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NOTE

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

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

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

2527th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 2 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich KRAVETS
(Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States:
China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands,
Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist
Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United
States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2527)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2525th meeting, I invite the representatives of Guyana and Honduras to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sinclair (Guyana) and Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Marín Bosch (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. LOUET (France) [*interpretation from French*]: First, I wish to congratulate you sincerely, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. I assure you of the friendly co-operation of the French delegation as you discharge your functions. I would request you to transmit to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, our thanks for the outstanding way in which he carried out his responsibilities last month.

5. France has very deep feelings about the increasing seriousness and escalation of the armed actions in Nicaragua. Indeed, as we heard at our last meeting on this item, eight ships have been damaged—some have even been destroyed—by mines in Nicaraguan ports.

6. There are serious threats not only to the economic life of the country, which could be slowly suffocated and finally paralysed, but also to the very life of its inhabitants. In fact, out of fear that such tragic accidents might reoccur, entire shiploads have been rerouted. They will be able to be delivered to their original destination only with considerable delay and at great cost, and only if the neighbouring countries' transport systems make this possible. Among these cargoes are grains and other vital necessities, shipments for humanitarian assistance—coming sometimes from Europe, including France—medication essential to protect the health of a population that has already suffered so much from malnutrition and underdevelopment, as well as natural disasters.

7. Therefore, France strongly condemns this escalation of the violence, and this type of new action which, by interfering with free access to the port facilities of a sovereign country, is leading to a kind of blockade in disguise, which is in fundamental opposition to the great principles of international law.

8. In its resolution 530 (1983), the Security Council reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free

from outside interference, also expressing its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. That position was endorsed by the General Assembly on 11 November 1983, when it adopted its resolution 38/10, whereby all the countries of the international community undertook to encourage the search for a peaceful development of the situation in Central America.

9. But what has taken place recently? There has been a stepped-up foreign military presence, a continued arms race and an escalation of destabilizing activities. My country is deeply concerned by this increase in tensions, which heightens the threat of an irreversible broadening of the region's conflicts.

10. Moreover, it is well known that Nicaragua has recently made a number of positive gestures intended to take account of the concerns of those who quite rightly desire an overall settlement which would resolve the various aspects of the Central American crisis.

11. France pays a tribute to the efforts made by the four countries of the Contadora Group, who are working to find a solution which would be satisfactory to all the countries of the region, laying the foundations for a lasting regional settlement based on the principles of non-interference and respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

12. The chain of violence in the countries of the area—in Nicaragua, but in El Salvador as well—must be broken. The countries of Central America must be permitted once again to solve their problems for themselves. They are entitled to demand respect for their independence and peace and security for their peoples. From that standpoint, the continuing Contadora process must now aim to transform those principles into concrete measures. This would involve a halt in demonstrations of strength and an end to violence and to interference by countries from outside the region in the internal affairs of Central American States.

13. Only military de-escalation will make it possible, in a restored peace, to attain those priority goals of democracy and development which the States of the region, along with France and the rest of the international community, so ardently desire.

14. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I should like, Sir, to begin by congratulating you, the distinguished representative of a friendly Member State, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council for the month that has just begun. Your tenure as President has commenced on a sombre note, as the Council is once again seized of the troubled situation in Central America on the basis of a complaint by Nicaragua. Having had the privilege of working with you on other occasions, I am confident that you will bring to bear your considerable diplomatic skills and capabilities, as well as your eminent personal qualities on the discharge of your current responsibilities.

15. To your predecessor, Mr. President, we pay a tribute for the admirable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month of March. The period of Mr. Arias Stella's presidency was indeed a difficult and delicate one, during which the Council was confronted with several complex and serious situations. Nevertheless, he guided our proceedings with his customary diligence and competence. We are in debt to him for his patience and wisdom.

16. Nearly a year has elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 530 (1983) on the subject that is again before our consideration today. That resolution, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference; commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged that they be pursued; and appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group, through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to resolve their differences. Regrettably, in spite of the determined endeavours of the Contadora countries, peace and stability in Central America remain but a distant dream. Nicaragua, on the basis of whose plaint the Council adopted resolution 530 (1983), feels compelled yet again to seek the Council's protection.

17. In November last year the General Assembly took what many of us deemed to be one of the most significant decisions of its thirty-eighth session when it adopted by consensus its resolution 38/10 on "The situation in Central America: threats to international security and peace initiatives". That resolution was the product of many hours—indeed, many days—of tortuous negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. That resolution, *inter alia*, unequivocally reaffirmed the right of all the countries of the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future, free from all outside interference or intervention; affirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential to ensure the security and peaceful coexistence of the Central American States; and expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

18. It was our hope that such an unequivocal pronouncement, made without a vote, by the General Assembly would be the harbinger of peaceful negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. Even more important, it was our expectation that resort to militarism and solutions based on force would come to an end. The very fact that, on so vexed an issue as this, it had been possible to persuade the parties directly concerned to adopt a consensus greatly encouraged the international community to look forward to an improvement in the situation on the ground.

19. It is regrettable that this has not been the case and that, on the whole, things have gone from bad to worse. That Nicaragua has felt obliged to have recourse to the

Council yet again testifies to the fact that, far from being alleviated, its concerns have remained unmet and have even become more pressing and intense. Mr. Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, in his comprehensive exposition to the Council last Friday [2525th meeting], yet again brought to it a series of allegations of acts of aggression, subversion and other forms of provocation directed against his country.

20. Nicaragua has also complained of a new kind of provocation, in recent times, in the form of mining of its ports, coupled with attacks on ships visiting them. Such acts, apart from causing disruption to the Nicaraguan economy, cannot but pose grave dangers to international navigation, which has indeed already been adversely affected. Nicaragua's concerns are deep-rooted and legitimate and strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the Government and people of India, enjoying as they do fraternal feelings for the Nicaraguan Government and people.

21. I have had more than one occasion in this Council in the past to set out the position of the countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with respect to the situation in Central America. I need not, therefore, repeat what was said on the matter by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi a year ago. It is pertinent for me, however, to draw the Council's attention to the text of the latest *communiqué* adopted on the subject by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in urgent session in New York on 15 March [S/16422, annex]. Permit me to quote from it the following excerpts:

"Conscious of the urgent need to reduce tension in the area in order to facilitate dialogue, the Co-ordinating Bureau commended once again the constructive efforts of the Contadora Group towards finding a political solution to the problems of the region and urged them to continue their peace efforts. In this context, the Bureau noted with interest the advances made with respect to elections in various countries of the region, and highlighted the importance of making use of democratic processes as a means of bringing about domestic reconciliation in the various countries and détente in the region. It noted with satisfaction that the countries of the region had agreed to take measures which would guarantee effective popular participation in decision-making, taking into account democratic principles, economic development and social justice.

