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President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 135

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) (continued)

- 1. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (interpretation fron. Spanish): From the historical standpoint, as well as in the light of various General Assembly resolutions and decisions and of the fundamental principles of international law on which the Charter of the United Nations is based, the question of the Malvinas Islands falls completely within the framework of the subject of decolonization.
- 2. There is no necessity to dwell at length on the indisputable historical facts which have been mentioned by other delegations, but the fundamental facts of this question are the following. The Malvinas were discovered by Spain in 1520, by the Spaniard Esteban Gómez, and as early as 1522 appeared in the nautical charts of Spain under the names of the Islas de San Antón, de Los Patos or de Los Leones. Spain included the governorship of the Malvinas among those territories dependent on the resident authority in Buenos Aires, and when Argentina became independent as a sovereign State, it inherited the territorial jurisdiction and the sovereignty which had been exercised by the Spanish administration.
- 3. When, at the beginning of Argentina's independence, that country inherited the territorial jurisdiction of what had been the Spanish Vice-Regency of the Río de la Plata, the Malvinas Islands were automatically included in that territory. That was universally accepted by all members of the international community, including England, which recognized the independence of Argentina in 1825. Spain had never abandoned its sovereignty over the Islands nor has Argentina ever renounced that sovereignty.
- 4. In 1833, England occupied the Malvinas by military means, replacing the Argentine administration there and expelling the inhabitants. What option was offered then to the population? Since then, the Republic of Argentina has never ceased to claim the restoration of its territories. When, in 1946, the United Kingdom included the Malvinas in the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, Argentina entered an express reservation concerning sovereignty, which has been reiterated whenever the British Government has submitted information on the Malvinas to the Assembly.
- 5. It is generally agreed that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), was a

fundamental landmark and a decisive instrument in the process of decolonization. Within the framework established by that resolution, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the question of the Malvinas Islands for the first time in 1964. At that time, Argentina claimed the restoration of its territorial integrity, affirming and emphasizing that the indiscriminate application of the right to selfdetermination in territories inhabited by nationals of the colonial Power which had illegally occupied that Territory by force should not be used to turn illegitimate possession into a situation of full sovereignty. It also affirmed that account would be taken of the well-being and material interests of the inhabitants of the Islands.

- 6. The conclusions of the Special Committee were endorsed by the General Assembly in 1965, in resolution 2065 (XX), in which, while reaffirming the content of resolution 1514 (XV), the Assembly noted the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over those Islands and invited both parties to proceed with negotiations without delay, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter and the interests of the population of the Islands.
- 7. In this manner, the General Assembly established that the settlement of the dispute over sovereignty was the only means of putting an end to the colonial situation in the Malvinas, thus setting aside the application of the right to self-determination, in conformity with paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV), which provides that:
 - "Any attempt at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."
- 8. Since then, various resolutions have been adopted. In resolution 3160 (XXVIII), adopted in 1973, the General Assembly expressed concern over the fact that eight years had elapsed since the adoption of resolution 2065 (XX) without any substantial progress having been made; in paragraph 2, it expressed the need to accelerate the negotiations between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom. In 1976, resolution 31/49 was adopted, requesting that the negotiations concerning the dispute over sovereignty be expedited. All those resolutions recalled resolution 1514 (XV), including its paragraph 6, which refers to respect for territorial integrity.
- 9. We do not deny the indisputable validity of the principle of self-determination, since there is a need to respect the freely expressed will of peoples; but the United Nations has declared that there are specific

cases in which this criterion must yield to the fundamental principle of respect for the territorial integrity of States. The case of the Malvinas Islands is one of these cases where the claim to the exercise of self-determination by its present inhabitants could be used to perpetuate a colonial situation which must be ended, as the General Assembly has reiterated on many occasions, by means of direct negotiations between the parties.

- 10. Spain has maintained in the Security Council and reiterated in the Assembly that it is opposed to the use of force as a means of settling international disputes and that there is an inescapable need to resolve this dispute by means of peaceful negotiations, in order to find a definitive solution to the problem of the Malvinas on the basis of respect for Argentine territorial integrity.
- 11. As we have had occasion to recall in various statements, the speeding up of the process of negotiation to ensure the peaceful restoration of Argentine territorial integrity would have prevented an unwarranted war and a tragic break between two peoples that are part of a common Western civilization.
- 12. His Majesty King Juan Carlos I addressed a letter to the Secretary-General, at a critical moment, in which he said that he was deeply moved by the loss of lives and offered his co-operation in efforts to attain a just and honourable solution by peaceful means. In this spirit, my delegation increased its efforts in the Security Council to avoid an escalation of the war; we advocated, as the only possible way out of the conflict, an immediate cessation of hostilities and the initiation of negotiating machinery to deal with the substance of the problem. Those efforts did not attain their goals, nor did other appeals for moderation and harmony which, had they been heeded, would have been able to prevent the escalation of violence and the irreparable loss of human lives.
- 13. In this legal and political context, and within the framework of the doctrine already devised by the United Nations for the decolonization of the Malinas, we now have before us draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1. It recalls the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, reaffirms the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population of the Islands and requests the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find, as soon as possible, a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Islands. It also requests the Secretary-General to undertake a renewed mission of good offices in order to assist the parties on the basis of the draft resolution.
- 14. In sum, one could not imagine this draft resolution not being adopted by an overwhelming majority. All the elements contained therein would be the logical conclusion of this debate, in which, in the final analysis, what we are trying to do is to put an end to a conflict by means of negotiatior—and only peaceful negotiation—which is the path we have been taught to follow and which can resolve this grave conflict and the differences with regard to the sovereignty dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina.

