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PROVISIONAL

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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 3 July 1986, at 3.00 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. TSVETKOV
Mrs. SHI Yanhua
Mr. GAYAMA
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. SCHRICKE
Mr. DUMEVI
Mr. RAROTONDAMBOA
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. SAPRONCHUK
Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. GORE-BOOTH
Mr. IMMERMANN
Mr. FABON GARCIA

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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 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 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, Algeria, Angola, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia 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. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Velazco San José (Cuba), Mr. Kulawiec (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Meza (El Salvador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Verma (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Doljintseren (Mongolia), Mr. Moran (Spain), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat (Viet Nam) and Mr. Djokic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

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

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, my delegation feels great satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of the Security Council during the month of July. Having had the occasion many times to appreciate your personal and professional qualifications, it is indeed our conviction that you will lead our proceedings with competence and efficiency.

I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, for the exemplary way in which he presided over this organ during the past month.

Once again the Security Council is seized of the situation in Central America. That region of the world together with a few others such as southern Africa and the Middle East, is in an unenviable position of constant deterioration. It represents a permanent threat to international peace and security. The Council, which has met regularly to discuss the dangers presented by each new wave of escalation, is today called upon to deal with the unforeseeable consequences of a new development: the United States decision to authorize \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

This development not only threatens Nicaragua's security, sovereignty and independence but is a source of grave concern to the international community, which still has to contend with the policy of "brinkmanship", with an international environment marked by less and less international co-operation, and with the systematic challenge to the calming virtues of honest dialogue.

In general, when there is no dialogue, when the rule of law itself is flouted, when confrontation deepens, the worst is yet ahead.

Such is the case when a large country with many duties stemming from its unequalled economic and military power is pitted against a small country which after a long struggle against dictatorship and oppression, legitimately aspires to exercise the sacred right to self-determination within the framework of its own freely-chosen political, economic and social system.

That inalienable right of all peoples, which naturally derives from the United Nations Charter, has been reaffirmed in this case by the non-aligned countries, by the General Assembly, by the Security Council and, more recently still, by the International Court of Justice.

This means that the attempted destabilization of the Government of Nicaragua, like all decisions and measures aimed at that objective, is contrary to international law, to the Charter and to the fundamental principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Such non-compliance with international obligations, such a breach of the fundamental rights of peoples, is utterly inadmissible. It calls for international condemnation, since it runs counter to the work of peace and harmony undertaken by the Concadora Group, which for three years, with remarkable perseverance, has been endeavouring to promote that goal. Indeed, the four countries which have

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

undertaken that task have been keenly aware of the shared heritage and common destiny of the Latin American peoples. They are convinced that there is no alternative to dialogue if lasting peace is to be brought to a region beset by endemic conflict. In this regard not only Latin America, but the entire international community is indebted to Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama.

That original Group of countries dedicated to Central American solidarity has now been augmented in order to gain greater support from the non-aligned countries and the international community in general. That initiative is still precarious, though. What the Contadora Group must do now is rapidly consolidate its position and pursue its efforts with even greater vigour.

Ironically, the recent events take place at the very time when the Contadora Group is most in need of decisive support to achieve success. One cannot but share the feeling of deep concern expressed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group on 26 June last and by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the 30th of that same month.

Algeria, linked to the peoples of Latin America by natural bonds of solidarity and of struggle for the advent of an order of peace and justice, freedom and progress, shares their concern over the refusal to give dialogue and peace a chance.

Algeria endorses the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; we call for a resumption of the Manzanillo talks between the United States and Nicaragua, as urged in paragraph 16 in the unanimously-adopted judgement of 27 June of the International Court of Justice, which: reminds both parties of their obligation to seek a solution to their disputes by peaceful means in accordance with international law.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

Algeria also calls for a renewed steadfast and sincere support for the work of the now recognized Contadora Group, which has become irreplaceable at this crucial moment when it is completing the drafting of an agreement for peace and co-operation in Central America. Indeed, those who are able to do so must contribute to the success of the historic Contadora initiative, a truly constructive engagement. The Group is near its goal; let it conclude its task.

