



President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

*Tribute to the memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of the Republic of India*

1. The PRESIDENT: It is my sad duty to inform the General Assembly of the tragic death of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

2. I call on the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: We meet today in the shadow of a great tragedy. With the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India has lost a great and courageous leader and the international community a wise and dedicated citizen of the world. I speak with deep personal grief as one who knew and worked with Mrs. Gandhi and greatly appreciated her remarkable qualities.

4. Throughout her long and distinguished career Mrs. Gandhi was a highly respected figure at the United Nations, which she supported staunchly. Following in the tradition of her illustrious father, Pandit Nehru, she represented, on the international scene, the spirit of moderation, tolerance and understanding. Many of us recall vividly her statements last year as Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, and later at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [9th meeting], as models of the kind of principled realism that is so vitally needed in our world today.

5. The eminent international role of Indira Gandhi stemmed from her mission as a leader of the world's largest democracy. We have followed with admiration her untiring efforts to guide and promote the peaceful evolution of her great and ancient country. In that infinitely complex and difficult endeavour, she has now given her life. Once again, the world stands aghast at a shocking act of political violence. The assassination of Prime Minister Gandhi brings home to us once more the absolute necessity of turning away from and rejecting such methods.

6. I wish to extend to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the other members of the family and to the Government and people of India my heartfelt sympathy and condolences in their great loss, in which we at the United Nations fully share.

7. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to express our deep sorrow at the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, who fell victim to assassins' bullets earlier today as she left her home for her office. As I stated in a

message to President Zail Singh, her death is a great loss not only for the people of India, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth but also for humanity as a whole. She was among the great world leaders of this century.

8. Mrs. Gandhi was born in one of the cradles of the concept and practice of non-alignment. The daughter of one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, she herself worked tirelessly to help nurture the movement in an international environment which was, and unfortunately still is, clouded in many ways by East-West rivalry. It is significant that she died while Chairman of the Seventh Conference.

9. Her faith in the United Nations as an arbiter of inter-State conflict and the most important centre for harmonizing the actions of nations cannot be challenged; for, as she herself said, firm faith in the United Nations is central to the non-aligned. The aim is the same: to maintain peace by removing the sources of tension and to bring out the humanity in human beings.

10. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no more, but her dream of the course the Organization should take remains. It is enshrined in the records of the Assembly, in her last words in this Hall, 13 months ago. She said:

"What form the future will take is being moulded right now by our actions. . . . We must create a new international order of humanity, where power is tempered with compassion, where knowledge and capability are at the service of all humanity."
[*Ibid.*, para. 31.]

May her soul rest in peace.

11. On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express heartfelt condolences to the President, Government and people of India and to the late Prime Minister's family.

12. I now invite members of the Assembly to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to her memory.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

13. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ethiopia, Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of October, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

14. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): It was with a deep sense of sorrow and shock that the Group of African States at the United Nations heard of the sad, tragic and untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. The late Prime Minister played a historic and glorious role not only in the promotion of the social and economic advancement of her own people but also in the larger cause of the maintenance of international peace and security.

15. As an ardent advocate of the principles and policies of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi gained our respect and admiration and, indeed, the leadership of the Movement itself. She always articulated the aspirations of the third world with consistency. She maintained that in this age of interdependence the world could not peacefully coexist for long, half rich and half poor. In this regard, Mrs. Gandhi always sought the solution in the establishment of a new international order.

16. Today, the world has suffered the loss of one of the greatest statesmen of our century, a distinguished lady who valiantly fought for the cause of her own people and for the cause of humanity at large. I have no doubt that her supreme sacrifice will always be remembered and cherished by the international community. Mrs. Gandhi's dedication to peace and progress will inspire not only the people of India but, indeed, the people of the entire world. Therefore, we in the Group of African States express our deep sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of India and to the bereaved family in their hour of deep grief.

17. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Iraq, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

18. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Group of Asian States and on behalf of my delegation, I should like to convey to the delegation of India sincere condolences on the tragic assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and the Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

19. We, of the Asian States, remember and greatly value the historic and positive role of Mrs. Gandhi in improving and developing international relations. We also remember well her poignant statement from this rostrum calling for improvement of the current international situation and establishment of the bases of international co-operation and security.

20. Her loss will undoubtedly leave a significant gap on the international scene. Mrs. Gandhi was one of the prominent, historic leaders of our contemporary era who endeavoured with wisdom and perseverance to promote the policy of international détente. She devoted her life to the defence of noble humanitarian principles, not only in her country but in the world at large. We shall never forget her historic stand in favour of the strengthening and promotion of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Thanks to her pioneering role, the Movement has made great progress and played an effective and positive role in extremely grave and complicated international circumstances.

