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PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 17 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. RANA (Vice-President)

(Nepal)

- Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) [34]
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (c) Report of the Fourth Committee
 - (d) Draft resolution

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Rana (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34

QUESTION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/43/23 (Part VII), A/AC.109/962)
- (b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/799)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/43/801)
- (d) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/43/L.27)

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Fourth Committee contained in document A/43/801?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at noon.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with that proposal.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I call first on the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Ahmad Farouk Arnouss of the Syrian Arab Republic, to introduce the report of the Committee.

MR. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24) (interpretation from Arabic): As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I have the honour to introduce in the General Assembly chapter X of the Special Committee's report in document A/43/23 (Part VII), containing an account of the Committee's consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

In its review of the situation obtaining in the Territory, the Special Committee was guided by General Assembly resolution 42/19 of 17 November 1987, as well as resolution 42/71 of 4 December 1987 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

In connection with its consideration of the question, the Special Committee heard three petitioners having an interest in the question.

The Permanent Representative of Argentina participated in the Committee's proceedings, as had been done at previous sessions. The delegation of the United Kingdom did not participate in the Committee's proceedings.

Following its consideration of the item, the Special Committee, at its 1339th meeting, on 11 August, adopted a draft resolution submitted by Chile, Cuba and Venezuela, which is set out in paragraph 14 of chapter X of the report. In the resolution the Committee recalled General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, as well as all other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee on this question. The Committee reiterated that the way to put an end to the special and particular colonial situation in respect of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) was the peaceful and

(Mr. Arnouss, Rapporteur,
Special Committee of 24)

negotiated settlement of the dispute over sovereignty between the Governments of the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It took note with satisfaction of the fact that the Government of Argentina had reiterated its intention to comply with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

The Committee expressed regret that, in spite of the widespread international support for a global negotiation between Argentina and the United Kingdom that would include all aspects on the future of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on that question had not yet started.

The Committee therefore called for the resumption of negotiations between the two Governments and reiterated its firm support for the renewed mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General in that regard.

The statements made during the debate are reproduced in the verbatim record (A/AC.109/PV.1339) of the 1339th meeting of the Committee.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Brazil, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/43/L.27.

Mr. NOGUEIRA BATISTA (Brazil) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again I have the honour of introducing, on behalf of the co-sponsors, a draft resolution on the question of the Malvinas Islands. Hence, it is not my intention to repeat the Brazilian Government's position - which it has held since 1833 - of unqualified support for Argentina's rights of sovereignty over those islands.

(Mr. Nogueira Batista, Brazil)

On this occasion I would only wish, together with the other sponsors, to outline a framework for negotiating activity that might - in a spirit of strict respect for the United Nations Charter - solve the set of problems that are separating the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution A/43/L.27, which I now introduce on behalf of Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Ghana, Honduras, India, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Brazil, is identical in substance to resolution 42/19.

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

Accordingly, it remains objective and balanced and is aimed at promoting the consolidation of a negotiating process between two States Members of the Organization.

In its preambular paragraphs draft resolution A/43/L.27 makes reference to the report of the Secretary-General and the interest of the international community as a whole in reaching a peaceful and definitive settlement of all the differences between the two Governments, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Similarly, it takes note of the willingness expressed by both parties to normalize their relations and expresses the conviction of the Assembly that this would be facilitated by negotiations leading to a strengthening of mutual confidence and the solution of pending problems, including all aspects on the future of the islands.

Consequently, operative paragraph 1 reiterates its request to the parties to initiate negotiations with that aim in mind, without prejudging the result or the means that they may deem appropriate for reaching a mutual understanding. The text thus maintains strict neutrality and does not affect the positions of principle of either party.

Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 refer to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and request him to submit a report to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. The sponsors of the draft resolution wish to express their thanks to the Secretary-General for his efforts in fulfilling this mission, reflected in his report contained in document A/43/799, and for his willingness to continue his endeavours in the search for dialogue between the parties.

As Mr. Perez de Cuellar says in that report:

"Time should not be lost in the effort to make meaningful progress towards solving the differences currently separating both countries". (A/43/799, para. 6)

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

We hope that a climate of political will and mutual trust will be generated between Argentina and the United Kingdom, making possible in the near future the normalization of their relations and the solution of the dispute over the Malvinas Islands.

It is in that spirit that the sponsors are introducing draft resolution A/43/L.27; and in the same spirit I wish, on behalf of the sponsors, to appeal to the Assembly to give it the broadest possible support.

Mr. MOYA PALENCIA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): It is deplorable indeed that as several regional conflicts have been resolved, or at least are on the way to solution, through dialogue and negotiations, the colonial enclave of the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands not only still remains on our continent but there are no signs of the minimum political will on the part of the United Kingdom to initiate talks with the Argentine Republic on this matter, as has been called for repeatedly in General Assembly resolutions.

The illegal occupation of the Malvinas Islands dates from 1833. This year will mark 150 years of the stationing of British civilian and military personnel in that indubitably Argentine territory, which, along with the rest of the country, was proclaimed independent in 1810 in exercise of self-determination, thus upholding its status as a territory of a sovereign State. For more than a century and a half there has existed this open sore in the southern part of our continent as an obsolete vestige of European colonialism.