"...

"The Bureau called for an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installations of foreign military bases as well as all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua...

"The Co-ordinating Bureau expressed its deep concern over the new escalation of these acts and

condemned the reported mining of Nicaraguan seaports which has caused the loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation. It expressed its firm opposition against any measure directed towards a blockade of any State of the region.

"...

"The Co-ordinating Bureau welcomed Nicaragua's firm commitment to peace expressed through its latest initiatives and reiterated its solidarity with the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to independence."

22. Ever since the Central American region became another focal point of international tension, the Government of India, as indeed the vast majority of the international community, has cautioned against recourse to military means in seeking solutions to regional problems. We have consistently advocated dialogue and negotiation as a peaceful means to reduce tensions and to bring stability to the area. It is an established lesson of history, particularly the tragic history of this troubled and hapless region, that peace and progress can be constructed only upon the foundation of an acceptance of political and socio-economic pluralism, scrupulous observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and an appreciation of the inherent and deep-rooted problems typical to the region; they cannot rest upon the exclusion of one State or another from the mainstream of regional development on one pretext or the other, nor can they be sustained on the strength of pressures, threats or blandishments.

23. In this context the world has looked with much hope and expectation to the efforts of the Contadora countries to find a comprehensive political solution through dialogue with all the parties concerned. The Contadora exercise has received the blessings and support of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. The successful adoption in September 1983 of the Document of Objectives [S/16041, annex] marked a significant milestone in that effort. Nicaragua has consistently demonstrated a positive attitude and has made important proposals of its own with a view to bringing about peace and reconciliation. It is regrettable, however, that the endeavours of the Contadora Group have of late been afflicted by a flagging of will and dragging of feet on the part of some countries. External interference has also continued unabated and, from all available indications, even intensified. Such attitudes and actions can only undermine the efforts of the Contadora Group, rendering a political solution even more difficult to achieve.

24. In concluding, let me reiterate our conviction that it would be naive to believe that the problems of Central America, so endemic and rooted in history, can be

tackled through the use or threat of use of force or intervention and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign and independent States. Recourse to such means, apart from trampling upon the rights of countries to their sovereignty and to choosing their own way of life, can only exacerbate tensions, widen the conflict and lead to a disastrous conflagration which none of us would like to see. We deem it imperative that such means be immediately abandoned and that dialogue be given a real chance.

25. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, your term of office has just begun and already you are faced with the harsh realities of the Security Council, which so often has to work to defend and safeguard international peace and security. On this solemn occasion I am happy to tell you how pleased and confident my delegation feels at seeing an eminent son of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic shouldering the heavy responsibilities of President of the Council at so crucial a time. Your ability and keen sense of objectivity and the business-like manner in which you have always worked within the Council ensure that these meetings and any others that might take place during your presidency will be as successful as the world expects them to be on matters relating to peace and security.

26. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation to the representative of Peru for the admirably competent manner in which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of March.

27. The Council has listened with interest and concern to the statements made by the representatives of Nicaragua and the United States of America. I say "and concern", for the Council, in responding favourably to Nicaragua's request, might have seemed to be carrying out a ritual. But in fact, if we look carefully at the situation, that is not the case, and the fact that this country, which is having such difficulty now, should have chosen to come to the Council bears witness to the growing scope of tensions in the region.

28. It is the underlying reasons for this tension that my delegation wishes to address, because on them depends whatever solution the Council might adopt to prevent the worst from happening. Our analysis, in this regard, accords fully with that made by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi a year ago. In their analysis of the situation in Central America, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic, the heads of State or Government observed that Central America was going through a political, social and economic crisis mainly because of the traditional structures of repressive power and national economic structures that encourage poverty, inequality and suffering, which, in turn, have been aggravated by intervention and interference in the activities of the countries of the region since the last century.

29. That analysis was unanimously supported by the international community, with the exception of one of its members, and not the least important: the United States of America, whose viewpoint was expressed recently by the President, according to *The New York Times* of 20 March 1984, to the effect that the problem of Central America was "a power play by Cuba and the Soviet Union, pure and simple".*

30. It is most disturbing to see at that high level so subjective an analysis of a situation so dangerous for international peace and security. It was particularly upsetting, in that it seemed to be the answer given to President François Mitterand, who, speaking courageously and objectively of revolutions in the third world, said, according to *The New York Times* of 22 March:

"Their roots lie deep in the legacy of the past. Thus, the peoples of Central America have a long history marked by military oppression, social inequality and the confiscation of economic resources and political power by a few. Today, each of them must be allowed to find its own path toward greater justice, greater democracy and greater independence and must be allowed to do so without interference or manipulation."*

Such truths could spring from no better source than such a frank and true ally of the United States.

31. So it is clear that the real reasons for the problems arising here and there in Central America are well known to everybody, including the Reagan Administration, which, for unacknowledgeable reasons also known to all, wants to replace them with others so as to justify its hatred of the Sandinist revolutionary régime.

32. No, the changes in Central America cannot be the result of an East-West ideological confrontation, as that Administration claims.

33. Of course it would be Utopian to consider the critical situation in the region without taking account of the unfavourable developments in the overall world situation, characterized as it is by great-Power confrontation. But it would also be Utopian and naive to refuse to recognize or understand that that crisis has been aggravated by increasing imperialist interference in the internal affairs of States in the region.

34. In stepping up their subversive activities and assorted acts of aggression in order to destabilize the Sandinist revolutionary régime and replace it with a régime more to their taste and beholden to them, the enemies of the Nicaraguan people are giving striking proof that that popular, democratic revolution is proving to be a thorn in their side. Rooted, as it is, deep in the hearts of the people, the Sandinist régime has put a brutal end to the banquet of the predators.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

35. The stepped-up American military presence along the borders of Nicaragua is indeed a matter of concern. According to information submitted to the Council by the representative of Nicaragua, the figures amount to more than 2,800 men. This is all the more disturbing, since in the 15 counter-revolutionary camps there are today more than 4,000 counter-revolutionaries who have sworn to overthrow the Managua régime.

36. It is said that it is an obsession to harp on the United States Government's hostility towards the Government of Nicaragua, but we believe in the power of the word, and it is our deep conviction that the Council must speak out, to the extent that the inspirational strength of the word can indeed prevent an evil fate from befalling Nicaragua and the region.

37. During the seventh summit conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the heads of State or Government also spoke out. They spoke in order to call on the Governments of the United States and Honduras to take a more constructive approach, to support peace and dialogue, in accordance with the principles of international law. They also described in no uncertain terms the attitude taken by Nicaragua as a positive one. Hence it is astounding how blithely some people have tried to accuse that State of destabilizing the Governments of neighbouring States—for example, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica.