21. The death of Mrs. Gandhi is a great loss to all peace-loving countries. Once again, I should like to express our deep sorrow at this great loss. We request the delegation of India to convey to the Government and people of India and to Mrs. Gandhi's family the sincere condolences of all the members of the Group of Asian States.

22. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Hungary, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

23. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Allow me, in my capacity as current Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, to express to the people and delegation of India the feeling of shock and the heartfelt

sympathy of our countries and peoples at the news of the passing of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

24. The untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi represents a tremendous loss to the people of India, whose Government she led with great dedication, courage and distinction. In the many years of her leadership, India has made great progress in the field of economic, cultural and scientific development and has further enhanced its standing on the international scene.

25. With the demise of Mrs. Gandhi, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has lost a great leader who dedicated her whole life to the ideals of peace, international co-operation and the improvement of the living conditions of peoples. She was a resolute fighter in the cause of independence and economic development; a friend of the exploited and oppressed.

26. The countries on behalf of which I have the honour to speak mourn, in the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the loss of a great friend of our peoples and countries. We all greatly appreciate what she did for the development of co-operation between our countries. We always considered her an outstanding personality in our common struggle against injustice and exploitation, a trusted and reliable friend in the service of peace and friendship among peoples.

27. As representative of Hungary, I wish to express to our Indian friends our acute sense of loss at the passing of a great leader who was a sincere and true friend of my country. Her personal contribution was a major factor in further broadening and deepening the traditional ties of friendship between our two peoples. The countries of the Group of Eastern European States remain convinced that the great people of India will find the strength and determination to continue their progress along the road charted by their great leader, now departed. Let me finally assure them that the socialist countries of Eastern Europe will stand at the side of the people of India in these difficult and trying days.

28. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saint Lucia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American States.

29. Mr. St. AIMÉE (Saint Lucia): We of the Latin American region cannot but express our deeply felt shock and sorrow at the death of a great world leader. As Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi, together with her Government and the people of India, strove untiringly to direct the Movement on a balanced course in an attempt to reverse the precarious situation of conflict in the world today. Through Mrs. Gandhi's example of statesmanship, India gained its rightful place in the world. On the home front, she worked untiringly to bring peace to her people and development to all. This was a beacon of hope in this troubled world of ours which we all appreciated. Her loss, therefore, will be mourned by all, not only in India but the world over. We are confident that her work, rooted in the democratic principles, traditions and beliefs of her country, will live on.

30. On behalf of the members of the Group of Latin American States, I express our condolences to the Government and people of India and assure them that the Latin American States share their grief and sorrow.

31. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Sweden, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

32. Mr. FERM (Sweden): The delegations of the Group of Western European and other States were stunned by shock and grief at the tragic news of the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. For almost two decades, Mrs. Gandhi played a prominent role in world affairs, as an inspiring Prime Minister of her great country, India, as a strong spokeswoman for the non-aligned nations and as a respected leader in the international community.

33. This heinous deed has left the world with a sense of great loss and outrage. On behalf of the Group of Western European and other States, I should like to convey our most sincere condolences to Mrs. Gandhi's family, to the people and Government of India and to our colleagues in the Indian delegation.

34. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan, who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

35. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab States, on behalf of the Government of Jordan and on my own behalf, I should like to express to the friendly delegation of India our heartfelt condolences on the great tragedy which has afflicted the people and Government of India in the death of Mrs. Gandhi. This tragic occurrence has shaken the whole world and greatly moved us.

36. The death of this great leader, Mrs. Gandhi, is a great loss not only to India but to the international community in general. The whole world will remember the pioneering action and wise statesmanship of Mrs. Gandhi, both as India's leader and as a leader of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. She played a great part in developing the principles of understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the world, and I should like to pay a special tribute to her for her historic role in developing the bases of justice and peace among the States of the world and in strengthening democracy in India itself.

37. We are confident that the people of India will recover from this tragedy and continue its efforts to promote the cause of international peace and understanding.

38. I assure the delegation of India of our heartfelt sorrow and request it to convey to the Government of India and to the bereaved family this expression of our condolences.

39. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

40. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): There are two basic methods of governing mankind: the method of violence and the method of consent. Despite enormous difficulties, India, the world's largest democracy, chose from its very beginning as a sovereign nation to be governed by the method of consent. This has gained for India the respect and deep admiration of my country and, I would venture to say, of the entire world.

41. The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is an intolerable intrusion of murderous violence upon the process of consent so cherished by the Indian people. As Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy and as a leader of the Movement

of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership. Her determined efforts to promote peace, security and economic development in South Asia and throughout the world will serve as a constant reminder of her commitment to protect the shared values of democratic nations.