The recent history of the world is one of decolonization. This is the most important development in the life of our peoples in the century now drawing to a close. Decolonization is also one of the most important achievements of the United Nations - so much so that it alone would justify its existence. It has now made it possible for there to be a larger number of free and sovereign States, most of them

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

democratic, than ever before in history and for this Organization, which originally consisted of 51 Member States, to grow to 159 Members.

The occupation of the Malvinas Islands by Great Britain in 1833 provides an illustration of the bitter consequences for other peoples in the nineteenth century of rivalries between European Powers, which often resolved their differences by transferring their colonies or undertaking new adventures of conquest.

But 150 years of illegal occupation of the Malvinas Islands do not validate the original wrong. The right to self-determination and sovereignty of peoples, in this case that of the Argentine people, is inalienable and cannot be taken away, as has constantly been affirmed by the Right of Peoples, inspired by Spanish philosophers of the sixteenth century, at the very time when European navigators were discovering new routes and territories.

In this case, Argentina has demonstrated a commendable spirit of dialogue and moderation. On the other hand, in March this year its counterpart conducted military manoeuvres in the Malvinas Islands in violation of the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, both with regard to the Malvinas Islands and with regard to the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic, and this prompted an important meeting of the Security Council, in which my country voiced its position in defence of the Argentine position.

Unfortunately, in circumventing negotiations over the Malvinas Islands, there has been an attempt to focus the discussion on the alleged right to self-determination of its present settlers. As we have already stressed, resolution 1514 (XV) clearly establishes the right of peoples to decolonization through the exercise of self-determination when they are subjected to foreign domination; however, this is not the case with the British settlers of the Malvinas Islands who are not seeking to become independent or to establish a new country but

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

are citizens of that Power which has no right whatsoever to occupy the Islands. Moreover, in the case of territorial enclaves, resolution 1514 (XV) sets forth that decolonization consists precisely in restoring territories occupied under colonial domination to the State which has a sovereign right over them.

(Mr. Moya Palencia, Mexico)

The draft resolution (A/43/L.27) which Mexico has co-sponsored simply seeks to bring the two parties in the conflict to a dialogue and an exchange of ideas so that they may examine the problem in depth and attempt to reach a negotiated solution. The peaceful settlement of disputes between States is a firm rule of the United Nations Charter which should be fully applied in this case. Mexico expresses the hope that this international rule will be applied in the case of the Malvinas and that, through dialogue and respect for the law, the last colonialist enclave in Latin America may at last disappear.

Mr. FENALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): The item on the Malvinas Islands, to our great frustration, remains a priority item on the agenda of the General Assembly. This is one of the oldest and most controversial colonial issues still persisting in our time. The history underlying this conflict is well known to all. It is sufficient to refer to the long and slow process of conversations that took place over the course of a number of years between the parties concerned, and let it be said in passing that these parties have long-standing cultural and historical links.

When democracy returned to Argentina, it became necessary to reinitiate the process that might eventually lead to a definitive resolution of the conflict. During this period the progress has been equally slow, but we are beginning to see a clear sign of good will between the parties concerned. On the one side we see the Argentine Republic, after a difficult transition period, opening its doors to talks aimed at finding a solution for all the aspects of the problem of the islands. Not only has it expressed its willingness to respect United Nations mediation, in conformity with the provisions of resolution 42/19, but it has indeed guaranteed that it will respect the rights of the islanders, including their style of living and their traditions and cultural identity.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

This practical and very flexible position stands in contrast with that of the British Government, which has not shown a willingness or desire to reinstate a broad dialogue within the parameters and requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. This lack of will to facilitate the initiation of a process seeking a definitive solution of the problem in conformity with the rules of our Organization is still more worrisome in that it is exhibited by a country that has a permanent seat in the Security Council.

The support given by the Government of the United Kingdom to the declaration of the South Atlantic as a zone of peace and co-operation at the forty-second session, which it has again endorsed this year, seemed to mark a turning point in the position of that Government and it was so interpreted by various leaders of the region, since it coincided with an official statement in which the British Government expressed its desire to seek more normal relations with Argentina.

These expressions of good will became less credible when the United Kingdom, despite the efforts and appeals of the Governments of the region, carried out its "Fire Focus" operation during the period from 7 to 31 March of this year. These military manoeuvres were strongly criticized by the international community, including, in particular, the Government of Colombia, as we had occasion to say in our statements of 16 March to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and 17 March to the Security Council. In these statements we emphasized our insistence that the problem of the Malvinas Islands deeply affects all of Latin America.

With those facts in mind, we have given our sponsorship and unconditional support to the draft resolution contained in document A/43/L.27. That draft contains the initiatives of its immediate predecessor and, like it, is perfectly within the rules established by our Organization for the resolution of conflicts.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

Colombia has never favoured the use of force for resolving conflicts. The peaceful settlement of disputes has always been and remains a basic tenet of our foreign policy. The draft resolution before us provides a just, broad, flexible approach, inviting open and unconditional dialogue which, in our view, could lead to a peaceful solution of the problem.

