



# SECURITY COUNCIL

## OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**2368<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 26 MAY 1982

NEW YORK

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#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 2368th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 26 May 1982, at 12.15 p.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/2368/Rev.1)

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 12.40 p.m.*

### 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 the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2360th, 2362nd to 2364th and 2366th meetings], I invite the representative of Argentina

to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kenya, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, 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. Listre (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. Trucco (Chile), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Maye Ela (Equatorial Guinea), Mr. van Well (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Delprée-Crespo (Guatemala), Mr. Lobo (Honduras), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Kamil (Indonesia), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Scheltema (Netherlands), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Mr. González Arias (Paraguay), Mr. Calle y Calle (Peru), Mr. Azar Gómez (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 a letter from the representative of Yugoslavia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative 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. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/15112, containing the text of a draft

resolution submitted by Japan; S/15122, containing the text of a draft resolution submitted by Guyana, Ireland, Jordan, Togo, Uganda and Zaire; S/15115, containing the text of a letter dated 24 May from the representative of Suriname to the President of the Council; S/15116, containing the text of a letter dated 25 May from the representative of Costa Rica to the President of the Council; S/15117, containing the text of a letter dated 25 May from the representative of Argentina to the President of the Council; and S/15119, containing the text of a letter dated 25 May from the representative of the United Kingdom to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for granting me permission to participate in the Council's debate on this very important item.

6. I should like to assure you of our confidence that under your wise and skilful guidance the Council will work in an impartial and efficient manner.

7. The Federal Republic of Germany is deeply concerned about the escalation of hostilities in the area of the Falklands/Islas Malvinas, causing the loss of an ever-increasing number of human lives. We fully share the sentiment expressed at this table that this war, raging between countries which until recently enjoyed cordial and extensive relations, is "the war that should never have happened".

8. The United Kingdom is one of our closest neighbours, friends and allies, both in the European Community and in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are linked with it by geography, history and culture, and more than anything else by a common perception of the values of democracy, human dignity and freedom and the rule of law.

9. At the same time, my country has always maintained close political, cultural and economic ties with the countries of Latin America, and in particular with Argentina. Indeed, a substantial proportion of the Argentine people claim to be of German descent. It is only natural, then, that we should want to continue, develop and strengthen those ties.

10. We do not take any position on the issues underlying this tragic conflict. As other speakers have pointed out, we must realize how deep are the roots of this conflict. We are aware that the islands have been an important national concern of the Argentine people for generations, concern that is reflected in a number of United Nations resolutions and in negotiations with Great Britain extending over many years.

11. We cannot, however, overlook the undeniable fact that Argentina, in defiance of urgent appeals of

both the Security Council and the Secretary-General, chose to settle its territorial dispute through the use of military force. Its military invasion was, as the Council established in resolution 502 (1982), a breach of the peace in the region of the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas which violated two of the most basic principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations—namely, the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the use of force in international relations. This military action led the United Kingdom, in exercise of its inherent right of self-defence, to invoke Article 51 of the Charter.

12. Deeply conscious of the sufferings caused by two world wars, which claimed millions of lives, and situated at the heart of a divided Europe, my people has stressed time and again in the forums of this and other organizations that the utmost respect for the principle of the non-use of force is the essential precondition for the maintenance of peace, good-neighbourly relations and, indeed, the very fabric of human civilization. That is why we have concluded a number of treaties which manifest our renunciation of force.

13. Owing to the ever-growing interdependence of our world, each breach of the peace of necessity affects the international community as such. This principle must therefore have global and comprehensive validity. If the international community tolerates breaches of that principle, it robs in particular the small States of the protection of law and promotes chaos.

14. From the beginning of the present crisis, my Government has issued urgent appeals to both parties to the conflict to explore all possibilities for a peaceful solution. The steps which it has taken, together with its partners in the European Community, with a view to bringing about an early solution of the crisis have included economic measures. What had to be said in reply to certain allegations made by other speakers in this context was expressed the other day [2363rd meeting] by the representative of Belgium, the country which currently holds the presidency of the European Community.

15. We have in particular whole-heartedly supported the skilful and relentless efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a peaceful settlement. He deserves the highest tribute for the way in which he has used his good offices. In my Government's view, he has to the fullest extent possible underlined the great peace-keeping potential inherent in his high office. In view of the significant progress he was able to achieve, we consider that his efforts should be resumed urgently on the basis of a formal mandate of the Security Council, on which the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred.

16. A concrete and specific mandate of the Council would give the continuation of his efforts both a new

basis and enhanced authority, thus improving the chances of finding the earliest possible solution of the present crisis in full conformity with resolution 502 (1982) and without prejudice to the outcome of further negotiations between the parties.