42. Our people, our Government and my delegation are horrified by this act and wish to extend our condolences to our Indian colleagues and to the people of India on the tragic loss of their leader. They have our profound sympathy and support in these trying moments of grief and sorrow.

43. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India.

44. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): On behalf of the delegation of India, as well as of the Government and people of India, I should like to express my profound gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the entire Assembly, in particular all those who have today spoken on behalf of their respective regions and their own Governments, as well as to the representative of the United States, who spoke on behalf of the host country, for the kind words of sympathy and solace and for the tribute paid to our departed leader, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

45. The tragedy that has befallen our nation is enormous. The news of her assassination has been received with deep shock and dismay by the people as a whole. The entire nation is plunged in grief, a grief which is shared all over the world. Your support will help us sustain ourselves in this our hour of travail.

46. Mrs. Gandhi has been done to death by a brutal and despicable act, which has been universally condemned. She has made the supreme sacrifice of her own life in the service of our country and in the cause of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation.

47. Mrs. Gandhi was an outstanding leader of our times. Her concern not only touched every aspect of our national life but also reached out to the world beyond and to the many problems afflicting humankind. As Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and as Chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held at New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983, she had dedicated herself to ever more intensive efforts in favour of human survival, world peace and progress through international understanding and co-operation. Her achievements and her contribution, to which many of you have made such warm reference, will be part of our treasured heritage.

48. With her passing, the people of India have lost a trusted, beloved, courageous and enlightened leader. The world has lost a statesman of far-sighted vision, a true champion of the weak, the vulnerable and the oppressed, and an indomitable fighter for freedom and justice.

49. Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to the United Nations and its Charter was exemplified by the constant support she extended to the Organization, its role and its many programmes in various fields. Her presence at the United Nations last year, her address to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session and the informal gatherings of heads of State or Government over which she presided in her capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries all testify to her personal devotion and

zeal, as well as her selfless and ceaseless activity on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

50. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no longer with us, but her spirit will endure to inspire us. Her memory will light our way in the coming years.

51. I should once again like to thank you, Mr. President, the Secretary-General and all representatives for the condolences and the sentiments which have been expressed. These will be duly conveyed to the people and Government of India, as well as to the members of the bereaved family.

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General

52. The PRESIDENT: May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 26, contained in document A/39/615?

It was so decided (decision 39/404).

53. The PRESIDENT: I propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed at 4 p.m. today.

It was so decided.

54. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the debate, I shall ask 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. Farouk Adhami, of the Syrian Arab Republic, to introduce the report of that Committee.

55. Mr. ADHAMI (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 (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should first like to join you, Mr. President, and other representatives in expressing grief at the tragic loss of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

56. We were deeply shocked at the news of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, who was one of the most prominent leaders of the third world and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. With her death, we have lost a great supporter of the cause of justice and the liberation of all peoples. This loss has therefore caused great grief in the Syrian Arab Republic.

57. I ask the delegation of India to transmit the heartfelt condolences of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Government and people of India, as well as to the family of the great departed leader.

[The speaker continued in English.]

58. Now, on behalf 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 to the General Assembly chapter XXVI of the report of the Special Committee [A/39/23], which contains an account of the Committee's consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

59. The Special Committee took up the question at its 1257th and 1261st meetings, on 16 and 20 August this year. In so doing, the Special Committee was guided by General Assembly resolution 38/54 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], as well as resolution 38/12 relating to the Territory.

60. In connection with its consideration of the question, the Special Committee heard statements on the item by the representatives of the United Kingdom and of Argentina, as well as statements by Councillors of the Legislative Council of the Territory and three individuals having an interest in the question.

61. Following its consideration of the item, the Special Committee, at its 1261st meeting, adopted the resolution contained in paragraph 16 of chapter XXVI of the report. In that resolution, the Committee, *inter alia*, urged the resumption of negotiations between the two Governments and reiterated its support for the renewed mission of good offices by the Secretary-General.

62. Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are deeply moved by the tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Before starting my statement in this debate that is so vital to the interests of my country, I cannot but express my Government's feelings of deep loss.

63. India made non-alignment the cornerstone of its foreign policy, and the highest hopes of the developing world were placed in that principle, in accordance with the belief that the freedom of the Indian people was part and parcel of the struggle by all the oppressed peoples of the world for emancipation.

64. In conformity with the spirit of the philosophy of Gandhi and Nehru—and Indira Gandhi was the embodiment of the highest expression and understanding of that philosophy—non-alignment meant respect for the individuality and the personality of all nations as well as a recognition of their right to choose their own economic and social systems, as basic assumptions for the genuine achievement of dignified and beneficial co-operation between nations.

