

UNITED NATIONS



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2339th MEETING: 29 MARCH 1982

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2339th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 29 March 1982, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Charles M. LICHENSTEIN
(United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2339)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 19 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14913)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

1. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I wish to inform members of the Security Council that the President of the Security Council regretably finds it impossible to attend this meeting. In view of the desire as expressed in consultations this morning to proceed this afternoon with a meeting on the item before us, I shall preside over this meeting of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 19 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14913)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [2335th and 2337th meetings], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Cuba, Honduras, Mexico and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Roca (Argentina), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Carias (Honduras), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc

Dung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Grenada, India, Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mozambique, Nigeria, Seychelles and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Iran), Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased to congratulate Mrs. Kirkpatrick, President of the Council for the month of March, on the diligent manner in which she has been carrying out her tasks, which has been of great benefit to the Council's work.

5. The delegation of Panama also wishes to express its sincere gratitude to Sir Anthony Parsons for the excellent work he did while he was President during the month of February.

6. Taking part last year in the general debate at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly,¹ the President of the Republic of Panama, Mr. Aristides Royo, devoted special attention to the situation in Central America, emphasizing the seriousness of the crisis and warning of the danger that the crisis would worsen if negotiated political solutions to put an end to conflict in the region were not urgently found.

7. Unfortunately, definite progress on the path towards solutions has not been made, and we find ourselves today faced with an exacerbation of tensions and a growing deterioration in the political climate of the region, which may endanger international peace and security.

8. Panama, which is linked to the peoples of Central America by geographical, historical and cultural ties, but especially by unflinching brotherhood, regards the critical situation they are undergoing as though it were its own, and expresses its readiness to make a constructive contribution to the solution of the problems of the region, which are also our own.

9. We have listened with great interest to the statement by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra [2335th meeting], as well as to the statement of the representative of the United States, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick [*ibid.*]. My delegation firmly believes that as a starting point it is essential to have the strictest adherence to and observance of the fundamental norms of international coexistence embodied in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and further developed by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, when it adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security² and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.³

10. In this connection, we attach special importance to the right of peoples to self-determination, to full respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, to sovereign equality among States, to non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, to the non-use or threat of use of force in international relations, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and to the right of every people to determine and freely promote its political, economic, social and cultural system. Today more than ever before that set of principles acquires the force of a categorical imperative that all States are obliged to heed in the interests of peace.

11. In the view of my delegation, Central American problems are not implants from the East-West confrontation, nor can they be resolved in such a context or through meddling with the poles of that dichotomy. We consider it artificial and facile to ascribe the social and political crisis in Central America today to foreign influences or infiltration, in an effort to disregard or conceal its true, deep causes, peculiar to each country, which have to do with dramatic imbalances and social injustices and the situation of poverty and oppression endured by its peoples.

12. It is precisely the struggle of the peoples of Central America to change those circumstances of exploitation and serfdom and to win social justice, human dignity, freedom and democracy that is the characteristic feature of the process of change in Central America.

13. Referring to this question in his statement to the General Assembly of 30 September 1981, the President of the Republic of Panama pointed out that:

"The key to the solution of the immense problems that overwhelm the large majority of the countries of the third world lies in the fact that true peace is indivisible from social justice. Wherever there is want, disease, ignorance and unemployment, wherever there is hopelessness, there will be violence in one form or another: the violence of hunger, uncertainty, homelessness, the violence of privileges and the violence of those who uphold them by refusing to make the necessary changes and, finally, the violent rebellion of the wretched and the forgotten who can no longer wait forever for peaceful change."⁴

14. My delegation continues to believe that conflicts and regional tensions can still be solved by means of an ensemble of negotiations and political commitments that would avoid a greater degree of confrontation, the scope and consequences of which would be disastrous for the region, the continent and the world.

15. In this connection, my Government expresses its support for the peace initiatives proposed by the Government of Mexico, which we believe offer a valuable starting-point whose further development would permit movement towards solutions that would be encouraging and constructive for détente, peace and development in the region.

16. We have also taken note, with great interest, of the peace proposal made last week by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras [S/14919, annex]. That proposal and the five-point proposal by the Government of Nicaragua [S/14891] confirm our conviction that there is a common desire to find peaceful solutions to Central American conflicts.

17. We are aware that the attainment of just and lasting solutions requires a clear political will on the part of the parties, expressed through a continuous and systematic negotiating process in which the spirit of compromise must replace mutual recrimination and constructive dialogue must replace verbal belligerence.

18. In our view, there is only this choice: confrontation or negotiation. In principle and in practice, Panama rejects confrontation as a means of solution, and it therefore does not subscribe to the policies of force, threats or blockades, or any other form of coercion or direct, indirect or covert intervention in Central America or anywhere else in the world.

19. We unequivocally stand for political negotiation. We remain convinced that negotiated political solutions for the differences between Nicaragua and the United States entail no risks for the national security or real fundamental interests of the United States. To the contrary, pursuing a policy of confrontation or attempting to impose a specific formula by force or from outside entails serious risks for the security and the interests of the United States as well as of all the countries of the region.

20. On previous occasions, the Government of Panama has outlined some points that, in its view, should be taken into account in the conclusion of an agreement between the States of Central America and the Caribbean, regardless of their differences, with a view to bringing about détente and regional stability. In certain aspects, they are the same as some recent proposals, but we feel it appropriate to reiterate them once again.

21. There must be established a system of agreements for détente among the nations of Central America and the Caribbean, by means of specific and multilateral commitments to non-intervention in the internal affairs of each of them and respect for the self-determination of each country's internal system. That entails, by means of specific and various measures, respecting the territorial borders between the countries and their respective sovereignties and not contributing in any way to the destabilization of the region or the internal system of any of its components or permitting territory to be used for the launching of destabilizing actions against other countries, for arms trafficking or the training or transit of combatants.

22. It is essential to negotiate a military and political non-aggression and non-interference system with the participation of all Central American countries without exception, as a basis for halting the arms buildup in the region and initiating an agreed process of general disarmament. A corollary must be the reduction of their respective military budgets so that those resources may be channelled towards the solution of the pressing social problems and the economic development of each of the countries and of the region as a whole.

23. The solution of the structural causes of conflicts requires that every Central American country guarantee the existence of a democratic, pluralistic and multi-party system. This implies periodically holding popular elections in order to guarantee the free and certain participation of all social and political sectors, and the enforcement of the results. Another condition is the effective existence of human rights and political and social rights.

24. Panama believes that the further development of these ideas should in due time lead us to a major initiative. In this regard, Panama proposes the holding of a conference for Central American peace, security and co-operation which would be attended by all the Heads of State and Government of Central America and the heads of Central American armies. That initiative should culminate in a multilateral system of détente, neutrality, peace, co-operation and development. In keeping with its commitment to amphitonic beliefs, Panama offers itself as the venue of that historic conclave. Holding such a meeting would be in the best Central American traditions as forged by the fathers of our country.

25. Further steps towards the attainment of these initiatives are needed, given the worrying news of proposals to recommend the emplacement of foreign troops in some Central American countries and air and naval bases in others. To this we should add the recent carrying out of military manoeuvres in the Gulf of Mexico by forces belonging to an extra-hemispheric military pact.

26. Of particular concern to Panama is news of the alleged use of bases within the Panama Canal Zone to support, execute and co-ordinate actions against other countries of the region.

27. In this regard, Panama has repeatedly stated that the use of defence sites within the Panama Canal Zone must be limited to protecting and defending the inter-oceanic waterway, in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Panama Canal Treaties.⁵ Therefore, Panama wishes to point out that using the territory of the Panama Canal Zone for purposes and activities different from those agreed upon would entail a violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, as well as of the régime of neutrality of the Panama Canal, and would call for clear condemnation by the Government and the people of Panama.