17. It must be recalled that the two most urgent and pressing requirements of resolution 502 (1982) are the demands for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the islands.

18. In view of the horrifying news reaching us every day from the battleground, we are deeply concerned that the longer the fighting lasts the deeper the feelings of bitterness and aversion will be, the gloomier the dangers of a widening of the conflict and the more remote the chances for an honourable, peaceful solution will become. We therefore express our ardent hope that the fighting will come to a halt, and we implore the parties to create the conditions necessary for the Secretary-General to continue his endeavours.

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

20. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): At the outset, Sir, I should like once again to express my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the high and responsible duties of President of the Council. We are convinced that, with your experienced guidance, the Council will respond to its obligations in dealing with the issue currently on its agenda, which has a bearing on the problems of wider international security.

21. I should also like to renew the tribute paid to the representative of Zaire, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, on his successful fulfilment of the duties of President of the Council for the month of April.

22. Yugoslavia has been following the development of the crisis around the Malvinas Islands with grave concern. Both in the volume of the warfare being engaged in and in its intensity, it has surpassed the proportions of the dispute between Argentina and Great Britain, and it will tend to grow into an even wider conflict.

23. We witness with dismay this unfortunate conflict between the two countries—with both of which Yugoslavia maintains friendly relations and long-standing ties—getting out of control.

24. The position of my country on this conflict proceeds from the need for strict adherence to the principles of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force and the need for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and pre-conditions for stable international relations.

25. The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia has made the following statement:

"Yugoslavia has been following the escalation of the armed conflict between Argentina and Great Britain with grave concern. The extent of the use of force and the heavy loss of human life make us even more convinced of the necessity of a cessation of hostilities by both parties and of their seeking a negotiated settlement in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and positions expressed in United Nations documents as well as meetings of non-aligned countries concerning this problem. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries has recently expressed the need for such a solution.

"Since the very beginning of the crisis around the Malvinas, the official representatives of Yugoslavia have, in their contacts with both Argentine and British representatives, pointed to the danger of the use of force and called for the utmost restraint by the parties involved in order to prevent further deterioration of the situation and to achieve a just and lasting solution by peaceful means, in the interest of peace and security in the region and in the world."

26. In our approach we also adhere to the common position concerning the Malvinas, taken at several meetings of non-aligned countries held at the highest or at the ministerial level, in which the just claim of Argentina to sovereignty over those islands has been recognized and supported. There is no doubt that what is at stake is the necessary rectification of the consequences of the past.

27. Aware of the gravity of the crisis, the non-aligned countries, in their efforts to eliminate the last vestiges of the colonial era and recognizing the need for the peaceful settlement of disputes, have on several occasions exerted efforts aimed at its peaceful solution.

28. In the communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on 5 May 1982, the Bureau stated that it:

"1. Deplores the mounting loss of human life in the Malvinas Islands conflict;

"2. . . .

"3. Reiterates . . . that the use of force or threat of the use of force in the relations between States are acts contrary to the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries;

"4. Confirms the . . . support [of the non-aligned countries] for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, as reaffirmed at all summit and ministerial meetings of the Movement since the

Declaration of the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held in Lima in August 1975;

"5. Appeals once again to the parties to the conflict urgently to find a just, durable and peaceful solution in accordance with Security Council resolution 502 (1982) in its entirety, the principles and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the relevant General Assembly resolutions of the United Nations." [S/15048, annex.]

29. Yugoslavia has supported, and still supports, all actions by the United Nations aimed at the peaceful solution of the conflict, since it considers that the world Organization is the body through which these and similar problems should be settled, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. For that reason, we supported resolution 502 (1982) as the most appropriate instrument for the solution of the crisis. To the same end, we supported the tireless efforts by the Secretary-General, for which I should like to pay tribute.

30. Instead of moving in the direction laid down by the United Nations in its resolutions and through the Secretary-General's efforts, the conflict has already turned into a hotbed of war, which, following the logic of the use of force, threatens to spread even further. It has become a firing range for experimenting with the most sophisticated weapons, which leads to an increased loss of human life and hinders the attainment of a peaceful solution.

31. That is yet another reason for urgent action by the international community aimed at securing the cessation of hostilities between the two countries and at a negotiated settlement. The foundations for such a solution already exist in United Nations resolutions and in the activity of the Secretary-General and the Council, particularly through the implementation of resolution 502 (1982). This, of course, implies the withdrawal of forces by both parties and entrusting the Secretary-General with a mandate for further action.