65. For Indira Gandhi, non-alignment was never a policy that consisted merely of neutrality or equidistance. It was something much more positive and vital. It was a true political credo that enabled her great country to give its support to decolonization and to liberation movements and to adopt genuine positions of principle on the gravest questions facing the world.

66. It is to the glory of a nation that its children should continue and renew the great work of their forefathers. That was the case with Indira Gandhi. And how can we fail to recall her father, Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of non-alignment and one of the formulators of the principles that gave it strength and direction? How can we fail to recall today that it was Prime Minister Nehru who first used the term "non-aligned"? How can we fail to recall, then, the greatness of this daughter who gave new strength to, and applied in a masterly way, the great philosophy and international ethics of her father?

67. Indira Gandhi was a leader in the struggle to safeguard international peace and to formulate the need for détente. She struggled for conventional and nuclear disarmament in the world. She opposed imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racism, domination, hegemony and exploitation. Indira Gandhi consistently supported national liberation movements, promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every part of the world. She fought for respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and security for all nations, and her independence of view and action enabled her to strike a balance between the flowering of national identity based on the intrinsic cultural heritage of each nation and the inescapable logic of international interdependence for co-operation among nations.

68. She strove for the establishment of a new international economic order that would lessen the growing gap between the developed and developing countries and eradicate poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy. Indira Gandhi firmly believed in détente and in the rationale of coexistence. She firmly believed in the need for unity within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, but she believed at the same time in the need to respect diversity within the Movement. However, Indira Gandhi did not believe that it was possible to have one foot in the Movement and the other in a policy of alignment; she aligned herself solely with truth, because she believed deeply in India's national motto, which holds that truth alone triumphs.

69. Once again, irrationality and fanaticism have destroyed life and peace.

70. President Alfonsín, who had planned to visit India and Mrs. Indira Gandhi in January of next year, is deeply troubled by this human and political tragedy, and the Argentine people share his concern. The truth and justice of Indira Gandhi's ideas, however, will prevail in spite of her demise.

71. Once again, the General Assembly is seized of the question of the Malvinas, and once again 20 Latin American countries have submitted a draft resolution urging Argentina and the United Kingdom to negotiate, this time on all their differences, central to which is the dispute over sovereignty.

72. Five resolutions and four consensuses of the General Assembly have unequivocally established that the way to resolve the dispute over sovereignty is through negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

73. The search for a peaceful and definitive solution of all the differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom requires both Governments to show moderation and a willingness to compromise. This is precisely our policy in this regard, and it is the spirit that inspires my statement here today.

74. International law does not admit of the acquisition of territories by force and requires that States settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

75. Hence, it must remain clear to the international community that the hundreds of millions of pounds invested in consolidating the military and colonial situation in the South Atlantic will not succeed in changing the reality of the territories under dispute. The Islands are in Latin America. Our claim and our determination to recover them shall not disappear or weaken.

76. The problem, therefore, will only be solved when Argentina and the United Kingdom reach a

negotiated and just solution. Events will demonstrate that that must inevitably be the outcome. Only persistent political short-sightedness on the British side can further postpone it. We regret that some countries feel linked to the United Kingdom by a solidarity that is not based upon reason and that does not benefit peace, since any delay in the settlement of this dispute only creates a lack of tranquillity in the international community.

77. We have seen the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/589]; it clearly shows that Argentina has expressed its willingness to negotiate. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom persists in its attitude of rigid refusal. That report speaks for itself. It states that the Government of the United Kingdom "is not prepared to enter into negotiations on the issue of sovereignty over the Islands as called for in General Assembly resolution 38/12" [*ibid.*, para. 5].

78. A similar concept can be found in the joint communiqué issued by Brazil and Switzerland after the meeting of high-level officials from Argentina and the United Kingdom held at Berne on 18 and 19 July this year. That joint communiqué states that the "United Kingdom side reaffirmed that Her Majesty's Government was not prepared to enter into discussion of the question of sovereignty" [*See A/39/364, appendix.*]

79. As we all know, the conflict over the Malvinas Islands began with a British act of force whereby the Argentine population living in the Islands was evicted. My country never accepted that *de facto* situation imposed upon it by Great Britain. My country has been uniquely persistent in defending the only case in its history in which a part of its national territory has been occupied by force. Since 1833, we have unflinchingly protested this violation of international law committed against us, and we have not agreed to relinquish the Islands. Therefore, the restitution of the Malvinas to Argentine sovereignty does not entail the amendment of any peace treaty, nor does it endanger the principles of any territorial arrangement in other parts of the world.