- 15. This is the way—the only possible way—to eliminate the roots of the conflict, and eliminate them forever. That is why my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us.
- 16. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (interpretation from French): By the positions it has taken and by the texts and course of action it has adopted, the United Nations has broadly reflected the vast liberation movement of peoples, and this has resulted in gradually bringing it closer to its goal of universality. The fact that decolonization is following its irreversible course, even if in incomplete stages, is a tribute to the struggle of the peoples of the third world to overthrow foreign domination and attests to the vitality of the principle of equal rights for peoples and their right to self-determination as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.
- 17. The Algerian delegation has spoken out so often in various forums of the United Nations on the need to complete the process of decolonization throughout the world that it is justified in saying today how precarious genuine world peace is without the elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism. The military confrontation in the South Atlantic a few months ago furnishes ample proof that allowing colonial situations to persist threatens international peace and security, as does failing to bring to bear, in the search for peaceful and just solutions, all the necessary determination and the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Charter.
- 18. The General Assembly has clearly shown the way to such a settlement with regard to the Malvinas Islands, since it has both recognized the existence of a sovereignty dispute and advocated negotiations as the means to achieve a settlement.
- For its part, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose entergence on the international scene and geopolitical foundation are clearly linked to the phenomenon of decolonization, has duly endorsed this approach by the General Assembly, without prejudice to the general principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Since its Ministerial Meeting in 1975 at Lima, the Movement has consistently reiterated this position of principle and promoted a just and definitive settlement by peaceful means. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria recalled [27th meeting], non-alignment is a system of values, a reference system which inspires our conduct and determines the positions we take, and Algeria is naturally at one with this position of our Movement.
- 20. The position of the Movement is based on both its own philosophy and contemporary international law. It is the expression of its renewed faith in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It is also a repudiation of the colonial theory of "lands without masters", on the basis of which countries of the third world have been subjected to conquest and foreign domination over the last centuries.
- 21. The United Nations doctrine with regard to decolonization obviously and quite rightly gives deserved prominence to the freely expressed will of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. That is a historical gain that must be safeguarded and scrupulously applied in all relevant cases.

- 22. Furthermore, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex] provides that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has a status separate and distinct from that of the territory of the State administering it. That text should be the basis for a solution to the problem before us.
- 23. The General Assembly is familiar with various similar cases, some of which, moreover, appear on the agenda of this session. In many of those cases, unfortunately, we note stubborn determination on the part of the administering Powers to hang on. We are justified in wondering whether the privileged, geographically strategic position of those island territories is not a basic reason for that attitude. We can also imagine that large economic interests, including those that may arise from the implementation of the provisions of the new United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea that relate to islands, might have something to do with the paralysis that has overtaken the process of finding a peaceful settlement for these disputes.
- 24. The Assembly, which has taken upon itself the role of vigilant guardian of the purity and consistency of the international community's doctrine in the field of decolonization, cannot allow interests of that sort to be invoked, directly or indirectly, in order to perpetuate the anachronistic status of the territories that are the subject of our present debate.
- 25. By appealing to the parties to the dispute to enter into an effective process to achieve a peaceful settlement through honest and conscientious negotiations, the General Assembly will be helping to establish conditions for strengthening peace and security in the South Atlantic and to promote relations of friendship and co-operation between the United Kingdom and the States of Latin America. For that reason, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution which has been submitted.
- 26. Participating in this debate and expressing its hopes for a just and lasting peaceful settlement, my delegation knows that it can rely on the political goodwill of the two parties, with both of which Algeria enjoys excellent relations. That would be the best way to lay the groundwork for qualitatively new bilateral relations and clear the air of any animosity and rancour. That is their responsibility to their own peoples and to the international community as a whole.
- 27. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): Almost 17 years have gone by since the General Assembly adopted its first resolution, resolution 2065 (XX), on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). In that resolution, the Assembly referred to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), as being prompted by the cherished aim of bringing to an end everywhere colonialism in all its forms, one of which covers the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). That resolution invited the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to proceed without delay with negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter and of

- General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the interests of the population of the Malvinas Islands.
- 28. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) has also been repeatedly dealt with in decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Their Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in 1979, firmly reiterated its support for "the Argentine Republic's right to the restitution of that territory and sovereignty over it and requested that negotiations in this regard be speeded up".²
- 29. The position of Czechoslovakia on this matter is that the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) is first and foremost an inalienable facet of the decolonization of the territories that were seized by the colonial Powers at one time. We also feel that this question is an anachronism in the second half of the twentieth century, and that it is the result of the earlier colonial policy of the United Kingdom. It should be settled at the negotiating table, and we feel that those negotiations should be based on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 30. Support for the unconditional termination of the colonial status of these Islands has also been expressed by the United Nations, as is evidenced by the fact that the Territory was included in a list of Territories³ whose colonial régimes should be terminated in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration to which I have just referred. It is regrettable that the United Kingdom has not so far shown any willingness or readiness to search for ways to bring about, through fruitful and conscientious negotiations, a satisfactory settlement that would end the colonial occupation of these Islands once and for all.
- As was clearly shown by the recent conflict in the South Atlantic, which continues to threaten peace and security not only in the region but generally, the United Kingdom embarked upon a course of large-scale application of military force, despite the clear appeals of the Security Council, of which it is a permanent member. Obviously, the United Kingdom would not have decided to take such a step without the agreement and support of the United States. The fact remains that the ally of the United Kingdom in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], when the interests of the Latin American countries were not in harmony with its strategic plans, did not hesitate for a moment to set aside the Charter of the Organization of American States and to disregard the fact that it had signed the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. As everybody knows, that was followed by the application of the notorious economic sanctions by the United States and the Western European countries. And now the United States is trying to ascribe this same concept of its relations with its allies to the relations between the socialist countries.
- 32. The breakdown of the negotiations that had been going on for so many years, the failure of the efforts, during the heat of the conflict, of the Secretary-General, which had wide support from the international community, and the restoration by the United Kingdom of the colonial status of the Falkland Islands

