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**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIXTH MEETING**

**Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 2 July 1986, at 3 p.m.**

President: Mr. KASEMSRI

(Thailand)

**Members: Australia
Bulgaria
China
Congo
Denmark
France
Ghana
Madagascar
Trinidad and Tobago
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela**

**Mr. WOOLCOTT
Mr. TSVETROV
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. GAYAMA
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. de KEMOULARIA
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. SAFRONCHUK
Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. MAXEY
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. AGUILAR**

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The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 27 JUNE 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NICARAGUA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18187)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at previous meetings on this item I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mrs. Astorga Gadea (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Verma (India), Mr. Moran (Spain), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Mongolia and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist 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 Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Velazco San José (Cuba), Mr. Kulawiec (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Meza (El Salvador), Mr. Doljintseren (Mongolia) and Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): It is a special pleasure for the Australian delegation to see you, Sir, in the position of President of the Security Council this month. This pleasure is both personal, springing as it does from our shared regional interests, and professional, knowing as we do the wisdom, skill and dignity with which you have managed the Council's affairs in the past. It is also a pleasure to recall the exemplary presidency of your predecessor, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, and the manner in which he discharged his duties with such impartiality and effectiveness.

I might also observe at the outset of my remarks that the major Powers, in particular the permanent members of this body, have a special responsibility to set an example to the international community in the conduct of international relations. At the same time, we have in your presidency an illustration of the role other countries non-permanent members can and should play in creating an international environment conducive to advancing the cause of peace.

The Security Council is once again called upon to discuss the difficult situation in Central America. The problems of that region are serious, and the international community has an obligation to play a constructive role in efforts to find peaceful solutions to them. The Australian delegation has listened attentively to the widely divergent statements of the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua and the Permanent Representative of the United States, as well as to other statements so far made in the Council.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

One thing is clear, and that is that, despite efforts by the Contadora Group, the Support Group and the Central American parties, peace in Central America has remained elusive. While there has been some progress towards the goal of peace, the political will required to finalize an agreement has, regrettably, been lacking. Recent developments have only served to complicate the situation further. As the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs said in a statement today, they leave few grounds for optimism that any real improvement in the situation is in prospect.

This is a cause of concern to Australia, whose views on Central America have been clearly expressed in the Council and elsewhere in recent years. We have drawn attention to the serious economic and social problems, stemming from centuries of exploitation and injustice which underlie Central America's political tensions. We have also urged that the East-West conflict be kept out of Central America. We have called upon all countries to support the process of negotiation promoted by the Contadora countries, and we have urged all States to fulfil their obligations under the United Nations Charter, including the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not jeopardized.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

It is clear that in the Central American region there has been a cycle of violence which must be stopped. All States in the region have the right - and should be able - to live in peace and security and to choose their forms of government free from outside interference. All countries are understandably concerned about what is happening in their neighbourhood. In the volatile Central American region this concern should, we believe, be channelled into support for negotiation and conciliation, the most prominent example of which so far is the Contadora process.

The Council has already endorsed the need for dialogue. One year ago we unanimously adopted Security Council resolution 562 (1985), which contained a call on the United States and Nicaragua to resume their dialogue. We regret that this has not occurred. We call on all sides now to avoid actions which might complicate the search for peace.

Many States have expressed serious misgivings in somewhat similar terms about the situation in Central America and, more particularly, about the trend of events over the past three years. Yet we have been left with disappointment, caused by a series of events which show that as yet there is no real meeting of minds on the problems of the region, let alone their solution.

The vote by the United States House of Representatives to approve \$100 million in military aid to the Nicaraguan contras will, in the opinion of the Australian delegation, do nothing to promote a peaceful settlement of Central America's problems. Nor is it likely to encourage the Government of Nicaragua to improve political freedoms or to negotiate with the contras. Rather, it seems more likely to contribute to the escalating tensions in the region.

This trend of events is disturbing and is not isolated or restricted to one country or group: the decision to provide aid to the contras and the subsequent

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Nicaraguan decision to close down La Prensa are each to be regretted. As I have said, such developments leave little ground for optimism about the future. Yet it is the function of the system of international relations as we know it to make every effort to promote peaceful solutions to problems between States.

In commenting on the most recent developments in the region, we note that the United States and Nicaragua do maintain diplomatic relations; they both have elected governments which enjoy popular support; they both proclaim a concern for the region and its people. These factors could, we hope, form the basis for a new era of relations between them.

However, United States military assistance to the contras, who lack widespread support, sits uneasily with the accepted notions of conduct between States which maintain diplomatic relations. Indeed, it raises serious questions of principle about the conduct of relations between sovereign States. The findings of the International Court of Justice, announced on 27 June, are also relevant in this regard. The Court found that certain actions taken by the United States against Nicaragua had contravened international law. Australia remains committed to the observance of international law and to the role of the International Court of Justice in settling international disputes.

In these sobering circumstances, we fall back on our belief that the Contadora process still presents the most positive prospect for peace in Central America. Contadora is, as the permanent representative of Venezuela reminded us yesterday, very much alive. The Contadora countries have shown great patience and flexibility in negotiation and in redrafting the terms of an agreement. It would be a very sad day for the countries of Central America - and for other countries with a genuine concern for the welfare of that region - if this chance of a peaceful settlement openly arrived at were to be lost.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

It is, in our opinion, now up to the countries directly involved to make reciprocal concessions and to exercise tolerance in order to carry the peace process forward.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Australia for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MORAN (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to take this opportunity, Sir, to say how pleased my delegation is, and how pleased I am personally, to see you presiding over the work of the Council for the month of July. I am convinced that your personal and professional qualifications will help the Council arrive at a successful conclusion to its delicate work. I also want to express, through you, Mr. President, my delegation's congratulations to the Permanent Representative of Madagascar, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika, for his magnificent work as President of the Council last month.

Spain's position on the Central American conflict is well known and has been expressed on a number of occasions before the Council itself. There has been no cause to change that position; we still feel that there is a need for a comprehensive, regional, peaceful and negotiated solution. This is why we continue to give our complete support to the work that has been done for over three years now by the Contadora Group. Following the establishment of the Support Group, Contadora has reflected the feelings of all democratic Latin America and has elicited broad support from the international community, in particular from the European community.

The Contadora process and the Central American situation were described yesterday by the representative of Venezuela in a statement inspired by principles and an analysis that deserve our unreserved approval.

(Mr. Moran, Spain)

The most recent events and decisions concerning Nicaragua, on some of which the International Court of Justice has just ruled, only make it more imperative that solutions be sought exclusively by peaceful means.

In this context, the Government of Spain believes that international law must be fully respected by all the members of the international community, as its rule constitutes the sole guarantee that the principles of the Charter will be implemented. This approach is all the more necessary and becomes truly significant when conflicts likely to endanger international peace and security occur. Positions in line with international law and the maintenance of the principles of the Charter are the best guarantee of just and stable solutions.

Spain, which is following with special interest the events in Central America, appeals to all the parties concerned to contribute, on the basis of respect for international law and the principles of the Charter to creating the conditions necessary for a stable and lasting peace in Central America.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Mr. President, first of all, please allow me to extend to you my sincere congratulations. China and Thailand enjoy good relations of friendly co-operation. It gives me a particular feeling of warmth to see you in the Chair this month. I have the full conviction that with your wisdom and rich experience in diplomacy, you will surely guide this Council to a successful fulfilment of its tasks for July. Meanwhile, I wish also to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Rabetafika, for his excellent performance and endeavours in discharging his duties as President of the Council in June.

Over the years, the Contadora Group has made positive and unremitting efforts for the promotion of the peace process in Central America and the relaxation of tension in the region, thus winning the support of the Central American countries and appreciation of the international community. Thanks to the active efforts by the Contadora Group and the Lima Group, some gratifying developments have taken place in the past months in the peace process in Central America. Despite the fact that the Central American Peace Act is yet to be signed to this day, people hope to see success in the energetic efforts of the two groups, so that peace and stability in the region may be ensured.