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

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

Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): At the outset, Sir, I should like to state how gratified my delegation is to see you presiding over the work of the Council for the month of July. Your diplomatic skill, along with your good judgement and your knowledge of the work of the Organization and familiarity with the issues facing the Council, have earned for you the high esteem of your colleagues at the United Nations. In congratulating you on the assumption of the presidency of the Council, may I say that my delegation feels very confident that the work of the Council will be effectively discharged under your guidance.

Permit me also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Blaise Rebetafika, Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations, for the efficient manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of June.

I also express my thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council for this opportunity once again to speak about the grave concern of the Government of Guyana with the very sensitive situation prevailing in Central America.

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

Indeed, as a State member of the Latin American and Caribbean region, Guyana is particularly disturbed by the dangerous course of events in the region and particularly in respect of Nicaragua. The trend we see developing will lead to greater instability in Central America with consequences for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region. Conditions in the region continue to deteriorate, with the aggravation of tensions and conflicts and the increase of foreign interference and aggression which threaten international peace and security.

(Mr. Karan, Guyana)

My delegation listened very carefully to the statement made in this Chamber two days ago by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua; we listened with similar care and attention to the statement made by the representative of the United States.

As members of the Security Council are well aware, Nicaragua first brought a complaint to the Council in 1982; as the Council was reminded earlier in this debate, this is the eleventh time since then that Nicaragua has felt compelled to have recourse to this body.

Central America is engaged in a process of internal change, a process that is evolving against a backdrop of particular economic and social factors. The peoples of this sub-region are struggling for an improvement in the quality of their life and for fuller participation in the political process. They are not struggling to secure a strategic advantage for any outside Power or to prove or disprove the superiority or validity of any ideological world view. It is dangerous and unhelpful, therefore, to misrepresent the domestic impulses for change in the sub-region and to try to cast them in any other mould.

It is expected that different States in the sub-region should choose different developmental paths and political strategies based on their respective historical experiences and on their own perceptions of what transformations are necessary and how they can best be effected. As we have said before, the true test of a commitment to democracy in international relations is the ability to tolerate and the ability to eschew insistence on ideological conformity.

The Security Council is meeting at the request of Nicaragua because of the disturbing events affecting the relationship between Nicaragua and the United States Government. That request was prompted more especially by the recent approval by the United States House of Representatives of \$100 million in aid for the so-called contras, an irregular armed force fighting against the Government

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

of Nicaragua. This Council must ask itself whether that recent decision can enhance the peace process in Central America.

In relations between States the principles of international law are inviolate and must be scrupulously respected. That is our only guarantee of peaceful and stable relations among States. We would refer to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970 by the General Assembly, which stipulates that

"No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.

"No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind". (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex)

The Declaration on friendly relations also sets forth the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

In 1981 the General Assembly adopted its Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. That Declaration sets out in pellucid language the duties comprehended in the principle of non-intervention and non-interference. Those duties include the following:

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

"The duty of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever to violate the existing internationally recognized boundaries of another State, to disrupt the political, social or economic order of other States, to overthrow or change the political system of another State or its Government, to cause tension between or among States or to deprive peoples of their national identity and cultural heritage;

"The duty of a State to ensure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity or disrupt the political economic and social stability of another State ... ;

"The duty of a State to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at another State or group of States, or any act of military, political or economic interference in the internal affairs of another State, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force;

" ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from any action or attempt in whatever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of another State or of any of its institutions;

" ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from organizing, training, financing and arming political and ethnic groups on their territories or the territories of other States for the purpose of creating subversion, disorder or unrest in other countries". (General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex, para. 2 (II))

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

That Declaration enjoys the total support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, because its principles have historically been a cornerstone of that Movement.

The Security Council, under Article 24 of the Charter, is entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter, and in order to ensure the full implementation of the resolutions of the Organization, this Council must determine in the light of the facts the measures that should be adopted to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to ensure peace and security in the Central American region.