My delegation wishes to reiterate its support for the positions of Argentina, and we appeal to the international community to lend its support to this draft resolution, as a recognition of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his good offices and to show our respect for and allegiance to the basic principles of our Organization.

The world scene has changed radically this year. Problems and conflicts the solution of which seemed to be out of reach are now on the way to being resolved, and understanding between the great Powers has made possible historic agreements which until recently were regarded as mere pipe dreams. In view of this apparently irreversible process of détente, we wish to be optimistic, and therefore we shall not lose hope that the Government of Great Britain will take a conciliatory position leading to the restoration of dialogue with the Argentine Republic in seeking a just solution of the problem of the Malvinas Islands. That is the hope of all Latin Americans.

Mr. GRAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The climate of détente and of the negotiated resolution of conflicts prevailing in the world today has not yet made it possible for the serious situation that developed in the South Atlantic during the Malvinas conflict to be resolved. Since that time the General Assembly has emphasized the need for the belligerent parties, the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic, to sit down at the negotiating table so as to resolve peacefully and directly that anachronistic situation which cost both countries so many lives in 1983.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

The slowness of those negotiations has been due not to Argentina but to the stubbornness of the occupying Power, so that although we near the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) the problem of the Malvinas Islands remains on our agenda and among our concerns. It is time for colonialism to be eradicated from the face of the earth; but this will never become a reality so long as there remains a single territory subjected to the designs of a foreign Power.

The devices used by administering Powers to flout our decisions are well known here, as are the legitimate aspirations of peoples for just and lasting peace in freedom. Each people has the inalienable right to decide its own destiny on its own and for itself.

For that reason, we must be firm with those who endanger the fulfilment of that human longing and demand from the occupying Power that it comply with the repeated calls of the General Assembly and proceed without further delay to restore to our sister republic, Argentina, sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, which are an integral part of its national territory.

If we are to make a substantive contribution to the process of détente that is developing throughout the world, the time has come to find a negotiated solution to the Malvinas situation, as has been called for repeatedly here by the Republic of Argentina. We therefore appeal to the United Kingdom to heed the outcry of the international community for it to negotiate the restoration of the Malvinas and establish the necessary dialogue so that our peoples of America can peacefully devote all their energies to the promotion of their well-being. For all those reasons, Cuba adds its name to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/43/L.27 and expresses the hope from this rostrum that a prompt solution to the conflict can be reached through dialogue and dispassionate and constructive negotiation.

Mr. TAVERAS-GUZMAN (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish):

The delegation of the Dominican Republic, representing a peace-loving country which respects the tenets of the United Nations Charter, could not fail to join the other voices of Latin America, and of other Member States, which have expressed, and will continue to express, their support for the aspirations of the Argentine people to full sovereignty over their entire national territory.

Regrettably, the Assembly meets once again to consider the question of the Malvinas Islands without our having noted any substantive progress towards the solution of the conflict that has kept the South Atlantic area in a state of tension and insecurity, with the risk of affecting the peace and security of all of Latin America.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to place on record our appreciation of the Secretary-General for the good offices that he has always provided, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly with regard to the item under consideration, and above all for his steadfast efforts to keep alive the dialogue between the parties to the dispute.

We look with concern upon the charges concerning the disproportionate increase in the military fortification of the islands by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for we reject any attempt to increase tension in the area.

Our delegation reaffirms and endorses the statements made by our Foreign Minister in the Organization of American States, relating to the conflict in the South Atlantic, aware that it is in the interests of the international community to achieve a just and stable negotiated solution and thereby eradicate the shameful remnants of colonialism from our region.

Problems such as the South Atlantic conflict confirm that never has there been more meaning in the statement that Latin America has moved forward along the road

(Mr. Taveras-Guzman,
Dominican Republic)

to national sovereignty only to discover that there is an ever greater distance between its legitimate hopes and as yet unfulfilled possibilities.

For that reason, our delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which has been introduced, and will vote for it in a spirit of solidarity with the countries of the region and other Member States, on the understanding that upon its adoption it will not be added to the numerous collection of resolutions adopted on this topic, but rather will serve as a basic element for the achievement of a just and equitable peace through dialogue, not only for the belligerent parties but also for the entire international community.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Consideration of the Malvinas problem is occurring this year at a time of pronounced international détente, characterized by a quest for peaceful negotiated solutions to conflicts, and by the initiation of the processes of rapprochement and mutual understanding which lead to such solutions.

In this renewed, encouraging context, which the international community very much endorses and promotes, and which it is the duty of the United Nations to organize and steer in the right direction, the case of the Malvinas takes on special significance and importance this year, in the sense that it fits into the world process of détente and understanding, to the extent that the parties demonstrate their will and good faith to co-operate in achieving progress.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

It is with that intent that the General Assembly has adopted in the past few years an appeal for negotiations, which we must now reiterate in a desire to smooth the path to dialogue for the parties and help to bring closer genuine, permanent peace. It is in this spirit that Peru takes part in the debate, in accordance with its deeply held convictions and its dedication to justice and historical continuity, and trusting that the evolution in the international climate and the nature development of the process in the interests of the parties will make this a particularly suitable occasion to start a new, constructive phase.