It is regrettable that the United States House of Representatives recently passed a bill on providing \$100 million for military and other aid to anti-government armed forces in Nicaragua. This has caused serious concern in the international community. We hold that this action of the House of Representatives violates the established norms governing international relations and places new obstacles to the restoration of peace and stability in Central America. It will have a serious impact on the development of the situation in Central America. The Chinese Government is opposed to such an action of interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Chinese delegation maintains that the fundamental way of easing the tension in the Central American region is to respect the State sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua and all the other countries in the region and to stop all outside interference. Any form of interference in the Central American affairs will aggravate the tension in the region and will be detrimental to a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Central America. We believe that the principle of non-interference should be fully respected by all parties concerned and that the disputes between the United States and Nicaragua should be settled through peaceful negotiations on an equal basis in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and not through the use or threat of force.

China resolutely supports the Contadora Group and the Lima Group in their endeavours to bring about relaxation of the situation in Central America and in search of a political settlement of the disputes. At the same time, we hope that all the countries concerned will respect the aspirations of the peoples of the Central American countries so that the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Lima Group for the realization of peace in the Central American region may yield positive results.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): It is our pleasure, Sir, to see you presiding over the Security Council for this month. We are confident that your well-known skills will contribute to the success of the work of the Council.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

I would be remiss if I did not put on record our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Rabetafika of Madagascar, for his wise guidance of the work of the Council during his presidency last month, which offers further testimony to his outstanding qualities.

The Security Council has before it today a new complaint by the Government of Nicaragua stemming from a series of attacks and threats by the United States Administration. The United States acts of provocation and aggression against the Government and people of Nicaragua have taken different forms since 1979, starting with the dispatch of fleets to the coast of Nicaragua and the threat of the use of force against the Sandinista revolution, and ending with an economic embargo against Nicaragua and the support of the mercenary remnants of the puppet Somoza régime.

Most recently these United States acts of aggression have become more direct and dangerous. The United States House of Representatives has recently approved the allocation of funds to provide the mercenaries with arms and to train them. That action aggravates the situation in the Central American region and threatens international peace and security - particularly since the goal of the United States, which has been declared at the highest level of the Administration, is to topple the lawful Government in Nicaragua.

Yesterday the Council listened to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, who gave the Council a true and clear picture of the dangerous United States acts of aggression against the Government and people of Nicaragua. Furthermore, the Council heard many representatives denounce those acts of aggression, which violate the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law and which impede the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group to establish peace and stability in Central America.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

The persistence of the United States Administration in its policy of the threat or use of force as a means to impose its schemes on the peoples of Central America, and in particular on the people of Nicaragua, clearly reflects its policy of State terrorism, which the international community has constantly condemned, along with its flimsy pretexts. The most recent evidence of this condemnation is the decision by the International Court of Justice, which considers that the United States, in training, arming and financing the mercenary forces and encouraging and supporting subversive action against Nicaragua, is committing an act of aggression against Nicaragua. That action runs counter to the accepted principles of international law, namely, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The gravity of the situation lies in the fact that it is in conflict with the position of Latin America on the Panama Message concerning the need to create conditions that would allow the peace process in Central America to continue.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

This American policy of aggression directed against Nicaragua and its legitimate right to sovereignty and self-determination and aimed at bringing the Sandinista revolution to its knees through a chain of successive conspiracies with a view to toppling the legitimate régime in Nicaragua is part and parcel of the policy of aggression in this region to impose its domination and hegemony on the peoples of the region.

Democratic Yemen reaffirms its condemnation of the American policies and practices of aggression to undermine Nicaragua's stability and sovereignty and threaten its security and stability. Furthermore, it renews its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their resistance of American acts of aggression. It calls upon this Council to stand by Nicaragua in the face of all American schemes to undermine its stability, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to interfere in its internal affairs. We condemn any American attempt, direct or through its mercenary agents remnants of the Somoza régime, to commit aggression against Nicaragua and its legitimate Government.

The Council must reaffirm its support for the people and Government of Nicaragua in the face of military threats, economic embargo and interference in its internal affairs by the United States Administration. It must also put an end to the United States Administration's flouting of the international community and deter its policy of aggression, to which it devotes all its military, political and financial capabilities.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Democratic Yemen for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of El Salvador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MEZA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I am convinced that your experience and diplomatic skill will contribute to the effective guidance of its work.

While it is true that the Council has been convened on the request of the Nicaraguan Government to consider recent events in connection with relations between that country and the United States, my Government's decision to participate in the debate here stems from two basic considerations: first, Nicaragua's statement affects the interests of the Central American region, in particular those of my own country; and, secondly, the Government of El Salvador, independent of the attitude and positions of other States, wishes to leave no doubt about its position on the Central American crisis, in particular the situation in El Salvador.

First of all, the statement by the Government of Nicaragua that the authorization of aid to the anti-Sandinistas will lead to a widespread conflagration constitutes, in our opinion, a veiled threat by the Government of Nicaragua to neighbouring countries in which, supposedly, it would increase its activities to drag them into a conflict that would convert it from a bilateral to a regional one. In that case, El Salvador would be profoundly affected by an increase in an interventionist policy which can in no way contribute to the normalization and stability of national life in El Salvador with its consequent negative effects on the Salvadorian people.

These statements, which are of concern to my Government, are compounded by an internal situation in Nicaragua characterized by an army which, according to statements made by that country just last week, is on a war footing and amounts to some 300,000 soldiers equipped with more and more weapons which, contrary to what was said yesterday by the Nicaraguan Minister, are not simple or antiquated.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

To El Salvador, this means that one Central American country enjoys unusual military hegemony totally illogical in the Central American area.

Secondly, my Government wishes to reiterate before this forum and international public opinion that the crisis in Central America at the national and regional levels has increased in magnitude to the extent that Nicaragua has not respected the basic principles of international coexistence and has constantly intervened in the internal affairs of other States. That is the case of my own country, in which it has been impossible to resolve economic, political, social and other problems in spite of the will and efforts of the Government, in particular during the administration of President José Napoleón Duarte, because of the existence of minority groups which have taken up arms and made normal life in El Salvador impossible - groups which, given their characteristics, must be supported and supplied by external forces. These are things that we have denounced constantly at the bilateral and multilateral levels.

Nicaragua, in defending its interests anywhere, presents itself as a country that ardently respects the basic principles of non-intervention and self-determination. It considers itself the object by attack but it sidesteps aspects of its own policy of support for irregular forces in other countries, the most evident and specific example of which is its intervention in El Salvador's internal affairs - something which the facts have confirmed and which we have tried to report to this body.

In this respect the Government of El Salvador, a sovereign country and Founding Member of the United Nations, also has the right once again to denounce those who have contributed to increasing violence and terrorism in El Salvador.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

Nicaragua has pursued a policy of aggression against El Salvador, a policy of intervention implemented by supporting and aiding groups that have taken up arms in my country, showing solidarity with them and giving them sanctuary. Those groups have resorted to terrorist acts to attain their political objectives and have made the Sandinista Government accomplices in the escalation of violence and terrorism.

That aggressive policy, which we have every right to denounce, has been in evidence in various international forums. It has been adopted by different countries under different political ideologies that have spoken against my country in an interventionist way, since in one way or another they have supported or encouraged the irregular forces that attack a legally established Government and violate the fundamental rights of the Salvadorian people.

I shall now give some facts that demonstrate Nicaragua's intervention in El Salvador: first, the death of the main leaders of FMLN took place in Nicaragua, showing that their headquarters were in Managua; secondly, in the negotiations for the liberation of the daughter of President Duarte the FMLN used Managua as the centre for its consultations; thirdly, the existence in Nicaragua of FMLN training camps has been observed and proved; and, fourthly, the Managua Government has on various occasions expressed its solidarity with and support for the FMLN.