80. A little over a month ago [*5th meeting*], President Alfonsín referred to this subject before the General Assembly. On that occasion, he stated the two basic principles underlying our position, namely, that the claim of sovereignty over the Islands is deeply felt by the Argentine nation as a whole and that, according to our concept of democracy as a comprehensive philosophy of political coexistence, both domestically and abroad, we were firmly committed to seeking a peaceful solution to this dispute. That position is in stark contrast to an argument repeatedly voiced by British sources in justification of their refusal to resume negotiations over sovereignty, an argument that holds that, whatever the circumstances, my country "must live with the consequences of the 1982 conflict".

81. I prefer not to speculate on the implications of that warning, but in this case the Assembly must ask itself quite legitimately whether the British intent is truly to overcome the consequences of that war or, rather, to deepen them and to drag them along laboriously and painfully forever.

82. Therefore, it is only fitting to reiterate the questions we have asked so many times: Who benefits from the present situation? Where does it lead? Who benefits from the militarization of the South Atlantic? What is the aim of the construction

of a powerful air and naval base with over 4,000 military personnel, together with submarines, warships and fighter aircraft having a capacity clearly exceeding the imaginary needs of defence against my country? Is it really true that the Malvinas are to be incorporated in a global strategic plan?

83. The democratic Government of Argentina has not only explicitly stated its support for peace and the negotiated settlement of all conflicts, but has also, during the first 11 months of the current Administration, taken concrete international steps to reaffirm that will.

84. Thus, it has settled its century-old conflict with Chile, a dispute that only a few years ago brought the two countries to the verge of hostilities. The President of my country joined five other heads of State or Government in signing, on 22 May this year, a Joint Declaration in favour of disarmament [A/39/277, *annex*], and the Argentine Government has played an active role in this connection. The Government has promised its own Parliament that it will not settle its territorial disputes by force. In addition to its dedication to peace, it has stated its firm resolve to work for peace within the Conference on Disarmament.

85. All of this means that Argentina not only accepts peace but is striving for it. Knowing that, when peace is at stake, verbal commitments are not enough on a fundamental question that affects the country directly, as in the case of the Malvinas, it has taken a practical and realistic political decision.

86. Who can doubt that my Government seeks peace and is truly committed to it? Who can believe that a nation stricken by internal violence, a nation in which democracy was reborn through the will of its people, can ignore the fact that peace is not merely desirable but indispensable?

87. It is therefore clear that, with regard to the Malvinas, we join the whole international community in rejecting force as a valid alternative means to resolve the conflict, but it would be politically and logically difficult to understand what path to follow to end this sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas if, while everyone rejects the use of force to settle the controversy, the method of diplomatic negotiation is not accepted either.

88. In these circumstances, what is to be settled is something much more important than the interest of one or another country in the territory of the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. For here we have the opportunity to establish genuinely whether the Member States of the United Nations are willing, in a specific, concrete case, to support the purposes and principles of Article 1 of the Charter signed at San Francisco. That is precisely the Article that gives meaning and purpose to the United Nations, to its very nature.

89. Peace is too precious to be confined to words and rhetoric; it must be affirmed whenever necessary, in every situation.

90. Therefore, Argentina is simply asking that all of us tell our peoples that the negotiated solution, the diplomatic solution is the only appropriate way definitively to resolve conflicts. Such is the form and essence of the draft resolution [A/39/L.8] that we have submitted to this session of the General Assembly.

91. In this way, we call for a reaffirmation of the principle that created and gave vitality to the Organi-

zation, using the words of the preamble to the Charter, "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". Thus, all that we are asking is a restatement of the mandate that our peoples gave us—that is, to settle our disputes only through negotiation and reason.

92. No other principle is involved in the draft resolution; its text is clear and unambiguous. It can be read only as a call to resolve a dispute in a civilized manner. It is a call for negotiation on all our problems, because we wish to discuss everything. Logically, that implies that we should not ignore the central question that brought our two countries face to face—that is, sovereignty. What would be the meaning of the gradual re-establishment of relations between the two countries if, at the same time, there was an attempt to ignore the basic issue that separates them? How strong would those bonds be if the central question were disregarded?

93. However, we insist that these negotiations must not be limited to the question of sovereignty, but must, as I have already said, cover all the issues that will ensure the re-establishment of relations between the two States on a permanent basis. Prominent among these issues is the status of the present inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands.

94. For all these reasons, I hope that I may be permitted a final thought, perhaps an unusual one. Argentina would like the vote of all the Member States present in support of the draft resolution. But the affirmative vote that we most desire is precisely that of the United Kingdom, for it would mean not only that the United Kingdom was supporting in fact the will expressed in the Charter of the United Nations—binding upon all Member States, but morally much more binding on the permanent members of the Security Council—but that it was ready to begin a new historical era with Argentina, aimed at re-establishing the relations that have traditionally existed between the two countries, and that together with us it is resolved to do away with the biggest conflict we have ever had in our long common history.

