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NOTE

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2421st MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 24 March 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2421)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2420th meeting, I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table, and I invite the representatives of Mexico and Panama to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Barbados, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Grenada, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Spain 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, pursuant to the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. de Piniés (Spain) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

4. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We wish, Sir, to offer you our cordial congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Given the fine traditions of the country you so worthily represent, we are sure that the item before this body will be dealt with expeditiously and impartially.

5. We thank the members of the Council for this opportunity to speak of the serious concern of the Government of Mexico regarding the events occurring along the border between Nicaragua and Honduras and in the north-eastern area of Nicaragua. These are regrettable events, and they constitute a new and dangerous stage in the worsening crisis in Central America and endanger international peace and security.

6. Once again we are appearing before the Council in compliance with our duty as members of the international community and as a country neighbouring on an area in a great state of upheaval as a result of the social transformations that have been brought about by peoples fighting to assert their independence and those who are resisting them—that is, the forces of immobility and foreign interference. Mexico is all too familiar with these processes, resistance and interference, for we have experienced all of this throughout our history.

7. A few days ago, at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, my Government reiterated its decision to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the crisis in Central America which has now, regrettably, assumed alarming proportions, making it similar to crises in other regions of the world where instability and turbulence frequently attract the attention of the Council.

8. On that occasion, my country's Secretary for External Relations stated that the present conflicts in Central America can be settled only through political negotia-

tions, dialogue and economic and social development. He also said that Mexico will continue to wage a responsible, persistent and committed struggle to achieve progress in the area on stable and popular bases and to bring about coexistence between different political régimes with full respect for the sovereignty of each State. He went on to say that "armed intervention in the region would be contrary to the principle of self-determination and would long delay the democratic development of peoples, their economic and social development, respect for human rights and hopes for achieving minimal levels of well-being". He also stated that "the crisis in the region is connected with backwardness, poverty and age-old exploitation and not, as has been claimed, with the East-West ideological confrontation".

9. A few weeks ago, the Ministers for External Relations of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela met on Contadora Island and vigorously spoke out in favour of détente in Central America.¹ They appealed to all the States of the area to reduce tensions through dialogue and negotiations and to establish the basis for a lasting climate of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among States. On that occasion the four Ministers reaffirmed "the obligation of States not to resort to the threat or use of force in their international relations" and urged them to "refrain from actions which might aggravate the situation and pose the danger of a broader conflict extending throughout the region".

10. A year ago—on 26 March—having considered a complaint by Nicaragua we made an appeal [2337th meeting] for respect for the basic principles of international coexistence, namely, the right to self-determination, non-interference and the peaceful settlement of disputes. On that occasion we stressed, and we would repeat now, that those principles must be respected everywhere, but particularly in areas bordering on the territory of the super-Powers, which are increasingly under threat.

11. With regard to Nicaragua, we stated on that occasion that any threat or use of force against that country should be removed, and we appealed to States to work along those lines and work out non-aggression pacts to contribute to peace in the region and to eliminate the waste involved in the fruitless arms race. Unfortunately, that appeal was not heeded, and it is for that reason that we find ourselves today once again here in this chamber.

12. For more than two years now, the Government of Mexico has made constant efforts to promote détente and fruitful and harmonious coexistence in Central America and the Caribbean. We have held consultations at the highest level with the parties to the conflict, with other countries in the area concerned over the crisis and with many other peace-loving States. In the specific case of Honduras and Nicaragua, we, together with Venezuela, took the initiative to promote a dialogue between those two nations, an initiative recalled yesterday by both parties to the dispute.

13. We now note with regret that some of the dangers we tried to avoid have now materialized. Through direct action and action of third parties attempts are being made to undermine the political stability of Nicaragua, presumably to divert that people from the course it has chosen for its development. This is a violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the international community has the duty to react to it resolutely.

14. Yesterday [2420th meeting] the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua provided the Council with a great deal of information indicating that there were armed bands that had entered Nicaraguan territory across its border with a neighbouring country which had permitted their organization and transit, thereby facilitating their incursion. The basic elements of that information and other reliable reports widely circulated in the international press have not been refuted.

15. Here we should perhaps recall the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted by the General Assembly,² according to which "Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another State."

16. Such actions jeopardize good-neighbourly relations between two States and obstruct the process of dialogue that had been initiated in order to promote the restoration of concord and general détente in the region. At the same time, they entail the threat that similar situations will crop up in other countries and that artificial parallels might then be drawn in an attempt to mislead international public opinion about what is really happening in Central America.