The grave nature of the present situation notwithstanding, my delegation nourishes the hope that there is still a chance for reason to prevail and for the voices of moderation to be heard over the shrill clamour of intervention and belligerence. In that regard, recent decisions of the International Court of Justice in the case of Nicaragua against the United States are very relevant. My delegation makes a solemn appeal for an end to all hostile actions and attitudes towards Nicaragua and the Sandinista revolution. We appeal for full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua and the other States in the Central American region. We appeal again for peace to be given a chance in Central America.

In this context, Guyana would like to express its appreciation and support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group in their tireless search for peaceful solutions to the crises prevailing in Central America. We hope that the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America will be implemented with the least possible delay and that all States will co-operate in order to ensure the realization of the longing and the right of the peoples of Central America to live in peace.

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

The problems of Central America are not susceptible of military solutions. There is a need for genuine negotiation and dialogue. We encourage the United States Government to accept Nicaragua's offer to resume their contacts and to seek to resolve their differences by peaceful means.

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

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

Mr. DJUKIC (Yugoslavia): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. Your diplomatic skill and experience will, I am sure, greatly contribute to the successful work of this important body. I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, for his successful and inspiring guidance of the Council during the month of June.

The attack on the freedom and independence of any nation and any country threatens the freedom and independence of all. It has been proved time and again that interference in internal affairs and the imposition of foreign will cannot contribute to the solution of problems between States, much less to the improvement of international relations in general. On the contrary, they can only exacerbate those relations and thus reduce the prospects of finding solutions for the problems that burden them. This has also found adequate reflection in the decision of the International Court of Justice handed down on 27 June.

Nicaragua is exposed to political, military and economic pressures aimed at undermining its independence and sovereignty. This has now been going on for years, and it has prevented the people of Nicaragua from fully devoting itself to its own development. It is indispensable to recognize that Nicaragua, along with all other countries in the world, has the right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to a life in peace without pressure, interference and intervention.

The right of any and all States Members of the United Nations to self-determination and independence should not be questioned or threatened. It cannot be negotiated.

These are basic principles of the Charter as well as of the policy of non-alignment. They also provide the basis for the solution offered by the

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Contadora Group and the Support Group. The solution they offer addresses the root causes of the problem in Central America. It takes into account the interests of all countries of the region.

However, we are faced today with a spiralling deterioration. A policy is being pursued that is detrimental to the efforts to find a solution for Central America. That policy is jeopardizing the sincere and serious efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group.

At a time when serious efforts are being made to find genuine solutions to the problems of Central America, the decision has been taken to render financial and military aid to the anti-Sandinista forces. That decision not only seriously hampers the peace efforts of the Contadora Group: it also constitutes a dangerous precedent and an overt act of interference in the internal affairs of an independent country.

We hope that the decision on financial and military aid to the so-called contras will not become legally valid and that the interests of peace in the region of Central America will prevail based on the Contadora proposals and on respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Yugoslavia has always been committed to political solutions through dialogue and negotiations. We welcome and support every initiative aimed at reducing tensions and opening the prospects for negotiations to achieve genuine peace and security in the region.

The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, abiding by the principles of non-alignment, are convinced supporters of the Contadora Group. They have always been the firmest supporters of independence for all peoples, including the Nicaraguan people. They strongly reaffirmed that support at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held on 30 June.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

A lasting solution to all crises can be achieved only by political means, through negotiations. In the case of Central America, the basis for the solution should be sought in the peace initiative of the Contadora Group, which reflects the genuine aspirations of the countries of Latin America towards independence, sovereignty and the right freely to decide on their own development. All those who sincerely wish for peace and security in the region should give their full support to those endeavours.

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

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

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, our heartfelt congratulations and sincere best wishes upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are fully confident that you will guide the work of the Council with your outstanding ability and well-known wisdom, objectivity and perseverance. It also gives me great pleasure to express our appreciation and gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Rabetafika, the representative of friendly Madagascar, for the exemplary manner in which he successfully conducted the Council's work in the month of June.