- (Malvinas), certainly did nothing to resolve the problem, but merely made it worse.
- 33. Moreover, the present approach of the United Kingdom to the settlement of this important question reflects a lack of any sincere interest in decolonizing the Islands pursuant to past United Nations decisions. On the contrary, by its military presence and the creation of a naval base, the United Kingdom is turning those Islands into an important strategic stronghold, thus creating a dangerous hotbed of tension in that region in proximity to the Antarctic.
- 34. We therefore welcome the initiative of the 20 Latin American States at whose request this question is being discussed in the Assembly. We also fully support the request made to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom in draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1 to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute relating to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).
- 35. In this connection, we feel that the Secretary-General, through his mission of good offices, can offer constructive, positive assistance to the parties. Only through negotiations held under United Nations auspices on the basis of the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the resolutions and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—particularly those adopted in Havana in June and in New York at the beginning of October of this year—can a final settlement of this dispute be reached that will eliminate the intolerable anachronistic situation created by force 149 years ago and forcibly maintained throughout the ensuing period of British colonial rule over that Territory.
- 36. The exacerbation this year of that decolonization problem in the South Atlantic clearly indicates that, despite the reduction in the number of Non-Self-Governing Territories, the problem of decolonization remains acute. The peoples of such Territories as Namibia and Micronesia, among others, are still awaiting self-determination and independence. As a member of the Special Committee, Czechoslovakia has consistently advocated the exercise of this elementary right by those peoples, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 37. However, in the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), as has been correctly pointed out by preceding speakers, it is not a question of self-determination per se: this is a matter first and foremost of a colonial Territory, not a colonial people. The present population of the Territory is the direct result of British colonization. Nevertheless, the interests of the present population of the Islands should also, of course, be properly taken into account during the negotiations.
- 38. The Czechoslovak delegation is in favour of the settlement of this dispute by exclusively peaceful means between the parties concerned, on the basis of the Declaration on decolonization and within the framework of the draft resolution now before us, which we intend to support.
- 39. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): Chile, together with 19 other countries of our region, requested the inclusion of the question of the

- Malvinas Islands as an item in the agenda of this session and sponsored the draft resolutions in documents A/37/L.3 and Rev.1. The specific purpose of my statement in this debate is to set out clearly the position of my Government.
- 40. So serious were the facts surrounding the armed conflict in the South Atlantic, so heavy and painful were the losses suffered by the combatants, so manifest was the damage done to the United Nations, whose collective security machinery was powerless to stop the hostilities, that everything pointed to a thorough study of the question, together with efforts to bring the parties to the negotiating table to avoid a repetition. Thus, we asked that the item be included in the agenda of the present session
- 41. The Assembly having agreed to that request, the same 20 countries have tried to prepare a draft resolution which would serve two major purposes: achieve constructive negotiations and contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of certain principles of the Charter which should never be forgotten, much less violated.
- 42. The 20 delegations of the sponsoring countries have been holding joint meetings in which, with the best intentions, the ways and means of making negotiations possible—negotiations to which the greatest importance is attached—have been explored. That is the reason for the differences which may be noted between the initial draft resolution and that in document A/37/L.3/Rev.1. There has been a continuous and productive effort to draw up the best possible text. Every opportunity has been taken to consult with countries from all the regional groups.
- 43. I feel it my duty to express here, on behalf of my delegation, our gratitude to the delegation of Argentina, which has shown a high degree of cooperation and understanding of our common objectives. In particular, I am pleased to mention the sincerity and conviction with which the Argentine delegation has repeatedly expressed the desire for peace of its Government and its readiness to simplify the text of the draft resolution to make it better balanced, avoiding pre-conditions, and has accepted the inclusion of a specific reference to the cessation of hostilities, the reiteration of the fundamental principles of the non-use of force in international relations and, finally, the obligation to seek peaceful neans of settling disputes.
- 44. We therefore have before us a draft resolution which in our view contains five fundamental aspects.
- 45. First, it puts the cessation of hostilities in a legal context. After the adoption of this resolution, it is obvious that the cessation of hostilities will no longer be *de facto*; it will become *de jure*.
- 46. Secondly, it reaffirms the need for due account to be taken of the interests of the population of the Islands, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.
- 47. Thirdly, it sets out a clear commitment not to use force or the threat of force in international relations and the obligation to find peaceful solutions to international disputes.
- 48. Fourthly, it calls upon the parties to resume negotiations in order to find a peaceful solution to

the question of the Malvinas Islands as soon as possible and requests the Secretary-General to undertake a renewed mission of good offices for that purpose.

- 49. Fifthly, it strives not to make any prejudgements with regard to the negotiations themselves.
- 50. I believe that those aspects should not be disregarded, as they represent steps that are clearly positive.
- 51. Under this draft resolution, the interested parties should resume negotiations employing the good offices of the Secretary-General and, by so doing, follow one of the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes incorporated in international law.
- 52. In the application of that procedure, it behoves the United Nations to pay careful attention to its development and evolution; that is within its responsibility as the world-wide body in charge of ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security and strict compliance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. In that connection, for some time now my delegation has been advocating reactivating the preventive function of the United Nations for the timely avoidance of situations of conflict that could lead, at times, to fatal acts of war, such as that which occurred last April.
- 53. Again I should like to stress that we are in agreement with what is said by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], a report which in large part is devoted to the need to facilitate recourse to procedures and means of peaceful settlement of international disputes, both in situations where hostilities have been declared and in those where there is a potential risk.
- 54. A few months ago, several members of the Security Council, who were urging a negotiated settlement of the conflict in the South Atlantic, drew attention to the fact that there were several disputes in our hemisphere which, if not resolved through the peaceful means to which we are committed under solemn contract, could endanger the peace of the continent and relations among American republics.
- 55. For those general reasons, I have referred mainly to the draft resolution, of which we are a sponsor, without going into the substance of the problem on the question of the Malvinas Islands. Chile, now as always, supports Argentina's peaceful claims, based on law, to the Islands; but, as I said before, our main purpose at this time is to seek negotiations leading to the peaceful settlement of a serious international dispute. It is therefore incumbent upon us to be cautious and to contribute to finding a solution, not to go back into history to stir up memories of facts which may sharpen differences or deepen unhealed wounds.
- 56. In conclusion, on behalf of my delegation and in a spirit of friendliness, I appeal to the two peoples, friends of my own people, to join us on the path which we all wish to open, a path leading to peace and encompassing other situations to which I have already referred. In undertaking those efforts, Argentina and the United Kingdom, and the Secretary-General may rely on the sincere and firm cooperation of my country.