Permanent considerations of a regional and international nature support this position. The persistence of an acute focal point of tension in the area and its negative impact on various aspects of international, continental and regional relations are permanent factors of destabilization in the area, because the forced maintenance of an anachronistic situation imposes disproportionate security demands, with the consequent political and economic cost and the chain effect that that sets in motion. This endangers the security of Latin America because of the increasing militarization of the area, jeopardizing both peace and the process of disarmament and détente in the region.

The situation has implications also for the security of the ocean areas, where, as the Assembly has determined, there is a vital need to start the process of détente, the reduction of the military presence and the removal of nuclear weapons, in our common endeavour to eradicate pockets of conflict that threaten security and impede development and to consolidate peaceful coexistence and co-operation.

In order to enable the General Assembly to make progress in fulfilling its delicate responsibility in the cause of peace we have submitted draft resolution A/43/L.27, of which my delegation is a sponsor and which seeks normalization of

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

relations between Argentina and the United Kingdom and the commencement of a process of dialogue in an open, candid atmosphere that will provide the conditions of mutual trust necessary for negotiations covering all pending issues and leading to a just, comprehensive and definitive settlement of this dispute. My delegation is sincerely and constructively dedicated to that objective.

Mr. KAM BINNS (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): The question of the Malvinas Islands is being considered this year in an international climate favourable to détente, the promotion of trust and the solution of conflicts by negotiation.

The achievement of the Geneva Accords on a peaceful settlement of the question of Afghanistan, the cease-fire in the war between Iran and Iraq, the acceptance by the POLISARIO Front and Morocco of the United Nations and Organization of African Unity peace plan for the solution of the problem of Western Sahara, the encouraging prospects for prompt implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the process of dialogue under way regarding the question of Kampuchea; the positive willingness of the parties to reach a negotiated settlement before 1 June 1989 of all aspects of the problem of Cyprus, the peace process in Central America despite implementation difficulties, and the proposals to improve the situation in the Korean peninsula, all constitute significant developments which converge, within their respective contexts, towards a growing trend to seek negotiated solutions to conflicts between States.

This constructive trend must be promoted and encouraged. Its positive results must be consolidated, but at the same time it is essential that it extend to other conflicts which to date have seemed to resist its beneficial effects. It is in this context that my delegation wishes today to place its consideration of the question of the Malvinas Islands.

(Mr. Kam Binns, Panama)

Ever since this item was first considered by the General Assembly, in 1965, the international community has made it unequivocally clear that negotiations between the United Kingdom and Argentina are the ideal means of finding a peaceful solution to the dispute between the two countries on sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. This position has invariably been reaffirmed by the General Assembly whenever it has considered the subject. This is confirmed, in particular, by the six resolutions adopted successively in the past six years, expressing unalterable consistency and faithful adherence to the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

In resolution 42/19, adopted exactly a year ago, the General Assembly reiterated to the two Governments its request that they initiate negotiations with a view to finding the means to resolve peacefully the problem pending between the countries, including all aspects on the future of the Malvinas, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In the same resolution the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue his renewed mission of good offices to assist the parties in resolving their differences by peaceful means.

In discouraging contrast to the hopeful signs that I described earlier is the following statement in the Secretary-General's report on this item:

"I regret, therefore, having to report once again that there do not appear to exist the necessary conditions to enable me to carry out the mandate with which I was entrusted by the General Assembly." (A/43/799, para. 6)

Of the two Governments the Secretary-General says:

"their inability to enter into a meaningful dialogue of the kind referred to in resolution 42/19 is a matter of disappointment. This is all the more so in view, inter alia, of the time that has elapsed since the 1982 conflict and the existing trend towards a renewed search for peaceful solutions to international disputes." (ibid.)

(Mr. Kam Binns, Panama)

For Latin Americans the disappointment is even greater, in that 155 years of illegal occupation of these islands have elapsed; 155 years of violation of Argentina's territorial integrity; 155 years of affront to the feelings of Latin America, which is united in supporting the legitimate claim of the Argentine nation to restoration of effective sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

It is a source of even greater regret that the negotiations for which the international community has repeatedly called have not been initiated because of the refusal of one of the parties, which is also a permanent member of the Security Council. Certainly the United Nations Charter imposes on all Member States the obligation to resolve their international disputes by peaceful means in such a way as not to endanger either international peace, justice and security. However, we believe that the permanent members of the Security Council, in addition to the privileges that their status confers upon them, have special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. Accordingly it is to be hoped that their conduct will be consistent with their mission and that they will contribute to the attainment of these lofty goals. It is inconceivable to us that a permanent member of the Council should persist in a negative attitude that helps to perpetuate an injustice and endangers the international peace and security for whose maintenance it has special responsibilities.