17. There is unquestionably a close interrelationship among events in Central America, but, as the representative of Mexico stated at the New Delhi Conference, these interrelationships should not make us lose sight of the identity of each society and its political institutions, nor should it make us overlook the essential nature of revolutions and their profound economic and social causes, which cannot whimsically and arbitrarily be transplanted from one country to another. It is fruitless, then, to promote fictitious insurgencies with armed bands that have been infiltrated to establish false comparisons which will only obscure the political horizon in the area and further complicate the inevitable process of negotiations, which must lead to respect for the singularity and sovereignty of each country.

18. Any attempt to impose ideological or strategic strait-jackets on what is happening in Central America is anachronistic. No State can assume the right to judge and to decide on the internal processes of the countries of the region. My country's Government has reiterated its profound conviction that the principle of self-

determination involves pluralism and therefore respect for the system that each people freely chooses for itself. We believe that so-called homogeneous solutions really smack of hegemony and are inevitably authoritarian in nature.

19. Mexico once again wishes to appeal urgently for an end to the causes of confrontation on the basis of direct negotiations between the Governments involved and with the active participation of the international community in search for realistic solutions respectful of the sovereignty of all countries which will avoid a conflict of grave proportions in Central America.

20. Yesterday we heard in this chamber words which indicated a willingness to negotiate on the part of the Governments directly concerned. There was also a willingness on the part of different countries of the area to promote that understanding, and there is a framework which could orient negotiations. It is necessary that we now take advantage of the political density that has been created to promote a peaceful settlement and to urge the parties to proceed immediately to a dialogue. No foreign designs, no desire to manipulate others, should be allowed to obstruct the beginning of this effort to bring about peace.

21. Now, should the incursion, which has just begun, become part of a political and military plan with far-reaching implications, and should the escalation continue in spite of our efforts, we would find ourselves in an extremely delicate situation that would cause many peoples and Governments in every continent to react with the utmost vigour.

22. Mexico feels that it has a duty to sound an alarm and to urge all those involved in this operation immediately to suspend their support and sponsorship of such a dangerous enterprise. The General Assembly has said³ unequivocally that it is necessary to put an end to all military assistance to El Salvador, and this determination must be reflected in the Council and made to encompass the entire Central American region.

23. A question of the utmost urgency has been placed before this body, one that unquestionably falls within its jurisdiction under the Charter of the United Nations. It is the Council's primary responsibility to ensure collective security whenever that security is threatened anywhere in the world. This body cannot, without jeopardizing its prestige and authority, disregard the dangers which quite obviously are threatening international peace and security in Central America.

24. The member States of the Council and the international community as a whole must promote a climate of understanding and propose proper solutions to this conflict, which is constantly spreading, because the interests involved have thus far taken precedence over the desire for peace of the immense majority of the peoples of the world. It is time to change our course and to prevent greater disasters.

25. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Our work here is invariably urgent and our time preciously limited. Therefore, with the exception justified only in my first statement before the Security Council, I will break with the established tradition of extending customary and eloquent eulogies to each President of the Council each month in rotation. I will limit myself briefly to saying that I welcome your assumption of duty, Mr. President, and that I have already benefited from your wise guidance this month. The same applies to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union. You have both set a very high standard, which I myself can never hope to emulate.

26. May I take a moment of the Council's valuable time to express the appreciation of my delegation for the good wishes extended to us by so many of our colleagues here at the United Nations as we assume the awesome responsibilities of membership of the Council this year. To the best of our ability we shall endeavour to live up to the trust and duty which have been bestowed on us.

27. We all know that the situation in Central America has been tense and fraught with acute problems of an economic, social and political nature for far too long already. National and international efforts should be directed at alleviating these problems, rather than at accentuating them.

28. Nicaragua, one of the countries of that region, has perhaps had more than its fair share of these problems.

29. The detailed information provided in the statements made here yesterday and today is therefore all the more disturbing. The loss of life and damage to property are assuming alarming proportions. Against the background of conflicting declarations, grave misunderstandings persist. Tension is increasing, and there are alarming signs of troop concentrations along sensitive borders.

30. As a small country geographically far removed from the Central American region, but nevertheless suffering from the same confrontation-mania that seems to be the hallmark of present-day super-Power rivalry, we can sympathize with and share the evident concerns of the people and Government of Nicaragua.

31. They have suffered a great deal in the past, and their main ambition now is to start a new process of nation-building and reconciliation, free from outside pressures. Nicaragua desires to remain a completely independent, self-respecting and non-aligned nation pursuing national policies arrived at through the involvement of its people as they themselves see best in the present circumstances. To that extent, this objective cannot be faulted, and Malta stands solidly behind them in this endeavour.