- 57. Mr. OGNIMBA (Congo) (interpretation from French): Among the crises which have most marked this year, making it one particularly fraught with conflicts of all types, especially armed conflicts, is the issue of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).
- 58. International peace and security were particularly threatened there, while the prestige of the United Nations was seriously endangered as a result of the inability of the Security Council to put into action immediately effective collective security machinery.
- 59. While hoping that this debate in the General Assembly will bring to the crisis elements of assessment which will be conducive to bringing the different views closer together in order to find a peaceful solution, the delegation of the Congo would like to try to set out what, in its view, should be taken into account if we want both to seize present opportunities and to make the best use of future ones.
- 60. First of all, we would like to reaffirm our confidence in the United Nations, which, having on several occasions placed the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) in its colonial context, has thus defined the framework for its consideration. As a member of the Special Committee, the delegation of the Congo can also claim some degree of familiarity with this issue and its background; thus we feel able to express a view on it in accordance with the principles of resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the historic Declaration of the United Nations on decolonization.
- 61. The first comment to be made in this connection is that if the colonial Power had, within the appropriate time-frame and following a reasonable procedure, set a decolonization procedure in motion, as demanded by the very nature of the territory in question, much loss of human life and much damage on both sides, Argentine and British, would have been avoided.
- 62. A war as terrible as it was anachronistic was the result of the failure to do that. It was unfortunately, one of those wars through which the apparent victor actually accumulates more elements of defeat than the loser at the time, because in this latter part of the twentieth century it is never justifiable to wage a war of a colonial nature when the battlefield is several thousand miles distant and when honour, rather than the defence of territorial integrity or national sovereignty, is the overriding consideration.
- 63. Since it maintains the closest possible relations with the United Kingdom, my country, the People's Republic of the Congo, would like to exhort it to agree to a reconciliation and negotiations with Argentina, with the ultimate objective of taking into account all the factors conducive to a just application of the principles of the 1960 Declaration.
- 64. The second point which the Congo considers important concerns the strategic implications of the conflict.
- 65. First, it has become clear that the precarious nature of zones of peace and denuclearized zones, such as that of Latin America, protected by the Treaty of Tlatelolco, is a fact. In committing nuclear submarines in the area of hostilities, the United Kingdom, a nuclear Power, and moreover a party to that Treaty, inadmissibly violated a principle which, given its

responsibilities, it should certainly have observed. Furthermore, the South Atlantic has been placed under a régime of force, which is incompatible with what is sought on both sides of that ocean, that is, in Africa and in Latin America.

- 66. Although the North Atlantic is governed by a military organization which bears its name, the same thing must not happen in the South Atlantic, where the rival military blocs which confront each other in the world should have no pretext for extending their fields of operation beyond the original zones where they were established.
- 67. Militarizing the South Atlantic is tantamount to extending an unexpected lifebelt to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, which would be only too happy to work zealously to thwart the aspirations of other countries and peoples to freedom and the eradication of colonialism.
- 68. At a time when the degree of distrust among nations is tending to increase throughout the world, to the detriment of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation to the mutual advantage of peoples, it is essential to go back to the letter and the spirit of the Charter, which provides that each and all of its signatories should settle their disputes by peaceful means and eliminate all disturbing factors which nurture distrust and tension.
- 69. In that spirit, the delegation of the Congo urges the two parties concerned in the issue of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) to begin negotiations without further delay in order to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict. To that end, my delegation will support the draft resolution, which we feel will, if adopted, constitute an important landmark on the way to a definitive solution of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).
- 70. Mr. QUIÑONES-AMÉZQUITA (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): The twentieth century has witnessed the crumbling of one of the most shameful features in the life of lan: colonialism. Guatemala was a colonial country, and it is able to appreciate freedom and independence. We believe it necessary, before we refer to the substance of the draft resolution submitted by 20 Latin American countries, clearly to state our commitment to peace and to anti-colonialism.
- 71. Guatemala has taken account of three basic principles in sponsoring the draft resolution.
- 72. The first is that international law has recognized occupation as a justification for territorial acquisition. The United Kingdom argues that it acquired the Malvinas Islands through occupation and, consequently, it acquired sovereignty over them. But that occupation followed Spanish occupation, and the American peoples maintain that only the occupation of a territory that does not legally belong to another State is admissible. The principle of territorial integrity must be maintained. We should point out the historical truth that Argentina acquired the Malvinas under the principle of the succession of States.
- 73. The second principle is that when the occupation of a territory is maintained by force, the interests and not the wishes of the population of the occupied territory must be projected. The population