32. We remain consistent in our assessment of the substance of the issue, which lies in the inadmissibility of the use of force in any phase of the developments and in the fact that the peaceful establishment of Argentine sovereignty is indispensable. We are encouraged that the Council has taken the first steps towards securing a cessation of hostilities and creating conditions that will make possible a just solution of this issue.

33. Mr. DORR (Ireland): In my statement on Friday last [2360th meeting], I explained why Ireland had sought a meeting of the Council. I said that we had two reasons for doing so. First, we felt that the Secretary-General would wish to report to us on his long and patient efforts to reach a settlement. Secondly, we felt that the Council, despite the possible limita-

tions on its actions, had a duty to meet when other efforts failed to consider if any possibilities remained of stopping the conflict.

34. I also said that the challenge we faced was to find a way of calling a halt as soon as possible to the present fighting and allowing negotiations to resume, while maintaining our full support for the basic principles already endorsed by the Council.

35. Finally, I suggested that there could be merit in having the Council formally ask the Secretary-General to renew his efforts, but this time with the added strength which a formal mandate from the Council could give him.

36. I spoke again yesterday [2366th meeting] and put forward a draft resolution [S/15106] which Ireland hoped could be the basis for common action by the Council. I explained our view by saying that war is a failure of politics and of negotiation and that in our time, when we have evolved methods and procedures for resolving international conflict without war, we wanted to see an end to the war and a return to those procedures.

37. Our draft resolution was intended, therefore, precisely to get the Secretary-General's laudable and worth-while efforts back on the rails and to give him a new mandate and a new impetus. We also sought in our proposal to provide the parties with the most reasonable basis for a cease-fire and an end to the fighting, if they were prepared to stop fighting. In particular, we introduced the idea of United Nations observers who might monitor that cease-fire.

38. When I spoke yesterday, I explained that on this point of bringing an end of the fighting, in order to allow the best chance of success for the Secretary-General's efforts, we envisaged three stages. The first stage, in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which was introduced by the phrase "Urges the parties to the conflict to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission", went on to suggest that a first step that they might take would be to agree to a complete suspension for 72 hours in order to allow him to undertake the second stage, that of working out with them the details of a cease-fire, including, possibly, the dispatch of United Nations observers. This, then, in turn would prepare the way for the third stage, which would be a resumption, with a more formal mandate, of his previous efforts.

39. As I have said, our aim throughout in seeking a meeting of the Council and in putting forward a proposal has been to try to find a common basis on which the Council could act and which could offer help and hope to the two parties which are at present locked in combat, without a betrayal of the strong principles which one side is defending and without ignoring the grievances which the other has felt for a long time. The draft resolution that will be introduced formally in a moment by my colleague, the repre-

sentative of Uganda, is a slightly revised version of this basic text. Following the extensive consultations which have taken place over the past day or so, we and the other co-sponsors of this draft resolution believe that it can be the basis for common action by the Council.

40. Since the draft resolution will be formally introduced in a few moments, I shall not go into detail on the modifications which have been made in the text of yesterday. But I do want to explain one point on the relation between the two texts. Both texts express in exactly the same language, in the last preambular paragraph, the concern of the Council to achieve, as a matter of the greatest urgency, a cessation of hostilities and an end to the present conflict. Both texts obviously give a formal mandate to the Secretary-General to continue the efforts which he had been making. Our text of yesterday envisaged three steps. I have already explained that first, in urging the parties to co-operate fully, we asked them in our original text as a first step to stop fighting for 72 hours in order to allow the Secretary-General to work out with them the details and other aspects of a lasting cease-fire. The revised text, which we are co-sponsoring with five members of the non-aligned group in the Council, has a very similar structure and it too urges the parties to the conflict to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission. It too goes on to ask him to work out with them mutually acceptable terms for a cease-fire, and it too envisages United Nations observers who might monitor that cease-fire. All this, of course, in both texts would be a preparation for the resumption on a more formal basis of the negotiations which were derailed, shall we say, and which we want to get back on the rails.

41. The point of difference—and this is the only point that I want to make on this—is that our revised text does not explicitly ask the parties to agree to stop fighting for 72 hours. It does, however, just as our text of yesterday did, urge them to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission, and we would hope that, their having heard all that has been said here, that co-operation will in fact take the form of ensuring, in so far as the fighting is concerned, that the proper basis will be available for the Secretary-General to do what we are asking him to do in both versions of the proposal. In both versions we are asking him to do the same thing, namely, to enter into contact with the parties and immediately to work out mutually acceptable bases for a cease-fire, including, if necessary, United Nations observers.

42. Even if the revised version of today does not explicitly ask the parties to cease hostilities for 72 hours while that is done, it does in general urge them to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission. I would hope that each side in its wisdom will find it possible to provide a basis on which the Secretary-General can do what we are asking him to do in consultation with them.