28. My delegation has no doubt that it is up to the Council to uphold the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. The Council must exercise this authority and play its constructive role. This is another opportunity for the Council to do so. It must contribute to ensuring that the United States and Nicaragua find a solution to their disputes by peaceful means. We are certain that the path of reason and dialectics has not been exhausted. The parties must make progress towards that end with flexibility and mutual respect. The higher interests of peace demand that.

29. With the right which comes from having been part of the struggle of the people of Nicaragua and the right which comes from our traditional friendship with the United States, we call upon both to enter into an open and respectful dialogue leading to a negotiated political settlement of their differences. We invite them both to take the road of conciliation and understanding which, although difficult, will always be the best.

30. As recently stated by the President of the Republic of Panama: "With valour and with persistent determination, men will not only face the storm but emerge from it with pride and self-respect."

31. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since this is the first time I have spoken at an official meeting of the Council this month, may I request you, Sir, to convey to Mrs. Kirkpatrick my congratulations on her assumption of the presidency. Since this debate began, we have become familiar with her qualities, and I am sure

that the Council will successfully conclude its work under her enlightened guidance.

32. I should also like to say how much we valued the presidency of Sir Anthony Parsons during February. His universally recognized competence and diplomacy, which my delegation has had occasion to appreciate on a number of occasions in the past, made it possible for the Council fully to discharge its duties.

33. I have listened with great attention to all previous speakers in the present debate, in particular Commander Daniel Ortega, the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, who came here to set forth the reasons which prompted his Government to call for the convening of the Security Council.

34. I have also studied with great interest the arguments advanced by Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the distinguished representative of the United States.

35. I should like to take advantage of the presence here of the representative of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua to tell him how much sympathy was aroused in France by the courageous struggle of his people to throw off the Somoza dictatorship and my country's awareness of the sacrifices this cost them.

36. The situation in Central America is too serious for those countries attached to peace, particularly ours, not to be concerned about the most appropriate way of ensuring tranquillity and strengthening democracy in that part of the world.

37. It is thus that we understand the anxiety felt by a number of American States, including the United States itself.

38. We also understand the fear that Nicaragua, as well as other countries in the region, may have regarding their national independence and territorial integrity. Every country has an absolute right to peace and security, and it is to preserve this right that the Council should bend its efforts.

39. France, which is the sincere friend of all countries in that area and which has particularly excellent relations both with the United States and with Cuba, cannot claim to speak for either the peoples or the Governments directly concerned in attempting to find a solution to problems which everyone has agreed are complex. This does not prevent us from stating our point of view, from being active and from supporting the efforts being made in this area in order to solve the problems that have arisen there. My country is always prepared to involve itself in joint efforts to help maintain international peace and security, to respect for the principle of the self-determination of peoples, to the solution of international economic and social problems, and to respect for democracy and human rights. These aspirations or these goals, to-

wards which the efforts of the international community should be directed not only in Central America but also elsewhere in the world, are the very purposes of the United Nations as stated in Article 1 of the Charter.

40. Thus, for example, the French Government published on 28 August 1981, jointly with Mexico, a declaration on El Salvador [S/14659, annex] and, also together with Mexico, co-sponsored resolution 36/155 on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, adopted on 16 December 1981 by the General Assembly. Now as then, the restoration of peace and the forging of democracy in that country necessarily presuppose the participation of all its representative forces.

41. My Government is aware of the seriousness of the situation in Central America and considers that it is by negotiation, by refraining from the use of force and by the reduction of military forces in that region, as well as by external economic assistance and structural reforms, that tension can be reduced. That is why the French Government fully subscribed to the peace proposals which were presented on 21 February by President López Portillo. Similarly, President Mitterrand felt that the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which was put forth on 25 February before the Organization of American States (OAS) by President Reagan, was along the right lines.

42. The situation remains disquieting; that the Council should have been seized of it is fully warranted.

43. In my delegation's opinion, the Council could call upon the Secretary-General to follow developments in the area, investigate the charges made by both Nicaragua and the United States and report back to the Council within a fixed deadline of either two or three weeks.

44. My delegation is firmly convinced that the serious problems prevailing in Central America can be solved only if the political will to do so is shared by all States and all parties concerned, without any external interference, in a spirit of international co-operation and respect for everyone's independence.

45. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet Union supported Nicaragua's request to the Council in connection with the tense situation existing in Central America. We fully appreciate and indeed share the legitimate concern of the Government of Nicaragua in view of the ongoing acts of aggression which create a threat to the independence and sovereignty of the countries in that part of the world.

46. The Soviet delegation, like everyone in this room, listened very closely to the very cogent and weighty statement made by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Reconstruction of Nicaragua,

Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra. We fully agree with his just and well-developed argumentation, which convincingly demonstrated the justification of the Government of Nicaragua's request to the Security Council, a body which bears the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

47. The numerous facts which he adduced attesting to the action undertaken by the United States against Nicaragua are evidence of the presence of a direct threat to the independence and sovereignty of that country. With the connivance of the American authorities, there are military training camps in Florida operating for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries who have frequently carried out armed incursions into the territory of Nicaragua. Similar camps are to be found in Honduras, where the former Somozists are arming themselves to the teeth and are being equipped with the direct participation and assistance of the United States. Washington has set up air and naval bases on the territory of Honduras. United States warships are cruising off the coasts of Nicaragua. Nicaragua airspace has frequently been violated by American reconnaissance planes. All these and many other facts, as adduced in the statement of Mr. Daniel Ortega, provide incontrovertible evidence that armed intervention is being prepared against Nicaragua.

48. At the same time, something else should be noted. The Nicaraguan people are justifiably concerned about the provocations which have been organized against them. Nevertheless, the statement by the Co-ordinator of the Nicaraguan Junta contained a number of constructive and positive elements. He stated quite unambiguously his readiness to seek a political settlement to the dangerous situation in Central America.

49. We have also listened to two statements made by the representative of the United States [2335th and 2337th meetings]. Neither of those statements essentially made any attempt to rebut the facts, which indicate broad and overt intervention on the part of the United States in the affairs of Nicaragua. Furthermore, the representative of the United States even confirmed the fact that Nicaraguan airspace has been violated. True, by a strange logic these overflights were described as if they were some sort of natural phenomenon, or something practically consecrated by international law. One does not need a great deal of imagination to realize how the Government of the United States would react if such overflights were to be carried out by Nicaraguans over the territory of the United States.

50. One further point deserves to be made. In the Nicaraguan statement, there was nothing pertaining to the internal affairs of the United States. The representative of the United States, however, devoted a considerable part of her statements to thoughts about the purely internal affairs of Nicaragua. Does that not indicate that interference in affairs which are

purely of the internal purview of sovereign States has become a habit with certain Governments?

51. The processes going on in Central America and in the Caribbean are extremely complex. The peoples of that region have for a long time now been waging a stubborn struggle for their political, economic and social liberation, for the elimination of semi-feudal régimes and the domination of oligarchies. A struggle is being waged for a life of dignity, for bread and for land. The peoples are attempting to bring just land reforms into effect. Unfortunately, the situation in Central America has been complicated by the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the sovereign countries of that region. An eloquent example of this is precisely the situation which has arisen around Nicaragua. The situation in the Caribbean and in Central America has been clearly exacerbated because of the intention of the United States to undertake practical action to carry out the threats which are continually being uttered against Nicaragua by Washington under various pretexts.

52. The aggressive and interventionist policy of the United States against Nicaragua is part and parcel of its overall policy of increasing international tension and escalating threats against independent States in various parts of the world. This American policy is senseless and extremely dangerous for peace.