On the other hand, in El Salvador today there is a legally established Government, the result of not one but three free elections, supervised by the international community. It is governing in a situation that is now abnormal and unstable, a situation of violence caused by irregular internal forces which could not maintain themselves and continue without support and help from outside. That Government has not been able fully to implement its development plan. It has demonstrated its desire to achieve peace by political means, at the national level through a proposal to continue a realistic and sincere dialogue with the opposition forces, and at the regional level through support for the Contadora initiatives.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

Therefore, some questions must be asked: What are El Salvador's rights? How can it exercise them as a sovereign country? When will our right to self-determination be recognized?

In conclusion, it seems to me to be important to highlight the fact that with regard to a problem whose solution must lie with the Latin American countries, which have a special interest, the majority of the statements we have heard this afternoon and have yet to hear come from countries outside the area of conflict. Support for Nicaragua has been voiced by countries from across the seas, countries with which we have no links of language or history, much less a common destiny.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of El Salvador for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSE (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): We are very pleased, Sir, that you, as representative of Thailand, have assumed the presidency of the Council for the month of July. Everyone is familiar with your skill, qualifications and experience, and we are convinced that the debates in the Council will have a successful conclusion.

I also congratulate Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar on the excellent work he accomplished at the head of the Council in June, and thank him for it.

We are meeting today to discuss Nicaragua's complaint against the United States over one more escalation of the actions taken against that small Central American country by the United States Administration since the very first days of the triumph of the Sandinista revolution. The campaigns of slander against the Sandinista leaders, the mining of the ports, the economic embargo and the

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

interminable manoeuvres on Nicaragua's borders have not sufficed. It has not been enough to try to stifle economically a small, poor, underdeveloped country against which have been used all the means available to a military and economic Power such as the United States. In addition, from the very outset the United States resorted to arming, training and politically supporting bands of Somocista elements to sow terror and death on Nicaragua's own soil, protected by bases on neighbouring territory.

That policy of harassment and the visceral hatred of the United States Administration for Nicaragua culminated in the recent approval by the United States House of Representatives of \$100 million in aid to arm and train the Somocista mercenary bands. Needless to say, that decision of the United States Congress is a flagrant violation of international law, the norms of peaceful coexistence among States and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as laid down in the United Nations Charter.

In whose hands will the money from the United States end up? The Somocista bands of mercenaries, which have been described as freedom-fighters, are composed of elements of the defeated Somoza army, led by officers known for their cruelty in the years when the United States favourite dictator was mismanaging Sandino's nation. The money from the United States will not serve only to increase the burnings of schools, farms and hospitals; it will also be used further to enrich the corrupt counter-revolutionary elements who traffic in drugs and have enormous bank accounts in the United States.

That United States policy towards Nicaragua has not come about by chance. On the contrary, it fits into the context of the thinking and actions of an Administration that considers itself to have a divine mission to impose its philosophy on the world and that stops at nothing to impose its beliefs.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

They have escalated the arms race and even spread it to outer space, against the will of the vast majority of mankind, which wishes peace, not an increased danger of nuclear holocaust.

They invaded Grenada, the small island of the unforgettable Maurice Bishop, in gross violation of that country's sovereignty, and attempted to represent that act as having been intended to restore democracy, by inventing tall tales of non-existent hostages and imaginary dangers that existed only in the minds that conceived that action.

They indiscriminately bombed the capital of Libya, causing dozens of civilian deaths, including that of the young daughter of the leader of the Libyan people, Mu'Ammar Al-Qaddafi. They thus showed that the policy of State terrorism is not the monopoly of the South African racists or the Israeli Zionists.

They have done all they can to avoid imposition by the Security Council of mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime, in spite of the crimes it has committed against the African population of South Africa and against neighbouring countries - and in spite of the fact that the United States Administration imposed a unilateral embargo against Nicaragua and continues the illegal economic blockade imposed in 1960 against Cuba for the sole reason that our peoples decided to rule their own destinies, free of guardianship and dependence.

Essentially, the imperialists are the allies of apartheid; they are racists and the enemies of our peoples. For that reason, their policy is aimed in the economic sphere at turning the developing countries into low-cost producers of raw materials to sate the appetites of Western consumer societies in the new division of labour they are attempting to impose upon us, condemning our peoples to unrelenting technological and cultural backwardness.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

Just a few days ago the International Court of Justice ruled against the United States and in favour of Nicaragua in the latter country's complaint before that Court. The illegality of the United States actions is now all the clearer - if anyone still had any doubts about it.

From the beginning of the aggressive action by the United States, the Government of Nicaragua had expressed its willingness to engage in dialogue and negotiate in search of understanding and peace, in order to enable it to concentrate all its energies on construction and economic and social development. But the only response it has received is an escalation in the aggression and new and increasingly dangerous military and economic measures by the United States Administration. The United States Government has also torpedoed the peace initiatives of the Governments of Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, which have now been joined by the Governments of Peru, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil.

Cuba, which has always favoured a peaceful negotiated solution to the conflict in Central America, has supported those peace initiatives from the outset, and has stated on many occasions that a solution through weapons - as advocated by the imperialists - can only lead to a conflagration with unforeseeable consequences.

This Council, entrusted by the Charter with the responsibility of safeguarding international peace and security, can do no less than the International Court of Justice. The peoples of America hope that justice will be done, and that the hand that fuels the war against Nicaragua will be stayed. They hope that the illegal measures imposed against the heroic people of Sandino will be ended and that the imperialist Government of the United States will be condemned for its aggressive policy, which can only lead to more suffering and death for the brother people of Nicaragua.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. GBSHO (Ghana): It is a particular pleasure for me to express my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I am proud to have worked together with you on many issues of importance to the United Nations over the last few years, because of your attachment to principle, your deep knowledge of international law, and your pleasant manner in dealing with fellow diplomats. My delegation is confident that your distinguished qualities will benefit the deliberations of the Council during your tenure in office.

Let me also convey our sincerest appreciation to Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika, Permanent Representative of Madagascar, for the energetic, wise and composed manner in which he steered the Security Council's work during the month of June.

On 27 June 1986 the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua requested an emergency meeting of the Security Council, charging that the escalation in the policy of aggression of the United States Government towards Nicaragua was a threat to international peace and security. Since then the Nicaraguan delegation has elaborated upon its complaint to the Council, which has also benefitted from the statement of the United States delegation.

For its part, the Ghana delegation is pleased that the Council is seized of the matter at this time, for two reasons: first, because recent decisions by the United States Congress and the International Court of Justice on relations between the two countries are of profound significance to international peace and security, and, secondly, because, in the light of recent events and decisions, the Security Council should concern itself seriously with the search for a possible means of preventing any further escalation of violence and tension in Central America. We are therefore participating in the debate today in solemn recognition of our responsibilities as a member of this Council and in pursuit of our continued support for the Charter and international law.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

We learned with consternation and alarm of the decision of the United States House of Representatives to grant \$100 million in aid to the rebel mercenary forces known as the contras. That decision accords unjustified approval to the violent and warlike intentions explicit in the United States Administration's policy towards Nicaragua. The logical consequence of United States logistical and military support for the so-called contras is the exacerbation of regional instability and a widening of the theatre of the conflict, which constitute an abuse of the letter and spirit of the Charter under which we unite in pursuit of international peace and security.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

We note also with considerable disquiet that the present decision follows a long history of United States involvement with acts calculated to take the lives of innocent civilians as well as to destabilize the Government of Nicaragua - beginning in 1981 with the founding, organization and funding of the former Somoza Guards, known as contras. Yesterday the Council was reminded that Nicaragua had come before it 11 times on the question of relations between the two countries. My delegation fears that they have been 11 occasions for exposing United States wrongdoing against Nicaragua and in Central America. We are all bound by international customary law in our relations with one another, but in the case of Nicaragua the facts indicate strongly that the United States has little regard for international law and has chosen to rely solely on its military might.