For this reason we appeal to the United Kingdom to join decisively in the new dynamic of dialogue, agreement and understanding that is gaining ground throughout the world, to comply without delay or pre-conditions with General Assembly resolutions on the question of the Malvinas Islands and to show a sincere desire to negotiate in good faith with the Government of Argentina to resolve peacefully and definitively the outstanding issues between the two countries.

(Mr. Kam Binns, Panama)

Draft resolution A/43/L.27, of which my delegation is a sponsor, provides, once again, an appropriate framework for the resolution of those differences, and the Secretary-General has indicated that he is willing to provide assistance to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom towards the attainment of that objective.

So what is lacking? All that is lacking is the political will of the United Kingdom to embark on the negotiating process.

It is to be hoped that next year we shall be able to include negotiations on the Malvinas Islands among the positive developments that the international community will then celebrate.

Mr. NAVAJAS MOGRO (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): The failure of attempts to resolve the question of the Malvinas Islands compels Member States to take up this item for the seventh time in the plenary Assembly.

We have taken note of chapter X, dealing with the Malvinas Islands, of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/43/23 (Part VII)), which also contains resolution A/AC.109/972, adopted at the Special Committee's session in August this year, which

"Reiterates that the way to put an end to the special and particular colonial situation"

involved in this item is by a peaceful negotiated settlement of the dispute over sovereignty between the two countries.

The Special Committee also takes note with satisfaction of Argentina's reiterated intention to comply with General Assembly resolutions on the issue, while at the same time regretting that, in spite of this and the international support for such negotiations, implementation of those resolutions has not yet started. The Committee concludes by urging the parties to resume their

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

negotiations in order to find a solution to the problem and supports "the renewed mission of good offices" undertaken by the Secretary-General in dealing with this problem.

We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report (A/43/799) submitted to the General Assembly pursuant to last year's resolution 42/19. The Secretary-General's report makes it clear that he has continued to keep in contact with the two Governments, in New York with the President of the Argentine Republic and in London with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, as well as with the Foreign Ministers and other representatives of the two countries, in order to help to bring about a peaceful solution to the question.

The Secretary-General then has to report, however, that the positions of the two Governments remain unchanged. He points out that the United Kingdom remains committed to seeking more normal relations with Argentina, but has proposed setting aside the issue of the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands. He points out that Argentina continues to be prepared to comply with General Assembly resolution 42/19 in the resolution of all pending issues, including matters relating to the future of the Malvinas Islands.

The Secretary-General concludes his report by pointing out with regret that "once again that there do not appear to exist the necessary conditions to enable me to carry out the mandate with which I was entrusted by the General Assembly" (A/43/799, para. 6),

while he also draws attention to the praiseworthy moderation shown by the parties and their clear willingness to reduce causes of tension in the south-west Atlantic. He ends his report expressing his disappointment at the failure of the parties to enter into dialogue, bearing in mind the time that has elapsed since the 1982 conflict. The Secretary-General then assures us that he will continue his efforts to help achieve that objective.

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

My delegation can only regret, with him, the lack of progress in this issue during the past year, since this question, as all Latin American delegations have reiterated, is not merely an Argentine cause but the cause of all peoples and Governments of Latin America. Thus since last century the Bolivian Government and people have given their fullest support to Argentina on the question of the Malvinas Islands.

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

Bolivia's support does not derive merely from solidarity between two peoples bound by fraternal bonds of geography and destiny but also from the respect of both States for the principles of international law, especially non-recognition of territorial gains made through force of arms. Therefore, on behalf of my Government, I reiterate the unswerving commitment of Bolivia to Argentina's cause in its dispute on sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, which are in our opinion an integral part of Argentine national territory.

For the last six years Bolivia, together with other countries, has sponsored draft resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly urging the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations to find a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands and requesting the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices by helping the parties to do so.

Since the fortieth session of the General Assembly, a group of countries having friendly relations with Argentina and the United Kingdom have been submitting draft resolutions offering new prospects of solution. This year, for the fourth consecutive time, the same approach has been taken as an opportunity to break out of the deadlock; the delegation of Bolivia is once again co-sponsoring such a draft resolution - A/43/L.27. In the opinion of my delegation the United Kingdom and Argentina should welcome it and negotiate within the framework it provides for the solution of the dispute. Any solution to the question of the Malvinas Islands must obviously be diplomatic in nature and take into account the various facets of the question, in particular the sovereignty problem, which may be approached from the perspective of the twenty-first century, bearing in mind that the Malvinas Islands form part of the national territory of Argentina, to which they must in one way or another be returned.

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

In conclusion, my delegation would with the greatest cordiality urgently call upon the authorities of the United Kingdom to resolve the pending aspects of the question of the Malvinas Islands. Large sections of British society have already indicated their desire for a negotiated solution. The Government of Argentina also has demonstrated its attachment to peace within the framework of the United Nations resolutions. It is now for this Assembly to adopt draft resolution A/43/L.27 and for the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices. We trust that by next year he will be able to report to us that the parties are engaged in dialogue to resolve the dispute.