For three years the situation in Central America has been on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations. That reflects the degree of concern felt by the international community over the deteriorating situation in Central America. The Security Council has already adopted resolution 562 (1985), which contains a clear and unambiguous reaffirmation of the inalienable right of Nicaragua and other States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

coercion or threats of any kind. In spite of that resolution, Nicaragua is still being subjected to continual acts of subversion and aggression by rebel gangs that enjoy the full support and assistance of the United States of America.

It is truly ironic that the United States of America should be violating the customary norms of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter on the pretext on the pretext of collective self-defence, the same pretext it invokes elsewhere in the world against any State that falls victim to direct American aggression and blatant intervention in its internal affairs.

(Mr. Assarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

Indeed, the United States claimed that it was acting under Article 51 of the Charter when it launched its brutal act of aggression against the territory of my country.

The highest judicial body in the world, the International Court of Justice, has refuted that claim by the United States. The Court, in one of its most important judgements, categorically rejected the pretext used by the United States as justification for United States military activities against Nicaragua. The Court also decided that the United States, by training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying the contra gangs and supporting and aiding them against Nicaragua, has acted, against the Republic of Nicaragua, in breach of its obligation under customary international law not to intervene in the affairs of another State.

Despite that judgement handed down by the highest judicial body in the world, the United States persists in playing its self-appointed role as policeman of the world. For that reason, it has rejected the judgement of the International Court of Justice, just as it has rejected the compulsory jurisdiction of that body.

As the International Court of Justice has emphasized, this role of self-appointed policeman of the World being played by the United States has no legal basis or international legitimacy under the Charter. Yesterday in this Chamber we all heard a voice from Latin America - that of the representative of Venezuela, known for his objectivity. He said:

"... the delegation of Venezuela finds it regrettable that the United States Government has decided to persevere in conduct which is undoubtedly contrary to international law and which, far from promoting the cause of peace in Central America, can only contribute to increased tension in the area".

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The international community has pronounced itself in Security Council resolution 562 (1985) and in the judgement of the International Court of Justice. The nations of Latin America are loudly calling for an end to intervention in their internal affairs. But the United States does not want to respond positively to the Security Council resolution or the judgement of the International Court of Justice. It does not even want to heed the voice of Latin America, because the exercise of terrorism has become a doctrine of the executive organ of the United States.

The decision by the United States House of Representatives on 25 June to approve the provision of \$100 million to the gangs of mercenaries in Nicaragua is but one link in the chain of aggressive policies pursued by the United States Administration against Nicaragua. The United States had already earmarked a sum of \$27 million for financing activities designed to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. That sum had been appropriated in the context of so-called humanitarian assistance - a euphemism used to conceal the real objectives sought by the United States by means of the provision of such funds. The United States has been constantly engaged in military manoeuvres along the borders of Nicaragua. The main objective of those manoeuvres has been and still is the establishment of a military structure that could provide the contras with a rear guard and the necessary facilities to undertake a direct invasion of Nicaragua, should they decide to do so.

The United States Congress has already approved a request by the President of the United States to provide troop transports, helicopters and sophisticated communication equipment to the mercenaries. Things have reached the point where the rebels have been provided by the United States Administration with surface-to-air missiles. The United States Administration still goes on denying

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

that it has provided such sophisticated weapons to these gangs of mercenaries which for the past four years have devoted themselves to the systematic killing of children, women, the aged and innocent farmers.

Nicaragua has repeatedly stated that it is prepared to enter into a fruitful, serious dialogue with the United States. It has also stated its acceptance of the Contadora Act and its willingness to co-operate with the Contadora Group. It welcomed the Panama Declaration. But despite all the peaceful efforts made by the Government of Nicaragua, there has been no positive response by the United States. Nicaragua is still confronted by the deliberate intention to commit aggression and to overthrow its progressive régime.

