no doubt, and even understand it.

49. Thus, among so many differences, there are two points of agreement: first, to save the pride and national dignity of all parties to the conflict while establishing conditions for a peaceful settlement of the substantive problems; and secondly, not to involve the world in a cycle of violence by uncurbed recourse to the use of force. We know how conflicts begin, but we do not know how they will end.

50. That is certainly why the Council adopted resolution 502 (1982). That is why the two parties rightly and publicly declared their acceptance of its terms. That resolution did not prejudice the substance of the problem.

51. In my statement on 3 April [2350th meeting], I clearly stated: first, that the invasion and military occupation of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands by Argentina, which some have described as a historical mistake, was not likely to create conditions propitious to a negotiated settlement and ran counter to the principle of non-recourse to the threat or use of force in international relations; and, secondly, that the adoption of a resolution by the Council whose terms would prejudice the substance of the dispute would not be conducive to the search for a negotiated settlement either.

52. The delegation of Zaire took note of the formal assurances given by Argentina that it would join in negotiations, and of its commitment to consider with great open-mindedness the rights and interests of the inhabitants of the islands as well as the interests and rights of Great Britain in that region. As a non-aligned country, we supported and continue to support Argentina's legitimate claims regarding sovereignty, which fall into the category of a decolonization problem. But at the same time we believe that it would be a dangerous precedent, harmful to international relations, to try to settle by recourse to force a problem on which negotiations are under way.

53. Accordingly, while lending our support to resolution 502 (1982), we felt obliged to emphasize that for us the adoption of that resolution would in no way prejudice the substance of the problem and that the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the islands did not imply and could not imply that the claims of Argentina over the islands were affected or rejected by the Council, but that that demand emerged only from a desire to create conditions propitious to the negotiated settlement of this problem and to lead the two friendly parties concerned to the negotiating table.

54. The time has therefore come for the Council to take action, on the one hand, to stop the war and, on the other, to create favourable conditions and to take effective measures to ensure the implementation of its resolution 502 (1982) in the interests of one and all.

55. The United Nations has vast experience and resources in this sphere; clearly, the parties could benefit from that, if they demonstrated good faith and genuine political will to succeed through negotiations and if they maintained a sense of proportion in this matter.

56. The important thing in this matter is found in Article 25 of the Charter, which stipulates that

“The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter”,

and in Article 24, paragraph 1, which states that

“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.”

57. In the report he presented to us [2360th meeting], the Secretary-General—to whom we would once again pay a tribute for his lucidity, his ability and his impartiality—recalls the six points on which in his view the parties basically agreed and the four points on which fundamental differences still seem to exist.

58. The Council should now give a formal mandate to the Secretary-General to continue his efforts on the basis of resolution 502 (1982) in order to bring about agreement on the differences that still remain, and the Council should call upon the parties concerned to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to demonstrate both good faith and the political will to arrive at a negotiated settlement in the true interests of the parties involved and of international peace and security.

59. It is in that spirit that we would make a friendly appeal to the two parties to put an end to the war and the hostilities and to return to the negotiating table to continue the negotiations that were so well begun under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I wish to express our thanks to you and to the Council for giving us this opportunity to address it on the grave matters now before it. Before I do so, however, I should like to pay a tribute to you on the way in which you have conducted the affairs of the Council since you assumed the presidency at the beginning of the month. You have brought to the onerous job of President of the Council your well-demonstrated wisdom and dedication to duty, which we trust will contribute greatly to the solution of the highly explosive and dangerous problem in the Falkland Islands.

62. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, of the friendly Republic of Zaire, who so ably presided over the work of the Council during the month of April. He handled many intractable problems during his presidency with great dignity and wisdom. Indeed, the steps the Council took to contain the present problem immediately when it

arose would have been adequate if those concerned had acted correctly and wisely in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

63. May I also place on record our admiration of the Secretary-General, who has done everything he could to avert the crisis in the last two weeks. His acceptance of the challenge after the unsuccessful efforts of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Alexander Haig, showed commendable courage and determination. We know the Secretary-General cancelled long-planned appointments in Africa, and in particular in my country, in order to undertake those efforts. We look forward to the return of normal times and to fulfilment of those other important commitments. The international community is grateful to him for what he has tried to do in the last two weeks.