The cumulative acts and pronouncements of the United States Administration against Nicaragua evince a determination to secure the violent overthrow of the legally constituted Government of Nicaragua, through proxies, or directly, were the need to arise. The claims of United States functionaries to the contrary have been less than convincing. Indeed, in pursuing its so-called policy of containment against the Sandinista Government the United States follows a two-pronged approach. The first is the arming of the contras to prosecute a limited brushfire war, with the objective of destabilizing the Nicaraguan revolution, and the second is the imposition of United States handpicked traitors on the Nicaraguan people as legitimate contenders for power. A more disturbing option is that reported in The New York Times of 20 May 1986 under the caption: "Pentagon Fears Major War If Latins Sign Peace Accord". The report states that the United States Administration is actively considering the deployment of 100,000 United States combat troops, together with air and naval forces, against the Sandinistas. The total expenditure proposed for this adventure is \$9.1 billion in the first year of war alone. If

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

that report is true, then the world can expect a full-scale war in Central America soon. Council members are deeply concerned, and the Ghana delegation will continue to speak out boldly against such an eventuality, until we are convinced that international peace and security will not be needlessly prejudiced.

Those acts and revelations manifest explicitly the total aversion and hostility of the United States Government to the vigorous and ongoing pursuit of peace and co-operation by the Contadora and Support Groups. Sadly, the recent House vote to grant overt support to the contras substantially undercuts the efforts being made for peace and regional integration, which continue, in spite of these hostile acts, to engage the active co-operation of the five countries of Central America. We support the eloquent opposition of the Contadora Group to the perpetration of all acts of war to achieve peace.

One of the cornerstones of the United States Charter and international law in general is respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States. Our ability to ensure full respect for and observance of this principle is under threat. By acts covert and overt perpetrated against Nicaragua by the Reagan Administration, the United States has clearly violated the solemn principles enshrined in the Charter which govern relations between States. Its size and military power should not excuse wrongdoing, because that would be the beginning of the persecution of small States. Furthermore, the United States, as a founding Member of the United Nations, should feel a moral obligation to settle its differences with Nicaragua through non-violent means.

The authoritative and timely pronouncements of the International Court of Justice last week are full and adequate testimony to the misguided actions of the United States in violating customary international law principles prohibiting the use of force and interference in the domestic affairs of other States and enjoining

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

respect for the sovereign independence of Nicaragua. My delegation has admittedly not concluded its study of the Court's various decisions, but I believe that in concurring with the majority decisions of that Court we know no less than the United States. The Court may not have had all the facts in the present case but it certainly was in possession of enough information to reach its conclusions. In any case, why does the United States not seriously consider co-operating with the Court by making all pieces of information available to it?

We reject also the attempts to explain the problems of instability and tension in Central America as resulting from a historical confrontation between East and West in that region. This time-worn simplification of international issues is an attempt to obfuscate historical evidence. The Sandinista Government was democratically elected into Government in 1979 and has since held fair elections which the international community attested to. The refusal of the United States alone to accept that fact does not detract from the legitimacy and the competence of the Nicaraguan Government. My delegation will continue to defend the right of any State to seek help from wherever such help is likely to come. To do otherwise would be to commit political suicide.

The tragedy of Central America has its source in the insistence of the United States on treating sovereign States in that region as minors in its backyard. Thus the era of "gunboat diplomacy" - the installation of puppet régimes such as that of the Somozas which, bolstered by the award of sinecures and the military protection of their patrons, exacted the most suffocating repression against their own people - is still with Central America.

The contras represent an insidious attempt to reverse the victory of the peoples of Central America, particularly that of Nicaragua, in their struggle for peace, stability and democracy. My delegation finds disturbing symbolism in the

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

arming of former National Guardsmen of Anastasio Somoza Debalye who are now presented before international public opinion as freedom-fighters. It is evident that the contras, conjured up, trained, armed and financed by the United States, serve as key executors of an elaborate policy of State terrorism pursued by the Reagan Administration against Nicaragua. The contras are in conception and by deed of the same ilk and temper as the murderous UNITA traitors led by Jonas Savimbi in the forest of Angola. It is only fitting that the International Court finds the acts of kidnapping, maiming and killing of innocent individuals perpetrated by the so-called freedom-fighters to be violations of international humanitarian law.

We find implicit in the statement made yesterday by the Permanent Representative of the United States - particularly the concluding paragraph - the arrogation by his country of the role of final arbiter as to what the Government of Nicaragua can or cannot do.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

Consequently, all policies pursued by the Nicaraguan Government in exercise of its sovereign authority that incur the displeasure of the United States will invite the punitive wrath of the Reagan Administration. Those pronouncements by a Founding Member of the United Nations are regrettable and portend a dangerous and uncertain future for international relations in general.

We condemn the continued violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the State of Nicaragua, perpetrated by the United States. Its vigorous pursuit of a limited war through proxies, its imposition of economic sanctions through a trade embargo amount to clear violation of the norms of international law and coercion against a Member of the United Nations.

In this regard, we will not fail to recognize that those acts are calculated to impose maximum tension and instability within Nicaragua. Indeed, they seek to manipulate international public opinion against the Sandinista régime and profit from illegal actions. There was a repetition yesterday of the allegation that Nicaragua is exporting huge quantities of arms into neighbouring countries, but the watertight evidence for such accusations has not been forthcoming. We regret therefore our inability to concur in the charge and to support United States promotion of violence against Nicaragua.

The Ghana delegation is concerned that a permanent member of the Security Council does not see any role for the Council in dealing with its allegations against Nicaragua. If what it charges the Sandinista Government with is true, then it has serious implications for security in that region. We are forced to ask why it does not refer the complaint to the Security Council but rather takes the law into its own hands. Principles of the Charter are for all Members of the United Nations, not just some.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

A little while ago my delegation listened to the representative of one of the delegations that made a presentation before the Council. He concluded by stating that there had been support for Nicaragua from countries that were far away and which had no language or ethnic connection with Central America. My delegation totally rejects that claim. It denies the concept of international relations and seeks to arrogate to only certain members of the international community the absolute right to pronounce on matters within their geographical competence. That is unacceptable to my delegation, and we as a member of the international community, indeed, as Members of the United Nations, will continue to speak out against injustice, against exploitation and against the perpetration of violence wherever these may occur.

My delegation has been sensitive to the views of Latin American countries in the dispute between the United States and Nicaragua, especially those expressed through the Contadora forum. We are struck by the nearly unanimous advocacy for peace and the distancing of themselves from the violent actions of the United States. Indeed, one member has warned in the current debate that the actions of the United States are prejudicial to relations with all Central American States. If those whom the United States claims to be protecting are less enthusiastic about its methods then it will be proper to change those methods in the interest of greater harmony in the area.

My delegation welcomes the principles enunciated in the Panama Message issued by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contadora initiative and its Support Group on 7 June 1986. The three fundamental commitments required of the five Central American Governments in our estimation provide adequate and realistic parameters for the continuation of negotiations towards the signing of the Contadora Final Act of Peace and Co-operation.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

Furthermore we wish to state in no uncertain terms our appreciation of and commitment to the efforts of the Contadora and Support Group in facilitating the possibilities of peace and co-operation for which the tormented peoples of Central America have so long yearned and which so justly must be their reward.

If we fail, as members of this Council, to issue strong condemnation of the illegal acts of the United States, we may become by default mere appendages to a global system conceived, directed and policed by one nation on Earth. That consequence is unacceptable. The democratic pluralism that is so often vaunted must be unequivocally embraced by members of this Council in international relations.