43. We know well that we are giving a very difficult task to the Secretary-General. But I should like to emphasize that we, as a Council, if we adopt this proposal are strongly urging the parties to co-operate in that task and are providing, I hope, a common basis in the Council on which they can stop fighting and get back to negotiation if they wish to do so. That would satisfy the concern of the Council as expressed in the last preambular paragraph of both texts, namely, to achieve as a matter of the greatest urgency a cessation of hostilities and an end to the present conflict.

44. Ireland is happy and honoured to join with five members of the non-aligned group in the Council in sponsoring this revised version of our proposal, and we strongly hope that it can be the basis for common action by the Council. But common action by the Council on its own will not be enough. What the Council and we have been trying to do is to provide the parties with a basis for common action, a basis which, as I have said, will restore negotiation, bring war to an end, uphold the principles which we strongly believe must be upheld and, at the same time, offer a way to deal through negotiation with grievances which have been and are deeply felt.

45. That was our aim, our only aim, in asking for a meeting of the Council; that was our aim, our only aim, when I spoke here on Friday last; that was our aim, our only aim, when I spoke yesterday and put forward a proposal; that remains, as far as my delegation is concerned, our aim, our only aim, in joining with five other countries in the Council in putting forward a revised version of that text which we hope adopts the same approach and leaves it to the parties to do what our version of yesterday asked them explicitly to do, what we still believe they must do: co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the difficult but important mission which we are giving him.

46. I am absolutely confident that the Secretary-General, for his part, will carry out that mission with the highest skill and dedication. We already have every evidence of that high skill and dedication. What we now hope is that the parties, on the basis which I have described, will find it possible to give him the necessary co-operation so that this debate in the Council and whatever result we achieve today will have the final effect of ending a dangerous conflict, upholding principle, finding a basis on which grievances can be resolved and, finally, vindicating the role of the United Nations and of the Security Council as a body which addresses itself to conflict and tries to find a way of bringing it to an end.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I call on the representative of Uganda to introduce the draft resolution.

48. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): On behalf of the delegations of Guyana, Ireland, Jordan, Togo, Zaire

and my own delegation, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document S/15122.

49. In the view of the sponsors of this draft resolution, a definite area of consensus has emerged in the debate which the Council has been holding for the last several days. Many delegations which have spoken have expressed deep concern over the conflict in and around the Malvinas Islands. They have expressed particular concern over the tragic loss of life and over the danger that the conflict posed to international peace and security.

50. Many delegations expressed their support for the Secretary-General's efforts and expressed their desire to have the Secretary-General renew his mission of good offices within the framework of a formal mandate from the Council.

51. Most delegations expressed the desire to see the Council initiate measures which would put an end to the present hostilities. The draft resolution before the Council seeks no more than to express these areas of consensus. The essential and most significant provisions in the draft resolution are these.

52. First, in operative paragraph 2, the Council:

*"Requests the Secretary-General, on the basis of the present resolution, to undertake a renewed mission of good offices, bearing in mind resolution 502 (1982) and the approach outlined in his statement of 21 May 1982".*

53. Secondly, in operative paragraph 3, the Council

*"Urges the parties to the conflict to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission with a view to ending the present hostilities in and around the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)".*

54. The third element is contained in operative paragraph 4, which requests the Secretary-General to begin discussions with the parties immediately

*"With a view to negotiating mutually acceptable terms for a cease-fire, including, if necessary, arrangements for the dispatch of United Nations observers to monitor compliance with the terms of the cease-fire".*

55. Those are the most essential and significant provisions of the draft resolution before the Council. There is a need, as has been said by many delegations, for urgent action. I commend the draft resolution to members of the Council and hope that it will be possible for the Council to adopt it unanimously.

56. In the view of the sponsors, if this draft resolution is adopted it may make a modest contribution towards peace.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/15122.

58. I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the vote.

59. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connection with the draft resolution submitted to the Council for consideration and contained in document S/15122, my delegation would recall that in our statement of 22 May [2362nd meeting], we said that it was necessary to adopt as soon as possible a decision containing the political elements of balance necessary to make it viable, and which would provide not only for an immediate cessation of hostilities, but also for the separation of the two forces and a military withdrawal, and for the setting up of negotiating machinery under the auspices of the United Nations to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter as well as emphasizing the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the application of relevant United Nations resolutions on the issue of the Malvinas as a question of decolonization.

60. In this connection, we summarized our position in the following three concepts: cessation of hostilities, negotiation and peace.