38. We are convinced that the Council will be able to discern the truth or falsity of such allegations. As far as we are concerned, they stem, purely and simply, from the desire of those who make such accusations to "divide and rule"; for the Sandinist revolution—which today enjoys popular and almost unanimous support within Nicaragua and unequivocal support among peoples that cherish peace, freedom and justice, as well as among peoples that are struggling against oppression, wretchedness and colonial domination—is the work of Nicaraguan patriots, many of whom have already paid with their lives for daring to defend human dignity. There is no people that can simply import a revolution worthy of the name or have one imposed on it.

39. The Security Council must act firmly if it wishes to prevent other freedom fighters from dying, if it wishes to prevent other invasions like the one of which Grenada was a victim. More than ever before, the Contadora Group must intensify its efforts to find peace in the region.

40. We say this because responses based on bitterness are always unpredictable and indeed uncontrollable. I speak of the rancour gnawing at the heart of the Reagan Administration because Nicaragua is still surviving, its people happy and pleased with the political, economic and social system that it has freely chosen for itself. Of course, that system has nothing in common with the one that some people would like and still relentlessly seek to impose on it. But could the régime against which the Reagan Administration has so ruth-

lessly and mercilessly been struggling act otherwise, in total disregard for the deeply felt aspirations of its people to freedom, national sovereignty and democracy? The answer is obvious.

41. To say that the régime does not live up to its commitments is surely just another way of misrepresenting the facts. The irrefutable fact is that today the Sandinist National Liberation Front courageously and determinedly refuses to fill the shoes of the dictator Somoza. But even though the United States seems to recognize Somoza for what he was, it never fought for the rights and principles that it claims to defend today in Nicaragua.

42. Nicaragua has always shown good will in its search for political and negotiated solutions to the problems of Central America. Its efforts to this end have often been ridiculed by those who, deep down, wanted things to go differently so as to justify the destabilizing activities carried out against the Sandinist régime. The decision taken by the military junta in power in Nicaragua to organize free and democratic elections in November 1984 is, as far as we are concerned, irrefutable proof of the determination of the authorities of that country to respect scrupulously their commitments.

43. My delegation believes that the eminent Englishman John Stuart Mill was quite right when he said that "a people's search for freedom is an irresistible movement that may be stifled once, twice, many times, but never permanently." But it is seriously to be doubted whether the freedom that Mill spoke about is the same as that to which the representative of the United States referred in her statement of 23 March 1983 [2420th meeting].

44. My delegation also believes that repression is not a human or political right, nor is oppression, the practice of racism, *apartheid*, or the policy of expansionism. Whatever the case, we are willing to work in close co-operation with all those who share this belief in order to ensure that such rights are not granted by the Council or any Member of the United Nations to any Government whatsoever. If we all act in concert in this way, we shall be doing something worthwhile.

45. A hungry world that thirsts not only for water but for freedom and justice does not need quarrels between neighbours. The third world is suffering from many serious evils, the solutions to which depend entirely on the political will of those already in power—those whose insatiable lust for domination makes them intellectually and politically shortsighted.

46. Here I am reminded of what was said by Mr. Clausen on 27 September 1983 to the Boards of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund:

"When they deal with questions of world security, Governments of countries—developed and devel-

oping—should ask themselves whether every extra million dollars of military expenditure assures over the long term the same degree of security as would an additional million dollars invested in the economic development of the third world.”

At this stage in the situations prevailing in the world—notably in Latin America, Central America, the Caribbean, Asia, the Middle East and Africa—that is a question the Council must put to those major Powers that have the very disturbing temptation to oversimplify problems and to boil them down to an ideological struggle for influence.

47. If the whole Council recognized that every State has the right freely to choose its own political, social and economic system, the answer to such questions would be easy to find. Unfortunately, that is not so, which is why we have to meet as often as we do, running the danger of falling into a stale routine.

48. My delegation appeals to the Council to condemn the ever more numerous acts of fresh aggression and intimidation suffered by Nicaragua and the attempt to blockade it by mining its ports. We also appeal to all the States concerned to ensure an end to the non-declared war against Nicaragua and hasten the search for negotiated political solutions to the problems of the region.

49. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): As this is the first time Zimbabwe has spoken in the Council since the sad news of the untimely death of the President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, I wish first to express my delegation's deep sympathy to the brotherly delegation of Guinea on the passing away of their beloved and great leader. Both my President and my Prime Minister, Mr. Banana and Mr. Mugabe, have already expressed the deep condolences of the Government and people of Zimbabwe to the Government and people of Guinea. Because the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré was a true champion of African independence, freedom and unity, and also because he was an uncompromising advocate of non-alignment, his untimely death is a great loss to the peoples of independent Africa and to the entire non-aligned movement.

50. Secondly, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the stewardship of the Council for the month of April. Unfortunately, your presidency does not promise to be a quiet one, and therefore under you the Council will be extremely busy. Fortunately, however, your vast diplomatic experience and skill give us confidence that under your guidance the Council will be able to discharge its difficult responsibilities. I also wish to express through you my delegation's complete satisfaction with the most exemplary and dignified manner in which the outgoing President, Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, guided the Council's work in March. He certainly gave the Council the benefits of his wisdom and other excellent qualities of leadership and diplomacy.

51. Once again, in a matter of weeks, the Council's attention is being urgently drawn to the dangerously deteriorating Central American situation, which threatens a real conflagration in that region. My delegation has already warned, on several occasions in the Council, that unless this critical situation is checked immediately it will have incalculable consequences for regional stability and international peace and security.

52. We note with very serious concern that since the Council was apprised of the Central American situation by the representative of Nicaragua some three weeks ago the situation has become progressively more critical and dangerous. The activities of counter-revolutionaries against the civilian population and economic infrastructure of Nicaragua have become more numerous, thus gravely undermining peace and stability in that country. It is becoming increasingly clear that the ultimate object of these bands, and of their external masters who provide them with material, financial and military support, is to bring down the legitimate Government of Nicaragua by military means. Thus, lately they have not only intensified their assault against the Sandinist Government, but have also adopted new and more hideous methods, threatening Nicaragua's territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty. These new methods include the mining of that country's territorial waters, the threat of naval blockade of its coast, and the organization of air raids against both military and economic targets.

53. We must observe with concern that some of the recently introduced methods of aggression are not only resulting in extremely high casualties among civilian populations and causing even greater destabilization of the economy of Nicaragua, but are also seriously endangering international navigation in the whole region. As members of the Council know, incidents resulting in the disruption of maritime traffic have already been reported, and some of them have resulted in injury to innocent seamen, not only from Nicaragua, but from other countries as well.