To conclude, my delegation reiterates our solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua. We rededicate ourselves, in this historic week of the celebration of the attributes of liberty by our host country, to the defence of that same liberty of nations, large or small.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ghana for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to welcome you to the lofty post of the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you success in the forthcoming work of the Council. There is no doubt in our minds that your great diplomatic experience, wisdom and personal qualities will facilitate the success of the work of the Council this month.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

We similarly express our great gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, who skilfully carried out the responsibilities of the presidency of the Council last month.

My delegation also would like to express its gratitude to the members of the Security Council for the opportunity given to us to speak on the question under consideration.

For many years now the Central American region has been characterized by an unremitting tension. The deep-rooted cause of the conflict situation in Central America is to be found in the consequences of the harsh economic exploitation of human and natural resources of the countries of the region by foreign companies. Also, it is to be found in the attempts of the forces of imperialism to impose political domination and to undermine the progressive social and economic processes which are taking place in that region.

The thrust of the imperialistic policy of pressure, threats and diktat at this stage is directed primarily against Nicaragua, whose people have chosen the way of independent development.

Over the last four years from the time when, at the request of Nicaragua, the question of the aggressive actions of the United States against that country was first placed on the agenda of the Security Council, the Council has considered different aspects of that problem more than 10 times and adopted appropriate resolutions.

(Mr. Gudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Thus, in resolution 562 (1985), the Security Council reaffirmed the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and other States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems, to develop their international relations according to their people's interests, free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion or threats of any kind.

However, the discussion now being held in the Council has clearly shown that that resolution is not being implemented because of the policy of the current United States Administration towards a small and independent State. We are witnessing the application of pressure and blackmail of all types. Military manoeuvres are held almost continuously on the borders of that State, and reconnaissance flights are carried out over Nicaraguan territory in violation of its sovereignty. Mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries are using instruction manuals for murder and sabotage prepared for them by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Equally fresh in our minds are other armed actions against Nicaragua, such as the mining of that country's peaceful ports. There have been endless attempts to use economic sanctions to strangle the Nicaraguan revolution. The increase in so-called humanitarian assistance to the counter-revolutionary groups has already led to the appearance in their ranks of new types of modern weapons - another extremely dangerous step towards heightening tension in Central America.

In the United States, a decision has been made to finance directly the crimes of the Somozist mercenary bands in Nicaragua; having approved a request to allocate \$100 million to the contras, the American legislators have supported - under, it must be pointed out, extremely heavy pressure from the United States Administration - that Administration's aggressive policy designed to overthrow the lawful Government of Nicaragua - nor has the possibility of direct military intervention in that area been excluded.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

All such actions are in blatant violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council that have affirmed Nicaragua's sovereignty and its inalienable right, as in the case of other States, freely to choose its own political, economic and social system. Those resolutions also contain appeals to refrain from supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any State in the region. That appeal is also contained in Security Council resolution 562 (1985), to which I referred earlier.

Once again, the United States is acting as an enemy of political settlement in Central America. That step is clearly intended to undermine the proposals of the Contadora Group, which, among other conditions necessary for normalization, call in particular for an immediate end to assistance to irregular groups and forces. Furthermore, the United States is violating the provisions of General Assembly resolution 39/4, which repeats the appeal addressed to all interested States in and outside the region to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group.

Such is the value of the hypocritical statements made by the United States with regard to its commitment to freedom and democracy, human rights, the Contadora process and a peaceful settlement to the problems in the Central American region. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua rightly put it yesterday, in his statement in the Security Council:

"The lack of political will on the part of the United States Government to support the Contadora process and its permanent policy of blocking and boycotting these noble efforts becomes clear once again at this time, when that Government claims that it can ignore the action of that group of countries and tries to make that initiative a tool of domination and interference in the internal affairs of States." (S/PV.2694, p. 13)

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In the alarming situation that now exists in Central America, the Government of Nicaragua has taken important initiatives to open the way to the political solution of existing problems. It has reaffirmed its stand as a fighter for peace and has demonstrated in deeds, and not only in words, its desire to reach a political settlement to the conflict. Its policy is imbued with fidelity to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

Only an unswerving observance of those principles can ensure the normal development of international relations and the just settlement of all conflicts. The solution to the problems of Central America is to be found not in pressure, in imperial ultimatums and in diktat, but, rather, in the only real policy consistent with the norms of international law, namely, peaceful settlement through negotiations, with respect for the legitimate interests of all and the full sovereignty of all countries in the region.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic condemns the United States actions that have led to an exacerbation of tensions in Central America and that are a visible manifestation of a policy of State terrorism being carried out by the United States in that region. We favour a fair and negotiated settlement of the problems of Central America. We support Nicaragua's positive position, and we express to the people of Nicaragua our full solidarity and support.

The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, should play an important role in normalizing the situation in Central America. It is time to adopt measures to put an end to interference in internal affairs in that region and to ensure its peoples the right to a free, democratic and independent development.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

(The President)

The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement

Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I am convinced that under your competent guidance the Council will actively contribute to the strengthening of peace, stability and security in the world. At the same time, I should like to express my high appreciation of the work of your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Madagascar, who presided over the meetings of the Council in June.

The working people of Czechoslovakia sincerely welcomed the victory of the revolution of the Nicaraguan people under the leadership of the Sandinist Front of National Liberation, which brought about the overthrow of the dictatorship of the Somoza clan that had been in power for decades. That revolution gained the support and sympathies of the broad spectrum of world public opinion, as well as of progressive and realistically minded politicians all over the world. Since the very first moments after the victory of the revolution, the Sandinist Government has endeavoured to overcome the burdensome legacy of the Somoza régime - primarily illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, underdevelopment, malnutrition and a shortage of health-care services.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

That peaceful constructive effort has received the full support of the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia gives Nicaragua assistance, especially by helping to build up a number of branches of Nicaragua's national economy and providing training facilities for Nicaraguan specialists in our schools, institutes and enterprises. We shall continue to develop our relations both at a bilateral level and within the framework of the Agreement concluded by Nicaragua with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

At a time when the developing countries, including Nicaragua, face an urgent need to solve problems of economic and social development, famine and malnutrition, external debt and a number of other difficulties, they are forced to expend valuable material and human resources for defence in order to maintain their national independence and State sovereignty.

The undeclared war waged by the United States against Nicaragua is one of the most telling examples of the policy of imperialist aggressiveness against the developing countries. The present United States Administration is not giving up the idea of imposing upon sovereign States its own will, whenever, wherever and in whatever form it deems appropriate, and to dictate to them what political line and social system they should adopt so that they comply with American concepts of "freedom" and "democracy". Facts on United States interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua are well known. It has included, for example, the mining of Nicaraguan harbours, the financing and training of counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries, a trade embargo, psychological warfare and the publication of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) "manuals" for saboteurs and killers in Nicaragua.

Let us recall that such an approach on the part of the United States to other peoples, and especially to Latin America, is not new. At the beginning of this

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

century President Theodore Roosevelt said that any country whose people behaved well could rely on the cordial friendship of the United States. If a nation showed, he said, that it could act in social and political affairs reasonably, effectively and decently, it did not need to fear any interference on the part of the United States. Constant incorrectness or inability, which would lead to a loosening of the commitments of civilized society, if occurring in the Western hemisphere, where the United States maintained the Monroe Doctrine, could, he said, compel the United States to initiate, in striking cases of incorrectness or inability, international intervention, much as it might hate to do it.

We feel strong indignation at the attitude of the United States Government which asserts respect for the Constitution of its own country while unscrupulously attacking the constitutional order and the legitimate Government of the Republic of Nicaragua. Such activity grossly contravenes the norms of international law, the United Nations Charter and a number of United Nations resolutions, from those proclaiming the inadmissibility of using economic measures as a means of coercion to those condemning State terrorism and the use, training and financing of mercenary armies.