61. The draft resolution submitted to us now does not order the immediate cessation of hostilities. It contains only one formula, under which the Secretary-General is to enter into immediate contact with the parties "with a view to negotiating mutually acceptable terms for a cease-fire".

62. In the view of my delegation, it would have been preferable for this body, which has been entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security, to have ordered an immediate cease-fire and to have given a more specific mandate to the Secretary-General.

63. Nevertheless, and in view of the gravity of the situation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution and will, of course, support all the actions of the Secretary-General, who has been entrusted, we must in all fairness recognize, with an extremely difficult and delicate task.

64. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Panama wishes to explain its vote on the joint draft resolution contained in document S/15122. In this connection, I note that this draft resolution refers to Council resolution 502 (1982), to which my delegation objected because we felt that it was unrealistic and illogical and was not in keeping with the circumstances which existed at the time the resolution was adopted.

65. My Government notes that the present draft resolution does not contain all the elements necessary



for the attainment of a just and lasting peace. There is one basic omission which we should like to mention, namely, the fact that no reference is made to a question which is fundamental in this conflict, that is, the decolonization of the Malvinas archipelago. The negotiations cannot be separated from the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the decolonization of the Malvinas archipelago, especially resolution 2065 (XX), adopted in 1965. This is a question which my country deems so fundamental that the President of the Republic of Panama, Mr. Aristides Royo, has stated the following:

"It is a fact that the United Kingdom, during its occupation of the Malvinas and its dependencies, has long caused great annoyance by its failure to heed the resolutions on decolonization adopted in the United Nations. Argentina, in order to revindicate its national honour and interests, has not been the cause but it has suffered the result of an unjust and unacceptable situation, rendered worse by the continued reluctance of the United Kingdom to reach a peaceful agreement after many years of fruitless negotiations. The United Kingdom is the party which completely undermined the principle of law by denying any results or hopes to the negotiation process."

66. Apart from this most fundamental issue, I should like to refer to the elements contained in the draft resolution. They have already been mentioned by the representative of Spain.

67. Those elements are not set out here in the order which my country would have preferred. Panama informed the Council of the urgency of proceeding first to an immediate cease-fire and to an immediate cessation of all military activities. My country would have liked that cease-fire to have been ordered by the Council, in accordance with its powers, and concurrently the Secretary-General might then have started to act in pursuance of the Council's mandate.

68. We are placing on the very strong and competent shoulders of the Secretary-General a very difficult responsibility. We must be aware of that situation.

69. The renewed mission of good offices which is to be entrusted to the Secretary-General has inverted the order of the elements, since the Secretary-General is given this responsibility in order to negotiate with the parties so that they may agree to mutually acceptable conditions for a cease-fire.

70. The Council may well imagine the difficulties which the Secretary-General will have to cope with, particularly since my country has all along maintained that it is the United Kingdom which has not yet had the political will to sit down and negotiate in good faith on this matter.

71. We harbour the hope that perhaps this parenthesis which is about to be opened might lead to a situa-

tion where the negotiation thus created would lead to reason and good sense which might restore peace to the western hemisphere.

72. I should also like to make brief reference to another element in which the parties are urged to co-operate with the Secretary-General with a view to ending the present hostilities. Hostilities must be understood to mean hostilities by the United Kingdom as well as Argentina, not by just one country. By hostilities we must understand the term to refer to both parties.

73. I should now like to mention another element which is missing from this draft resolution. An appeal should have been made here to all the member States of the international community, especially to the members of the Council and more specifically to the permanent members of the Council, to abstain from supplying arms, ammunition and war material to the United Kingdom and to Argentina. I am referring to this because the press today states that a permanent member of the Security Council—not China, nor France, nor the Soviet Union—has sent missiles, ammunition and other war material to the United Kingdom to replace what has been used in its struggle against Argentina and for the continuation of this long war.

74. I can tell the Council what the reaction will be in Latin America. Does that permanent member feel that the Argentines and the Latin Americans, who will in increasing numbers go as volunteers to fight alongside Argentina just as the Argentines helped others in their independence struggles, are ferocious beasts or savage animals which must be exterminated and that these death-dealing machines must be dispatched there to wipe out Latin Americans?

75. That is going to be the reaction in Latin America and that is why we ask that, although it does not appear here, that feeling must be taken into consideration in the Council; we must bear in mind that this is not merely a conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina but also involves responsibilities on the part of States, particularly States of the region which in the past have had agreements and understandings and which cannot thus become the providers of weapons of death and extermination to be used against their neighbours, against those who at one time were referred to as belonging to the same family of nations. They spoke a language of friendship and understanding, but now they can be neither friendly nor understood.