32. I have been privileged to see with my own eyes the need and the potential of Nicaragua for economic and social development, as well as to sense in the streets the determination of its peace-loving people to tackle these problems as a first priority, without disturbance. More than anything else, what they need, with help and under-

standing from neighbours, is a period of peace and tranquillity to devote all their national resources towards these peaceful objectives. Unfortunately, this period has so far been denied them.

33. In view of the pressures to which Nicaragua is at present feeling subjected, we venture to recall that there are some cardinal principles in international relations. Among them is the obligation of States to refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing other States to renounce the full exercise of their sovereign rights. The sacred right of all peoples to determine in full freedom, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development stands high among these inalienable rights.

34. The Central American region, as indeed many other parts of the world do, cries out for solid and sustained economic and social progress. It is therefore highly regrettable that extraneous considerations seem to be stifling this paramount urge and instead aiding and abetting stagnation, destabilization and militarism, thereby nourishing the sinews and fanning the flames of potential conflict.

35. As a matter of priority, we therefore urge that a new spirit of dialogue and good-neighbourly relations replace the present trend. It is equally urgent to desist from all manifestations of military force, which are causing so much heightened concern and increasing tension. The massive but myopic expenditure on, and injection of, arms in the region should be replaced once and for all by a generous investment in economic infrastructure and development. There must be a calm reappraisal of present policies. That certainly is the wish of the Maltese Government, and we see tremendous scope, as well as a most urgent need, for quiet diplomacy and for regional initiatives, such as those advanced by Colombia, France, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, in a timely response to a situation which is already alarming.

36. We should like to be among the very first to express the hope that even if nothing more can emerge at this stage from this debate, the Council will at least be able to alert the international community to the need for positive change and to generate a new momentum in this direction, so that the countries of the region will be allowed, unfettered, peacefully to settle their own differences and promote the co-operation so essential for stability and development.

37. Positive signals of hope emerged towards the end of yesterday's debate [2420th meeting] and were emphasized in the statement of the representative of Mexico just now. We trust that they will pave the way for definite improvement and progress.

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

39. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you success in the performance of your important task. At the same time, I wish also to thank you and the other members of the Council for having granted my request to be allowed to participate in these meetings devoted to the consideration of the serious escalation of acts of aggression against Nicaragua and the Sandinist People's Revolution.

40. Scarcely more than two weeks ago President Fidel Castro, speaking at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, stated:

"The dangers of war which existed when we met in 1979 very quickly grew when the new President of the United States decided to impose, as a condition for peace, acceptance of the military supremacy of his country and of the alliance it headed. The danger of war threatens us as citizens of the world, but it also concerns us as peoples that want to affirm or to win, as the case may be, our national independence and develop our battered economies. That self-same policy based on senseless claims of military supremacy has given rise in the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America to situations against which the Movement has had to raise its voice over the years, and now I wish to reflect this today at this summit meeting."

Comrade Fidel Castro went on to say:

"During the past three years Central America has become a danger point for world peace and a centre for death and possible military aggression.

"At the sixth summit meeting we received as brothers the Sandinists who had vanquished Somoza, and they joyfully joined in our task. But an evil and a senseless policy of those who have enhanced the universal threat of war wishes to convert Central America and the Caribbean into a scenario derived from East-West contradictions. It would have the world believe that what happened in Nicaragua and what is happening in El Salvador and Guatemala is not the result of decades of growing protest and uninterrupted struggle by starving peoples of what are derogatorily known as banana republics who are tired of so much tyranny, exploitation and humiliation—the landless peasants, the starving and unemployed men and women and the adolescents without schools who have risen up for justice—but that it is the result of some sinister plot by means of which Moscow, through Cuba, is manipulating these peoples.

"In this way, American interference in Central America, which began and persisted well before the 1917 Soviet revolution and which preceded the Cuban revolution by a number of decades, collaboration with the sinister tyranny of Ríos Montt, similar to that which

was always given to the Somoza dynasty, and the efforts to use Honduras as an outpost for American intervention to put down the Nicaraguan revolution—all seek justification in pretexts drawn from the arsenal of McCarthyism, which have been repudiated in official statements from Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia.”

41. It is precisely against this background that my delegation wishes to take up the recent increase in acts of aggression against Nicaragua from neighbouring Honduras, denounced by the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction in its message of 21 March [S/15656, *annex I*] and by the Deputy Minister for External Relations, Mr. Víctor Hugo Tinoco, in this forum yesterday [2420th meeting].