The approval by the United States House of Representatives of \$100 million for the mercenary gangs is but a link in the chain of plots hatched by the United States Administration against Nicaragua and the other countries of Central America. The Jamahiriya feels that these practices engaged in by the United States are contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the judgement of the International Court of Justice. It feels also that these practices constitute a threat to peace and security in Central America. In our view, they constitute an act of aggression against the peoples of Latin America and are part and parcel of the United States policy of terrorism against small nations.

In our opinion, these pressures and practices by the United States must be viewed in the context of the United States policy designed to sow terror and intimidation all over the world and to threaten the peace and security of the small, third-world nations. The actions taken by the United States Administration against Nicaragua are but one link in the chain of United States policies designed to subject peoples to United States domination and hegemony.

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

This is not idle talk by the Jamahiriya. The Jamahiriya bases itself on first-hand experience, since, like Nicaragua, it is subjected to blackmail and threats. We in the Jamahiriya have even been subjected to direct United States aggression by air and sea. Indeed, parts of the United States fleet are still deployed off our shores. The Jamahiriya is especially conscious of the seriousness of the threats confronting Nicaragua. Hence, we call upon the Security Council to exercise the powers vested in it by the Charter in order to put an end to the arrogant policy of blackmail and force pursued by the United States all over the world, including Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Mediterranean.

The international judiciary has pronounced itself. It is now for the Security Council to shoulder its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, before the region slips into a devastating war in which the cannon fodder will be innocent human beings.

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

Mr. ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago): It is a great pleasure, Sir, to see you once again presiding over the proceedings of the Council. Your tact, broad experience, fair-mindedness and diplomatic skill assure us that our affairs are in good hands. Permit me also to extend congratulations and thanks to our friend and brother, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, for the excellent and delicate touch with which he steered and conducted the work of the Council during the month of June.

The matter before the Council is one on which it has focused its attention on many occasions. It concerns Central America. It concerns a complaint by Nicaragua that a member of the Council is financing the arming of irregular forces to interfere in the internal affairs of Nicaragua - in such a way, however, as to threaten the very existence of that Government.

At a time when the energies of the nations of Central America should be wholly devoted to the arduous process of development, and the amelioration of their well-being, there now threatens further economic destruction and privation, with consequent social upheaval. The illegality of State action giving support to irregular forces as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of another has long been established. The International Court of Justice, which was seized of the instant case, has pronounced on this principle in the context of Central America and has given its judgement.

In its decision of 26 June 1986 the World Court held, inter alia, that the training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying of rebels is in breach of a State's obligations under international law - obligations not to intervene in the affairs of another State.

(Mr. Alleyne, Trinidad
and Tobago)

The underlying principle that confers binding force on customary rules of international law is one according to which the general will of the international community must prevail, with the duty of all States being to conform to that will as expressed in customary rules of international law.

In the instant case, the decisions of the World Court deeming the training, arming, financing and supplying of rebels as illegal must - I repeat: must - be respected, the ultimate rationalization for the binding force of the World Court's decision of 26 June being that States are agreed that order, not chaos, is the governing principle of international relations.

Further, the founders of the United Nations and its constituent units did not intend theirs to be an exercise in futility. We, the inheritors of these great invaluable institutions - the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, for example - must not act in such a manner as to bring them into disrepute. We must not so ill-use them that they cease to pursue the international public interest.

Our obligation is to seek not a military but a peaceful solution of the solution of the situation in Central America. My delegation is convinced that the framework for this already exists as a result of the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. In this connection, we regard a speedy conclusion and general acceptance of the Act on Peace and Co-operation in Latin America, drawn up by these Groups as being imperative for a peaceful solution of the situation.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has consistently given its support to the Contadora peace process. We believe that the Contadora peace process holds out the only realistic hope of a just equitable and peaceful resolution of what is in essence a regional conflict. My delegation is convinced that the framework for a peaceful settlement already exists as a result of the efforts of the Contadora

(Mr. Alleyne, Trinidad
and Tobago)

Group and the Support Group. The urgent implementation of the recently concluded Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is essential to the restoration of peace and stability in the Central American region.