76. I should like to mention that Panama too asked for this meeting of the Council because it too wants peace to return, but it wants a just peace. We know that, in the framework of the present situation, this draft resolution appears to be the only formula that is viable at this time and likely to receive the affirmative vote of a sufficiently large number of Council

members, thereby winning approval for it and making it a resolution.

77. Panama will not oppose the adoption of this draft resolution. We have expressed our fears and our concerns and our very special feelings for the Secretary-General, to whom we wish to reiterate our support, confidence and co-operation. We agree with the statement that has just been made, that a very difficult mission has been entrusted to him. He himself has asked what he can accomplish in seven days. The answer is surely whatever the parties will allow him to do, the co-operation given to him by the parties, particularly the country that has in the area four fifths of its fleet—not that the same number of ships will return to their home port—so that the Secretary-General can make some progress.

78. This does not mean that the Council is abdicating its responsibility. The Council has the duty to take specific measures and, if after a certain period of time it becomes necessary, we shall be in a position to request another meeting in order to make a statement. We hope that the Secretary-General will be successful in his very difficult and dramatic task. We have every confidence in his skill and integrity, his impartiality and his character. We know that, at the opportune moment, or if no progress is made in the negotiations, he will come back to us after seven days, or even sooner, so that the Council can assume its responsibilities.

79. I reiterate that Panama will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a contribution to the search, through the Secretary-General, for a solution.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should now like to make a statement as the representative of CHINA in explanation of vote.

81. For the past five days the Council has been engaged in a debate on the question concerning the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas). As a result of the efforts of the representatives of Ireland, Uganda and others, and after repeated consultations, a draft resolution acceptable to all has finally been drawn up. We are of the view that, since this has created certain conditions to facilitate a cease-fire and the resumption of negotiations and also formally renews the Secretary-General's mandate to continue his efforts, it can be considered a step forward, and we should like to express our appreciation of those efforts. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

82. However, the draft resolution has failed to ask an immediate cease-fire and has not fully affirmed the results achieved by the Secretary-General in the two-week effort he undertook, as the basis for his renewed effort—namely, that both sides should agree to withdraw their forces simultaneously, that an

interim United Nations administration should be established, and so forth.

83. We sincerely hope that, with the adoption of the draft resolution, the parties concerned will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General so that a peaceful, just and reasonable solution may be found at an early date.

84. I now resume my capacity as PRESIDENT.

85. The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/15122.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 505 (1982)).*

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I now call upon the Secretary-General.

87. The SECRETARY-GENERAL (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to thank the members of the Council for their approval and support of the steps that I took in pursuit of the objectives of resolution 502 (1982). I must now express my sincere appreciation of the renewed confidence shown by the Council today.

88. The Council is surely conscious of the serious problems which this mission entails. For my part, I feel obliged to state that, while I recognize the difficulties encountered by the Council in reaching an agreement of this nature, I fear that the terms of reference may not provide sufficiently clear and precise guidance either to the parties or to myself. When war is in full swing, as is now the case, the early achievement of a cease-fire and a return to negotiations is certain to be extremely difficult. The Council can be assured that, nevertheless, I shall do all in my power to bring about peace. As a first step in this new effort, I would urge the parties to recognize that a lasting solution of the crisis in the South Atlantic can only be achieved through negotiations. The first requirement for negotiations is a cessation of armed conflict. Herein lies the common interest of both sides. I remain convinced that the restoration of peace can be accomplished in consonance with resolution 502 (1982) and the progress made in my earlier efforts.

89. I must hope that the force of reason and the tragic cost of continuing conflict will make the parties ever more aware of the weight of their responsibility and thereby facilitate the early end of this crisis.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to make statements after the voting.

91. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): My delegation is not pressing to have its own draft resolution, contained in

document S/15112, put to a vote because in our view the main ideas of the Japanese draft resolution have been well incorporated in the six-member draft resolution that has just been adopted, a resolution that my delegation was of course very pleased to support.

92. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In its statement of 22 May [*ibid.*], the Soviet delegation has already set out the Soviet Union's position with regard to the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

93. In an official statement by TASS dated 23 May [S/15105, *annex*], reference is made to a new and dangerous turn taken by the conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), as a result of the United Kingdom's launching a massive attack on the islands, using military aircraft, warships and a landing force.

94. There is no doubt that responsibility for the situation which has arisen around the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) lies with the United Kingdom, which has for many years stubbornly opposed the implementation of the United Nations decisions concerning the decolonization of the islands and the settlement by peaceful means of the dispute with Argentina about sovereignty over them.