We have read with interest the letter sent by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua to the United States Secretary of State on 27 June. Czechoslovakia shares the indignation aroused by the decision of the United States to grant the counter-revolutionary forces further assistance, amounting this time to \$US 100 million. It is our opinion that the continued escalation of the aggressive policies of the United States in interfering in the internal affairs of Nicaragua will bring about nothing but a further expansion of violence, further sufferings of the innocent civilian population and further human and material losses of the severely tried Republic of Nicaragua.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

We regard the interference on the part of the United States - a permanent member of the Security Council - in the political processes going on in Nicaragua and Central America as inadmissible. It has been known for a long time that without military, political and moral support from the United States the counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries not only would have no chance of achieving any military results: they would inevitably disintegrate. Nicaragua and its neighbours, would then gain the peace that is so sorely needed for their all-round development.

The continued aggressive policy of the United States towards Nicaragua not only reflects contempt for the cause of international peace and security but is just one of numerous manifestations of deliberate disregard of the interests of the peoples of Latin America. The United States has followed this policy for more than 150 years, looking upon the Latin American continent, from the Rio Grande to Patagonia, as an exclusive sphere of United States "vital interests", and arrogating to itself the right to treat that region as it pleases.

The undeclared war and hostile policies pursued by the United States against Nicaragua are a below-the-belt strike at the Contadora process that has won broad international support and recognition and that embodies the endeavour of Latin American diplomacy to solve the situation in Central America by peaceful means without external interference. The United States practices, which amount to attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America, have to be eliminated as an anachronism, unacceptable in the present-day world.

(Mr. Kulawiec, Czechoslovakia)

This is all the more true in view of the fact that the States of that region prove their viability every day. The efforts of those countries to solve their regional problems by peaceful means are so constructive and skilful that they are in a position to solve the existing differences without external patronizing, on the basis of consistent adherence to the norms of international law. We therefore consider that the Security Council should give strong support to the peace process initiated and pursued by the countries of Central America and should effectively prevent those practices of the United States which are incompatible with the United Nations Charter.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the effort of the Government and people of Nicaragua to fulfil their right to live in peace and to build a just society of their own choice. Our full support also goes to Nicaragua's legitimate right to self-defence. These principles were reaffirmed in the Programme Declaration of the newly appointed Czechoslovak Government of 25 June of this year, which, among other things, states the following:

"Our sympathies and solidarity are traditionally on the side of peoples that are struggling for their national liberation, against neo-colonialism and racism, against imperialist aggression, for the strengthening of their political and economic independence and for social progress. Within our possibilities, we shall give them political, moral as well as material assistance ...".

Our delegation joins those that expect the United States Government to heed the wise voice of the international community which calls for a change in the prospectless and dangerous policy of the present United States Administration. The only place for seeking avenues towards solving possible problems in mutual relations is the negotiating table.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Czechoslovakia for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DOLJINTSEREN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian):

Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express to you and to all the members of the Security Council our gratitude for giving us the opportunity to speak on the question now being discussed in the Security Council. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the responsibilities of the President of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success in carrying out the responsible mission entrusted to you.

The Mongolian delegation would also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Permanent Representative of Madagascar, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika, for the successful manner in which he carried out the functions of President of the Security Council last month.

The Security Council is again discussing a very serious question which involves the vitally important interests of a sovereign State and affects the fate of international peace and security. The world community has again witnessed undisguised interference by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of a sovereign State in Central America, non-aligned Nicaragua. The House of Representatives of the United States, through arm-twisting and direct pressure on many of its members, including action by the President of the United States himself, recently decided to allocate \$100 million to further finance, train and arm the Somocista bandits who are sent into Nicaragua to destroy its economy and to kill thousands of completely innocent people. As previous speakers pointed out, such action by the United States further to feed and arm the Somocista renegades

(Mr. Doljintseren, Mongolia)

will inevitably lead to an escalation of the already tense situation which exists in Central America as a result of the policy of State terrorism carried out by the United States authorities. At the same time, it is one more manifestation of a policy of neoglobalism carried out by the United States Administration in order to establish its hegemony in the world.

Thus the recent unseemly action by the United States to expand its crude interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State of Central America and to increase its aggression against it represents a new alarming step fraught with very dangerous consequences for the cause of peace and tranquility, both inside and outside the region.

In addition to the recent decision of the United States House of Representatives to expand its use of the Somocista renegades, the United States Administration has been committing other criminal acts against the Nicaraguan people. These include frequent military manoeuvres near the border of Nicaragua, the mining of Nicaragua's territorial waters, the declaration of an economic embargo and other measures designed to destabilize the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua, whose independent course displeases the United States Administration. It is quite natural for the world community justly to consider these aggressive actions by the current United States Administration to be an open challenge to the international community and a flagrant violation of the norms and principles of international law and of Charter provisions. The recent decision of the International Court of Justice, which rightly accused the United States of pursuing a criminal policy against the Nicaraguan people, is a case in point. We also know that the General Assembly at its fortieth session adopted a resolution which condemned the aggressive actions of the United States, especially its economic embargo against Nicaragua.

(Mr. Doljintseren, Mongolia)

All that I have just said again exposes the fact that it is precisely the aggressive policy of the United States authorities against Nicaragua and other peoples of Central America, no matter what the pretext, which is the main source of the threat to peace and security in that region of the world and outside it. We must also point out that the aggressive policy of the United States in Central America is directly linked to its global policy of fanning international tension and imposing its own will and diktat on other sovereign States and peoples.

On the basis of its fundamental position of principle, the Mongolian delegation vigorously condemns this new action and other unseemly deeds by the United States Administration against the Nicaraguan people as being an undeclared war of American imperialism against that brave country. We also join with the other delegations in demanding that the United States immediately end all aggressive actions against Nicaragua and strictly observe and respect the latter's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In this connection, the Mongolian People's Republic supports the communiqué of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, adopted on 30 June of this year, which condemns the provision of financial assistance by the United States to mercenary forces as a violation of the sovereignty and political independence of Nicaragua, a non-aligned country, as well as of the principles and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Charter.

Mongolia again expresses its full solidarity with and support for the just cause of the Government and people of Nicaragua in defending their freedom, independence, sovereignty and revolutionary achievements in their struggle against encroachment by United States imperialism. We support all the efforts of the Sandinista Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America.

(Mr. Doljintseren, Mongolia)

Mongolia feels it is necessary for the Security Council, in carrying out its function as the United Nations organ with principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take the necessary measures to end the aggressive actions of the United States Administration against Nicaragua, its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mongolia for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Angola. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. I thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this very important debate. We have and enjoy ties of friendship with you and have no doubt that your natural brilliance and capacity will enable the Council to secure modalities to ensure that all nations respect the norms of international law.

My delegation has learnt with great sorrow, frustration and anger of the latest manoeuvre of United States coercion in Central America as a region and in Nicaragua in particular. The international community is filled with outrage at this blatant United States act of interference in the domestic affairs of an independent sovereign State which lies far from the borders of the United States, has never had any confrontation with the United States, has throughout offered to negotiate with the United States, and has never undertaken any action that in the slightest way affects the United States. With the potential assistance of \$US 100 million, the United States mistakenly hopes to destabilize the legitimate and lawfully constituted Government of Nicaragua and to install there a puppet régime to do its bidding, as was the case for so many decades before the Nicaraguan people drove out the puppet oppressors and liberated themselves.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

My delegation's support for and solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua are all the stronger and deeper since the Government and people of Angola are facing a similar imperialist threat, with the United States bent on supporting a bandit group of traitors in an effort to destabilize the legitimate Government of sovereign, independent Angola, a country which is not even on the same continent or in the same hemisphere as the United States.