42. For months the international press, including the United States mass media, has been reporting in lavish detail on preparations by Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary forces, mainly former Somozist guards, in camps located in the south of the United States and in Honduras and Costa Rica near their borders with Nicaragua. The press has also reported acts of sabotage, terrorism, infiltration and aggression against the homeland of Sandino from Honduras, with the consent and even the open support of that country's armed forces; it has most faithfully reported the threatening statements of the highest spokesmen of the United States Government, including that by President Reagan himself of 10 March of this year and those by the Secretaries of State, first Haig and then Shultz, by the Under-Secretary of State, Thomas O. Enders, and the very significant one made on 16 February 1983 by Mr. William J. Casey, the Director of the shady Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), requesting the United States Congress to continue to provide funds for covert operations against the Sandinist Government until 1984.

43. A few hours ago, Commander Humberto Ortega Saavedra publicly denounced the invasion of Nicaraguan national territory by groups of former Somozist guards across the northern frontier and the movement of a number of these outlaws to the centre of the country, in the Matagalpa area. In doing so, he warned of the massing of regular Honduran troops near the north-west frontier of Nicaragua and the dangers that could stem from that for the situation in the region.

44. The day before yesterday, in the afternoon, as an ominous confirmation of the dangers predicted by the high-level Sandinist leader, we received the information that those Honduran forces had opened fire with mortars on the Nicaraguan frontier village of Santo Tomás.

45. It is worth-while reminding the Council about the preliminaries to the mercenary invasion launched against Cuba in 1961, at the Bay of Pigs, on the direct orders of the then President of the United States. The motive put forward at the time was the spectre of an alleged Sino-Soviet threat to the continent, just as now a Cuban-Soviet plot is mentioned. The tool for that was former

soldiers of the Batista tyranny, fugitives from justice, petty politicians of the former régime, *nouveaux riches* affected by the revolutionary laws and all kinds of dregs of society and traitors, just like the henchmen and companions-in-arms of Somoza. The organizer, financier, supplier and abettor was, then as now, the imperialist Government of the United States, its Pentagon and its CIA. Today, as before, in the same way, it acts out of an identical historical short-sightedness, of a profound disregard for peoples of our stock, of its intractable reactionary vocation and of its mad hatred for the economic and social progress of mankind.

46. Everyone will surely recall that in the meetings of the First Committee on the eve of and during the mercenary aggression at the Bay of Pigs, the representative of the United States, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, invented the lie that the planes that had bombed Havana airport and adjoining areas were planes of the regular Cuban air force, which was alleged to have risen up against the revolutionary Government.⁴ The then Foreign Minister, Raúl Roa, my father, publicly unmasked that lie. I think it important to recall these facts and the duplicity that the imperialists and their puppets and followers are capable of when it comes to adulterating the charges made, on the basis of irrefutable proof, by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua.

47. It is also worth-while stating in the Council our deep revolutionary conviction that imperialism and its puppets and followers and today's adventure against the Sandinist revolution of Nicaragua will meet with the same ignominious fate as those who, before and after 1961, dared trample on the homeland of José Martí. One does not need to be very far-seeing in order to notice the serious responsibility that the United States Government is once again assuming by promoting its aggressive and senseless plans against Nicaragua, or the adventurist nature of the international policy of the present United States Administration.

48. The Council, which bears primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security, should give very serious thought to the complaint presented by the representative of Nicaragua and should ensure prevention of any complication of the conflict due to Honduran intervention or as a result of direct interference by the instigators of the aggression that could lead to a conflict of incalculable proportions and consequences that would be very serious for peace in the region and in the world.

49. Cuba once again repeats its conviction—also attested to in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries [*see S/15675, annex, sect. I*—that the serious political, social and economic crisis that Central America is experiencing is, for the most part, the result of “the traditional repressive power structure and . . . national economic structures that produce poverty, inequality and misery and are aggravated by the interference and intervention to which those countries have been sub-

jected since the end of the last century"; that "the processes of change in Central America could not be attributed to . . . an East-West ideological confrontation"; that the hostile and aggressive acts against Nicaragua are "part of a deliberate plan to harass and destabilize that country, as has been acknowledged by a foreign power"; and that the true solution of the conflicts in the area can be found only through political negotiations and by peaceful means. For these reasons, my delegation hails the peace initiative¹ launched on the Panamanian island of Contadora by the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, which has been accepted by Nicaragua, as a genuine effort, in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the ideals of Bolívar, Juárez, Martí and the founding fathers of independence, at finding a just and lasting solution of these conflicts.

50. Finally, I wish to reiterate the unswerving support of the Government and the people of Cuba to our Nicaraguan brothers, to their revolutionary Government and to their Latin American and progressive ideals of freedom.

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

52. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We wish you much success in the performance of your delicate functions.