54. This Council, charged with the primary responsibility for international peace and security, must express its grave concern at the deteriorating Central American situation, now seriously threatening regional stability. It must call upon those responsible for the violation of international law to desist from their injurious activities and to observe strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations requiring all the members of the international community to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States. The Council must also demand the strictest respect by those concerned of Nicaragua's right to espouse and develop its own chosen political system, without any external threat or interference.

55. Once again we commend the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking peaceful solutions to the problems of Central America. We also note with en-

couragement that, despite enormous threats to itself, Nicaragua continues to pledge its fullest co-operation with the Contadora efforts. Even now we are being assured that the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua stands ready to engage in dialogue and negotiations. In this, as also in their determination to defend and develop a socio-economic system of their own sovereign choice, the Government and people of Nicaragua have a right to demand and to expect the support and help of the Security Council. How we wish that those responsible for the mounting regional tension would reciprocate Nicaragua's expressed readiness and desire to search for genuine peace in that region.

56. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: First of all, Sir, please allow me to express my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that, with your rich experience in diplomacy, you will certainly fulfil this important mission with much success. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration and gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the outstanding contributions he made during his term as President of the Security Council in March.

57. The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the statements of Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora, representative of Nicaragua, and of representatives from other countries. And now I would like to speak briefly on our standpoint with regard to the current situation in Central America.

58. Over a period of time the Contadora Group has been endeavouring unremittingly to attain a peaceful settlement to the disputes among the Central American countries, oppose outside interference and ease the tension in the region. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, together with the five countries of Central America, have engaged in negotiations on several occasions, making it possible for the situation in the region to develop towards a positive orientation. However, the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other Central American countries have been subjected to continuous military threat from outside, which renders it impossible to alleviate the tension in Central America. This naturally causes wide concern for the international community.

59. On 15 March 1984 the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a *communiqué* on the situation in Central America [S/16422, annex], in which it called for "an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installation of foreign military bases as well as all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua". The Co-ordinating Bureau also condemned the "mining of Nicaraguan seaports which has caused loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation". That *communiqué* reflects the concern of the third-world countries in general over the present situation in Central America.

60. The Chinese delegation maintains that in order to remove the tension in Central America, it is of vital importance to put an end to all interference and threats from outside and urges the super-Powers to refrain from making Central America an arena for their rivalry and from displaying their military might or resorting to intimidation for that purpose. The independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and of other Central American countries should be respected, and the affairs of the various countries of the region should be left to the respective peoples themselves.

61. We give our support to the Contadora Group in its continued effort to achieve a peaceful and reasonable solution to the Central American question.

62. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): It gives me special pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council in this month of April. You bring to your high office, in addition to your well known brilliance, your methodical, efficient manner and your mastery of the art of diplomacy, which together give an assurance that under your stewardship the Council will effectively and successfully discharge its responsibilities this month. I must also take this opportunity to express to your immediate predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, my delegation's appreciation for the very capable and effective manner in which he conducted the Council's business in the month of March.

64. This is the sixth occasion in the past two years that the Government of Nicaragua has had cause to complain to the Security Council about aggression against it. Each complaint since the first has provided the Council with an opportunity to assess the progressive deterioration of the situation in Central America, in particular in relation to Nicaragua. I do not need to repeat the elements of the situation described by Nicaragua before the Council; they are indeed well known to anyone who reads *The New York Times* or watches television in New York. But there is no doubt that the situation is one that must cause concern to all States truly interested in seeing peace and security return to Central America.

65. Mr. President, I wish to thank you and your colleagues on the Council for granting our request to participate in this debate. We have not sought this participation to enter into polemics or to engage in slander or recrimination. To do so would be to render a disservice to the cause of peace in the region and to the people of Nicaragua, whose fortitude and patience are being so severely tried from one day to the next. At any rate, do not we all know who is behind all this military activity directed against Nicaragua? Who among us is in any doubt as to where the millions come from to fuel counter-revolutionary activity against the Government

of Nicaragua, or from where come the arms that are turned against the people of Nicaragua? Rather, our request for participation is motivated by our concern at the dangerous course which events in Central America are taking, in particular in relation to Nicaragua.

66. As a State of the region, Guyana is grieved at the hostility and aggression that have been unleashed and are intensifying against the people and the territory of Nicaragua. We condemn the escalation of that aggression, most recently in the form of the mining of Nicaragua's major ports. Not only does this action constitute an attempt to blockade Nicaragua; it also constitutes a reckless endangerment of international navigation. We are also alarmed at the steadily increasing militarism in Central America. The people of that subregion, who have been seeking for so long to throw off the shackles of poverty, underdevelopment and ignorance, are undeserving of these excesses, which only place them on the brink of a full-fledged armed confrontation with implications not only for Central America but for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region.

67. My delegation would like to make a solemn appeal, once again, for a turning away from this frenzied course of arms and more arms towards peaceful, negotiated solutions to the problems facing Central America. The Contadora process is the expression of the wish of the peoples of Central America for just such solutions. In their Document of Objectives, adopted in September 1983, Central American foreign ministers rejected military solutions to the problems of the region. Outside Powers must respect that wish of the peoples of Central America.

68. The activities of the Contadora Group enjoy world-wide support. Guyana, for its part, would like to reiterate its support for that effort. We believe that the Contadora process offers a sound practical basis for negotiated solutions to the problems which Central American States have among themselves, solutions that would respect the independence of the States concerned and also take account of their own needs and interests. We call on all States to intensify their support for that effort, not merely in their rhetoric. Contadora already has more than enough verbal support. What is more important now is that States refrain from actions which go against the goals and purposes of the Contadora Group or frustrate their achievement.

69. The activities of the Contadora Group have their roots in the Charter of the United Nations and in the solemn instruments which the General Assembly has adopted over the years governing relations among States—instruments such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,¹ the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,² and the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International

Disputes.³ Those instruments solemnly proclaim the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-use of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

70. The lesson of recent experience in Central America is that departure from these principles endangers peace and stability and leads to increased human suffering. My delegation finds puzzling the contradiction in the attitude of some States which piously call for respect for those principles in other areas while brazenly violating them in Central America.

71. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Council will make an effective response to the threat to peace and security which the Government of Nicaragua has brought to our attention. We call, in particular, on the permanent members of the Council, which have a special responsibility in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security, to exert their influence to achieve an immediate end to the hostilities being directed against Nicaragua and to promote negotiated settlements to whatever disputes may exist between Nicaragua and any of its neighbours. It is time that the people of Nicaragua were left alone and were allowed to enjoy their right to live in peace and security, and to work for the development of their country, free from outside intervention and interference.

72. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

73. Mr. MARÍN BOSCH (Mexico) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Please accept, Sir, the cordial congratulations of the Mexican delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are quite sure that you will prove able to lead to a successful conclusion the Council's work during the month which is now beginning. Allow me also to congratulate the representative of Peru on his wise conduct of the work of the Council, which last month had the benefit of his diplomatic tact and international experience.

74. I thank the members of the Council for granting me this opportunity to convey to the Council once again the Mexican Government's profound concern at the steadily worsening situation in Central America. It is with apprehension that we see the principles of the Charter and international law being violated with alarming frequency in that region and the persistent tendency to coerce the free exercise of peoples' right to self-determination.

75. The efforts of the Contadora Group to bring peace to Central America are based on compliance with the principles of international law which guide the conduct of States. The document containing 21 objectives, signed in September of 1983, emphasizes 12 of those principles. They include the self-determination of peo-

ples, non-intervention, refraining from the threat or use of force and the prohibition of terrorism and subversion.

76. A few days ago, on 28 March, Mr. Miguel de la Madrid, President of Mexico, said in Brasilia that the experience of the Contadora Group shows that:

"It is possible for countries bordering on the area of conflict and generally interested in the solution of problems that might eventually involve them to play an active and important role in restoring dialogue and negotiation, thus relieving tension and restoring peace. It is equally important that the countries involved, directly or indirectly, in a regional conflict should refrain from taking action that could exacerbate that conflict, should renounce hegemonistic aspirations and should not engage in interference or destabilization actions."

President de la Madrid also said:

"Outsiders are attempting to solve conflicts in Central America. The various paths of development which its countries have chosen are being placed by those outsiders in the context of a global confrontation which distorts them. The exacerbation of tensions and confrontations could lead, if we do not studiously avoid it, to a generalized conflict that would endanger the security of Latin America and beyond. Latin America needs a stable and pluralistic Central America which can fit into the patterns of co-operation and enrich the joint endeavours of the region.

"The path to achieving that is clearly one of dialogue and negotiation, based on respect for national identities and forms of expression, and it is certainly not the path of confrontation and conflict, of destabilizing actions or the imposition of models designed elsewhere by those who think that they know better than the Central Americans themselves what Central Americans want and should have."

77. The objectives agreed on by the Central American countries include the prohibition of the stationing on their territory of foreign military bases or any other forms of foreign military interference, as well as the prohibition of the use of their territory by persons, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the Governments of Central American countries, and the refusal to provide them with or to permit them to receive military or logistical support.

78. In the joint statement signed in Bogota on 27 March, the Presidents of Colombia and Mexico stated that while the Contadora process "had definitely contributed to avoiding the outbreak of war in the isthmus and to generating the elements for honourable and equitable negotiations", they continue to be worried "at the increase in acts of destabilization, shows of force and the violation of human rights".

79. It is precisely that "increase in acts of destabilization" that has given rise to this meeting of the Council. The gravity of the list of facts read out by the representative of Nicaragua in his statement last Friday [2525th meeting] derives from the qualitative increase represented by the present level of military actions and acts of destabilization being carried out against his country. In accordance with what has been stated in the Security Council and with what has been extensively reported by the media, this is not merely a matter of facilitating the training of counter-revolutionaries by providing them with money and weapons, nor of encouraging mercenary pilots to commit acts of terrorism. What is now being attempted, apparently, is nothing less than the imposition of a naval blockade against Nicaragua with a view to eroding its economic infrastructure still further.

80. The Security Council has received reports on the laying of mines near Nicaragua's main ports. As a result, a number of merchant vessels have been damaged and fishing boats destroyed, and the navigation and shipping of a State Member of the United Nations have thus been disrupted.

81. In October last year, when considering the critical situation in another part of the world, the Council categorically opposed the disruption of international shipping and the blockading of ports. In resolution 540 (1983) it affirmed, in paragraph 3, "the right of free navigation and commerce in international waters" and called upon the belligerents "to cease immediately all hostilities in the region of the Gulf, including all sea-lanes, navigable waterways, harbour works, terminals, offshore installations and all ports with direct or indirect access to the sea".

82. What is happening in Central America clearly reflects the major choices facing the international community: on the one hand, the absurd attempt to achieve peace by waging war, and on the other, the negotiated and rational solution of existing conflicts; the arms race on one hand and the quest for just balances and lasting settlements of contemporary problems on the other.

83. The military actions of destabilization and economic blockade taking place in Central America are in flagrant opposition to the peace-making efforts that the countries of the Contadora Group have been making for more than a year. Therefore President de la Madrid, on his recent visit to Colombia, stated:

"Contadora is a Latin American effort to resolve a Latin American conflict. The region can find its own answers to the problems affecting it. We reject the use of force: genuine peace and democracy in the area can be achieved only through abandonment of the temptation to resort to violence and through effective promotion of the full development of our nations. For Central America, Contadora is not just one choice among many; it is the only possible way lawfully to achieve harmonious co-existence among

the countries of the isthmus. Because we are right, we shall not flinch from achieving our aims."

84. Thus there are two opposing views of the real state of affairs in Central America and of its politics. While the Contadora countries propose disarmament in the area, respect for the self-determination of each people and measures to achieve the economic and social development of the region, there are those who continue to hold an outmoded view of international relations, according to which militarism, pressures and a war economy are the best guarantees of their own security and strategic designs.

85. History has frequently demonstrated the limitations and fallacies of such an approach. Rigid military thinking has often ended up affecting those who apply it and has turned against its authors. When the Contadora Group proposes the conclusion of agreements in accordance with the law, it is espousing, within the Central American sphere, the ideals and purposes of the international community on a universal level: dialogue and respect for norms, general and complete disarmament, economic and social development, the elimination of confrontation and a gradual relaxation of tension. The work of the Contadora Group has received the support of the international community precisely because of this complete identity between the universal principles of co-existence among States and its objectives of peace and stability.

86. A universal consensus has been confirmed here with respect to the fact that the conflicts in Central America originate in the economic and social conditions experienced by the peoples of the region. At this stage no one could venture to define this crisis in terms of a mechanical reflex of East-West confrontations.

87. That being the conviction of the Government of Mexico from the very start, and as it is firmly supported by the Contadora Group, let us act accordingly. Let us use all the political, diplomatic and material resources available to us to put an end to the hostilities, establish just and lasting agreements among the parties and engage in a great reconstruction effort for the countries of Central America with the determined assistance of the international community. The time has come for everyone to assume his responsibility.

88. A just and lasting solution of the Central American crisis will be achieved only through genuine commitment and participation by all States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, whose responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security must be exercised in accordance with the principles of the Charter and within the institutional framework laid down by it.