53. In connection with the item under consideration, the Soviet Government would like to express the hope that the United States Administration will, in the final analysis, realize that the reliable way to bring about and further develop relations between States is not through stepping up tension and making the situation deteriorate as a result of thoughtless actions with regard to a number of countries, including Nicaragua, but rather through respecting sovereignty and removing discord, where it exists, by peaceful means.

54. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, referring to the deteriorating situation in the Caribbean and in Central America, made the following statement on 9 March:

"We are deeply convinced that here as well, the way to peace and security is to be found not by one State imposing its will on another, but rather by actual respect for the right of every people to build its life in the way it sees fit. This, as we see it, is precisely the purpose of the peaceful and constructive proposals recently made by the Government of Nicaragua.

"That is also the purpose of certain ideas put forward by the President of Mexico, who expressed anxiety at the present situation in that part of the world. We fully understand that the leaderships of

Cuba and Nicaragua have seen in these ideas an attempt to ease tension in Central America. This would also help to serve the cause of universal peace. The Soviet Union favours such an outcome."

55. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his talk with the Ambassador of Mexico on 15 March, once again expressed support for the peaceful initiatives put forward by the President of Mexico.

56. The Soviet delegation supports the appeal made in the statement by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Mr. Daniel Ortega, to the Security Council to express its clear-cut support for a peaceful settlement to the problems of Central America and the Caribbean, its rejection of the threat or the use of force and its condemnation of any intervention in the affairs of Central American States.

57. Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I am speaking during the period when Mrs. Kirkpatrick is presiding over the work of the Council, it is a pleasure for me to convey to her the warmest congratulations of my delegation on her assumption of the presidency and on the skill with which she is conducting our proceedings. Could it be otherwise? Her impressive intellectual powers as a university professor together with the humanism that characterizes her have allowed her quickly to grasp the usage and customs of diplomatic life and have made of her the talented and worthy representative of a country with which my country maintains good relations of friendship and co-operation.

58. My congratulations are also addressed to Sir Anthony Parsons, who left his imprint as a skilled diplomat on the Council last month, when he served as its President.

59. Speaking for the first time before the Council last January, I stressed my country's determination fully to assume its responsibilities as a member of the Council. Those responsibilities proceed from those conferred upon this body by the Charter of the United Nations, and the most important of them is the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus, my delegation could not remain silent about the complaint by Nicaragua concerning the situation in Central America—a situation which contains the seed of a possible conflagration.

60. In that region of the world, each of the States involved in the conflict claims to be right. The various protagonists offer on all sides increasingly conclusive and convincing proofs concerning the ill will of one or the other in connection with living in peace with its neighbour. Unfortunately, those proofs are all hotbeds of tension, factors which unequivocally threaten the tranquillity of the region. There have been reports of acts of violence, of torture, of murder, of

the suppression of fundamental freedoms and, in particular, of threats of aggression.

61. For that reason Togo is concerned, and my delegation would like to recall that violence elevated to the point of a system to govern relations among nations constitutes a serious danger to peace. All peoples, everywhere, should be free to express their political choice without any foreign interference.

62. Togo, a country deeply attached to peace and freedom, believes that relations between States should be based on respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and on principles of non-interference, good neighbourliness, non-recourse to force and the peaceful settlement of disputes by means of negotiation—principles contained in the Charter to protect the inalienable rights of all peoples. All States, whether they be large or small, rich or poor, and whatever their political régime, by signing the Charter or adhering to it, freely committed themselves to respecting and defending those principles.

63. That is why Togo joins its voice to those of all other nations that love peace and respect the principles of the Charter to ask the Council to invite the parties concerned to search for a negotiated solution to the situation obtaining in that region of Latin America. As has been rightly stated by General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, President of the Republic of Togo:

"The people of Togo ardently wishes peace and progress for itself and for all the nations. That peace must be real and must contribute to the effective emancipation of our different nations. That is why, faced with the disarray in our world which threatens the international equilibrium, Togo has always advocated recourse to fraternal dialogue and permanent consultation in seeking in peace just solutions for the tragic conflicts shaking our world, which every day result in the loss of human life."

It is to such dialogue, to such consultation, that I call upon the parties involved in the complaint brought by Nicaragua to resort.

64. In that connection, various provisions appear in the Charter. Thus, in Chapter VI, entitled "Pacific settlement of disputes", Article 33 stresses:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

As one can see, paragraph 1 of Article 33 of the Charter opens the way for recourse to regional agencies or arrangements as a framework for dialogue.

Indeed, Chapter VIII of the Charter, in Article 52, paragraph 2, states:

"The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council."

65. One cannot be unaware of the existence of the OAS, of which almost all States of the region concerned are members. Those States can therefore apply Article 52, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. The parties must say whether their dispute has already been the object of settlement efforts within the OAS. If that is the case, the Council must take the necessary steps to bring the parties to apply the provisions of Article 33. If that is not the case, it will be up to the Council, in accordance with Article 52, paragraph 3, to encourage examination of the situation by the OAS.

66. In the framework of Article 52, paragraph 2, we should, however, ask ourselves about the local character of the situation in that region of Central America, bearing in mind the interests and the countries involved there. Paragraph 4 of Article 52 states that Article 52 in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter. Now Article 34 of the Charter leaves open the possibility of the Council's investigating any dispute or any situation which might bring about disagreement between nations or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. And Article 35, paragraph 1 states that any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council.

67. Such is the situation before the Council. Two options are therefore available to the Council in finding a solution to the question brought before it by Nicaragua. My delegation hopes that the Council will act in accordance with its responsibilities.

68. In conclusion, my delegation calls upon all States to observe the principles of the Charter more strictly. In order to safeguard their independence, their sovereignty and their freedoms, which are continuously threatened, all States must pool their efforts on behalf of peace. Only in those circumstances will their peoples be able to develop fully, with freedom and dignity, and attain the happiness to which they aspire.

69. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate Mrs. Kirkpatrick on her assumption of the high office of President of the Council. We hope that under her guidance the Council will be able to achieve concrete and positive results in its work during the current month.

70. I should also like to express our gratitude to Sir Anthony Parsons for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's work during the month of February.

71. The reason the Council is meeting today is the serious increase of tension in Central America, threatening peace and stability in that region and, consequently, in the world at large. I do not consider it necessary to describe in detail the situation which led the Government of Nicaragua justifiably to request the urgent convening of the Council, since preceding speakers have already done so in a very comprehensive manner.

72. We all listened with particular interest and attention to the address by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, which concluded in a convincing and moving appeal for peace in Central America. I take this opportunity to express to the heroic Nicaraguan people Poland's admiration for their determined efforts to rid their country of the legacy left by the oppressive dictatorship of Somoza and by his neo-colonialist sponsors, a legacy of economic underdevelopment, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and social injustice.

73. While my country is located far away from Central America, we cannot remain indifferent to threats to peace and international security, wherever they may occur. I should like to stress the following points in that context.

74. First, there is evident tension in the relations between the United States and Nicaragua, affecting the security of Central America and of the Caribbean Basin. The causes of this crisis have been spelled out in detail by Commander Ortega Saavedra. From a flood of high-level pronouncements by a number of United States officials and a large-scale propaganda campaign against Nicaragua, it escalated to include such dangerous actions as violations of Nicaragua's airspace and acts of sabotage. Likewise, we cannot remain indifferent to the mass media reports of paramilitary forces being recruited, trained and used in sabotage raids against various important targets in Nicaragua, with the short-term objective of disrupting the economy and with the ultimate goal of overthrowing the revolutionary popular Government in Managua.