95. The TASS statement also includes the following passage:

"In expressing concern about the dangerous turn of events around the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Soviet leading circles condemn the use of military force by the United Kingdom. The bloodshed must be stopped immediately. Urgent efforts are required, chiefly within the framework of the United Nations, to settle the dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina by means of negotiations." [*Ibid.*]

96. It was on that basis that the Soviet delegation voted in favour of the resolution adopted today by the Council. It is our hope that it will lead to an early cessation of bloodshed and permit the Secretary-General to make new efforts to restore peace in the area.

97. Nevertheless, we see certain shortcomings in the resolution. The Soviet delegation in particular would like to affirm its position concerning Council resolution 502 (1982), references to which are made in the resolution that we have just adopted. As we have already pointed out, resolution 502 (1982) entirely disregards the problems of the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which is provided for in the relevant decisions of the General Assembly. This aspect of the matter must be taken into account in any just settlement of the conflict. The restoration of the colonial status of the islands by means of force is inadmissible.

98. We also wish to stress with the utmost vigour that the Soviet Union is in favour of an immediate, final cessation of all hostilities in the region of the islands, and we are in favour of the immediate implementation of the resolution adopted today.

99. In conclusion, we wish the Secretary-General success in his efforts to carry out the mandate in the resolution. As the TASS statement says:

"We in the Soviet Union are convinced that, whatever the positions of the parties on the substance of the conflict may be, the questions in dispute between them must be resolved by peaceful means, at the negotiating table. The longest negotiations are better than even a short war." [*Ibid.*]

100. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I should like once again, Mr. President, to express my Government's appreciation of the skill and judgement with which you have conducted, and are continuing to conduct, the affairs of the Council during a month in which it is dealing with a terribly difficult problem.

101. The United States has already explained here that the conflict is particularly poignant and painful for us. We have already expressed our intense desire to reduce, to isolate and to end this tragic conflict. I believe that we have given evidence of the seriousness of our desire. My Government, in the person of the Secretary of State, made a sustained effort to avert the conflict, and subsequently we have offered full support to the efforts of Peru's President Belaúnde and, of course, the efforts of the Secretary-General.

102. The United States ardently desires an end to this tragic war. We welcome the resolution and pledge our continued support for the Secretary-General's efforts to find a just and enduring peace.

103. I should like to take this opportunity to assure the representative of Panama, and any other interested parties, that my country has deep respect for all our neighbours in the hemisphere; that we greatly desire to live in peace with them; that we are ourselves part of this hemisphere; and that we desire to put an end to the conflict, so that we can get on with the business of living in peace in the hemisphere. As I said last week [2362nd meeting], the quicker we put this tragic conflict behind us, the quicker we can begin building our future, and then, as always, the nations of Latin America will find how deeply the United States is committed to the cause of peace and prosperity for our hemisphere.

104. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I should like first to express my delegation's heartfelt appreciation to the delegations of those non-aligned countries that have worked so hard to produce

the text of the resolution that has just commanded unanimity in the Council.

105. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution because it contains a clear reaffirmation of resolution 502 (1982). It registers beyond doubt that the Secretary-General's efforts have been and will be concentrated on ensuring the implementation of resolution 502 (1982). That is the key to the return of peace to the region, which all of us so devoutly wish. In particular, the key lies in paragraph 2 of that resolution—the unconditional demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the Falkland Islands.

106. My delegation will certainly co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his renewed mission, but, in the light of certain statements made by delegations in the debate and in explanation of vote this afternoon, I must make it clear, so that there is absolutely no misunderstanding, that for our part the only acceptable condition for a cease-fire is that it should be unequivocally linked with an immediate commencement of Argentine withdrawal.

107. The history of the past two months has done nothing to create British confidence in the Government of Argentina. First, Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands without warning while negotiations were still in progress and in defiance of the Council's appeal of 1 April [2345th meeting, para. 74]. Secondly, we have exerted ourselves to the utmost in six rounds of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the crisis brought about by the Argentine invasion. In every instance we have found at the end that we have travelled in a circle, or rather that we have never left the point of departure. Hence, a simple verbal agreement by Argentina to withdraw its forces would not be sufficient for a cease-fire. This must be on the basis of an Argentine commitment to practical and irrevocable arrangements for immediate withdrawal.

108. In the light of other statements made this afternoon, the Council should also be quite clear on another point. The situation has changed since the Secretary-General reported to the Council on 21 May [2360th meeting]. Paragraph 2 of resolution 502 (1982) is plainly stated. We are talking about Argentine withdrawal. We cannot now accept that Argentine withdrawal be linked in any way to parallel British withdrawal.

109. We do not minimize the difficulty of the Secretary-General's task, but I would be the last in the world to underestimate his great skill and his devotion. If anybody can succeed in the task before him, it is the Secretary-General, and I should like again to assure the Council that my delegation will co-operate with him to the full.