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): The international community is witnessing a process of rapid change filled with hope and promise. Like the rest of the international community, we in the international arena feel indebted to Comrade President Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. The effectiveness of their dialogue, now finally well under way through no less than four Soviet-American summit meetings, contrasting with the sombre times of the cold war, has made the world safer and the prospects for peace more certain and encouraging. Thus the first concrete steps in the history of mankind towards true disarmament have at last been taken, moving us away from the prospects of a nuclear holocaust.

Encouraged by that dialogue and the détente that has developed between the super-Powers of the moment, many countries and regions have shown renewed interest in peace and their desire peacefully to contribute to seeking solutions to conflicts and situations of tension between them. What used to be unthinkable is now being boldly envisaged, and States have rendered possible what has been impossible.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

The reasons are certainly far-reaching - for example, the Geneva Accord on Afghanistan; the recent progress in the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict made on the initiative of the Secretary-General; the Security Council's unanimous vote of the 15 permanent and non-permanent members embodying the acceptance by Morocco and the POLISARIO Front of the peace plan of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity providing for a self-determination referendum and authorizing the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative, who is now working to that end.

The United Nations, whose capacity for action and ability to negotiate has been considerably strengthened by these important advances in the settlement of issues formerly thought to be irremediably insoluble, is going through a kind of organizational and political renaissance in this new climate. This new reality, despite its occasional fragility, marks undeniable progress, progress brought about by patient, devoted endeavours of wise mediators, foremost among whom we must place the Secretary-General, to whom my country pays a tribute. The international community must be encouraged by these developments and support these peace initiatives.

We must observe that some crises and situations of tension do persist here and there and are not yet a part of this general trend. The régime of apartheid still exists in Pretoria; the situation in the Middle East is not yet a part of this triumph of peace and, in Latin America, settlement of the question of the Malvinas Islands, the subject of our present debate, does not seem to be affected by the exceptional developments that are modifying political relations and facilitating the strengthening of peace in most regions.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

One may truly wonder as to the reasons for the absence of progress in this regard despite the positive attitude adopted by the United Kingdom, for example, on the Declaration of the South Atlantic as a Zone of Peace and Co-operation. The Secretary-General, for his part, does not hide his disappointment. He notes in his report on the question of the Malvinas Islands (A/43/799) that the positions of the two Governments in conflict remain substantially unchanged.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

In other words, Great Britain does not intend to abandon its commitments to the inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands, but wishes to make progress on issues other than the issue of sovereignty, such as fisheries. Argentina, on the other hand, reiterates that it is ready to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 42/19 and, to that end, has undertaken negotiations to resolve all the questions still pending between the two countries, especially all those relating to the future of the Malvinas Islands.

The Secretary-General concludes, understandably, that he cannot carry out his mandate.

It is natural, therefore, for the General Assembly to express its concern at the fact that negotiations have not yet begun despite repeated appeals in successive resolutions.

We must welcome the fact that armed confrontation has ceased and that the parties continue to show a desire for moderation and the avoidance of any deterioration in the situation. It is in the vital interest of the international community and of the people of the South Atlantic region that, with the United Nations resolutions as the basis, a wide-ranging dialogue between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom be begun. It would be regrettable if the rich experience of regional conflicts in the process of settlement in other hemispheres, or the new approach to international relations conducive to a climate of trust and entente, did not have a positive influence on this long-desired dialogue between Argentina and the United Kingdom. Only through such a dialogue will it be possible to bring about the normalization of relations repeatedly spoken of by the two Governments.

Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): In recent months, as most of the preceding speakers have observed, there has been a very positive change in international relations. The willingness demonstrated by the leaders of the great Powers has made it possible to establish conditions conducive to the peaceful solution of various disputes. In this climate of détente, they have taken some very promising steps towards the solution of various local conflicts, including those relating to certain colonial questions. There is now a real possibility of solutions being found to problems such as those of Namibia and Western Sahara.

Unfortunately, the case of the Malvinas Islands does not seem to have benefited from this atmosphere of détente. A year has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 42/19 and we can see nothing to indicate that there is any prospect of a solution to this problem.

In his report dated 11 November 1988, the Secretary-General said:

"I regret, therefore, having to report once again that there does not appear to exist the necessary conditions to enable me to carry out the mandate with which I was entrusted by the General Assembly." (A/43/799, para. 6)

In the same document, the Secretary-General goes on to say

"While both Governments have shown commendable restraint in preventing a worsening of the situation in the South-West Atlantic, their inability to enter into a meaningful dialogue of the kind referred to in resolution 42/19 is a matter of disappointment." (ibid.)

Only a few days ago the Assembly adopted resolution 43/23, entitled "Zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic", whose principles and purposes contain guidelines which should be helpful to the parties in their approach to the question of the Malvinas Islands. When announcing its sponsorship of that resolution, Venezuela stated that it

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

"could not fail to participate in an initiative of this kind the purpose of which is to protect that vast and strategically valuable ocean region from any action that might create or exacerbate situations of tension or conflict."