75. Secondly, we wish to observe that the causes of the civil war in El Salvador and, in a broader context, the tensions and upheavals in some other countries of the region are deeply rooted in internal issues, such as economic backwardness, extreme social inequalities caused by narrow oligarchies, poverty and unemployment. These factors, nevertheless, did not arrest the striving of peoples for the affirmation of their independence and national identity. We abhor the suffering and massacres of innocent people in El

Salvador, entangled in a devastating civil war, and we share the belief expressed by a number of speakers that a just solution to the problems facing that country must be found by its people themselves through negotiations with the patriotic forces and without outside interference.

76. Thirdly, we disagree with the tendency to see events in Central America as a result of—imaginary—Cuban, Nicaraguan or other influences. We belong to those who, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Mr. Jorge Castañeda, wrote in an article published in *The New York Times* of 10 March 1982, “[assess] the situation, not as an ideological tug-of-war between East and West, but as a popular struggle for bread and justice.”

77. The steady increase of tensions in the region of Central America constitutes a clear threat to international peace and security. The unchecked continuation of that situation, which could escalate into a full-fledged armed conflagration, would seriously affect the normal conduct of international relations, already endangered as they are by mounting pressure and confrontationist policies. We therefore deem Nicaragua’s request of 19 March [S/14913] for the convening of the Council to be fully justified. The Council should consider the question with all the attention its gravity calls for.

78. There is no sensible alternative to a peaceful solution of the crisis in the region, taking full account of the changes that have taken place there as well as of the legitimate aspirations of the nations of Central America and the Caribbean. All those nations should be allowed to enjoy fully their sovereign right to determine their political, social and economic systems without any external interference, as set out, *inter alia*, in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 31/91 of 14 December 1976, entitled “Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.”

79. The most elaborate and up-to-date presentation of that concept can be found in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session of 9 December 1981. It solemnly declares, *inter alia*, that

“No State or group of States has the right to intervene or interfere in any form or for any reason whatsoever in the internal and external affairs of other States”.⁶

In further elaborating on the basic meaning of this fundamental norm of international law, the Declaration unequivocally stipulates:

“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 . . .”⁷

80. There exists a vast array of bilateral and multi-lateral mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and it is for the States concerned to choose one from among them by a common accord.

81. It is in that spirit that we have supported the initiative of the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo, who has offered the good offices of his country in the search for peaceful coexistence, the strengthening of the principle of good neighbourliness among States and the enhancing of the security of all the countries of the Caribbean Basin. Likewise, we welcome the willingness to negotiate with the Government of the United States expressed by the Governments of Nicaragua and Cuba, which was mentioned among the nine points set out in the address of Commander Ortega Saavedra [2335th meeting, paras. 75-83]. We are convinced that those nine points constitute a realistic and constructive starting-point for a peace-making process in the region.

82. A pronouncement by the Council for decisive action along those lines, coupled with its reaffirmation of the principles of non-use of force and non-intervention, would undoubtedly contribute in a tangible and meaningful way to the discharge by the Council of its primary responsibilities in the search for a peaceful resolution of the conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean Basin in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

83. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

84. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People’s Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I presented my credentials two weeks ago. My first official act in the United Nations is to speak today in defence of the cause of the people of Nicaragua, once oppressed and humiliated, but today free, independent and worthy of respect. Indeed, it is a signal honour for the entire Lao people and for me to perform this highly humanitarian act.

85. Laos and Nicaragua are geographically far apart, but our two peoples are closely linked by the same oppressive colonial past, the same desire to live in peace and the same aspirations to freedom and independence. By their resolute self-sacrificing revolutionary struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Lao people and the Nicaraguan people, like the peoples of Cuba, Grenada, Viet Nam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and so on, have one by one achieved genuine independence, thus toppling the entire colonial and neo-colonial system like a house of cards. The time when powerful imperialism could willy-nilly lord it over the weak and poor countries is a thing of the past, because it is the people itself which forges history.

86. However, the imperialists have not yet given up their attempts at interference and aggression against

our countries and other peace-loving countries under the pretext of defending the so-called "free world" or of counteracting the so-called "communist threat". That is why quite recently, moved by an upsurge of desperation, they have been doing everything in their power to recover their lost positions. Thus, we have witnessed with grave concern the dangerous deterioration of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, which has been brought about by the imperialist policy of the Reagan Administration designed, on the one hand, to stem the revolutionary current and, on the other, to maintain that area which has been dubbed the "private property of the United States" under its sphere of exclusive influence, where it can play the part of international policeman—a role which has already long been outlawed by all peoples wedded to peace and national independence.

87. Thus, to achieve its sinister ends, Washington has actively bent its efforts to destabilizing the Governments of the countries in the region that have come out in favour of the full exercise of their right to self-determination and national independence, so as to topple them and replace them by compliant Governments. Hence, we have recently and unhappily witnessed various preparations and acts of military training, both in the United States itself and in the territory of their faithful allies. Those measures have been accompanied by slanderous propaganda orchestrated by the most conservative United States mass media. It is to those designs that the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries of the region are being subjected. In order to give courage and life to the reactionary forces which are gradually decomposing, they do not balk at overtly interfering in the internal affairs of those countries. The most notorious instance of this is El Salvador, where the purpose is to try and stifle once and for all the legitimate aspirations of its people to independence, freedom and dignity.

88. Let us not forget that the aerial bombings by the United States against the territory of Laos from United States bases located in that area, in 1964, were explained away by what the United States called the "existence of Vietnamese troops" or "the communist threat".

89. Let us not forget that to unleash the air war against North Viet Nam in 1965 the United States used as a pretext what it called the "provocations of Vietnamese motor-boats against United States torpedo vessels in international waters".

90. Let us not forget that the United States landing in Cuba in 1962 was explained by the so-called "Cuban threat against the security of the United States".

91. And there are many other examples. All this is the *leitmotiv* of all the arguments advanced to justify United States intervention and aggression against any country.

92. And now it is precisely the existence of this *leitmotiv* which explains the fact that in the United States there are camps to train mercenaries and counterrevolutionaries and that there has been an increase of subversive activities within Nicaragua. Furthermore, a day does not pass without United States Government officials making libellous statements about so-called "foreign military installations" in Nicaragua and about respect for freedom or democracy in Nicaragua, and statements threatening interference and aggression against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. These practices, which have now become customary and traditional for the United States and are intended to prepare international and United States public opinion, are quite properly to be interpreted as a precursor of imminent intervention and aggression on a large scale by the United States and its allies against the peoples of Nicaragua and other progressive countries in the area. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has on frequent occasions expressed its serious concern at this explosive situation, which poses a constant and serious threat to peace and security in the region and in the world.

93. This warlike posture of the United States Administration towards the people of Nicaragua and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean seriously jeopardizes the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and is an overt violation of the principles of non-intervention, non-interference, and non-use or threat of force in international relations. This violation is all the more serious and reprehensible in that it has been committed by the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility under the Charter of helping to preserve international peace and security. But the present attitude of that country has done nothing to help restore peace in that region; on the contrary, it has brought about a situation of constant tension, thus posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

94. In the face of this serious and imminent danger, it is only right and proper that the Council take up this vital matter as a matter of urgency, in accordance with its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Under its mandate, the Council is in fact the only body that possesses the necessary authority to find a peaceful solution to a conflict of international dimensions. In this connection, my delegation fully supports the initiative taken by the Government of Nicaragua in requesting the urgent convening of the Council to take up this matter, and we welcome the unconditional readiness expressed by that Government to co-operate fruitfully with the Council and with all parties concerned so that together they may find a political solution to the crisis which has so severely beset Nicaragua, Central America and the Caribbean. These wise proposals bear ample witness to the heartfelt desire of the Nicaraguan people to live in peace and good neighbourliness.