89. For all these reasons, the international community cannot remain passive in the face of the escalation of military actions, destabilization and economic blockading now going on against Nicaragua. Mexico reiter-

ates its commitment to continue its effort, side by side with the Contadora countries, to prevent widespread violence from spreading in the area and to help build the bases for permanent and long-term stability. The success of Contadora, however, depends on the political will and the assistance of the other countries involved in the conflict. It is now up to them.

90. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that thanks to your experience, objectivity and wisdom the Council will succeed, despite all the obstacles we expect, in putting an end to the imperialist plot being directed against Nicaragua and other States in Central America and in other regions of the world. I also take this occasion to express to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, our admiration for the ideal way in which he conducted the work of the Security Council in a month that all agree was fraught with challenges to the preservation and enforcement of international relations as prescribed by the Charter.

92. The Security Council is meeting to consider the extremely dangerous situation facing Nicaragua and the people's Sandinist revolution. Nicaragua requested the convening of the Council in the wake of the startling escalation of acts of aggression against it. This escalation is designed to eliminate the Sandinist revolution by all means, and in the first place by overt and covert military force. It is of great concern to us that this escalation of aggression is taking place simultaneously with the attempts, which began more than a year ago, to solve the crisis in Central America by peaceful means, through the efforts and initiatives of the Contadora Group. These efforts and initiatives are based on understanding and on principles which, if they were allowed to be implemented, would restore to the region stability, peaceful coexistence and co-operation between the States thereof. Those principles would also recognize that the States of the region are entitled to self-determination and to pluralism based on the right of peoples to choose their social and economic systems in full freedom, without any external pressure or intervention.

93. Unfortunately, however, despite all the efforts exerted by the Contadora Group, despite all the agreements approved by all parties in Central America, we are firmly convinced from what is taking place on the scene that the United States is doing everything possible to place obstacles in the path of peaceful means. Indeed, it is striving to destroy them from their very inception; it is trying to concentrate on the use of military force in order to undermine the independence of the countries of Central America, with Nicaragua at

the forefront. Nicaragua has chosen a democratic political system, ensuring economic and social development in the interest of all the people of the country, without discrimination. It seems, however, that the policy of the revolutionary régime of Nicaragua conflicts with so-called American interests and that Nicaragua's non-alignment is contradictory with the aims of the expanding American hegemony and the imposition of this hegemony on all the countries of the region, without exception. It is as if the region, with all its States and peoples, its riches and expectations, were the property of the American Administration; as if fate had willed the countries of Central America to remain satellites in the orbit of imperialism; as if this subordination, rejected by Nicaragua, were an irreversible natural law or inescapable physical law. It is, also, as if the huge capacities of the United States could be harmed by a régime which has chosen for itself freedom, independence and non-alignment, a régime that refuses to take orders from abroad.

94. The fact is that the United States rejects the presence of progressive régimes, wherever they are, any progressive régimes that draw their legitimacy from the will of the peoples concerned. In Nicaragua, the United States is working for the return of Somozism. The United States may have condemned Somoza after his downfall, but it has not condemned Somozism and is working to restore it under another name.

95. We agree with an American author who has pointed out Washington's obsession about Nicaragua. Professor Richard H. Ullman, in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, the fall 1983 issue, pointed out the psychological symptoms plaguing the American mentality. He wrote:

"The Reagan Administration is at war with Nicaragua. Like other wars the United States has fought since 1945, it is an undeclared war. It is also a small war. No U.S. serviceman has yet fired a shot, but American-made bullets from American-made guns are killing Nicaraguans, and the President of the United States has made the demise of the present Nicaraguan Government an all-but-explicit aim of his foreign policy.

"Indeed, the President and his closest advisers seem obsessed with Nicaragua, and their obsession has infected their Government at all levels."

96. We listened very carefully to the statement made on Friday last by the representative of Nicaragua. That statement clearly indicated Nicaragua's genuine fears concerning aggressive acts perpetrated against it, including the concentration of land, sea and air forces near the borders of Nicaragua and in its territorial waters, as well as acts of sabotage carried out inside Nicaragua by counter-revolutionaries, funded by the United States and with the participation of agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The aim of all these activities is the overthrow of the Nicaraguan régime by

force and the negation of all the achievements of the masses. This is, moreover, accompanied by acts of provocation in the form of military manoeuvres which will continue until 1988.

97. In addition to all that, the newest form of escalation has been the blockade of Nicaraguan ports by the use of mines. There have also been acts of sabotage against the economic infrastructure that Nicaragua needs to feed its people and, by the efforts of its sons and daughters, to build in the country a society providing for every individual dignity and freedom and real political participation. It is these acts of aggression that prompted the representative of Nicaragua to put these questions to the international community:

"May I ask the international community whether the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the large-scale military manoeuvres which have been going on uninterruptedly ... in the territories and waters of Central America and the waters of the Caribbean. May I ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the criminal mining of their ports, which endangers international navigation and makes explicit the economic blockade begun a number of years ago. May I also ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the constant efforts of the American Administration to obtain funds necessary to finance the mercenaries of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)." [See 2525th meeting, para. 8.]

98. On 30 March we listened also to the statement by the American delegation, which proved that the United States is intent upon committing acts of aggression under the banner of "achieving democracy in Nicaragua", as though American democracy—the bankruptcy of which is proven daily in every field, and which is indicted by widespread poverty, unemployment, drug use and control of United States foreign policy by the Zionist lobby—were a common product which could simply be manufactured and imitated by developing countries. I confess to the United States delegation that we are not such manufacturers of miracles; we cannot build a democracy similar to that of the United States, a democracy where the Government has been snatched by a band of Zionists who impose conditions on it for the destruction of our people.

99. We warn the Council that the Somozist "democracy"—which was condoned by the United States for approximately half a century, which was ultimately destroyed by the Sandinist revolution, and which the United States is now trying to re-impose—is nothing but a propaganda pretext on which to commit aggression against Nicaragua. The United States delegation has not said one word to address the fears of Nicaragua, which are the result of pressures and State terrorism practised by America, both directly and through agents. Our delegation is thus more convinced than ever that the United States does not stop at interven-

tion in the internal affairs of Nicaragua; it is trying to make the world believe that all acts of aggression against Nicaragua are acceptable and legitimate. When the Council was considering the American invasion of Grenada, the United States delegation attempted to legitimize the unacceptable by saying, "The prohibitions against the use of force in the Charter [of the United Nations] are contextual, not absolute." [See 2491st meeting, para. 53.] Whoever spoke those words ought without question to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, just as it was awarded to Begin. If that theory were correct, we do not see why there would be any need for a Charter of the United Nations, for the United Nations, for the Security Council, or for the meeting the Council is now holding to consider the complaint of Nicaragua.