64. The grave breaches of international peace and security in the Falkland Islands have created an emergency requiring urgent action by the Council. The problem of the Falkland Islands is not new, but the breaches of international peace started by Argentina's aggression on 2 April are new. There is no need to recount the history of the two problems, as they are already well known at the United Nations.

65. In the case of the historical claims of Argentina regarding the Falkland Islands, the records of the General Assembly debates fully show what those claims are, and one can make an informed judgement on the merits or demerits of the claims. On the current crisis brought about by Argentina's armed aggression, the debate of 3 April [2350th meeting] and the current debate have already provided the facts and opinions necessary to facilitate the search for a solution to the problem.

66. Some of those who have spoken here, particularly those who feel obliged to support Argentina right or wrong, have tried to treat these two problems as one and inseparable. This view is unjustified and unsupportable by those States Members of the United Nations that are friends of both Argentina and the United Kingdom and, like my own country, Kenya, who adhere to the Charter of the United Nations.

67. May I state once more, to avoid any doubt, that my country maintains very friendly relations with both Argentina and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, our obligations to the United Nations and our policy of non-alignment require us to speak out in the overriding interests of international peace and security even if what we say does not please some of our friends.

68. A lot has been said on the issue of the colonization of the Falkland Islands by the British in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of what is said is true and difficult to dispute. Unfortunately, it is equally true of all South and North America. Nothing said on the current crisis or the historical claims of Argentina sets the Falkland Islands apart from the history of

violence and occupation of the rest of the Americas, from the north to the south. The peopling of the two continents is the result of colonial history. We do not have to be lovers of colonialism to say that it is part of our unfortunate past. Others, including those who like to rewrite history, claim it to be part of their national heritage.

69. No Argentine, living or dead, could claim to have lived under colonial rule over the last one hundred years. We were born and bred under colonialism, which we struggled to eliminate. Our own people and part of our continent are still under the vilest form of colonialism. Viewed this way, Argentina is engaged in a pure territorial claim against the United Kingdom based on history, in total disregard of the people who now live on the Falkland Islands. I am not qualified to state whether or not the claims are valid, but if we accept that they are, they should not be settled at the expense of people who now live in the Falkland Islands. They are paramount, and in our view their interests are paramount. Whatever claims Argentina may have against the British, based on history and the imperialism of the past, may be settled without treating the people of the Falkland Islands like chattels in real estate. We have said the same thing before in similar situations, but it may be invidious to name all the cases in our records similar to Argentina's claim.

70. If we bend the principle of decolonization of peoples to look like the redistribution of territories, the United Nations is in real trouble. One has only to look at any map of one's choice to see why. We do not even have to go back 149 years, as in the case of the Falkland Islands, to realize that any attempt to redraw the map of the world would lead this planet to endless war and destruction. This is mainly why the Charter of the United Nations was framed as it was.

71. The peaceful settlement of disputes between nations is a basic undertaking for all members of the United Nations. This principle has been brushed aside by our friends in Argentina. No reason has been given for the sudden change on the part of Argentina on such a basic principle, which it has been promoting in the United Nations for many years.

72. The most recent instance, which I should like to quote, in which Argentina took a stand against the use of force in solving international disputes was the representative of Argentina's recorded reservation on the communiqué of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 25 to 28 September 1981. That reservation reads, in part:

"The Government of the Argentine Republic reserves its position with regard to expressions of support for armed struggle as a means of resolving conflicts or controversies. It is not considered acceptable to resort to force, for resorting to force

is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations.”

73. We are entitled to ask what happened between September 1981 and April 1982, a mere six months, to transform Argentina from a peace-loving country upholding the principles of the Charter to a violent Member of the United Nations committing naked aggression against its neighbours. Argentina cannot claim that the support given by the non-aligned countries in negotiations with the Government of the United Kingdom for the settlement of its claims could be interpreted as support for aggression. The same non-aligned countries support settlement of similar claims in Latin America, but that support cannot be invoked as support for military settlement of existing disputes.