95. My delegation hopes that the United States is motivated by the same political will and is prepared to co-operate sincerely with all countries concerned in that region in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of this extremely serious issue. Furthermore, if the United States Administration is genuinely anxious to find a remedy to this disquieting situation, as it has often stated it is, it should immediately put an end to its policy of interference and aggression against the countries of Central America and the Caribbean and, in the name of peace in that area, should undertake serious negotiations with the Government of Nicaragua and give a positive response to the constructive proposals submitted by the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo, with the aim of solving by means of a negotiated settlement the fundamental problems of Central America and the Caribbean. These proposals, which are a fitting basis for a political solution of the problems of this region, have won widespread support among all peace- and justice-loving peoples of the world, including the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

96. In concluding, my delegation would like to reaffirm that the people and Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic feel deep solidarity with and have unshakable support for the just cause of the people and Government of Nicaragua, as well as their efforts at national reconstruction and their resolve to defend the impressive achievements of their revolution. The Council, for its part, should take the necessary steps to remove all these threats of direct or indirect aggression and seek to safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua as well as of the other countries in the region. Furthermore, it should reaffirm the duty of States to refrain from causing tension and levelling threats of intervention or aggression against other States to the detriment of both regional and international peace and security.

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

98. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): My delegation came here today to add its voice to those of the noble nations throughout the world that have promptly and resolutely condemned the constant premeditated acts of provocation and violation of airspace and territorial integrity of the sovereign and independent nation of Nicaragua. These are in violation of the fundamental principles of international law and the sacred principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Nicaragua is a member. The violation of these principles cannot in any way be conducive to good relations between nations—a basic element for mutual understanding and co-operation among neighbouring people and nations.

99. The People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to express its appreciation to the Government of Nic-

aragua for bringing this question before the Council for consideration. It is our sincere hope and belief that the members of this body will deal with this delicate issue in such a manner that the gloomy atmosphere threatening security and peace in certain parts of our world will be defused once again.

100. Having listened with careful interest to the statement made to the Council by Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, we believe that no one in the Council can fail to grasp the essence of the problem. We all know that lately Central America and the Caribbean zone has been one of the most critical foci of tension. It is a zone where the aggressiveness of imperialism has been sharpened in a vain attempt to change the march of history of the people of the region. We witness there a direct confrontation between the forces of peace and democracy and the forces of those who are defending the perpetuation of oppression, repression and exploitation of peoples.

101. The people of Nicaragua, for too long the victims of various manoeuvres and aggressive acts planned by the imperialists with the aim of impeding social changes that are now taking place in the country, have been denied the free choosing of their own destiny. Now that they are engaged in the arduous task of reacquiring their human dignity and rebuilding their economy, which was devastated in the years of the Somoza dictatorship, it is shameful to witness the negative reaction of those forces which claim to be champions of democracy and profess justice around the world.

102. The new United States Administration is trying to smash the triumph of the people through threats and economic aggression, even going to the extent of financing and training dissidents with the aim of destabilizing the Government of Nicaragua.

103. The People's Republic of Mozambique, in condemning these acts of violation, intends to remain consistent with the key principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

104. For us in southern Africa in general and in Mozambique in particular, this is not a new phenomenon. In our own region, we live in a similar situation. The South African minority racist régime is encouraged and revitalized by imperialists to intervene in the neighbouring countries where the advocates of imperialism and colonialism look upon our freedom and liberty to choose our own destinies as an affront to their scheme to perpetrate slavery and *apartheid* in the area. Encouraged by its supporters, the illegal régime of South Africa continues to challenge the international community through its occupation of Namibia and by constantly launching armed aggression against some of the front-line States and other States of the region—as was the case with Seychelles.

105. The same situation can be observed in the Middle East, where the aggressiveness of the Zionist régime of Israel is a constant threat to the sovereign Arab States. South Africa's racist régime and Israel are pursuing the same objective of destabilizing their respective regions with the intention of depriving the people there of all forms of development.

106. The People's Republic of Mozambique considers that the United States Administration should put an end to its threats against Nicaragua as well as against the other countries of Central America and stop supporting the South African racist régime. This action would help safeguard international peace and security.

107. The Government of Nicaragua has stated publicly four basic elements in the seeking of peaceful solutions to the tense situation in Central America. They can be found in the annex to the document circulated under the symbol S/14908 of 17 March.

108. The People's Republic of Mozambique feels that the United States Government should accept the goodwill of the Governments of Nicaragua and Mexico and others and engage in serious talks to find an adequate solution to whatever misunderstanding exists in the region.

109. We feel that the United States must respect the right of a people to choose its own social, economic and political system of development. At this stage of the twentieth century, we think that any State should be scrupulous enough not to repeat the mistakes of the era of colonialism.

110. We of the People's Republic of Mozambique, for one, would like to see the Government of the United States stand on the side of justice in the cases of Central America, South America, the Middle East and southern Africa.

111. The People's Republic of Mozambique believes that at its present series of meetings the Council will take adequate measures to find the right means to overcome the conflict and lead to a constructive and positive dialogue. In so doing, it will concur with the appeal made by the people of Nicaragua through its highest representative.

112. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports the proposals made by the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo, and considers them an important base for the beginning of negotiations.

113. We of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in reaffirming our total compliance with the principles of the Charter, will, as in the past, continue to contribute in the best possible way we can to the search for a just solution to the serious problems that confront the world today.

114. The People's Republic of Mozambique would like to express here its firm and unequivocal support for and solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua.

115. The people of Nicaragua, like our own people and the other peoples of the world, want peace, co-operation and harmony, and continuously struggle to achieve the goal of progress for the whole of mankind.

116. As long as the national sovereignty of States is threatened within southern Africa or elsewhere in the world, the cry of my people and Government will continue to be "*A luta continua*".

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

118. Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria): It is a great honour for my country to be invited by the Council to speak at this meeting. For me it is also a personal honour and an occasion of special significance, this being my first statement in any debate in the Council.

119. Having said that, I would request you, Sir, to pass my congratulations on to Mrs. Kirkpatrick on her assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. The way she has handled the deliberations of the Council since the beginning of the month, a month in which matters of conflicting interest and importance have emerged, is impressive. She has none the less carried out her responsibilities with great tact and diplomacy.

120. During February, we witnessed the greatest art of diplomacy, characteristic of British, when her predecessor, Sir Anthony Parsons, was President. I should like to place on record my great appreciation of the manner in which he handled the job.

121. I have no doubt that under the leadership of Mrs. Kirkpatrick the Council will in this particular case arrive at a reasonable and realistic decision that will give the Council credibility in the international community.

122. Mr. President, I thank you and the other members of the Council for permitting me to make this statement on behalf of Nigeria on the situation in Nicaragua.

123. I must say emphatically that in seeking permission to contribute to the debate it was not Nigeria's intention to apportion blame or to condemn one side or the other. What is needed now is not recrimination, which can only exacerbate tensions, but a concerted effort within and outside the Council to get the United States and Nicaragua to resolve their dispute through dialogue. The situation which has been created by the dispute between Nicaragua and the United

States has spilled over to the whole of Central America. Peace and security in that vital region of the world now seems to be in serious danger of being actively undermined.

124. In the last couple of weeks, Mexico has worked actively and fervently to mediate between the two sides. Its efforts deserve the highest commendation, and it is my hope that peace will be given a chance to succeed in Central America.