American lawmakers who vote the funds that lead to the sacrifice of innocent blood are surely not aware of the situation in Nicaragua and Angola. I find it hard to believe that if they were in possession of the facts they would vote those funds for aid to the so-called contras, remnants of the murderous former Somocista National Guard.

It is indeed an irony that in the hundredth year of "Lady Liberty" the United States Government has seen fit to deny liberty to independent nations to choose freely their own Governments or feel secure within their own borders, and without the threat of imperialist aggression daily looming over their lives.

My delegation extends full solidarity and support to the Government and people of Nicaragua and is ready to support any initiative that condemns that action and ensures the safety of the people of Nicaragua against imperialist aggression or imperialist-supported moves.

In the face of this dangerous action by the United States, certainly the international community must close ranks behind Nicaragua, the third world must show its united support, the non-aligned must undertake a strong initiative, and the Latin American countries must give full support to Nicaragua. What some of us may tend to forget is that none of us - Latin Americans, Asians, Africans or Europeans - are free of danger from imperialist manoeuvring; we must never forget

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

that all of us are vulnerable to imperialist designs. The bombs that may rain on Nicaraguan children as a result of United States assistance to the Nicaraguan traitors may well rain on our children as well, if it so suits imperialist whims and policies.

A luta continua. A vitoria e certa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

The representative of the United States has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I call on him.

Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): I would be remiss if I did not reply to a number of offensive and inaccurate remarks that have been made this morning and this afternoon. My country does not have to build a wall to keep within its boundaries its own oppressed people. My country's problem is quite different: millions would like to get in.

Being denounced by a country which has driven, through terror and repression, 2 million of its own people out to sea in open boats is for me a badge of honour.

It was fascinating to be lectured by representatives of countries unwilling to test their own peoples' views. So many representatives who are Paladins of freedom and democracy and who speak out against the perpetration of violence and on behalf of political pluralism would be more convincing if they put those principles to work at home instead of perpetrating violence on their own people. They might very well put their devotion to liberty to the test by permitting genuinely free elections.

In that connection, what we heard from the representative of Ghana was, to use his own word, obfuscation.

A number of speakers have chosen to quote articles from the free American press in support of their position. The American press, fortunately, is quite free to say anything it wishes. This must be quite difficult for many of those who attacked my country to understand. Their press is free only to praise their Governments. We are proud that in our country people are free to oppose, without fear, our Government. This is a right denied the citizens of many of the countries that have denounced the United States here. No "public groups" that I know of have raised their voices in the Soviet Union against the policies of their Government.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

The representative of Cuba had much to say about us. I would simply point out that all one needs to do is to read the recently published memoirs of Armando Valladares, who spent 25 years in a Cuban gaol because of his beliefs. It is well to remember that more than 10 per cent of the population of Cuba has fled to my country to escape the terror and repression of the régime the Cuban representative represents. Nobody is fleeing from my country to escape terror and repression.

Yesterday the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua accused my Government of lacking the "courage" to appear before the International Court of Justice to present our case on Sandinista aggression in Central America. This shameless distortion cannot go unanswered.

My country availed itself of its right not to appear before the Court because the Court did not, and does not, have jurisdiction, and because the Court did not, and does not, possess competence to deal with the crisis in Central America. The reasons why this is so have been fully stated before, and I will not repeat them now.

We have evidence of Sandinista aggression. That evidence is conclusive and leaves no room for doubt. I referred yesterday to the mass of evidence on the public record. That evidence is confirmed by intelligence information that, for obvious reasons, cannot be publicly disclosed. Those in my country who have seen it - including many in Congress who disagree with our Central American policies - have come away fully convinced of the fact of Nicaragua's massive and continuing aggression.

Speaking of courage, where is the courage in Nicaragua's depredations against its neighbours? Where is the courage in Nicaragua's abuse of the International Court of Justice for cynical political ends? Where is the courage in Nicaragua's persistent deceptions concerning its responsibility for those matters?

(Mr. Walters, United States)

There has been much talk about what is going on in Central America. Maybe it is time we started to look at some hard evidence. We are told that Nicaragua was forced to develop its armed forces in response to the so-called contras. I have here a chart that I would like to display. As it shows, in 1980 Nicaragua already had the largest armed forces in Central America, well before the time that ever the Sandinistas claimed there were contras operating against them. At that time Nicaragua enjoyed massive good will from all quarters, including the United States, and assistance with its reconstruction. How much of that aid, we must wonder, was used instead to build up that military force?

It should also be noted that the first battalions of Soviet-made tanks were arriving in Nicaragua by mid-1981, also before the rise of the democratic resistance. The chart makes it clear that for over five years the numbers of active-duty Nicaraguan soldiers - to say nothing of Nicaragua's advantage in materiel - have remained well above those of any other Central American State by a very substantial margin, and, unless I am mistaken, Nicaragua has a smaller population than almost all the other countries of Central America.

We are told that the Nicaraguan people have "freely chosen" their form of Government, and that therefore the democratic resistance can be only mercenaries. Is that free and democratic choice the reason why the Sandinistas have found it necessary to more than quadruple their prison space in the past seven years? As the graph that I am now showing depicts, they have expanded the floor space of their prisons from some 20,000 square metres to nearly 100 000 square metres. They are not building and expanding those prisons because they wish to improve the prisoners' living conditions - not when much of Managua still remains in ruins from the 1972 earthquake. No, it is simply because they have not been able to cram any more people into the prisons they inherited from Somoza.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

We have heard that Nicaragua has nothing to do with the Salvadorian rebels, that it sympathizes with their goals, but is innocent of any concrete involvement in their actions. I am now showing the shipping records of an M-16 American rifle, sent to Viet Nam in 1968. It was captured by the North Vietnamese in April 1975. It was sent to Nicaragua in 1980 or 1981, then smuggled to El Salvador by the Sandinistas. It was captured from Salvadorian rebels on 27 July 1984. That M-16 can easily be traced; here are its records: the shipping to Saigon, the date it was shipped and the serial number - 1125455. Now it turns up in El Salvador. Very interesting. That very M-16 is available for viewing in the lobby of the United States Mission. So, too, is a Vietnamese mortar sight, with the instructions in Vietnamese on it. It was made in the late 1970s and modified for use on United States-made weapons. That mortar sight was captured in El Salvador in May 1984. There are also Bulgarian rifle rounds, which somehow drifted into El Salvador by some mysterious route - clearly through Nicaragua.

How such items get to El Salvador was demonstrated last 7 December, when a Soviet-made Lada automobile crashed in Honduras en route from Nicaragua to El Salvador. The photograph that I am now displaying shows the equipment that was hidden in cunningly constructed compartments in the car, many of them in the wheel wells. It shows the 7,000 rounds of ammunition, 21 grenades, 86 blasting caps, 12 radios, \$27,400 in United States currency and 39 computer-generated code pads for use in communicating between the FMLN and its headquarters back in Nicaragua. All that was contained in one small automobile. Much of the material was wrapped in copies of Barricada, the official newspaper of the Sandinista Front. It was all welded into secret compartments, skilfully constructed to be undetectable until the car was taken apart. The driver, a member of the Costa Rican Communist Party, confessed the car had been loaded in Managua.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

Some of the material found in the Lada, including a Soviet grenade and some of the ammunition, is also available for viewing at the United States Mission.

Luckily for El Salvador, those items never reached the guerrillas for whom they were intended.