74. I am referring to these matters, which might appear to be remote from the urgent problem of stopping war between two Members of the United Nations, for one important reason. In a number of speeches since this debate started, a deliberate campaign of distortion is discernible. The question of possible aggression by Argentina was reported to the Council by the United Kingdom on 1 April [2345th meeting], when an appeal to Argentina and the United Kingdom to refrain from the threat or use of force was issued in the name of the Council by the President. A similar appeal to Argentina was reported to have been made by President Reagan of the United States. These appeals were not heeded, and the aggression against the Falkland Islands took place the following day. The Council, on 3 April, adopted resolution 502 (1982), calling on Argentina to withdraw its invading forces from the Falkland Islands. Through some perverted reasoning, aggression started when the British forces moved to the Falkland Islands. A lot of play has also been made about colonialism and the decolonization of the Falkland Islands contrary to the letter and spirit of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), whose thrust is the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, not, as some would have us believe, the settlement of territorial claims. But we have already emphasized the fact that Argentina, which is itself a product of colonialism, cannot claim any right to impose its own form of colonialism on the people of the Falkland Islands.

75. An effort has also been made to create a division between the people who live in this hemisphere on the basis of their origins. God knows their origins are in all continents and countries. It is a very backward philosophy, and must be rejected by the United Nations. Indeed, the issue, shorn of all the emotionalism that has been imported into the debate, is whether the Organization can condone aggression by one of its Members. Argentina has committed aggression and has defied the call of the Council to withdraw its forces from the Falkland Islands and to return to the negotiating table with the Government of the United Kingdom in pursuit of its claims. Whether these claims are real or imaginary can be decided in

the International Court of Justice. Territories may be bought or sold. People cannot be.

76. The present case is being watched keenly by many States, big and small. The Charter and the United Nations itself are on trial. Concerted action is called for under the Charter to stop this crisis and to prevent the wrong conclusion from being drawn—that aggression pays.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes first to express its gratitude to the Council for allowing it to take part in the debate on the question of the Malvinas Islands. At the same time, we wish to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his intensive and ceaseless efforts to bring the parties to the conflict to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

79. The bloody colonial aggression of unprecedented scope launched by the United Kingdom against Argentina, a non-aligned country of Latin America, has clearly demonstrated the extent to which the British Government has striven to revive colonialism, which has already had its day, because in 1960 the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 1514 (XV), which expressly proclaims the absolute necessity to eliminate once and for all colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It is not surprising today to note that it is the very people who fiercely objected to the adoption of that famous resolution who are guilty of this aggression and of complicity in this criminal act against Argentina. This anachronistic war, perpetrated by an extra-continental colonial Power to prevent the legitimate reintegration within the national sovereignty of Argentina of a part of its territory subjected for centuries to foreign occupation, represents an expression of total disdain for the broad consensus expressed by major international bodies, including the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It is therefore clear that the United Kingdom has chosen armed force to perpetuate its colonial domination and despoliation of these islands. That choice of violence has unfortunately taken the form of bloody attacks by the British fleet against Argentina. The scope of those attacks and the loss of human life they have entailed have aroused profound amazement and indignation throughout the world.

80. If the United Kingdom has been able to unleash a large-scale aggression against Argentina, which is almost 14,000 kilometres away from its coasts, that is because it has benefited from the formal and active support of the Government of the United States. That Government, which constantly repeats that it is the

sincere friend of the peoples of Latin America, did not for an instant hesitate to give arms to Great Britain to kill Latin Americans, or to betray its regional agreements by aligning itself with Great Britain, its principal ally, against Argentina. The mediation mission of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Alexander Haig, was doomed to failure precisely because of its policy of applying a double standard.

81. If ever the question of Gibraltar were to be on the agenda, we should have no doubt about the position that the Government of the United States would take in that regard. It would certainly sacrifice its second-class ally for the benefit of its first-class ally. That is the nature of American imperialism. That is the way—and the only way—that the United States will conduct its foreign policy. We should not be surprised at this turn-about on the part of the imperialists when their vital interests are threatened.

82. The Lao people, like all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have attained national independence by armed struggle against colonialism and imperialism, know perfectly well the cost of war and of peace. That is why the military escalation so resolutely carried out by Great Britain has aroused my Government's grave concern about the incalculable effects it could have on peace and security in the region and the world. Accordingly, it has launched an appeal, contained in the statement by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of 12 May, which reads as follows:

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic vigorously condemns the threatening and aggressive acts of the British Government, supported by the United States of America, and demands that it immediately cease its military operations in the Malvinas, respect the independence and sovereignty of the Argentine Republic and settle this question peacefully" [S/15088, annex].