125. Now, what are the elements of a durable peace in Central America? The first basic condition is that the use of force in the present dispute must be abjured by all the parties concerned. Similarly there must be no attempt to secure a settlement through threats to use force or an invasion of Nicaragua. The second element of a durable settlement is a commitment by both sides to engage in direct talks with the objective of securing a negotiated settlement. It should be noted that Nicaragua has made a public declaration that it is ready for direct talks with the United States. A similar declaration from Washington would be most welcome indeed. The third element necessary to bring much-needed peace to the region is a multi-lateral commitment by all the States of the region to a basic policy of non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

126. It is my conviction that the primary cause of much tension throughout the world today is the mistaken notion of some Powers that through the use or threat of use of force they can control events in international relations, and thereby force weak or small States to develop only along a predetermined line or to act in a manner considered to be beneficial to the imagined interests or security of the big Powers. Yet, as recent events have shown, the concept of power and the application of force have become outdated in international relations. Military power is no longer the sole determinant of relations among States. There are other important elements of a non-military character that determine how States relate to one another. Many developing countries are no longer willing passively to accept the dictates of the big Powers. They crave for themselves the same freedom to determine their own destinies as the big Powers enjoy. It is therefore essential that this simple fact be recognized and accepted as a basic element in international relations today.

127. Nicaragua must enjoy this freedom to develop along the lines and in the direction it has chosen for itself. It is the people of Nicaragua that must determine its destiny, and not outsiders.

128. It is not necessary to approve of Nicaragua's internal policies in order to concede to it the freedom to decide its own future for itself. Nicaragua must have the freedom which others claim for themselves. Nothing less than that—and this applies to all the countries of Central America—will bring peace to the region.

129. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish first of all to congratulate Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick on her assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I also wish to express our appreciation to Sir Anthony Parsons, representative of the United Kingdom, for the talent and skill with which he discharged his duties as President for the month of February.

130. We have listened very attentively to the address made by Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, and the statements made by representatives of various countries. The Chinese delegation wishes briefly to state its position with regard to the current situation in Central America.

131. First, the turbulence and tension now prevailing in Central America have caused wide concern in the international community. The Chinese Government and people too are deeply concerned with the developments in that region.

132. Secondly, over a long period of time the Central American peoples have waged unremitting and arduous struggles to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, free themselves from external interference, control and exploitation, achieve social justice and progress, develop their national economy and improve their livelihood. Under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the people of Nicaragua waged a heroic and dauntless struggle and finally succeeded in overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship rule in 1979. This is a victory for the Nicaraguan people, whose just struggle has won the sympathy and respect of the Chinese people and peoples of various countries in the world.

133. Thirdly, in the interest of alleviating and removing tension in Central America and the Caribbean area, President López Portillo of Mexico recently put forward a constructive proposal. This initiative on the part of Mexico has received serious attention from the international community and is welcomed by all parties concerned. During the meetings in the last few days, it has been correctly pointed out by representatives from some non-aligned countries that there are profound internal and external factors behind the Central American problem and that it is imperative, for the elimination of tension in the Central American region, strictly to abide by the principles stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations, the established norms guiding international relations and, in particular, the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, non-interference and non-aggression, non-use or threat of use of force and negotiated settlement of disputes between States. They have also made the just demand that the super-Powers not bring the Central American question into the orbit of their rivalry. They ardently hope that a negotiated settlement to the

present disputes can be found. We maintain that these propositions and demands from the non-aligned countries are reasonable and their proposals positive; they should therefore be considered and treated in all seriousness.

134. Fourthly, the Chinese delegation deems it necessary to stress that in order to ease and remove tension in the Central American region it is of paramount importance to eliminate all interference from outside. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries in Central America should be respected, and the questions concerning the Central American countries should be settled by the peoples of that region. We are firmly opposed to all forms of intervention in the affairs of the Central American countries, wherever they may come from and under whatever pretext. Only when intervention of various descriptions, aggression, the threat of use of force and infiltrations are halted and eliminated can the turbulence in Central America be relaxed.

135. Fifthly, with regard to the differences and disputes between the Central American States, we hold that as these countries all belong to the third world, there is no conflict of fundamental interests among them. We hope and also believe that the countries concerned will be able to solve their differences and disputes through consultations and negotiations, free from outside interference and in accordance with the norms guiding relations between States, as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular the principles of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

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

137. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): In the first place, I want to ask you, Sir, to convey to Mrs. Kirkpatrick my delegation's appreciation for having so kindly granted our request to address the Council on the very urgent question before it. I would also ask you to convey our congratulations to her on her assumption of the presidency for the month of March.

138. I also wish to put on record our gratitude to Sir Anthony Parsons for his effective guidance of the affairs of the Council during the month of February.

139. The Council is deliberating on the question before us at a time when the threat of war is greater in several parts of the world than at any period since the Second World War. This very unpleasant and intimidating reality has very grave implications for nations large and small, rich and poor. In the Central American and Caribbean regions, the threat of war is especially excruciating, since we the peoples of that region have been subjected to some of the most barbarous tyrannies that have beset the world.

140. As a consequence, this series of meetings assumes greater significance. Our collective responsibilities are all the more ponderous because millions of people, in primitive agricultural communities as well as in industrialized societies, are looking towards the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, as the ultimate guarantors of peace.

141. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada does not view this series of meetings as an opportunity to impugn Governments and peoples, but rather as a historic vehicle for reaching a common understanding. We see these meetings of the Council as critical and opportune—not for the purpose of writing additional chapters in the book of hate, but rather for recommencing the noble task of writing fresh chapters for peace, understanding and co-operation.

142. I speak in the name of a Government and people whose faith in the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations is deathless. We are steadfast in the belief that peace is attainable. We are convinced, however, that there can be no peace without justice. Peace and justice have as an indispensable prerequisite the unconditional acceptance of ideological pluralism and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. Peace will forever be an illusion, a dream, if confrontational politics and cold-war sloganeering supplant dialogue and rational and mature judgement. No one is entitled to dictate to another, and we resent the attitude on the part of some who sermonize about their acceptance of ideological pluralism and the right to self-determination while at the same time attempting to isolate, victimize and destabilize those with whom they disagree. There can be no peace when the powerful seek to foist their will upon the weak. There will be no peace if we allow ourselves to believe that the revolutionary processes unfolding in Central America and the Caribbean originate somewhere else.

143. The people of Central America and the Caribbean need peace. We, the sons and daughters of Bolívar, Martí, Sandino and Fedón, who for centuries have been pawns on the diplomatic chessboards of insensitive outsiders, make this legitimate demand: that we be given the chance to become the masters and mistresses of our own destinies. Our people do not possess the means to glorify and romanticize war. To us, war is not the logical extension of politics. War spells death and destruction.

144. The Nicaraguan people—and, indeed, all people of conscience in Central America and the Caribbean region—are incapable of making war. Centuries of domination and oppression have left them famished and emaciated. A people so brutalized abhor war; a people so victimized do not have any zeal for war; a people so desirous of changing the realities of hunger, disease, malnutrition and all the other attendant manifestations of underdevelopment and backwardness are incapable of starting a war.

145. My delegation listened attentively to the comprehensive and illuminating presentation made before this body on behalf of the Nicaraguan people and all the peace-loving people of our hemisphere by Comandante Daniel Ortega Saavedra. We were deeply touched by his eloquence and honesty because we in Grenada know no people in our region who understand more fully the pathos of war than the heroic people of Nicaragua. We are therefore honoured to add our voice to the appeal made by Comandante Ortega that

"the Security Council . . . issue an explicit pronouncement, in line with the Charter of the United Nations regarding the obligation to seek by peaceful means a solution to the problems of the Central American region and the Caribbean, and . . . call on the Council to reject all acts of force or threats and to repudiate any direct, indirect or covert intervention in Central America." [*Ibid.*, para. 87.]

146. I also avail myself of this opportunity to salute the historic initiatives taken by the Governments of France and Mexico in efforts to bring peace to our region. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada has publicly endorsed the Franco-Mexican initiatives for a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador [S/14659, annex]. The Government of Grenada has announced its support of the framework for peace unveiled at Managua on 21 February by the President of Mexico. Our gratitude to the President of France and the President of Mexico is eternal.