(A/43/PV.47, p. 41)

The persistence of the colonial anachronism in the Malvinas Islands is a factor which clearly runs counter to that objective and introduces elements which are fraught with unforeseeable consequences for the entire region. It is regrettable that such worthy international efforts have not met with a proper response in the form of the individual willingness of certain States.

In this context, Venezuela applauds Argentina's readiness to engage in negotiations with the United Kingdom, pursuant to resolution 42/19, and also its implementation of policies designed to relieve tension, among them the unilateral declaration of the cessation of hostilities in the zone and its repeated pronouncements in support of a peaceful solution to the dispute. The implementation of confidence-building measures in a framework of mutual respect is a basic prerequisite for the process towards mature, flexible negotiations which will lead to a comprehensive, definitive solution of this bilateral dispute.

The need is now greater than ever, therefore, to persevere in the quest for formulas which will bring the positions of the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland closer together. More than five years after that painful conflict, the time has now come to heal the wounds and look towards the future.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

Accordingly, Venezuela reiterates its call for a meeting of minds which will lead to a restoration of normal relations between two traditionally friendly countries as a necessary pre-condition for a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. In particular, Venezuela appeals to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to heed the increasing calls of the international community for it to negotiate on all aspects, including the issue of sovereignty over the islands.

Lastly, I wish to reiterate our support for the renewed mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General to help promote dialogue between the parties and thus assist them in complying with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): For the international community, this past year has become a turning-point in international affairs. Instead of confrontational patterns in the balance of forces, we now see in the forefront of efforts to resolve international problems a quest for a balance of interests among States on the basis of the principles of the Charter. As the Secretary-General observes in his report on the work of the Organization:

"... the possibilities of bringing peace to troubled regions through the efforts of the United Nations have plainly come into view". (A/43/L, I)

In the political process in Latin America there has been a clear demonstration of the link between concern for regional security, consolidation of democratic institutions and economic growth and the desire to promote an improvement in the international situation as a whole. This position was reflected in the Acapulco Declaration, which was welcomed by the Soviet Union. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Gorbachev, noted with satisfaction that: "The Declaration corresponds

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

to our conception of comprehensive security." We greatly cherish the idea it contains to the effect that the preservation of peace presupposes non-interference in internal affairs, the solution of international disputes without the use or threat of force and co-operation based on equitable rights.

Concern for regional security and the desire to promote improvement in the international climate was also reflected in the Soviet-Brazilian Declaration on Principles of Co-operation for Peace and International Co-operation during the visit of the Brazilian President to Moscow. The Declaration emphasizes the importance of strengthening the system of international negotiations, and particularly the role of the United Nations, and draws attention to the need for the development and strengthening of international dialogue aimed at the strengthening of peace and international security pursuant to the Charter. It also declares the desire of the parties to promote the just and peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, the persistence of which poses a serious threat to the stability of the international situation and to world peace.

The recent discussion on the situation in Central America in plenary meetings showed the desire of peace-loving peoples to resolve the problems which have accumulated in the region by political means and without interference from outside. A new impetus for lasting and stable peace in Central America should be given by the Presidents of the five Central American countries at their forthcoming meeting in El Salvador and also by the efforts of the Contadora and Support Groups.

It is in this global and regional atmosphere that the international community once again appeals to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to hold negotiations in order to find ways to bring about a peaceful and definitive settlement of the outstanding problems between the two countries, including all aspects on the future of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), pursuant to the Charter.

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

One cannot fail to agree with the Secretary-General's statement in his report on this question that:

"... their inability to enter into a meaningful dialogue of the kind referred to in resolution 42/19 is a matter of disappointment. This is all the more so in view, inter alia, of the time that has elapsed since the 1982 conflict and the existing trend towards a renewed search for peaceful solutions to international disputes." (A/43/799, para. 6)

The Soviet Union, together with the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, advocates a quest for ways and means to bring about a peaceful settlement of the unresolved problems between Argentina and the United Kingdom, including all aspects on the future of the Islands. Clearly, a solution to the question of the future of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) dictates the need for realism and a willingness to make compromises and to engage in serious negotiations on the basis of the Charter and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. As the Secretary-General points out in his report:

"Time should not be lost in the effort to make meaningful progress towards solving the differences currently separating both countries". (ibid.)

Mr. PAOLILLO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The appeal being formulated once again by the General Assembly to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to begin negotiations to resolve the issues pending between the two countries, including the problem of the Malvinas Islands, is the subject of the draft resolution under consideration, co-sponsored by Uruguay. This will not be the first time that such an appeal has been made. The General Assembly has been making similar appeals, without much success, since 1982.

In his report on this question, the Secretary-General regrets having to report once again that the necessary conditions do not seem to exist for him to fulfil the

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

mandate entrusted to him by the Assembly to continue his mission of good offices to assist the parties in complying with that appeal.

We share the disappointment of the Secretary-General, while we thank him for his willingness to remain available to lend such assistance as the parties may require. Our disappointment is all the greater since the General Assembly's appeal to the two countries involved in this issue could not be more modest. It is merely a reiteration of an elementary obligation incumbent on all members of the international community to resolve their disputes by peaceful means. It is simply an appeal for dialogue, without prejudging the modalities that the negotiations may assume or the basis on which they would be established or bear results.