My delegation is fully aware of the complexity of the situation in Central America, a situation which will only be exacerbated by any recourse to military measures and solutions. We therefore call upon all the States concerned to exercise restraint, to resume the dialogue between them, and to put a halt to all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the Central American region. It is only by these measures that the patient and determined efforts of the Contadora Group over the past three years can be successful and peace and stability established in Central America in a climate of trust. Above all, we call upon all the parties to accept and to act according to the findings and judgements of the International Court of Justice.

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

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

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I wish at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July and to wish you every success in the fulfilment of your very responsible duties. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Ambassador Blaise Rabetafika, whose tact and diligence as an experienced and distinguished diplomat were so visible in the course of his leadership of the Council last month.

Tomorrow, people all over the United States will celebrate the anniversary of their independence. It is undoubtedly a day in which many rank-and-file Americans

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

take great pride. That pride is fully justified in view of the struggle waged by the forefathers of this nation to liberate themselves from British colonial rule. But is the present United States Administration also entitled to share in the pride of the American people?

We strongly believe that it is not, for it has betrayed the letter and spirit of the United States Declaration of Independence. The United States Administration, through its imperialist policy of aggression, intervention, blackmail and pressure, has sought to deny peoples in various parts of the world what the American people have fought for and maintained so close to their hearts - the right to self-determination and national independence. A glance at the chronology of the United States imperialist policies and practices, particularly those of the present Administration, brings to broad daylight the undeniable fact that the Declaration of Independence has been robbed of its essence and philosophy by the very same thugs who proclaim themselves to be its guardians.

In pursuit of their illusive ambitions for world domination, the United States ruling circles have stopped short of no dirty and evil means that could satisfy their vile lust for unconditional supremacy. They have arrogated to themselves the right to issue wanton threats, to hatch criminal plots, to draw and implement plans for political destabilization, to enact economic blockades, to launch piratic aerial and naval attacks, to establish, organize, finance, train, equip, arm, and use mercenary legions, to land their marines and to wage full-fledged wars against any nation which dares to opt for an independent course in its domestic and foreign policies.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

United States imperialism has proved time and again that it recognizes no moral or legal boundary in the implementation of those policies. It has shown its utter contempt for the rule of law and order in inter-State conduct and relations. It stands guilty of grave breaches of the most fundamental principles of international law. It is liable for its arrogance in repeatedly disregarding world opinion and the judgement of the international community.

Henceforth the current debate in this Council cannot be centred on a single act that sheds some additional light on the true nature of imperialism. The approval of \$100 million by the United States House of Representatives to aid gangs of mercenaries of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) only unveils an open secret pertaining to the nature of United States imperialism. However, it is significant inasmuch as it demonstrates without any element of doubt the stark brazenness with which this nature is translated into actions.

By now the international community is all too familiar with what imperialism stands for and amounts to. Nevertheless, it finds it difficult to get accustomed to the abominable and morally bankrupt manner in which imperialist policies are debated and carried out under the disgusting façade of legislative procedures. At times one ponders whether there still remains a lower standard of morality.

Through Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, we listened attentively to the voice of the valiant people of Nicaragua who are fighting with admirable courage and determination to safeguard their hard-won victories against the criminal cut-throats and terrorists whom the Head of the United States Administration calls his brothers.

Having toppled the blood-thirsty Somoza régime through its popular revolution, the Sandinist Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua has embarked on the path of establishing a truly democratic, independent, prosperous and just society.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

Since coming to power, the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua has repeatedly stated its desire to develop and strengthen friendly relations with all countries of the world, including first and foremost its neighbours. It has taken concrete steps towards overcoming the problems that exist in its relations with those countries.

The supreme goals of the Revolutionary Government were however challenged by the crimes of the CIA-created bands of ex-Somocistas who, on instructions from the United States Central Intelligence Agency, resorted to the most violent means in order to prevent the consolidation of the revolution, inflicting vast economic and human losses on Nicaragua.

With a view to justifying its illegal undeclared war against Nicaragua, the United States wishes us to believe that the United States has fallen an innocent victim to the Sandinista Government. It has levelled unbridled accusations against the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, but time has proved the baselessness of those assertions.