95. If that happened, we should be giving the world good news, because we should have affirmed by deeds that peace has reason as its method, and that the method of international reason is called diplomacy.

96. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We learned with great sorrow of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose fruitful political life was distinguished by active militancy for peace, co-operation between States and international justice. It is particularly regrettable that her death should have occurred at a time when, while international tensions are being exacerbated, the developing countries need greater solidarity, a spirit of struggle and committed leadership.

97. On behalf of my Government, I should like to express our great appreciation of the work of Mrs. Gandhi, the example of whose friendship will remain forever with us. I wish to convey to the Indian delegation and to all the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries my country's most sincere condolences on this grievous loss.

98. For the third year in succession, the General Assembly is considering the dispute between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland in connection with the Malvinas, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands.

99. Latin America has once more presented to the international community a draft resolution which is strictly in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and calls for an end to the intransigence of the occupying country and for efforts through dialogue to bring about the final solution of a dispute which has gone on for more than a century and a half.

100. In 1982, the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/9, in which it requested the Governments of the countries concerned to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute relating to the Islands, and requested the Secretary-General to undertake a renewed mission of good offices.

101. In spite of all the diplomatic efforts, we were forced to recognize last year that the intransigence of one of the parties had made it impossible to begin the negotiating process. Accordingly, the General Assembly reiterated, in resolution 38/12, its request that negotiations be resumed, and once again requested the Secretary-General to intercede and to submit a report to the Assembly.

102. When introducing the draft resolution at the thirty-eighth session [54th meeting], we rejected one by one the pretexts advanced by the United Kingdom for avoiding substantive negotiations on the islands in dispute. We referred to the nature of the dispute, which has been unequivocally defined by the Assembly as a question of sovereignty. It would be contrary to history, to international law and to the firm decision of the United Nations for the negotiations to be approached in any other way.

103. We therefore rejected arguments based on the alleged right of self-determination of the inhabitants of the Islands. We said that this argument was merely a smokescreen cloaking the intention of prolonging an illegal occupation. The principle of the self-determination of peoples, which must be respected by all, cannot validly be used against developing countries, which have fought for so long for that very principle.

104. In its resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly states clearly that peoples have the right to decolonization through the exercise of their right of self-determination when they have been subjected to foreign domination. Clearly, that is not the case of the inhabitants of the Islands. Resolution 1514 (XV) also makes it clear that, in the case of territorial enclaves such as the Malvinas, decolonization consists in the restoration of those territories to the State which holds sovereign rights over them.

105. Furthermore, the Argentine Republic has reiterated its determination to respect the legitimate interests of the inhabitants—those same interests as must be taken into account in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly. There is no point, therefore, in using this argument to avoid embarking on negotiations which would embrace the question of the inhabitants and would have to lead to a result satisfactory to the parties.

106. It should also be pointed out that last year many speakers referred to the consequences of establishing military bases in the Islands, not only because of the indications that such installations could serve as a link between the racist régime of South Africa and our continent, but also because they are clearly designed to serve global strategic ends.

107. The President of the Argentine Republic has stated at this session of the Assembly that the Malvinas are “also a Latin American cause inasmuch as Latin America has come forth in solidarity to defend a national integrity that it considers its own. Latin America now also views with alarm the presence in the South Atlantic of a military force equipped with the most sophisticated armaments, threatening the interests and stability of the entire area and constituting a dangerous intrusion of the East-West conflict into the region” [see 5th meeting, para. 42].

108. President Alfonsín reiterated:

“Argentina is firmly committed to seeking the restitution of the Malvinas Islands only through peaceful means. This my Government has stated, and it will fulfil this aim . . . Our concept of democracy . . . has two facets: a domestic one and one that looks outward. The first one is related to the full exercise of the Constitution . . . and respect for human rights. The second one . . . translates into a behaviour that is civilized and . . . may be summed up as respect for the prevalence of legal rules in relations among States”. [Ibid., para. 43.]

109. A year ago, we stated that the Argentine Republic had embarked upon an encouraging process of democratic development which deserved the highest possible praise and support from all States. We said that to the sovereign rights of that nation over the Islands must be added the momentum of a liberating process with irreproachable credentials for undertaking negotiations leading to peace and the restoration of justice.

110. We have been proved right because of the exemplary conduct of the Argentine democracy. But our hopes that the other party would react responsibly and constructively have so far proved in vain. The leaders of the occupying Power have been unwilling to give up the political gains of a feat of arms and have refused to commit themselves to the negotiating process.