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

Moreover, this appeal could not be more logical and necessary. The question of the Malvinas is now frozen, and to maintain that freeze is good for no one.

It is not good for the parties, because it has interrupted age-old friendly relations from which they had both benefited in the past. They are now involved in a situation that merely promotes mistrust, resentment and, in the final analysis, insecurity.

It is not good for the countries of the South Atlantic, because the persistence of focal points of tension, such as the Malvinas situation, in that region hampers the carrying out of joint activities to fulfil the objectives of the declaration of the South Atlantic as a zone of peace and co-operation, adopted by the General Assembly - a declaration that both Argentina and the United Kingdom has accepted.

Finally, it is not good for the international community because, although the parties - as the Secretary-General points out - have shown commendable restraint in preventing a worsening of the situation, the fact remains that there is still a conflict, that it is still a source of irritation and that, consequently, it is still a threat to the security of the region.

The freezing of the situation is, moreover, anachronistic by its very nature. It is all the more so in the present historical situation in which, because of a wave of goodwill, mutual understanding and dedication to peace that seems to be spreading around the world, complex and long-standing conflicts are moving towards lasting solutions. In every case, the first step taken on this path has been the willingness of the parties in conflict to negotiate and talk to each other.

Finally, the situation is paradoxical if we bear in mind that throughout this freeze the two parties have repeatedly expressed their willingness to normalize their relations and referred to the need to do everything necessary to restore confidence between them and put an end to the conflict.

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

The Government of Argentina, in any event, has clearly and repeatedly demonstrated its willingness to initiate negotiations in accordance with the terms of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. So far, there has not been a similar demonstration on the part of the United Kingdom, and, of course, without that the possibilities of a rapid solution to the problem disappear. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom has not concealed its desire to normalize relations with Argentina and to re-establish trust between the two countries. We do not see how these objectives can be achieved if the two parties do not contribute to establishing conditions favourable to dialogue and negotiation.

In these circumstances, the General Assembly has no choice but to reiterate its appeal to the parties to negotiate; hence, it has no choice but to support the present draft resolution massively, as it has done with similar draft resolutions in the past.

Uruguay's position on the substance of the Malvinas question is well known. We have always supported Argentina's claims to the islands, on both historical and legal grounds. But this is neither the forum nor the occasion to discuss questions of substance. We are not seeking to impose any given solution upon the parties. Rather, we are simply asking them to start looking for a solution. The adoption of the draft resolution before us - far from being the ritual act that it was called at the last session - is the expression of widespread concern, of a feeling shared by the immense majority of the international community. It is a reminder by the international community to the parties that we know that the conflict is there, with its potential for danger, that this greatly concerns us and that they, the parties, have an obligation to solve it.

Mr. HUERTA MONTALVO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first to express my most cordial congratulations to the President of the General Assembly on his magnificent performance in conducting our work. The skills he has shown, based on his great experience, have more than met the expectations of the international community.

As for the item currently before the Assembly, Ecuador's position is and has always been one of firm support for Argentina's claim to the Malvinas Islands. That position is well founded historically and legally. It draws its strength also from one of the principal mandates of the Organization - that is, the achievement through peaceful means, and in accordance with the principles of international law, of the adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations likely to lead to breaches of the peace.

Ecuador knows that peace is the product of justice; peace is also a value that has no frontiers. That is why I venture to advocate peace in the relations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland - particularly in view of the fact that only four days ago the General Assembly confirmed its decision on a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic, and the United Kingdom and Argentina were recorded as voting in favour of that decision. Obviously, achieving that objective requires the disappearance of even the faintest vestige of colonialism from the face of the earth as well as acceptance of the notion that the threat or the use of force does not generate rights. Since the map of the world has been drawn by wars, I know that this is not an easy task.

Some time ago, Arnold Toynbee - in addition to his "Study of History" - taught us the enormous disparity between our techniques and our ethics. The lengthy and tortuous path followed by the question of Namibia - and unanimity on the question

(Mr. Huerta Montalvo, Ecuador)

had until very recently produced no results - demonstrates this point, and it is just one example.

I am very well aware, therefore, that many of the resolutions we have adopted here have unfortunately had more to do with the technique of international relations than with the ethics of such relations. None the less, we should note that the English philosopher made another point about this disparity: he said that it was not only humiliating but mortally dangerous. He felt, however, that there were still grounds for optimism.

The destinies of Argentina and the United Kingdom are presided over by régimes that are based on the will of their peoples. Hence, they can take decisions on behalf of their peoples, in accordance with resolutions, which they support here, in favour of international peace and co-operation. Argentina has shown great willingness; the United Kingdom has shown reluctance. Ecuador has friendly relations with both peoples and I now cordially appeal to them to engage in a frank dialogue, with the support of the good offices of the Secretary-General, in order that they may find a solution to the differences now dividing them.

Dialogue is very much the current vein of history. That is why Ecuador supports the draft resolution now before the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.