83. In that spirit, my delegation believes that the continuing good offices of the Secretary-General, with a view to ordering an immediate cease-fire, would be beneficial to the two parties to the conflict and to peace in the region.

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Liberia. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

85. Mrs. JONES (Liberia): Liberia, a small, peaceful, non-aligned nation, considers the Falklands/Malvinas crisis to be regrettable indeed. The delegation of Liberia is therefore pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Council during its current session on the grave and delicate situation in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands. We also extend our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Zaire, for his contribution to solving the crisis. The world also owes

profound gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has spared no effort to halt the crisis and who continues to do so.

86. When our world finds itself in trouble, as in the present world situation, it is a great comfort, Mr. President, to find a grandfather of world civilization as captain of the ship, and we sincerely hope you will bring us safely into port. The Falklands/Malvinas crisis will indeed require both of you and of the Council the wisdom and judgement of Solomon, as it seems that a good case is being presented by each Member party to the crisis, even the silent Member.

87. My delegation has therefore asked to speak, because we see, in what appears to be a no-win, no-lose situation, that a matter of national honour is deeply involved, and we therefore see this as a case where preservation of the national honour of each party is paramount and must be satisfactorily handled, however delicate or painful that exercise will be. Whether one is large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, one's honour must be defended, whether with missiles or with bows and arrows.

88. Accordingly, when my Government became aware of the growing escalation of the Falklands/Malvinas crisis, it made its position known in letters addressed to both Argentina and the United Kingdom on 5 May, indicating its deep concern and its desire that the crisis be handled within the rule of law. The conflict continues to cause all States Members of the United Nations discomfort, as we witness two Christian and friendly Member States laying aside all their Christian values and principles and resorting to the use of force to settle an issue that could have been settled in a bloodless manner.

89. The world has shrunk to one small neighbourhood because of modern technology and advances in communications and transportation, thereby removing all barriers of distance and time. That achievement makes us all not only our brothers' keepers, but neighbours as well, and the slightest noise or quarrel in the neighbourhood immediately raises concern and alarm, so that we must rush to see whether we cannot bring peace to the quarreling neighbours.

90. My delegation, however, is optimistic that in the long run all parties to the Falklands/Malvinas crisis will stand to gain from the islands. For the immediate restoration of peace and return to the rule of law, a carefully balanced timetable should be arranged on a short-, medium and long-term basis. Utilizing this formula, we appeal to the friendly nations of Argentina and the United Kingdom to use the collective wisdom of the world, which is at present at their disposal in the Council, to seek to obtain justice and peace in the current crisis.

91. My delegation further requests that the mandate of the Secretary-General be renewed to enable him to

continue peaceful negotiation in the Falklands/Malvinas crisis, without any pre-conditions, for the solution of the problems at hand and the implementation of Council resolution 502 (1982), in keeping with the principle of the Charter of the United Nations that force should not be used by Member States to solve disputes. The two nations are bound by the Charter and their membership in the United Nations family not to use force. It would appear that the United States is being accused of having committed an act of polygamy with Argentina and the United Kingdom. Therefore, it should continue its peace efforts, to balance its love in a delicate manner so as to determine who is the head wife and who is the beloved wife. I am sure the African members of the Council can give it some useful and kindly advice on a matter in which Africa is not lacking in experience and does quite well with a minimum of conflict.

92. With every passing day of the escalation of the crisis and the human and material losses, the world becomes poorer, and the poor nations see destroyed in a matter of hours valuable resources that could be used for their development. So many potential doctors, engineers, lawyers, so many hospitals, telephones and schools and thousands of miles of road networks are lost.

93. We also observe that the islands of the world are in danger and that present trends point to the escalation of this danger around the globe in the years immediately ahead. We further note that the twentieth century is fast dying, and yet the ghosts of the cave-dwellers haunt us still. Crises such as the Falklands/Malvinas crisis attest to the ability or inability of twentieth-century men to behave like human beings with a tradition of more than 6,000 years of civilization and committed to the rule of law.

94. Finally, we regret the improper reference made yesterday [2363rd meeting] to female glands, but we have no regret that those very female glands nearly 500 years ago brought into existence what we now call the New World on the two American continents, representing today an expression of man's eternal quest for freedom and justice.