53. On 25 March 1982—that is, exactly one year ago—the Security Council met [2335th meeting] for the first time to consider a complaint by Nicaragua regarding the growing tension in Central America and the increasingly obvious danger of military action against that country. The eight meetings [2335th to 2337th, 2339th, 2341st to 2343rd and 2347th meetings] that the Council devoted to consideration of this question brought out the seriousness of the situation and alerted us to the danger that it could worsen if political solutions were not negotiated and agreed upon to put an end to the conflict in the area.

54. In order to express the concern of the international community, Panama, in the company of Guyana, introduced a draft resolution [S/1494I] in which, *inter alia*, all Member States were reminded of their obligation to respect the principles of the Charter and which appealed to them to refrain from direct, indirect, open or covert use of force against any country in the Caribbean or Central America and appealed to all the parties to enter into dialogue and negotiations as called for by the Charter. That draft resolution was conceived in a constructive spirit. It received 12 votes in favour and 2 abstentions, but it was not adopted, owing to the veto of one permanent member of the Council. Can it be that that vote was a forerunner of the situation that was described in the Council yesterday by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua?

55. Regrettably, a year later, we find there has been an increase in tension and a definite deterioration in the political climate in the area the seriousness of which endangers international peace and security.

56. That is precisely why Panama has joined other Latin American countries, in particular Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, to contribute to bringing peace to Central America. Here we should perhaps mention the meeting held early this year on the Panamanian island of Contadora, where the Ministers for External Relations of the four countries made an appeal¹ to all the countries of the Central American area to engage in dialogue and negotiations so as to reduce tension and lay the foundations for a permanent atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among States. Through their Ministers on Contadora those four countries also reaffirmed the obligation of States not to resort to the threat or use of force in their international relations and called upon all States to refrain from actions which might aggravate the situation and pose the danger of broader conflict extending throughout the region.

57. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March and considered items relating to Latin America, stated as follows:

"The Conference denounced the new and increasing threats and acts of intimidation and the growing seriousness and increased number of acts of aggression against Nicaragua, particularly the violation of its airspace and territorial waters, the utilization of the territory of foreign countries in and outside the region as bases for aggression and the training of counter-revolutionary forces, the commission of terrorist actions and sabotage, particularly the attacks of armed groups of ex-Somoza guards through its northern border, which had resulted in considerable loss of life and property, as well as measures of economic pressure at the international level. These were considered part of a deliberate plan to harass and destabilize that country, as has been acknowledged by a foreign Power." [S/15675, annex, sect. 1, para. 136.]

The events that have occurred in Nicaragua this week confirm the correctness of the assessment of the situation offered by that Conference.

58. Panama has exerted its best efforts to restore peace in Central America, and we wish to affirm the full applicability of the right to self-determination of peoples, respect for national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States, the sovereign equality of States, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, non-use of the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as well as every people's right to decide and freely to pursue its political, economic, social and cultural systems.

59. In the light of these principles Panama has been greatly concerned by information that has been dissemi-

nated in vast quantities by the mass media of the United States and other countries regarding the training of counter-revolutionary Nicaraguan elements in the United States to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. Those reports have also alluded to official funds for the destabilization of the Government of Nicaragua and the participation of the CIA in these destabilization plans.

60. My country has been very much concerned by the reports that have been issued by various international media, including in the United States, about the use of the territory of countries neighbouring Nicaragua for launching efforts at sabotage and destabilization against Nicaragua and the training and transfer of fighting forces.

61. My delegation believes that the present massive infiltration of armed contingents to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government are not unrelated to this information being offered by the international press. That is why my delegation would ask where these contingents have been trained, who has armed them, who is financing them, where they were stationed before they entered Nicaraguan territory, and who is supplying them. These and many other questions will bring us to the conclusion that this is not an "internal affair" of Nicaragua, as some would claim, but a clear case of foreign intervention against Nicaragua.

62. In this context, my delegation believes it appropriate to recall that at its twenty-fifth session, on 24 October 1970, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2625 (XXV), containing the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which states, *inter alia*, that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another State, and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts. That resolution categorically states that no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State.

63. Those principles have been reiterated on a number of occasions by the General Assembly, in particular at its thirty-sixth session, when in resolution 36/103 it adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which, *inter alia*, reaffirms the duty of States to refrain from the promotion, encouragement or support, direct or indirect, of rebellious or secessionist activities within other States, under any pretext whatsoever, or any action which seeks to disrupt the unity or to undermine or subvert the political order of other States.

64. Panama respects and practices those principles, and we appeal to all States, both in the region and outside it, to adhere firmly to them and to refrain from interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of the countries of the area and to refrain from any act that might contribute to a further worsening of the already critical situation.