The most recent judgement of the international community was spelled out in the ruling of the International Court of Justice in which the United States was found guilty on 15 counts of violating international law. The scores of statements delivered in the Security Council during the current debate and the other 10 held previously on this situation are other clear-cut and vivid demonstrations of world public opinion. The facts are too well known and compelling to be swept under the rug. The aggressor stands condemned, and no effort can hide that reality.

As far as the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is concerned, imperialism and its undeclared wars are part of our historical and recent experiences. We have every reason to feel ourselves in full solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. We support their just struggle to defend themselves against the most monstrous imperialist Power on earth. We hail their patriotism and courage.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

We also praise the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group for finding a practical solution to the problems in Central America. With equal force, we condemn the United States for its policy of State terrorism and acts of outright banditry.

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

The representative of Nicaragua has asked to be allowed to speak, and I call on her.

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): After having heard all the countries which have contributed to this debate, we sincerely hope that the United States of America has heard the voice of the world expressing concern over the situation in Central America. We hope that it has heard the call to dialogue and conciliation made by members of the Council and representatives of other countries Members of the United Nations. We hope that it has heard that the use or threat of use of force against another State violates international law. We hope that it has heard that to create, arm, finance, direct and train mercenary forces for use against Nicaragua, as well as the recent approval of \$100 million for those same groups by the United States House of Representatives, is not only a violation of and contrary to the principles of the Contadora Group, but detrimental to its peace efforts. We hope that it has heard the dangers to Central America inherent in a continuation of its policy of aggression against our country. We hope that it will heed the judgement of the International Court of Justice and that it will desist from its illegal war of aggression against my country and thus make it possible to create the minimum conditions for peace in Central America, consolidate democratic régimes there, and foster the economic and social development of our region.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

For its part, Nicaragua reaffirms its commitment to peace, its respect for the norms and principles of international law, and its steadfast will to defend itself against foreign aggression. It also expresses its support for Contadora and its readiness to resume bilateral dialogue with the United States on the basis of equality and mutual respect leading to the normalization of relations between our countries.

We hope that reason and wisdom will prevail over brute force and a lack of wisdom.

We wish also to express thanks for the solidarity shown to Nicaragua in the Council; it helps us to persevere for our sovereignty, independence and self-determination and for peace in Central America.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. IMMERMAN (United States of America): My delegation finds it somewhat ironic that the representative of Nicaragua continues to attempt to portray Nicaragua as the innocent victim of aggression from the outside. The facts are otherwise. Since taking power in 1979, the Sandinista régime has intervened continually and massively in the affairs of its neighbours in Central America. The eloquent statement of the Permanent Representative of El Salvador in this debate has borne witness to that intervention.

As for the statements made earlier in the day by the representative of Iran, I would only express the hope that his eloquence would also be addressed to the immediate concerns in his part of the world, where the largest toll of human life is now being taken. It would be appreciated if he would appear before the Council to explain why this carnage must continue in his part of the world.

My delegation also finds it curious that the representative of one of the most notorious practitioners of State terrorism, the representative of Libya, should speak of terrorism before this Council. No reference to Libya would be complete without mention of that country's repeated attacks on innocent nationals of other countries. Scores of individuals from Europe, the United States, other North American and Western hemisphere countries as well as citizens of the Arab world have fallen victim to Libyan terrorism. The international community has awakened to the danger of Libyan terrorism. At the recent summit meeting of the industrialized democracies in Tokyo, note was taken of this danger and the members of the Summit Seven, as well as many others, have taken measures to counter it.

In conclusion, on the occasion of the Independence Day of my country, I should like to express to the representative of Afghanistan the wish that he and his countrymen could liberate themselves from their colonial masters and join the ranks of the truly free peoples of the world. I find it fitting that the representative of Afghanistan uses the word "bloodthirsty". Given what his Government has

(Mr. Immerman, United States)

inflicted on the unfortunate people of his country since December 1979, he knows whereof he speaks.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on my list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultations with members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.