111. In paragraph 5 of his report [A/39/589], the Secretary-General indicates that the Government of the United Kingdom “is not prepared to enter into negotiations on the issue of sovereignty over the Islands as called for in General Assembly resolution 38/12”. In other words, the occupying Power has failed to heed the essence of the decision of the supreme organ of the United Nations.

112. The report establishes that the Government of Argentina is prepared to enter into a dialogue for the purpose of normalizing relations, provided such dialogue includes discussion of a mechanism to allow negotiation on the sovereignty dispute.

113. The report refers also to confidential diplomatic exchanges conducted through the Governments of Brazil and of Switzerland, which led to a meeting at Berne in July between high-level officials of Argentina and of the United Kingdom. The Secretary-General states, in paragraph 8, that though “the Berne talks did not achieve the desired progress I regard it as a positive sign that the two countries should have held their first direct contact since the end of the 1982 conflict”. He considers encouraging the desire, expressed by both sides, “to seek a way to resume their dialogue as well as . . . their avowed commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute”.

114. Circumstances seem ripe for the General Assembly to give effect to its decision to apply the relevant principles and provisions of the Charter to the question of the Malvinas Islands and for this to be complemented by parallel diplomatic action by all peace-loving States that wish to contribute to the easing of international tension.

115. In this spirit, the Governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico decided to sponsor draft resolution A/39/L.8, which I have the honour to present to the Assembly on their behalf.

116. In the light of the matters I have mentioned, the draft resolution reiterates the request to 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 and their remaining differences relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands.

117. It also requests the Secretary-General to continue his renewed mission of good offices in order to assist the parties in their search for a solution and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session, which should include this item on its agenda.

118. It renews requests made and mandates given in resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Charter. As has just been suggested by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Mr. Dante Caputo, no State should withhold its support from this draft resolution, the purpose of which is to maintain international legality and ensure the strict application of the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes.

119. It is to be hoped that the United Kingdom will not fail to heed this appeal for dialogue from a large group of Member States and widely supported by the international community, but will act in keeping with its heavy responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council.

120. It may not be possible to secure total unanimity on this draft resolution. We hope, nevertheless, for the unequivocal support of the General Assembly for the peaceful attitude of the Argentine Government through a vote that will contribute to raising the level of political morality of the community of States and to preserving the Organization's dignity.

121. Latin America is recharting its course in terms of solidarity and its devotion to democracy. It does not bow or give way to outside ambitions that have beset it throughout its history. Latin America demands respect and justice.

122. Step by step, we shall find solutions to our problems. Contadora is an undeniable example of this, as is the conclusion of the dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Beagle Channel. The process begun in Quito and continued in Cartagena and Mar del Plata is both an effort at economic co-operation and a basis for a most promising policy.

123. In San José, Costa Rica, recently, we welcomed the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal, which are anxious to assist in the development of Central America without any

desire to interfere or dominate [*see A/39/539, annex*].

124. We should also like to welcome, in the case of the South Atlantic, an attitude of respect for Latin America and attachment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by all countries, whatever their links with the occupying Power. The foreign presence in the territory of the Malvinas Islands not only is illegal but constitutes an insult to all our peoples.

125. Latin America, together with Africa and Asia, demands a new deal. We are not territories to be occupied or riches to be disposed of; we are not backyards or strategic reserves; we are not communities subject to the arbitrary whim of the powerful. We are fully-fledged nations with a great past and an undeniable destiny.

126. What happens in the Malvinas Islands will be for future generations of Latin Americans the irrefutable proof of the attitude of the international community concerning the basic rights of our countries. This is the ultimate significance of the subject before us.

127. The cause of Argentina is the cause of Latin America, of the developing world, of international justice, of the United Nations.

128. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation associates itself with the expressions of condolence that have been made here by previous speakers. The tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is a tremendous loss for her country and for the whole world. Mrs. Gandhi is yet another victim of terrorism and violence. May this illustrious statesman rest in peace. We extend our most sincere condolences to her Government, her country and her family.

129. In 1965, the General Assembly noted the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and invited both parties 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 the interests of the population. Today, almost 20 years after that historic decision by the General Assembly, the question of the Malvinas Islands remains a source of concern to the international community and a source of tension between Argentina and the United Kingdom. The Spanish Government profoundly regrets the persistence of this situation.

130. General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) paved the way for a United Nations doctrine on the question of the Malvinas Islands, which was repeated and consolidated in the various consensuses on the subject and in resolutions 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49, 37/9 and 38/12. That doctrine recognizes the existence of a colonial problem in the Malvinas Islands that should be resolved, pursuant to paragraph 6 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, through the restoration of Argentina's territorial integrity.