65. In this connection, my delegation believes it appropriate to repeat the words of the Vice-President of the Republic of Panama, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, who, in the general debate at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, said:

"My country cannot be indifferent to the climate of violence and the warlike acts that have occurred in the region—either for ethical, political or security reasons. Internal tension, to which should be added outside interference of one kind or another, in support of one side or another in conflicts, has already created a structure of militarization of forces and alliances which could at any moment lead to a widespread conflict. This would have uncontrollable consequences and could cause bloodshed and inevitably jeopardize the entire international situation and destroy the region."⁵

66. We are confident that good judgement will prevail and that the course of political negotiations will be followed, for that is the only course that can ensure a future of peace and justice for the peoples of the region.

67. The PRESIDENT: 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.

68. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have already had the opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, our appreciation and thanks on the occasion of your assumption of your office for this month. Today I would express our pleasure at the outstanding manner in which you have been conducting the business of the Council.

69. A few weeks ago the Council discussed the threats by the United States of America and its aggression against Libya. The international community, represented by more than 24 delegations, pronounced itself and condemned the United States intervention and aggression against Libya. When I spoke before the Council at that time [2415th meeting], I stated that Libya would not be the first or the last to experience aggression by the United States. And here we are today, discussing a flagrant act of American intervention and overt aggression against another non-aligned country, Nicaragua. Nor will Nicaragua be the last. There will be another series of States that will fall victim to aggression by the United States Administration.

70. Yesterday [2420th meeting], we heard the representative of Nicaragua speak of acts of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of his country and of the attempts made by the United States Administration from the outset to threaten and overthrow the revolutionary régime in Nicaragua. We then heard the representative

of the United States. I think that her statement, if viewed objectively and without any other consideration, is itself direct intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. It is as though Nicaragua were a colony of the United States of America. According to the United States representative, human rights were respected under Somoza. Somoza respected the rights of the individual. Now, however, there has been a change in Nicaragua; according to the criteria applied by the United States with regard to human rights there is now a dictatorial régime which violates such rights.

71. By the same token, Nasser in Egypt violated human rights and had to be overthrown. Egypt was unable to build the Aswan High Dam, which would bring prosperity to the Egyptian people, because its construction was directed against "human rights", according to the United States. Batista in Cuba "respected" human rights because he was a vassal of the United States. Allende, who was democratically elected, was assassinated by agents of United States intelligence because he, too, "violated" human rights, according to the United States criteria applied to human rights. Libya is also an "expansionist" State occupying "the territories of others". Again, according to the United States criteria, it disregards human rights. But Israel "respects" human rights. It occupies Lebanon; this is "respect" for human rights. It commits murder in Sabra and Shatila and, according to the United States criteria, this is "respect" for human rights. Israel occupies the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; it annexes the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. This, according to the United States Administration, is "respect" for human rights. The black man in South Africa is despised, but, according to the United States criteria, he is not a man.

72. When Manley of Jamaica applied to the World Bank for a loan, the United States said "no"; it vetoed it. But when South Africa applied for a loan, the United States Administration approved it because South Africa "respects" the rights of blacks, just as the blacks are "highly respected" in the United States. More than 20 million blacks are persecuted within the United States. These people represent 10 per cent of the population, but own only 1 per cent of the economy. Unemployment among American blacks exceeds 25 per cent. These are "human rights". There are 30,000 homeless people in New York, mostly blacks and Puerto Ricans. These are "human rights" also.

73. I visited Nicaragua during the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, and with apologies to the representative of Nicaragua, a country which has been independent for about 150 years, I must say that I did not expect to find such underdevelopment there. There is nothing in Nicaragua. The monopolistic American corporations, the banana companies, the multinationals, have taken everything not just from Nicaragua but also from countries of Latin America and Central America.

74. I can compare Nicaragua now to the Libya of 1950, after the war. Why? When the revolution tried to bring prosperity and to eliminate dictatorship, the United States was up in arms, intervening in Nicaragua's internal affairs,

appropriating \$20 million to eliminate the revolutionary régime and trying to incite Nicaragua's neighbours against it, because the United States wanted to "preserve" human rights in Nicaragua, that is, to keep its people in a state of starvation, homelessness and poverty. These are "human rights" for the Nicaraguans; they should be starving and naked. These are "human rights", according to the United States criteria.

75. Yesterday the representative of the United States stated we are living in an extraordinary world. We are truly living in an extraordinary world when a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, violates the Charter and intervenes in the internal affairs of small countries, depriving them of their most rudimentary rights. A week ago, the United States decided that Libyan students at American universities majoring in nuclear energy or aeronautics must change their majors within weeks or face expulsion from the United States. This is "democracy and freedom". Why? Because the United States does not want the Arab nation to progress in any scientific field. It wants the Arabs, as portrayed by the American mass media, riding camels across the desert.