100. If we compare the statement made by the Nicaraguan delegation with that made by the United States delegation, we can see that Nicaragua was appealing to the world, and to the Security Council in particular, to put a stop to the acts of aggression directed against it, while the United States merely insulted the intelligence of the world by slandering Nicaragua, as though Nicaragua were able to compete with the United States in imposing its hegemony on the countries of the region. But the international community knows the truth; it stands by those who speak the truth, those who are in the right; it defends the weak against the strong. I hope that my optimism is not excessive.

101. As a small, non-aligned State, the Syrian Arab Republic once again renews its full commitment to the resolutions adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the subject of Central America. Through its arrogance, Washington has constantly placed itself in confrontation with the non-aligned countries, which have publicly condemned more than once its actions against Nicaragua, the aim of which is to undermine the stability of that country, to destroy its Government, to attack it from all sides, and finally to launch a military invasion against it.

102. It has become clear that American intervention in Latin America is now the rule, not the exception. The record of the United States is replete with proof of this. The series of acts of terror and aggression against Nicaragua and other States began in 1948 and has continued to this day; there is no need to go into that record. I should like merely to mention that history has proved that one of the faces of American democracy is aggression; if not, it is a tendency, and if not a tendency then an instinct. That is extremely dangerous.

103. In declaring its total solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua, my delegation expresses its deep regret at the fact that the United States is carrying out, either directly or through other States, acts which are in violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter. The acts of aggression perpetrated daily against Nicaragua prove that

there is a refusal to solve the Central American crisis by peaceful means, through the implementation of agreements achieved by the efforts of the Contadora Group. To say that there is no connection between United States military activities in the region on the one hand and United States pressure against Nicaragua on the other is to stray very far indeed from the principle of peaceful coexistence, peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is nothing but an attempt to bring Nicaragua to its knees by force, to make the Nicaraguan revolution give up its principles. This is inexcusable hypocrisy and resembles the other hypocrisy of the American Administration, that the crimes committed by the CIA—which arrogates to itself and its helpers and its agents the role of a national liberation movement—are acts of national liberation which the international community should acquiesce with and accept. We in the Syrian Arab Republic know full well the methods used by imperialism to drain our region and to continue to make it the arena for American-Israeli wars waged against the Arabs, the Palestinian, Syrian or Lebanese people.

104. The crisis in Central America is an integral part of the United States plot to extend American hegemonism to all the strategic areas of the world. Therefore, the current events in Central America are of direct concern to us. We cannot consider those events to be geographically distant from us, for the planner and executant of the events is located geographically near to all non-aligned States. That planner makes no distinction among continents; its aims and its methods are everywhere the same.

105. We therefore call on all States to do all they can to frustrate the plots and acts of aggression against Nicaragua and other States. The United States must immediately stop using force, whether direct or indirect, against Nicaragua. The United States must shoulder its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council; it must respect the independence of the States of Central America and not entangle them in local wars; it must not interfere in their internal affairs.

106. We also caution certain States participating in the conflict in Central America that their dependence on Israeli-made weapons and aircraft and Israeli expertise in frustrating the aspirations of the Arab people and consolidating the Zionist colonizing occupation in the Arab nation is but direct assistance to our enemies. We hope they will stop opening up their markets to Israeli weapons of destruction which provide economic and financial assistance to our enemies.

107. In conclusion, we must support Nicaragua's appeal to the Governments of the world to give the people of Nicaragua the necessary technical and military means to defend itself against the State terrorism unleashed by the United States against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. We are

convinced that peace will not be restored to Central America until the United States takes its hands off that region and stops its intervention.

108. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: My Government decided to request the convening of this lofty body in the light of the grave escalation that has taken place in the past few weeks as a result of the acts of aggression waged against my country by a great Power—a permanent member of this Council—in a dirty undeclared but open war. We did so in order fundamentally to denounce the new aspects of this aggression, involving mainly the mining of our ports, in violation of the principles of the Charter, the norms of international law and free international trade and navigation.

109. That is why I wish to take this occasion to put clearly on record the gravity of this situation, which with each passing day is being aggravated as this great Power, the United States of America, seeks to press on recklessly towards its ultimate objective, which, by its own admission, is the overthrow of the people's Sandinist revolution. I wish also to take this occasion also to refer to certain comments made by some prominent politicians, not just in the United States but also in other countries.

110. With regard to the various acts of aggression, on 28 March the Panamanian ship *Homin No. 7* was attacked by Piraña speed-boats from Honduras, using 50-mm machine guns, while it was loading sugar in the port of Corinto. Three helicopters also took part, directing rocket fire at the target. On 30 March a group of former Somozist guards attacked the indigenous Miskito community of Nimayen, near Sandy Bay, 60 kilometres south of the Honduran border on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, kidnapping some members of its population.

111. In this particular case, I believe that members of the Council will be interested to note that in her statement on Friday [2525th meeting] the representative of the United States referred to internal matters of my Government. She spoke specifically of the case of the Miskitos, declaring that on that very day she had received information that a large number of Miskitos had been seen fleeing the Sandy Bay sector towards Honduran territory. That we did not have that information at the moment—information that she had received so expeditiously—indicates to my delegation that communications between the United States Government, the United States Mission to the United Nations and the CIA are co-ordinated and immediate.

112. To refresh the memories of Council members and to inform those who were not present at that meeting of the Council or who have not had an opportunity to read the verbatim record that has already been distributed, I shall quote three lines from Mrs. Kirkpatrick's statement:

"I would, however, bring to the attention of the Council and others who are interested the fact that at this time, as we meet here, several thousand Miskito Indians are fleeing from the Sandy Bay Norte area of Nicaragua. This is north of Puerto Cabezas, about which we have heard a good deal." [*Ibid.*, para. 82.]

113. On that same day, 30 March, Piraña gun-boats armed with mortars and high-calibre machine guns attacked the port of Corinto, resulting in an intense exchange of fire, which became a virtual naval battle, with forces of the Sandinist Navy. On 31 March, the explosion of another mine seriously damaged the engine room and electrical system of a Japanese ship, the *Taushiro Maru*, which had been loading bananas at the wharf of the port of Corinto.

114. This morning we read a cable containing a *communiqué* issued to the press at San José, Costa Rica, to the effect that a mercenary organization sponsored by the CIA for its covert operations—and it bears clarification that often mercenaries do not necessarily have to be of nationalities different from that of the country against which they are operating; indeed, many Nicaraguans have been recruited and paid by the CIA—had mined a 50-kilometre length of Lake Nicaragua, from the Sapoa River to the town of Colón. Lake Nicaragua is where the United States had always intended to build an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaragua to enable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific. That indeed was the occasion for the first United States intervention, in 1854, which I mentioned previously.

115. In the north-east of Nicaragua, in the department of Zelaya, heavy fighting is now taking place between CIA mercenary forces and Sandinist forces. Those mercenaries, after their forays, withdraw to Honduran territory and, re-equipped, return for action.