- of the colonizing Power cannot and should not be the one to exercise self-determination. The population of the Malvinas Islands is largely of British origin and nationality.
- 74. As the third principle, we believe and maintain what is set forth in Article 33, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations, on the peaceful settlement of disputes.
- 75. Many of the arguments brought forth in the Assembly on the question of the Malvinas have been very thorough and valid. I shall not dwell on them so as not to tax the patience of representatives. I shall refer to just two of those arguments. The first relates to the self-determination of peoples. This principle, which is essential to the decolonization process, cannot have an absolute value or be placed above that of territorial integrity. While it is true that there is a process by means of which self-determination becomes sovereignty, the application of the right of self-determination to all groups and cases could lead us to anarchy. For example, to apply self-determination to secessionist groups would clearly entail sovereignty against the State, anti-State sovereignty. Support for the principle of self-determination must not take precedence over State and territorial integrity. We cannot allow self-determination to be applied to secessionist groups nor to territories over which sovereignty is in dispute, because if that were to be done, self-determination would entail true anarchy rather than true self-determination. Guatemala drew attention to this principle in the fifteenth session of the General Assembly at the 947th meeting, on 14 December 1960. During the consideration of resolution 1514 (XV), we said: "Consequently, my delegation maintains that the resolution adopted will not affect territories which are the subject of dispute or litigation".4
- 76. All the representatives at those meetings agreed that paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV) covered such cases by stating that:
 - "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."
- 77. Secondly, I should like to refer to the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom that, in the context of the proposal, the word "negotiations" carries great weight and importance, since Argentina has said that negotiations are only to achieve one result: the transfer of the Islands by the United Kingdom and "negotiations" means discussions about the date on which they will acquire control of the Islands.
- 78. I wonder why the United Kingdom did not make the same statement on 14 December 1973, when resolution 3160 (XXVIII) was adopted, in which the United Kingdom and Argentina were urged to continue negotiations. That resolution was adopted with no votes against and with the abstention of the United Kingdom. If the draft resolution submitted by the 20 Latin American countries urges the parties to negotiate on the question of sovereignty, it is precisely because of the desire that negotiations take place on the key issue of the dispute. We are not going to call on them to meet to discuss the height of the waves in the Malvinas or weather conditions. The

representative of the United Kingdom cannot prejudge the outcome of the discussions; there are many alternatives that might arise from the talks and we hope that the saving formula will be found.

- 79. It is not possible for the dying colonialist system to prevail, enabling a Power to impose its wishes and to refuse to negotiate with a Latin American country which advocates not only the principles of law but also those of justice, morality and natural law. The United Nations, and through it the international community, must ensure that its principles are not dead letters and that, in order to maintain their faith in those principles, countries must demonstrate that international justice exists. The guns are silent; it is now time for reason and justice to speak.
- 80. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): The question which is before the General Assembly at this time is of particular interest to the international community, because it relates to the vestiges of colonialism 20 years after the proclamation by the United Nations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. But the colonial situation in this particular case is of a very special nature compared with that in other colonial territories.
- 81. The Special Committee, which considered the question of the Malvinas Islands for the first time in 1964, concluded that there existed a dispute on the question of sovereignty over the Islands between the United Kingdom and Argentina and invited the two parties to undertake negotiations on that question. In addition, the Committee determined that, in that case, the right to self-determination was not applicable.
- 82. The General Assembly, in its resolution 2065 (XX), confirmed the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and invited the two parties to proceed with negotiations, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the legitimate interests of the population of the Islands. Moreover, the joint communiqué issued by the two parties on 26 April 1977⁵ referred to all those points.
- 83. But the basic cause of the dispute is that Argentina, guided by resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, wished to negotiate on the return of the Malvinas Islands to its sovereignty, whereas the United Kingdom, refusing to negotiate on sovereignty over the Territory, envisaged the problem from the standpoint of self-determination. The absence of any real progress in the negotiations led the General Assembly, in its resolution 3160 (XXVIII), to express its grave concern and to renew its appeal to both parties to proceed without delay with the negotiations in order to put an end to the colonial situation.
- 84. The persistent refusal of the United Kingdom to pursue negotiations on the question of sovereignty, under the pretext of defending the principle of the self-determination of peoples, shows that it does not wish to relinquish its hold on the Malvinas Islands. This British intransigence has led to a progressive deterioration in the relations between the two countries and a few months ago led to a bloody armed con-

- flict in the South Atlantic, which placed the Latin American continent in a situation of tension and seriously jeopardized international peace and security.
- 85. In that connection, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and tireless efforts in seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict.
- 86. It is surprising, to say the least, that towards the end of the twentieth century, a major European Power and a permanent member of the Security Council should employ in this conflict its powerful navy and an important expeditionary force against a developing country, to restore anachronistic colonial rule over a territory on another continent, more than 10,000 kilometres from its coast, in violation of the principles of the Charter and international rules on non-intervention. Furthermore, in that unequal and disproportionate combat, that Power benefited from the aid and complicity of its major ally in the New World, which is also a permanent member of the Security Council and which in addition had in the past promoted the Monroe Doctrine-not to mention economic and other embargoes decreed by certain Western countries against Argentina. All this led the United Kingdom to seek a solution to the conflict by means of a military victory, which turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory.
- 87. What is serious in this matter, especially with regard to other American States, is the fact that the United States placed itself at the side of the United Kingdom, whereas by virtue of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance it should have defended the American continent against any attack or intervention from outside the hemisphere.
- When we consider the means and resources employed by the United Kingdom in that armed conflict to preserve the vestiges of its colonial empire, when we consider the double veto cast by that countryand its major American ally in the Security Council on 4 June 1982 against a draft resolution⁶ aimed at establishing a cease-fire and ensuring the full application of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and when we take a close look at the economic and military embargoes unanimously adopted against Argentina by members of NATO, we can see that, above and beyond the desire of the administering Power to hold on to its privileges, based on an obsolete international order, injustice, inequality and exploitation, there is another more important, more subtle, reason, which is part of the global strategy of the imperialist and militarist NATO circles. It is to change the Malvinas Islands into a military base in the South Atlantic, just like the Diego García base in the Indian Ocean, because, as in the case of Diego García, which is at the crossroads of maritime navigation in the Indian Ocean, the Malvinas Islands control the maritime route of the Magellan Straits and Cape Horn. With a base on the Malvinas Islands, those imperialists and militarists hope to control the largest part of the world's oceans. In this context, the present status of the Malvinas Islands would constitute a constant threat to the peace and security of the countries of this hemisphere.
- 89. For my country, Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands is indisputable. Thus, in the

- Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, my country, together with others, has always supported Argentina's right to recover its sovereignty over the Islands.
- 90. Also, in both the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations, my country has constantly joined with others in appealing to the United Kingdom to proceed with negotiations with Argentina with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement to their dispute.
- 91. My country also shares the concern of Latin American States over the persistence of a colonial situation in their hemisphere—along with the presence of the British fleet and a constant climate of insecurity and tension. My delegation also wishes to reaffirm the solidarity of the Lao people with the Argentine and other Latin American peoples in their struggle to end the anachronistic presence of colonialism in the Malvinas Islands and to prevent its restoration there.
- 92. In that spirit, my delegation fully supports draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1, submitted by the 20 Latin American countries, which invites both parties to resume negotiations as soon as possible, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, in order to find a peaceful solution to the question of the Malvinas Islands.
- 93. My delegation remains convinced that only negotiations undertaken in good faith between the interested parties within the framework of the United Nations and with respect for the relevant resolutions and decisions and for the legitimate interests of the local population can lead to a just and equitable solution to the dispute.
- 94. Mr. NARKHUU (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The events of this spring in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) in the South Atlantic are in many respects very significant for the international community. Those events have shown once again the urgent need to eradicate fully and once and for all the last vestiges of colonialism. They have made it completely clear how dangerous to the cause of peace and international security is the maintenance of even the smallest and most remote remnants of colonial possessions.
- 95. As a result of the armed action undertaken by the United Kingdom for the purpose of restoring the colonial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), peace and security in the Latin American region, and indeed in the entire world, have been seriously threatened. The international community has found itself faced with a flagrant violation of the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as these relate to the peaceful settlement of disputes.
- 96. The Falklands war has also shown that the colonial Powers use every means to maintain their positions in this or that region of the world.
- 97. The colonial adventure of the United Kingdom, as well as the support given it by the United States and other countries, has once again laid bare the essence of the aggressive imperialistic policies of the Western Powers towards the countries of the third world. In their policies, ever greater stress is being placed on the use of force to defend their narrow, egotistical interests. In this specific case, we are

- dealing first and foremost with the long-range military and strategic calculations of the imperialist Powers and the advantage they see in having a favourable geographical situation in the archipelago.
- 98. In this connection, we should in particular stress the dangerous nature of the plans to extend NATO's radius of action to the South Atlantic, with all the implications that has for the cause of peace and the stability of the region.
- 99. The Mongolian People's Republic bases its position on the fact that the Falklands Islands (Malvinas) are the remnant of colonial possessions and should be the object of decolonization. The question of sovereignty should be solved by peaceful means and in accordance with repeated resolutions of the United Nations. Therefore, the Mongolian delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the 20 Latin American countries.
- 100. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic supported the initiative taken by the 20 Latin American States in requesting the inclusion in the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and its discussion in the General Assembly. We based that support on the consistent position of principle of the socialist countries on issues of decolonization and overcoming and definitively eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism in whatever forms they may exist.
- 101. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) is clearly of a colonial nature. The Malvinas were turned into a colony of Great Britain by armed force 150 years ago, in January 1833. Argentina never accepted the colonization of the Islands; however, its struggle with Great Britain for that territory was an unequal one. This issue has been considered by the Special Committee on decolonization and the General Assembly since 1964.
- 102. For almost 20 years, it has been systematically affirmed in the United Nations that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are relevant and applicable to the Territory of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) as well. General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX), adopted by an overwhelming majority, with no opposition, stressed the need for implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), and referred to the cherished aim of peoples to bring to an end everywhere colonialism in all its forms, one of which covers the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).
- 103. Noting the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the Islands, the General Assembly called on the Governments of those countries to proceed without delay with negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem. In 1966, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973 and 1976, the General Assembly reiterated that appeal.
- 104. However, it is significant that in 1976, the United Kingdom voted against resolution 31/49, evidently because in it the General Assembly expressed gratitude for the continuous efforts made by the Government of Argentina, in accordance with the relevant deci-

sions of the Assembly, to facilitate the process of decolonization of the Islands. Hence, responsibility for the situation which emerged in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and for the disruption of the efforts to settle the dispute by peaceful means lies squarely with the United Kingdom, which for many years, and with the fury of a doomed colonialist, opposed the implementation of United Nations decisions on the decolonization of the Territory. That, and that alone, is the true essence of the reason why the dispute has not been resolved, thus leading to the tragic events of last summer.

105. It was precisely the imperialist ambitions of the United Kingdom which caused it to send its armada and air force thousands of miles from the metropolitan area to fight a large-scale war against Argentina, with the resultant heavy loss of life. This renewed imperialist policy constitutes open defiance of the international community, which has unconditionally condemned and repudiated colonialism as a gross violation of the Charter and decisions of the United Nations and a serious threat to international peace and security.

106. The United Kingdom would never have challenged the entire Latin American continent so brazenly had the war not been approved first by its ally and partner in NATO, the United States. The United Kingdom and the United States military adventure against Argentina is in the same category as the "strategic co-operation" between the United States and Israel and between the United States and South Africa.

107. In unconditionally supporting the United Kingdom, the United States was pursuing, as it continues to do in this conflict, its own selfish interests, which are basically to extend the sphere of action of NATO to the South Atlantic region. An analysis of events shows convincingly that American imperialism has used the Anglo-Argentine conflict with single-minded determination to extend its constant military presence to yet another region of the globe. This is reflected convincingly in the various scenarios for a settlement of the dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina proposed by Washington, which consistently reflect the desire for a trilateral administration of the Islands with obligatory United States participation. At the present time, in London and Washington, plans are being worked out to disguise this design by means of some kind of international peace-keeping forces in the Falklands, which would be tantamount to turning the Islands into a NATO naval base.