76. On United States orders, Israel bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor because the United States was disturbed over the progress of Iraq in the field of nuclear energy. Iraq must remain undeveloped and Libya must remain undeveloped. These are "human rights", according to the United States criteria, the law of the jungle.

77. The loss of more than a million lives in Viet Nam, massive devastation and genocide in Viet Nam, the use of bacteriological weapons—these are "human rights", according to the United States Administration's criteria.

78. In Iran Mossadegh nationalized the oil industry. Therefore, he had to be killed, in accordance with United States criteria, since he said "no" to the United States Administration. The Mossadegh Government was actually overthrown because he wanted to harness Iran's oil in the service of the interests of the Iranian people. The Khomeini revolution broke out against United States imperialism. Therefore that revolution must be destroyed because it prevented the multinationals from exploiting Iran's wealth.

79. Indeed we are living in an extraordinary world. We would have believed that power is usually accompanied by rationality and reason, and not by recklessness. We expected that there would be respect for the sovereignty of States. The United States cannot face what it must face. Therefore, it has to achieve successes through the small countries. President Reagan goes aboard a United States aircraft and proudly declares that "We shot down two Libyan airplanes". This is really a great achievement for the greatest Power in the world, the United States, to shoot down two Libyan aeroplanes.

80. The United States has always intervened in the internal affairs of other countries, even in the small countries like El Salvador, where it tells them they must conduct elections before the end of the year and must change the

laws of their courts. It intervenes even in those countries which the United States Administration considers friendly. The United States has no friends. The word "Yankee" in Latin America is synonymous with evil and Satan. A great nation, the American nation, and its great people are exploited by its Administration in the service of evil. The name of America in the third world, in Africa, in Palestine, has been blackened.

81. There are more than 2 million Palestinian refugees, many of whom are daily killed with United States weapons. The Palestinian is not a human being, according to the United States criteria, and the same is true of the black man in South Africa and even in the United States. We are living in a truly extraordinary world.

82. They say that on such-and-such a day in Nicaragua you arrested a number of people, even though those people were considered guilty of conspiracy, a major crime according to American criteria. I do not want to speak of any country adjacent to Nicaragua, because I believe that these States, just like the people of Nicaragua, are victims of the American Administration and American aggression.

83. This is the established policy of the American Administration: intervention, aggression, military bases, and even neighbouring countries have not been spared from having conditions imposed upon them. One country had to provide sites for testing, another had to provide bases. They now have bases in the Mediterranean and in neighbouring countries, bases for aggression, bases for provocation and intervention. This is the American policy.

84. But when we say "no", or when a small people says "no", that people must be destroyed and annihilated.

85. All of the non-aligned States, more than 100 countries, condemn American policy. If I were in the American Administration, I would say to the American people that these countries condemn the United States and that there is room to change American policy in order to align it with the interests of peoples and not to put it in the service of dictatorships.

86. The human person is "respected" and his dignity preserved in El Salvador and Chile now, despite United Nations resolutions, but human rights are "violated" in Nicaragua—the logic of the jungle, the logic of the lamb and the wolf, the logic of colonialism, the worst kind of colonialism witnessed in history.

87. I believe this American policy represents a malignant cancer in the world. Just as the peoples of the world stood in solidarity against nazism, today they must stand in solidarity against United States imperialism. We call on countries which were victims of direct interference in their internal affairs—that is, Viet Nam, Laos, Afghanistan, Iran, Libya, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, Chile and Egypt. All are victims of American aggression and American intervention in their internal affairs. It is an American policy aimed at starving

peoples and imposing dictatorships all over the world. I personally believe that a great nation like the American nation understands history. It supposedly has experts who tell it that history teaches lessons. Well, what happened to Somoza? What became of Batista? Batista was 90 miles away from the American coast, and the United States could not save him. He was doomed because the Cuban people decided to liberate themselves. When peoples are resolved to liberate themselves they do so regardless of opposition by the big Powers. The Vietnamese people, a small people that was subjected to the most cruel, vicious war any people could be subjected to—the bombs that were dropped on Hanoi and on Viet Nam exceeded in number those that were dropped during the Second World War—triumphed and American imperialism was defeated. This is reality; this is history.

88. I want to ask the representative of the United States of America if perhaps she can tell us what is a human being in the view of the American Administration. Is it only the American that is a human being? The black man in South Africa is despised. This is of no concern to the United States Administration. The blacks in America are persecuted. We cannot hear a news bulletin on any American television station that does not contain distortion of the black image in America. All crimes and murders inside the United States are attributed to the blacks, which is an attempt to distort the image of the black man and to instil a complex in the minds of the citizens. When my own children look at American television, they are influenced by this continuous distortion of the black man.