131. Spain unreservedly supports all the appeals made by the General Assembly to the effect that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom should find a negotiated, peaceful, just and definitive solution to this sovereignty dispute, and one that will respect the interests of the people of the Islands. In conformity with its traditional and reiterated posi-

tion against the use of force as a means of resolving international disputes and in favour of the peaceful settlement of differences, the Spanish Government welcomes the publicly stated and reiterated readiness of both parties not to have recourse to force to resolve this dispute.

132. My delegation regrets that the meeting of high-level officials of Argentina and the United Kingdom held at Berne on 18 and 19 July of this year did not produce any progress towards a solution of the problem [see A/39/364, appendix]. Nevertheless, we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report [A/39/589] that it is a positive sign that the two countries have made direct contact for the first time since the ending of the 1982 conflict, and we trust that there will be an early resumption of the dialogue. In this regard, draft resolution A/39/L.8 constitutes an important contribution to the search for a peaceful solution of the problem of the Malvinas. The General Assembly, in the text of this draft resolution, not only reiterates its traditional position on the subject but also broadens the scope of the dialogue in calling upon the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations with the aim of finding as early as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and the outstanding differences with regard to the question of the Malvinas Islands. My delegation appreciates the spirit of conciliation demonstrated by the sponsors of the draft resolution, and particularly the important role assigned in it to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, and we trust that its adoption by the Assembly will finally pave the way to an authentic negotiating process.

133. In the debate that preceded the adoption of resolution 38/12 at the thirty-eighth session, the delegation of Spain, along with many others, referred hopefully to the return of democracy in Argentina as the best contribution of that country to the easing of tension in the South Atlantic. For the past 12 months, the Argentine Republic has confirmed, by deeds, its peaceful intentions with regard to the resolution of international disputes. It is now for this Assembly to give decisive momentum to the restoration of dialogue and negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom which would lead to the solution of the colonial problem and the restoration of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

134. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): The Chairman of the Group of Latin American States has already expressed our grief at the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. I myself have no words to express adequately my own sorrow and that of the Brazilian people and Government.

135. My delegation is now taking the floor to restate Brazil's well-known position on the question of the Malvinas Islands. This position was first established over a century and a half ago. In fact, since the very beginning of the controversy that is now before us, in 1833, my Government adopted an unequivocal position in support of the Argentine Republic's claims to sovereignty over the islands. That was immediately after the Islands had been invaded and their inhabitants expelled.

136. The importance of a decisive call and strong support by the General Assembly for negotiations to settle the dispute between two Member States speaks for itself. My delegation joins other countries in expressing the common desire of the sponsors of the draft resolution before us: a clear manifestation by the Assembly to press the parties towards a prompt return to negotiations. We believe that it is only through peaceful means, including *bona fide* negotiations, that a settlement of the dispute may be achieved. That is one of the fundamental premises and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

137. At the thirty-eighth session [54th meeting], my delegation expressed deep disappointment at the fact that the negotiations called for in resolution 37/9 had not been initiated. I must now note that Brazil and Switzerland, as protecting Powers of Argentine and United Kingdom interests, respectively, attended the meeting that took place in July this year at Berne. Although that opportunity produced no tangible accomplishments, it can be regarded as a positive sign of willingness to seek dialogue, which we hope will resume soon and fruitfully. Brazil is always willing to co-operate in any future efforts to that end.

138. The international community cannot accept the delaying of substantial negotiations on the matter. An immediate resumption of talks should be attempted in a spirit of true dialogue, with an open exchange of reasonable views and proposals.

139. Twenty Latin American delegations have submitted the draft resolution before us with a view to contributing to the carrying out of the work of the General Assembly. In our opinion, this body can only profit from dealing with the question of the Malvinas in a moderate, positive, constructive manner, and that is exactly the spirit that presided over the efforts resulting in the balanced text contained in draft resolution A/39/L.8.

140. Our main objective is to restore the atmosphere that led the parties to the negotiation table this year. The continued pursuit of grounds for agreement is absolutely essential, and we are confident that, despite all difficulties, progress can be achieved. In this spirit, I welcome and support the proposals for negotiations that Mr. Caputo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, has just made—or, rather, renewed—to the General Assembly and to the United Kingdom from this rostrum. He did so on behalf of the Government of President Alfonsín, who has all our support in his search for a negotiated peace.

141. Finally, my delegation also underlines the importance attributed to the continuing role of the Secretary-General in carrying out the mandate entrusted to him with regard to the question before us. We are sure that all Member States share this view, in the light of the responsibilities of the Organization with regard to the maintenance of peace and, in particular, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.