108. According to press reports, near Port Stanley an airport is being built at full speed with the capacity to take any type of aircraft, including Phantom fighters, and delivery of this type of offensive weaponry to the Islands has actually begun. As reported in *The Washington Post* of 19 October 1982, the first supersonic Phantom aircraft of the Royal Air Force arrived in the Falklands on 17 October. This is where, according to Ministry of Defence data, a 3,000-man United Kingdom military garrison is based. All this reflects an active programme of militarization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which cannot but give rise to concern on the part of the international community and lead to increased international tension.

The North Atlantic bloc's penetration of the South Atlantic is fraught with the most serious implications for Latin America and for international peace and security as a whole.

109. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR feels that the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) continues to be one of decolonization, which must be resolved on the basis of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. In our approach to the events in the South Atlantic and other regions of the world, we base our position on the need to eliminate existing hotbeds of tension and to prevent new ones emerging, prohibit interference in the internal affairs of States and peoples and settle disputes by peaceful means.

110. In expressing its concern over the dangerous development of events in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and in regard to this issue, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR condemns the use of force by the United Kingdom and calls for prompt efforts to settle the Anglo-Argentine dispute by negotiations within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of its relevant decisions.

111. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El 3aivador) (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly is considering the question of the Malvinas Islands as a result of a request by 20 Latin American countries which realized that the conflict over the Islands, involving two main protagonists, the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic, was something that seriously affected international life in this year 1982.

112. El Salvador's position on this question has always been clear. It has been expressed in the Organization of American States as well as in various organs and forums of the United Nations. For us, this is a colonial case in which, in keeping with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Argentina must recover full sovereignty over the Islands.

113. Its de jure titles to the Islands are numerous and adequate, heir as it is to the Spanish Crown. That is the basis for the strong and unbreakable solidarity that exists in Latin America over this question. It is not an irrelevant or capricious claim, nor one conditioned by temporary alliances that are by their nature ephemeral. On the contrary, this explains why the Latin American countries that have sponsored draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1 have consistently recognized Argentine sovereignty over the Islands and have considered that at the present time its territorial integrity has been breached. Previous General Assembly votes and consensuses on this question, as reflected in resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49, are eloquent testimony to the feeling of the international community on this question.

114. However, in order to limit the damage that conflict has caused, not only between the principal parties to the dispute, but within the framework of the normal development of international relations, which requires as an essential prerequisite the elimination of any colonialist bastion anywhere in the world, and in this case in the American hemisphere, bastions that can be maintained only through obsolete beliefs that are counter to the self-determination of peoples, the sponsoring countries did not want to submit a draft resolution that would merely

reaffirm the legitimate and just claim of the Republic of Argentina; instead, they focused on and confined themselves to requesting the Governments directly concerned to resume negotiations for the logical purpose of finding as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute relating to the Malvinas Islands and requesting the Secretary-General again to undertake a renewed mission of good offices in order to assist the parties in their negotiations.

- 115. If we contrast our firm and unquestionable belief, based on the body of historical fact that is a part of the consciousness of the Spanish American and other peoples, with the modest request made without exaggeration or fanfare in the draft resolution, we come to the clear conclusion that the request made by the sponsor countries is essentially a heartfelt appeal for peace through the means recommended in international law for conflicts between States, namely, negotiation. Such negotiation does not prejudge the outcome or predetermine the conclusions. That is why we are convinced that adoption of the draft resolution and, fundamentally, the fact that the United Kingdom may eventually agree to move in the direction the text indicates can yield fruitful results that will serve to bring the parties closer together despite their opposing political positions, so filled with mistrust and ill-will, and that it will further serve as a means of assuaging the passions aroused by the recent bellicose confrontation.
- 116. When it would be opportune to undertake this crusade for peace should, in the view of our delegation, be left to the good judgement of the Secretary-General, who, with his fine sense of tact, his diplomatic experience and his realistic assessment of the situation, could develop the impetus necessary to carry out a most worthy and lofty mission in the light of the Charter of the United Nations. Of course, in the carrying out of that mission, it is essential that both States evidence a will to co-operate. El Salvador expresses its hope that such co-operation will be forthcoming. Argentina has given us its assurances that it will.
- 117. Mr. GONZÁLEZ ARIAS (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The long pacifist tradition of my country, as well as our feeling of solidarity with friendly nations, impelled my delegation to join those that requested the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Question of the Malvinas Islands", as well as to co-sponsor draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1.
- 118. As a founding Member of the United Nations, and respectful as we are of the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter, we feel the responsibility and the duty to participate in the debate on this item in order to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution to a dispute between two States with which we maintain the best relations of friendship and cooperation.
- 119. As is well known, the United Nations began its consideration of this item in 1965, during the twentieth session of the General Assembly, for the purpose of resolving in a peaceful manner the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom, as was