89. Are these human rights? As I said, the statement by the United States representative [2420th meeting] itself is a condemnation of the United States for its intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua. We must assume our responsibilities; we must not say only to the weak: "You have made a mistake"; we should say that to the strong also. We had hoped that power would act as a moral deterrent, but power with the United States Administration is a process of intervention, blackmail and provocation against the whole world.

90. If we the peoples of the third world and the non-aligned countries today fall victim to American aggression, you in Europe will in future fall victim to that aggression; you will be exposed to such dangers and to such malignant cancers. Nicaragua today is a victim and we must stand by it and support it regardless of our relations with the United States. These relations must not serve as a pretext not to stand on the side of right and justice. Let us clearly condemn the United States. It is not the policeman of the world, as I said the last time I spoke here [2416th meeting], and it is not the judge of the world. It is not at all up to the United States to define human rights criteria. The American Administration should be the last to speak of human rights, for it violates them everywhere, including in the United States itself.

91. The daughter of the late Allende of Chile asked for a visa to visit the United States in order to speak before a conference, and she was turned down. Is this human rights?

Is this democracy? This is an abuse of democracy; this is an abuse of human rights.

92. I want to emphasize that my country stands firmly with the people of Nicaragua and with the other friendly peoples of Latin America which are also victims of American aggression, just as we are. The least we can do under these circumstances is to stand with them in solidarity.

93. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): Sir, I should like to start by saying that I am pleased, as is my mission, to see you presiding over this meeting. I congratulate you and I congratulate your predecessor for the way in which he conducted the affairs of the Council.

94. My statement will be brief, and I intend to confine myself to the subject which is on the agenda of this Council.

95. Once again the Council has to deal with a complaint by the Government of Nicaragua [2420th meeting], just as it had to in March and April of last year [2335th to 2337th, 2339th, 2441st to 2343rd and 2347th meetings]. Although we have received often contradictory information on the actual situation in the area, there is no doubt that the situation has considerably worsened since last year. We have witnessed an escalation of incidents between Nicaragua and its neighbours, an escalation that has resulted in increased human suffering, the loss of human lives and the disruption of societies in that war-torn Central American region.

96. In view of the serious nature of the events brought to its attention, it seems only appropriate that the Council has decided to consider the request by the Government of Nicaragua at the earliest possible opportunity. Has not this Council, under Article I of the Charter of the United Nations, explicitly been assigned the task

“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace?”

97. The Government and the people of my country are gravely concerned about developments in Central America, which risk endangering international peace and security in the area.

98. Members of the Council are aware of the strong commitment of my country to the promotion of human rights. It goes without saying that considerations of this nature affect our relations with the countries of the Central American region as with those of other regions of the world. At the time, therefore, the Netherlands welcomed the downfall of the Somoza régime as a major step towards the establishment of a more democratic and just society in Nicaragua. In an effort to help the new Government of

Nicaragua overcome the considerable social and economic problems confronting it, our two countries have initiated an important programme for development co-operation. Then, as now, my country fully appreciated how difficult it was, and always will be, to change a society characterized by social structures that no longer serve the aspirations of its people. However, we cannot remain blind to the fact that developments in Nicaragua since the overthrow of the Somoza régime have sometimes been at variance with the expectations raised by that event.

99. My delegation wishes to appeal to the parties concerned to seek, as a matter of urgency, a negotiated political solution, a solution based on the principles of non-interference, non-aggression, sovereign equality and self-determination. Nations should be free to choose their own form of government, and there is therefore no justification for imposing revolutions on other peoples. Neither is there any justification for supporting efforts aimed at the destabilization of existing Governments through covert operations in co-operation with internal resistance movements. Moreover, any political solution should provide for the gradual withdrawal of foreign military advisers from the region.

100. Given the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and security, and given the rights of States to live in peace and security, there is every justification for an involvement of the Council in these issues. In this respect, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, in which he recommends the establishment of a wider and more systematic capacity for fact-finding in potential areas of conflict.⁶ A request to the Secretary-General to report on the actual situation in the area concerned seems to be appropriate to my delegation. We should not overlook, however, the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter providing for the settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements.

101. We attach special importance to the peace initiatives proposed by the countries in the region, and it is with approval that we have noticed that in yesterday's debate the representatives of the countries directly involved in the conflict showed their willingness to resume talks on the basis of these regional initiatives. Finally, the involvement of the Organization of American States, in our view, might be helpful in finding a solution to the conflict.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/38/68, annex.

² General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

³ General Assembly resolution 35/192.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, First Committee*, 1149th meeting.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting, para. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/37/1), p. 3.

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