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

96. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Mr. President, I wish to thank you for acceding to my request and inviting me to participate in this debate. I should like at the outset to express the satisfaction of my Government at the fact that a person with your skill and wisdom is presiding over the deliberations of the Council. I fervently hope that under your guidance the Council will be able to achieve a successful settlement which will restore peace and will permit the opening of negotiations between the parties for the solution of

the problems of substance concerning the dispute over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands.

97. Although my country is very far from the centre of this crisis, my delegation felt compelled to intervene in the debate because this conflict involves loss of lives and also because the events which have developed in recent weeks with regard to this dispute are related closely to the very basic provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to respect for which my country is deeply sensitive.

98. Needless to say, I am referring to the principle of non-use of force, which has been flagrantly violated by the sad events in the South Atlantic area. I am also referring, with particular emphasis, to the views expressed by many delegations before the Council, which my Government completely shares, namely, that all forces should be withdrawn as soon as possible and that a provisional United Nations administration should be installed in order to facilitate the conduct of meaningful negotiations. Without a final withdrawal of forces, it seems to us inconceivable indeed to have meaningful, fair and free negotiations between the parties. Nobody can negotiate freely and in fairness any international dispute under the pressure of military presence. On no occasion should a military invasion be condoned.

99. It should be stressed, in this context, that my Government is not taking any position with regard to the substance of the matter. In this respect, the General Assembly has adopted well-known resolutions which could serve as guidelines in the search for a final settlement. As for the modalities, we cannot think of better guidance than Council resolution 502 (1982) and the ideas set forth in the report, excellent for its objectivity, clarity and wisdom, that the Secretary-General presented to the Council on 21 May [2360th meeting].

100. We sincerely hope that the Council will be able to help the parties in settling their differences. It is imperative for the cause of peace that the Council succeed in its efforts. The world needs a Security Council with enhanced prestige. The Council's prestige will be strengthened only if it firmly and consistently continues to follow the pattern of unequivocal condemnation of all invasions and breaches of the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

101. In concluding my statement, I should like, in all candour, to express the highest esteem of my Government for the untiring and wise efforts of the Secretary-General, whose many rare qualities, being brought to bear in the highest international office, constitute a guarantee of the best possible efforts for ensuring respect for the Charter and the pursuance of the cause of peace. We hope that the Council will entrust the Secretary-General with a new mandate to facilitate his highly delicate mission.

102. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of CHINA.

103. The Secretary-General's efforts to mediate in the dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina have failed to achieve the desired result. British troops have now landed on the Malvinas Islands. The armed conflict is rapidly escalating and there is a danger of its continued expansion. The Chinese delegation deeply deplors this turn of events, which not only has heightened tension in the South Atlantic region, but is also gravely threatening international peace and security.

104. For two weeks the Secretary-General undertook the difficult task of mediation to seek a peaceful settlement of the dispute with the support of the Council and of the entire international community. The Chinese delegation takes this opportunity to pay a high tribute to him in appreciation of the enormous efforts he has made. It is regrettable that negotiations can go no further because of the gap between the positions of the two parties, and particularly because the party with superior military strength has taken a tough stand.

105. We appeal once again to the United Kingdom and Argentina to cease their military actions immediately and resume negotiations in order to seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute.

106. The question of the Malvinas Islands is essentially a legacy of colonialism. The dispute between Argentina and Britain over the ownership of the Malvinas has lasted one and a half centuries. They have been engaged in protracted negotiations since the end of the Second World War.

107. The United Nations has adopted resolutions relevant to the decolonization of these islands. The

conferences of heads of State or foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries have also adopted resolutions on more than one occasion clearly supporting Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and calling on both sides to accelerate the process of negotiations.

108. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the struggle of the nations of the third world to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The national aspiration of the Argentine people to safeguard their sovereign right is understandable. In our view, the Council should respect the recent decisions of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries [*see S/15003 and S/15048*] and of the Twentieth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States [*S/15008*] and support Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

109. Any escalation of the military conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina not only gravely threatens peace and security in the South Atlantic region, but is also against the interests of the peoples of both countries. We believe that, given good will and such mutual concessions as are necessary on the part of both sides, they can achieve through peaceful negotiations a fair and reasonable settlement of this dispute.

110. The first imperative now is to halt the hostilities so as to create the conditions for the resumption of negotiations. We hope that the Secretary-General will continue to use his influence and play an active role in this matter. The Council, on its part, should continue to render him full support and co-operation in this endeavour.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.