147. At this juncture, my delegation deems its appropriate to remind the Council of the proposals for peace and security in Central America and the Caribbean issued by our Government. Since the La Paz meeting of OAS in 1979, we have consistently called upon that body, together with the United Nations, to declare the Caribbean a zone of peace. We once again issue an appeal in order to get urgent Latin American and Caribbean support to achieve the following: first, prohibit the introduction of nuclear weapons in the region; secondly, stop all aggressive military manoeuvres; thirdly, dismantle all foreign military bases that exist in our area; fourthly, establish machinery to deal with all forms of aggression, including assassination, propaganda intervention, diplomatic and economic aggression and mercenary invasion. It is the considered view of my Government that the Council should make a definitive pronouncement on the question of the use of mercenaries. The recent experience of the sister nation of Seychelles serves as a dire warning that certain Governments face serious challenges from hired dogs of war.

148. Today we feel impelled to rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace. Despite the dark clouds over our region, we are not discouraged or pessimistic. I assure you, Sir, and the members of the Council, that my Government will do whatever is possible for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in our region. Let us give peace a chance.

149. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

150. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Mr. President, please convey to Mrs. Kirkpatrick that through our respective appointments as heads of missions, the Republic of Seychelles and the United States of America share a common recognition of the ability of women to serve in important diplomatic posts.

151. I should also like to congratulate the representative of the United Kingdom on having served as President of the Council last month. The United Kingdom has been most supportive of the Republic of Seychelles during its time of need.

152. The matter at present being deliberated upon by the Council is most disquieting to the Government of Seychelles. Indeed, information we have received from various sources, including a wide cross-section of the international news media, does make us apprehensive about the possibility of a foreign military intervention in Nicaragua, not excluding recourse to mercenaries.

153. In fact, it was no doubt the reality of such military confrontation in the region that led the French and Mexican Governments to state in their joint declaration of October 1981 their categorical opposition to such a reckless course of action.

154. The threat of foreign military intervention in the Central American region, and even in the Caribbean, deeply preoccupies the people and Government of Seychelles. Not long ago, the Republic of Seychelles was the target of foreign mercenary aggression. We now know for sure that at least the Pretoria régime was implicated in this vile attempt to destabilize the Seychellois people in their chosen path of political and socio-economic development. Possibly the current trials of the mercenaries will throw more light on the involvement of others in this despicable foreign aggression against an independent and sovereign State. It is also hoped that the current news blackout of the trials will not continue.

155. The Council, in the case of the mercenary aggression against Seychelles, did assume its responsibilities on 15 December 1981 in a manner indeed becoming of the judicious role it is called upon to play in the fostering of peace in the world and of the right of all sovereign States to territorial integrity. It is hoped that those responsibilities will be carried out.

156. It is the sincere wish of the Government of the Republic of Seychelles that in the case now being discussed the Council will likewise duly assume to the full its responsibilities. This question concerns the whole international community, and it must therefore be resolved under the auspices of the United Nations. To attempt to treat it at another level would be grossly

to underestimate the consequences of foreign military intervention in the region.

157. Injustice, poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy cannot be solved by foreign troops. History has proven time and time again that a people's revolution cannot be quelled by dominance from others. Equally, history has also shown that revolutions cannot be exported. A people rises against political, economic and social conditions it finds oppressive. Revolution is an indigenous battle: a people fights for a cause; mercenaries, paramilitary forces and others fight only for money. No country is fostering any revolution or insurrection in El Salvador: it is the people there, rising against oppression. Nicaragua has its own projects and development plans to right the wrongs of decades of dictatorship and oppression, wrongs that were supported, unfortunately, by certain Powers.

158. The Government of the Republic of Seychelles fully supports the principle of a negotiated political solution to alleviate current tensions in the region and to avert a foreign military intervention. Indeed, much goodwill and effort have already been channelled towards such a solution, in particular by some States of the region, allowing the Government of Mexico to act as their go-between. However, it is now imperative that direct negotiations take place between the parties concerned. The Government of the Republic of Seychelles calls upon the Council to encourage such a decision.

159. My Government is confident that reason will prevail in resolving this problem, and appeals to all States concerned not to lose sight of their obligation to foster peace in the world in order to save humanity from another holocaust. Victims of aggression deserve all the concern, sympathy and care of the international community.

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

161. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): Mr. President, I should like to thank you, and through you, the other members of the Council for affording me this opportunity to address the Council.

162. I should like at the outset to felicitate, through you, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the representative of the United States, with which my country has friendly relations, on her assumption of the presidency for this month. Her academic achievements and intellectual sophistication, as well as her integrity and forthrightness, are well known to all here, and we trust that those qualities will serve her well in discharging her onerous tasks.

163. My delegation has undertaken to speak during the present debate not without some serious introspection. Our constant avowal of the objectives and

principles of non-alignment makes it incumbent upon us to support the newly emerging countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their efforts to eliminate the vestigial economic and social undertones of colonialism which still affect them, and to reinforce the foundations of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as their unequivocal adherence to their foreign policy perspectives, untainted by any preconditioning of bloc attitudes. At the same time, it is our profound conviction that nothing should be said or done which could further exacerbate latent animosities, regional or interregional, or project the problems that confront the nations of Central America on to a wider international canvas. If anything, our purpose is to counsel restraint and to encourage a serious effort to defuse tensions in the area of Central America. The broadening of controversy by involving extra-regional and global forces can only further complicate an already difficult situation in that part of the world.

164. I should like to reaffirm in this connection the position adopted by the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, who, at their meeting at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981, noted with concern the tension prevailing in certain parts of Central America and the Caribbean, which threatened the national independence of some States and the peace and security of the area. The Ministers at that time urged all States to adhere scrupulously to the principles of the non-use of force or the threat of force, of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and of respect for the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region and for the right of all States of the region to be free from any interference or external pressure of any kind. Referring to the pressures directed against Nicaragua, the Ministers affirmed the need to respect the independence and national sovereignty of that country, free from any kind of interference in its internal affairs.⁸

165. This concern was once again voiced at a plenary meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in New York on 14 December 1981. Those countries, after hearing a statement by the representative of Nicaragua and taking into account the views expressed by other representatives as well as available information, expressed concern over the gravity of the general situation in the region and appealed to all States, within as well as outside the region, to refrain from any interference in the internal or external affairs of independent countries in that region. The non-aligned countries recalled the duty of all States to adhere to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, non-use of force or the threat of use of force in international relations, and peaceful settlement of disputes between States, as well as the duty to respect the right of all peoples to choose their own political, economic and social systems, and to refrain from causing tension among States to the detriment of regional and international peace and security.⁹

166. The process of decolonization in the region of Central America and the Caribbean is in its final stage, but the evolution of political structures and attitudes in the region has unfortunately led to sharp confrontation. Tensions and conflicts in the area have emerged because national developments have been perceived by others as being directed not so much by the genius of the people as by extra-territorial political and economic impulses.

167. True revolutionary change must come from within, and cannot be fomented or sustained from without, even as genuine democracy cannot be implanted or cultivated merely from outside. The sovereign will of peoples and nations will prevail over any external force. Intervention is intervention, whether it be from near or far, overt or covert, acknowledged or otherwise, and it is impermissible; it will inevitably bring on its own retribution.

168. Given the facts of history and geography, regional peace and stability can be built, not merely on an acceptance of shared aspirations, but also by giving full scope to a pluralism of political values and systems; nor can it be served by the exclusion of one or another State from the mainstream of regional development on one ground or another.

169. The Government of India believes that the present situation in the region should not be allowed to deteriorate and pose a threat to international peace and security. As a non-aligned country, we are firmly opposed to interference and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States. All nations should be left to deal with their own problems, and all concerned should make every effort to resolve issues through peaceful negotiation.