110. I cannot conclude this statement without expressing a little surprise at the explanation of vote,

or parts of it, just delivered by the representative of the Soviet Union. On 1 April, the Soviet Union joined in the call by all members of the Security Council to Argentina and the United Kingdom to refrain from the use of force. On 2 April, Argentina did use force. This was registered in resolution 502 (1982), which the Soviet Union did not oppose. I am still waiting to hear a word of condemnation of this first use of force from my colleague from the Soviet Union. He has adopted, if I may say so, a one-eyed stance this afternoon, not seeing the use of force by Argentina but focusing with one eye on the United Kingdom's actions in exercise of our right to self-defence.

111. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I now call on the representative of Argentina.

112. Mr. LISTRE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Argentine Republic would like first of all to express its gratitude to the members of the Council who have spent many long hours considering the serious problem of the South Atlantic. My delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the President of the Council, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for his perseverance, his efforts, and his skilful conduct of these deliberations. I should accordingly like to associate myself with what the Foreign Minister of my country said to him a few minutes ago in his office.

113. We should also like to express gratitude to the delegation of Ireland for the responsible attitude it has been adopting for some time with a view to ensuring that the Council meet its obligations as the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, first, by requesting the formal meeting of the Council, and then by submitting the draft resolution which was the basis of the document which has just been voted upon. We should also like to thank those members of the Council that are also members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, together with Ireland, submitted the text just adopted.

114. I must also express gratitude to those countries not members of the Council which took part in the discussions, supporting the right of my country to the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, and putting forward constructive ideas for resolving the conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, I think it is appropriate to remind the Council that the view of the majority of its members, as well as that of other representatives of countries that are not members of the Council but which took part in the deliberations, was that a cease-fire was necessary. A decision to call for a cease-fire would have been in keeping with the direct responsibility imposed upon this body by Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to emphasize that, despite this fact, the Council has been prevented by the intransigence and pressures of more than one permanent member of the Council from

taking such a decision and is now transferring a heavy responsibility to the Secretary-General.

115. I can assure you that the Argentine Republic will comply with the call in the resolution just adopted to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General with a view to bringing about an end to hostilities and a diplomatic solution of the conflict, as requested in the resolution. It could not be otherwise, because my country has always supported the purposes and principles of the Charter and has always supported the Council and the Secretary-General. With respect to the Secretary-General, our gratitude is further strengthened by his personal qualities and the ceaseless and tenacious efforts he has already made, about which he informed us in his statement of 21 May [*ibid.*].

116. The Argentine Republic will resume these negotiations with the firm purpose of achieving a solution of the conflict and the restoration of peace, without giving up any of our rights.

117. The Secretary-General has just made a statement, in which he said, *inter alia*:

"As a first step in this new effort, I would urge the parties to recognize that a lasting solution of the crisis in the South Atlantic can only be achieved through negotiations." [*Para. 88 above.*]

118. I do not need to ask my Government for instructions to tell the Council and the Secretary-General that my country can say here and now that we accept the appeal. We shall enter the negotiations without pre-conditions. We have heard here, however, that pre-conditions are being set.

119. I should like to conclude by pointing out that the responsibility which the Secretary-General must take upon himself can be carried out successfully only if he has the continuing support of the members of the Council, for they must share the consequences of the mandate they have given him, since in the final analysis international peace and security remain the primary responsibility of the Council.

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

121. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should just like to say a few words.

122. The representative of the United Kingdom expressed surprise at my statement. I can say that we, like, I believe, many others, would express surprise about his statement in explanation of vote. The representative of the United Kingdom referred to resolution 502 (1982), but he completely failed, as indeed has his Government, to take note of paragraph 1 of that resolution, which calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

123. In so far as the resolution just adopted by the Council is concerned, the representative of the United Kingdom also entirely ignored the fact that in paragraph 2 of that resolution the Secretary-General is requested to undertake a mission of good offices bearing in mind not only resolution 502 (1982) but also the approach outlined in his statement of 21 May [*2360th meeting*]. That is a very important point which we cannot overlook.

124. Unfortunately, we get the impression that the representative of the United Kingdom has once again adopted the course of putting forward ultimatums. This calls into question the sincerity of his voting in favour of the draft resolution, which we have just witnessed.

125. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My Soviet colleague and I have different interpretations of these resolutions, as we frequently have different interpretations of other resolutions.

126. I shall not weary the Council more. I shall merely repeat what I said in another debate on another subject about two years ago—that is, that I think the Council would probably be thankful if I pursued our differences in private consultation rather than in continued statements in exercise of the right of reply.

*The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.*

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