I might recall that all four of the countries involved in shipping those items to the Salvadorian guerrillas - Nicaragua, Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria - have at this series of meetings leaped to condemn "United States aggression". Can it be that they are trying to divert our attention? I have referred today to only a very small portion of the evidence demonstrating what Nicaragua really stands for in Central America. There is a great deal more where that came from. I invite the members of the Council to visit the United States Mission to view the evidence I have mentioned in a great deal more detail than I can show in this Chamber. I also have a video tape in which several Salvadorian guerrilla leaders explain their dependence on Sandinista-supplied arms and other support, and describe how the material was provided to them.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

We have seen that Nicaragua has carried out an unprecedented and unnecessary military buildup, has repressed its own people and has provided concrete, lethal assistance to the Salvadoran guerrillas after all the talk we have heard about respecting legally constituted Governments. No amount of words will change that. Besides, they have told us "Revolución sin fronteras": the revolution has no frontiers.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Ghana, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): I never thought that the time would come for my delegation to exercise its right of reply against any other speaker in the Council, especially a permanent member. But all members of the Council no doubt listened to the words of the Permanent Representative of the United States - some of which were misleading and perhaps spoken slightly too much in the heat of the moment - on the subject of my earlier statement. I would do the United States delegation and the other members of the Council incalculable wrong were I to fail during such an important debate to set the record straight.

Let me begin by alluding to the fact that disagreement with United States policy towards Nicaragua is not a monopoly of my delegation. Many other members of this Council have expressed such disagreement, even during the present debate. Indeed, many individuals of repute, including scholars, and renowned organizations have also openly differed with the United States Administration. We are surprised, therefore, that our refusal to underwrite violence and breaches of international law and order should excite so much emotion and vituperation.

I wish to take this opportunity to clarify the foreign policy of the Government of Ghana, which I serve and from which alone I derive my instructions.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

Since our independence, and under all Governments to date, the foreign policy of Ghana has been based on the concept and practice of positive neutralism. We lend no automatic support to any country or Power; we always reserve the right to pronounce ourselves on each issue based on the evidence. Such neutralism reflects not dormancy but rather an active effort to help find solutions to international problems to the benefit of mankind as a whole.

So it is that our position on issues - be they issues of disarmament or apartheid, of Nicaragua or Afghanistan - has been consistent. We do not bow to or seek to please a country engaging in international wrongdoing just because we are a friend of that country. My delegation cannot and will not claim omniscience, but neither do we accept the implication that we do not know what we are about. If we are wrong we shall apologize and learn from those who are wiser than ourselves. We do not now believe that our reluctance to applaud acts of aggression by the United States - acts which, after all, millions of United States citizens and the Latin American States have also disagreed with - constitutes an offence against anyone.

Reference was made to testing democracy in countries around the globe. I take no issue with that reference. Let me only remark that perhaps countries such as mine would have found it easier had we not been continually deflected from our political programme by initiatives engineered from outside our borders by powerful international colleagues. In any case, we accept no lessons from those who took over 300 years to grant elementary rights to a sizeable proportion of their population.

Our task here in this Council is not to trade insults with any delegation. We respect and admire all. We shall extend friendship to those who are prepared to reciprocate, but we will not be intimidated into a conspiratorial silence.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

The Charter that has endowed my country and my delegation with sovereignty is not owed to any Government, so we shall continue to defend our sovereignty no matter who disagrees with us. We have spoken our mind; we shall continue to speak our mind and let our listeners draw their own conclusions.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I call upon her now.

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again the representative of the United States has tried here to justify his Government's policy towards Nicaragua. Since 1981 the United States has been attempting to show that Nicaragua is a factor of destabilization in Central America. Thus far, this has been impossible to prove, and it will remain so, because there is no Nicaraguan intervention in the internal affairs of any Central American State.

There is a basic difference between the Government of the United States and the Government of Nicaragua. We are a country that respects the law, and we brought our case against the United States to the International Court of Justice. There we presented evidence of United States aggression against my country and the various violations of international law committed by the United States in its relations with Nicaragua.

(Ms. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

The United States, on the other hand, becomes the accuser, the judge and the executioner and attempts to do justice, in accordance with its own interpretation, against a country - saying that it is defending Central America from a Communist invasion through Nicaragua.

I shall now read out again article 2 of the judgement of the International Court of Justice - the article which reflects the Court's opinion on the United States allegation that my country is attacking other countries in Central America and that this is a justification for United States policy:

(spoke in English)

"Rejects the justification of collective self-defence maintained by the United States of America in connection with the military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua the subject of this case".

(continued in Spanish)

Furthermore, in its judgement and summing up, on page 62, the Court refers as well to the United States allegation concerning intervention by Nicaragua in the internal affairs of El Salvador. In that respect, the judges had before them various aerial photographs, a State Department document entitled "Revolution Beyond Our Borders" and another series of documents. On page 62 the Court states the following:

(spoke in English)

"Despite all this, the Court finds itself able to conclude that it still remains to be proved that any aid to the insurgents in El Salvador is imputable to the authorities of Nicaragua".

(continued in Spanish)

In paragraph 154, the Court states:

(Ms. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

(spoke in English)

"The facts demonstrating the reality, actuality and extent of actions of the Nicaraguan Government in materially supporting insurgency in El Salvador have been sketched above and are presented in detail in the appendix to this opinion, paragraphs 28 to 188. Are those actions legally tantamount to an armed attack by Nicaragua upon El Salvador? The Court, in a decision fundamental to this judgement, has concluded that they are not".

(continued in Spanish)

I shall not refer to the various issues raised by the United States representative. I would only remind the United States Government that the international community has various mechanisms for the resolution of disputes: bilateral dialogue, the International Court of Justice, the Security Council, and all the other forums. There is never any justification for a declaration of war and the waging of war against a country. That is particularly true in this specific case, where the United States has been waging an unjust war of aggression against my country despite its obligation, as a Member of the United Nations and a member of the Security Council, to respect the law.

Once again, through its representative, I invite the United States Government to resume the bilateral dialogue with my country and to support Contadora effectively. If it believes that it has evidence in connection with our actions, we invite it to bring that evidence to the International Court of Justice, or to any other international organization that has competence in that respect.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply and I now call on him.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation greatly regrets that the representative of the United States saw fit to make slanderous attacks on several States Members of the United Nations in connection with the consideration of Nicaragua's complaint before the Security Council. It is clear that he needed these inventions, and it is obvious to all that the aim was to distract the Council's attention from the escalation of United States aggression against Nicaragua.

The United States representative also saw fit to put on some kind of a propaganda show, obviously counting on sensation. Such a cheap trick can hardly mislead the Security Council. Clearly, the United States representative has forgotten that he is speaking not on television in the United States but, rather, in one of the principal organs of the United Nations.

As for the materials shown by the United States representative, such materials have been and are being fabricated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with surprising ease. We know that very well. To ensure greater sensation, the CIA agents who prepared these materials could wrap some of these articles which they allegedly found in the Lada car in the newspaper Pravda, and not in the newspaper Barricada. We would not be in the least surprised, because it is well known that the CIA carries out all kinds of provocation and stops at nothing in spreading lies and slander.

It is clear that this verbal camouflage by the United States representative is designed to hide the imperialist policy, the policy of neo-globalism, aimed at suppression and enslavement and at undermining and suppressing national liberation movements and régimes that are not to the liking of the United States.

Not too long ago, the United States described Libya as a threat to its national security and carried out a bandit-like night attack on Libya. Before that, it had deemed the situation in Grenada to be a threat to its national interests and had proceeded to occupy that country.

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

Now the threat to its national security comes from Nicaragua. Therefore, they are planning new acts of aggression against Nicaragua and are issuing funds through legislation to equip, train and arm mercenaries, with whose help they wish to overthrow the legitimate Government of that country. Try as he will, the United States representative will not be able to present as zealous supporters of democracy the Somozan cut-throats, nor the mercenaries and bandits in Angola and Mozambique, nor the ringleaders of apartheid, nor the American interventionists and their hangers-on in Grenada.

The essence of Washington's policy is utter contempt for the generally recognized norms of international relations; it is infringement on the national sovereignty of States. It is a historically doomed attempt to deprive people of the right to build their lives according to the dictates of their own conscience. No verbal acrobatics by the American representative can mask that policy.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers for this meeting.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Thursday, 3 July 1986, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