- convincingly reflected in the terms in which General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) was drafted.
- 120. The invocation in certain paragraphs of resolution 2065 (XX) of the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV), which is recognized to be the basic resolution on decolonization, clearly established that the principle of self-determination was not applicable in the dispute over the Malvinas Islands because those Islands are an occupied territory and thus the principle of territorial integrity is the overriding factor, although provisions must of course be made for protecting the interests of the British population inhabiting the Islands.
- 121. The draft resolution before us today, submitted by 20 Latin American countries, contains almost the same arguments and terms that were used in resolution 2065 (XX). The draft resolution is an attempt to maintain the balance between the interests of both parties and to initiate negotiations under the good offices of the Secretary-General for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution to a difficult situation that has already existed for a century and a half. It does not seek to impose solutions contrary to the principles of the Charter, and it affords broad discretion for the negotiation of all relevant aspects of the question, as envisaged ever since the beginning of this initiative in 1965.
- 122. There can be no doubt that we are dealing not with a problem of self-determination, but rather with a dispute of a territorial nature between two States, and as proof of that statement we have the adoption by a very large majority of resolutions 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49.
- 123. The historic facts of the possession of the Malvinas are known to all, and I shall not go into a detailed analysis of them, although they are relevant in the overall context of the negotiations.
- 124. There can be no attempt now to change the basis on which the negotiations have gone on from the beginning, nor can we agree that time can compensate for the initial inadequacies of one party's title. My country has never recognized the use of force or military occupation as a means of acquiring territory. Nor can the passage of time change the illegitimate nature of such an act. To accept such acts would be to perpetuate colonial situations, and in so doing we would be denying the true meaning of resolution 1514 (XV), the scope and interpretation of which, I must repeat, have been fully clarified by United Nations practice, not only in the case of the Malvinas, but in other similar cases.
- 125. We sincerely believe that the negotiations can yield positive solutions. We believe in the maturity of the two countries involved in this conflict. The bitter lesson of the military confrontation in the South Atlantic should serve to make it understood once and for all that the use of force cannot and will not lead to just or final solutions.
- 126. We hope that the draft resolution will be approved by all Members of the Organization, and we urge them to adopt it. We shall thus have won a battle for peace.
- 127. Sir Egerton RICHARDSON (Jamaica): The question before the plenary meeting of the Assembly

concerns the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). A draft resolution on the subject has been prepared and submitted by certain of our colleagues in the Group of Latin American States, and my remarks will concentrate on this text.

- 128. Before the draft resolution was submitted, our colleagues invited the Jamaican delegation and others to consider the text with a view to deciding whether we would be in a position to support it. This draft resolution is now being considered in the United Nations.
- 129. The first fact which is relevant to its consideration is that the United Nations has for many years regarded the Falkland Islands as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, in respect of which, under Article 73 of the Charter, the United Kingdom has been reporting year by year to the appropriate committee of the United Nations. If, therefore, the United Nations is to accept at any time that this Territory is no longer a colonial territory of the United Kingdom, we would expect to receive either a judgement of the International Court of Justice or an agreement between the parties to the dispute which sought to settle the question. We have seen no such judgement or agreement.
- 130. According to my information, the two parties to the dispute had agreed on the subject-matter of the negotiations which should take place between them. We have seen the written communiqué issued in 1977 by the United Kingdom and Argentina⁵ in which it was agreed that the negotiations between them should concern future political relations, including the question of sovereignty. It was also agreed that the United Kingdom would consult the inhabitants of the Islands so as to be able to reflect their wishes in the course of the negotiations.
- 131. Such negotiations were presumably still in progress when they were interrupted by the hostilities which Argentina initiated. In those hostilities, the lives of many young people were lost and heavy expenses were incurred, both by the United Kingdom and by Argentina.
- 132. The sponsors of the draft resolution must recognize that the resort to force, for which Argentina was responsible earlier this year when it broke the peace and then rejected the call by the Security Council to cease hostilities, must seriously prejudice its case before the United Nations.
- 133. Jamaica is obliged to take note of the fact that it is difficult for the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands, as it is difficult for the Government of the United Kingdom, to resume negotiations immediately as if nothing had happened in March and April of this year. The Jamaican delegation therefore appealed to our colleagues, the sponsors of the draft resolution, to defer it for one year, in the hope that this would have given time for the feelings of tension which had been aroused by the hostilities to subside. They were unable to entertain our appeal. They now seek the authority of the General Assembly for a call to the two parties to resume negotiations.
- 134. According to the language of the draft resolution, the Argentines appear to be maintaining that before the rights or the wishes of the inhabitants of

- those Islands can be seriously considered, the prior question must be examined and settled as to whether the territory they now inhabit is or is not Argentine territory. The Jamaican delegation enquired why this question had not been submitted to the International Court of Justice for decision, and we have not been given a clear, unequivocal reply.
- 135. Jamaica must acknowledge, gratefully, that some revision of the draft has been effected in response to the concerns we expressed to the sponsors. Unfortunately the changes do not go far enough. Perhaps if there had been more time and we had been able to talk further, it might have been possible to agree upon the further changes which would have satisfied my delegation.
- 136. As the draft resolution has come before the Assembly, however, it does not yet make clear that the essential concern of the United Nations must be the future welfare of the people of the Malvinas Islands (Falklands), and Jamaica would be failing in its responsibility to those people if we voted for the present text.
- 137. Jamaica is also impressed by the necessity to ensure that the treatment of this draft resolution does not operate to encourage other countries which have territorial disputes in our region to resort to force in the expectation of benefiting their side of the dispute thereby.
- 138. We know that the Secretary-General will be willing to provide his good offices as soon as he understands that his intervention will be of assistance to the parties to the dispute. Since we consider, further, that it is essential for the future of the inhabitants of these Islands to be settled without delay, we join in the appeal to both parties to resume the negotiations as soon as they are able to do so. The Jamaican delegation will not, therefore, vote against the draft resolution: Jamaica will simply abstain when it is voted upon.
- 139. It is Jamaica's earnest desire that both parties to this dispute should continue their search, in a peaceful manner and with all necessary restraint, for a solution to the problem of the Falkland Islands. We wish to assure them both of our willingness to assist and facilitate that search in any way we can.

The meeting rose at 1.00 p.m.

NOTES

- ¹ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIII.
 - ² A/34/542, annex, para. 168.
- ³ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/5446/Rev.1, annex I.
- ⁴ Ibid., Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings (part I), vol. 2, 947th meeting, para. 68.
 - ⁵ See A/32/110, annex and A/32/111, annex.
- ⁶ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982, document S/15156/Rev.2.