170. The proposals recently put forward by the President of Mexico appear to have evoked a positive response all round. It is our hope that the necessary political wisdom and goodwill will be forthcoming to work for a negotiated political solution which will ensure respect for the principles of the Charter and take clearly into account the political realities in the region, as well as the interests of all the States of the area.

171. This debate in the Council will have been in vain if it inflames passions, deepens mistrust and ends in mutual recrimination. We urge that consideration by the Council should be constructive, directed not away from but towards a dialogue for greater understanding and reconciliation.

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

173. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Iran): I take refuge in Allah, from Satan the accursed. In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

By the declining day

Lo, man is in a state of loss

Save those who believe and do good deeds, and exhort one another to truth and exhort one another to endurance.

174. I have listened to the retaliatory statement delivered by the representative of the United States in response to the statement of Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua—a very convincing statement indeed. I found the United States representative's statement also interesting in some respects, particularly when she launched upon the psychological analysis of her opponent, instead of concentrating on the main issue. In my delegation's view, such psychological analyses were very attractive many, many years ago when the representative of the United States took an introductory course in psychology as a young lady in a college. Their validity was already being questioned about 19 years ago, when I was doing my second degree at the American University of Beirut. I hope that the representative of the United States did not really intend to base her arguments here upon outdated Freudian psychology and that of his followers, or upon the American psychology of behaviourism, which experiments with mice and pigeons and produces general statements about man, who is the caliph of God, the vice-gerent.

175. Psychological categories—such as negation, reaction formation, displacement, identification and others—are simply categories in each of which the representative of the United States can put anybody, even herself, without discerning any understanding of the nature of man or of the very vital political issues which concern all of us here. The representative of the United States may also know that many psychologists, as well as sociologists, in the Orient do not attach any significance to the psychological and sociological theories of the West. Moslem scholars who confine their psychological investigation within the framework of the Islamic cosmological doctrine are some of them, and Professor Soran of India, of whom representatives might have heard, is a great sociologist and another example.

176. Moreover, the whole approach of the representative of the United States was, I believe, wrong. For what would be the consequences if other speakers were to launch upon analysing her psychology instead of tackling the main issue, or what if each of us worked out some sort of psychological model for the other and everybody found fault with everybody else's psychology? I am glad that only the representative of the United States did that.

177. That was said for the information of the representative of the United States.

178. My delegation would have been very interested in some comments on the economic connection

to the rest of the world, an issue which seems to me more pertinent to the American threat to Nicaragua, and to the keen interest of the representative of the United States in so-called democracy in El Salvador—comments that she did not in fact make.

179. The fact is that all small nations are struggling to get rid of the imperialist hegemony. We were one of them, as the representative of the United States knows, and even since our Islamic Revolution, United States policy has never left us alone. The United States press occasionally revealed some immoral and illegal connections between the United States Administration and all the anti-revolutionary groups, with the remnants of the SAVAK—with whose name I am sure the representative of the United States is familiar—with the Munafiqeen, the fedayeen, the Monarchists and the Iraqi Baathists. Fortunately, co-operation with all of them ultimately brought disillusionment to United States policy towards my country, simply because the United States Administration does not know what a revolution is. Too much reliance upon psychological analysis and on facts collected from the ignorant and upon socio-political interpretations which may be good in some classroom situations may not, I am afraid, help. It is true of the American approach to our Islamic Revolution, as well as to the revolution in Nicaragua and to other revolutions that may come in the mainstream of the national struggle for independence and self-determination.

180. I am sure that the representative of the United States has read *The War without End* and *Uncloaking the CIA*—very good books. I am sure she knows what the CIA [United States Central Intelligence Agency] means to the oppressed peoples. It is the CIA strategies which have brought the Administration of her country the honorary title of “Great Satan”.

181. The general pattern of United States foreign policy is to bring mercenary régimes to power, to support them—as the United States did with the Shah—and to keep them in power in order to have access to the markets of the third world, on the one hand, and to their raw materials, on the other. And as soon as the people start their struggle for independence, the United States calls them Communists and other names—which do not necessarily fit in all cases. The United States is not and cannot be the international gendarmerie. No one has commissioned the United States Administration to be the international peace-keeping force. The whole population of Nicaragua is probably four times smaller than the number of addicts in the United States, and yet the representative of the United States considers Nicaraguans a threat to international peace in Central and Latin America. Why? Do not the United States statesmen have enough problems at home to solve? If I may adopt the same method of psychological analysis—relevantly, of course—is not the United States Administration projecting the internal problems of that country to the rest of the world?

182. Why is it that in every international problem outside the United States, that country is somehow involved in one way or another? Why do not Americans keep their good country independent of so many international problems? They have enough land, enough oil, enough natural resources, enough manpower, enough railroads, enough planes, enough airports, enough food and enough bombs if they want to destroy all of us; and I am sure they have enough problems to solve just inside their country.

183. The country has all the natural beauty and all the bounties of Allah within it. Please tell us where the starting-point of American contentment is, so that others can start their independence from there. There are so many oppressed nations longing for independence and self-determination. What does the representative of the United States think they should do? What would she do if she were a wise, loyal Persian Moslem, with full commitment to God and His commands? What would she do if she were a Palestinian? What would she do if she were a Nicaraguan? What would she do if she were an African subject to *apartheid*? What would she do if she were Indian, Red Indian, Afghan, Pakistani, Chinese or of any other nationality? What honestly would the representative of the United States here uphold, were she not an American, in the speech she made last night? Would she honestly uphold the same position that she did in her lecture? And how would she then comment on the CIA with all the knowledge she has about it? The problem is that American pragmatism justifies any means for the end. American epistemology holds that if it works it has to be true. As soon as the United States Administration finds an idea workable in the direction of its aim, however materialistic and greedy, it simply implements it, no matter how many innocent people—great saints and spiritual masters like Ayatollah Motahari, Ayatollah Madeni, Ayatollah Dostghaib, Ayatollah Beheshti and hundreds of others, many of them over 85 years of age, old scholars and pious people—may be martyred. They do it because for them the truth is anything that works, and the means justifies the end.

184. United States policy-makers have to reconsider their entire philosophy of life, and I believe that if the Council had the power to impose a strong resolution upon the United States, it would still be useless because the problem is not simply a political problem. It is not a matter of producing a strong resolution. It is a cultural, religious, economic, social and historical problem characteristic of particular imperialistic countries, that is causing trouble for the whole world. So a resolution might not be the final solution. In this connection, I do not want to overlook other materialistic philosophies which are as bad, but, believe me, the fact is that the American philosophy is awful.

185. American history books say that the President of the United States is the leader of the world. They teach American children that Americans are the model

for all humanity. American leadership justifies all interventionist situations by using the shallow greedy statement that America has interests in the rest of the world. On what justification should America have interests everywhere?

186. If American society shifts slightly from pragmatism towards realism, then other nations are struggling for freedom—freedom as they understand it. Whether Mrs. Kirkpatrick's system likes it or not, they are going to do it. And they have every right to do so. The United States Administration needs to try to understand this point and not to waste any effort on achieving the incorrect.

187. On the basis of the foregoing, my delegation requests all the good members of the Council to take whatever steps are necessary to end American intimidation and intervention in Nicaragua.

188. I should like to ask the President to urge the United States Government to reconsider the fundamental issues underlying the foreign policy of his country.

“Give the good tidings to those slaves of Mine who listen to the word and follow the best of it.”

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 20th meeting.

² General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV).

³ General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 20th meeting, para. 24.

⁵ Panama Canal Treaty and the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal (see *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII, No. 1999 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 483-496).

⁶ General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex, para. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 2, part II, subpara. (c).

⁸ A/36/116 and Corr.1, Political Part, paras. 99-100.

⁹ See A/37/59, annex I.