116. In the next few days we expect another invasion from Honduran territory of the north-central sector of Nicaragua, which is the strategic sector over which they have been trying to gain control through the various invasions they have launched.

117. In connection with the acts of aggression committed, the dangers of those actions, the mining of the ports and the sophisticated hardware used, I wish to read from the press conference held by the Nicaraguan Chief of Staff, Commander Joaquín Cuadra, who stated that:

"In the past 10 days Nicaraguan frogmen have managed to blow up more than 27 mines in the course of difficult missions off the coast of Corinto, on the Pacific.

"Those mines had been laid on a large scale with sophisticated technical apparatus by the United

States Government, using commando units in the service of the American CIA.

"Three kinds of mines have been detected in Nicaraguan waters, namely those which explode on direct contact with a ship; those which are detonated by the sound of motors; and those which are activated by the pressure waves of a vessel passing near by."

The Chief of Staff of the Sandinist People's Army goes on to say that, in laying mines in our ports, especially in the port of Corinto, Washington could even be using submarines and small submersibles, which amounts to naval terrorism by the CIA, using Piraña speedboats against Nicaraguan and foreign shipping.

118. The use of such speedboats—which has become a frequent phenomenon—armed with heavy machine guns, 20-mm guns and grenade launchers, could be in keeping with the classic American tactic of a mother ship, because it cannot be ruled out that those boats may have come from an American frigate stationed 40 miles off the coast of Sandino and Corinto.

119. Commander Joaquín Cuadra went on to say:

"Those speedboats have motors of more than 200 horsepower and can travel at speeds of over 120 kilometres per hour; their use is intended to distract Nicaraguan defences in order to facilitate the laying of mines through the use of equipment provided by the United States Government."

120. These activities, which in both the planning and the operational phases are carried out under the auspices of a great Power, the United States, are of concern not only to my Government but also to serious people and responsible Governments as well as to those who realize the danger posed by those reckless actions in which the United States Government continues to engage against my Government.

121. In this regard I wish to refer to some statements made by the Secretary-General on 21 March, during his visit to Mexico, and by President de la Madrid and reported on in the international press. When asked about the presence of United States warships off Nicaragua, the Secretary-General condemned any action that might result in aggravating the Central American crisis. Later he stated at a press conference at the airport that the Contadora Group deserved support not only in words but in deeds. For his part, President de la Madrid on the same occasion declared his opposition to the escalation of violence, which was not at all conducive to peace negotiations, pointing out that the members of the Contadora Group and the peoples of Latin America also shared this sentiment.

122. Yesterday I pointed out that Reagan's new Special Envoy to Central America had publicly stated that the activities of the Contadora Group were one

thing but the security measures that the United States might be obliged to take were quite another and in his opinion did not impede the Contadora process.

123. I had intended to read out verbatim the relevant part of the statements made by the Presidents of Mexico and Colombia during President de la Madrid's visit to Colombia, but since the representative of Mexico has already read extensively from the text, there is no need for me to do so too.

124. On the other hand, *The New York Times* of 31 March reported a statement made by Senator Edward Kennedy which I feel is interesting in the light of Nicaragua's complaint about United States aggression. He said:

"The Administration is slowly but surely putting our combat troops into harm's way, into a war in El Salvador. What next? Some guerrilla is going to shoot down one of those U.S. helicopters, the pilot will be killed or taken hostage, and President Reagan will go on the stump declaring that it is an act of war. One secret war in Nicaragua is not enough. One secret war is not too much for us."

125. I am sure that Council members and delegates will have had an opportunity to read this morning the positions on various matters, including foreign and domestic policy, set out in *The New York Times* by the Democratic candidates. I wish simply to sum up the points made by the three candidates about Central America. All three, without exception, advocate putting an end to support for covert operations against Nicaragua. All three, without exception, agree that military manoeuvres in Honduras should be halted. All three, without exception, agree that military aid to El Salvador should be tied to improvements in human rights and an end to the activities of the death squads.

126. We would like to know what we can understand from all this. Why is President Reagan the only person who disagrees with those positions? He is pressing ahead with sowing death and destruction in Central America and escalating military activities there.

127. I shall end by reading extracts from two advertisements, published on 25 March and 1 April, by one of the Democratic candidates, Senator Gary Hart, concerning President Reagan's policies in Central America. The first, published in *The New York Times* on 25 March, said:

"The policies of the Reagan Administration in Central America have set the stage for another Viet Nam. This Administration is fueling an ever-widening conflict ... a conflict that is taking a tremendous toll in the lives of innocent civilians ... a conflict that is destroying the economies of all the countries in the region ... a conflict that could lead to direct U.S. involvement.

"These are reckless and inhumane policies and they are not worthy of support. They must be reversed ... before it is too late.

"The commitment of U.S. military force to Central America cannot be the answer to the problems in Central America, as it was not the answer in Viet Nam.

"Since last year, the Reagan Administration, under the guise of manoeuvres, has maintained a regular military presence in Honduras which has already resulted in the loss of an American life.

"As a first step on the path to peace, I have called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Central America".

Next I shall quote from the advertisement of 1 April, as follows:

"I have travelled throughout Central America and Southeast Asia ... I have seen the pain, the starvation, the dying ... I have seen people in a life-and-death struggle simply to survive from day to day.

"Poverty ... hunger ... disease ... these are the root causes of political and social unrest in the developing world. Suffering people will fight to end their suffering. ... If they have no other alternative, they will turn to violence.

"All too frequently in the past America's leaders have failed to respond to the human crisis in these countries. Rather than working for fundamental change to improve the lives of the vast majority, they have sided with the privileged few in defense of the *status quo*. ... How often have we seen our country support régimes that maintained their power by force and repression?

"Too often America has been required to use its military power to bolster these régimes. Too often American lives have been lost in the process.

"Right now such short-sighted and reckless policies have put us on the edge of disaster in Central America. Ronald Reagan has been using military force to deal with problems that are essentially social, political and economic.

"Concentrating large numbers of U.S. combat troops in Honduras ... funding guerrilla operations against Nicaragua ... pouring arms and military equipment directly into El Salvador and indirectly into Guatemala, the Reagan Administration is setting the stage for direct U.S. involvement. If it continues unchecked, Ronald Reagan will lead us into another unwinnable war.

"That is why I have called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Central America."

128. I should like to ask the United States delegation yet again whether Mr. Hart, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Jackson are the Communists that it is afraid of and whom it does not believe. If they are not, what is its explanation for the fact that they have a clear, well-defined position on the grave consequences of warmongering by the present American Administration in Central America, and in particular against my country?

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

² General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.

³ General Assembly resolution 37/10, annex.

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