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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2341)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 19 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14913)	1

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2341st MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 30 March 1982, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mrs. Jeane J. KIRKPATRICK
(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/2341)

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 5.05 p.m.

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)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [2335th, 2337th and 2339th meetings], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Cuba, Grenada, Honduras, India, Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mexico, Mozambique, Nigeria, Seychelles, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia 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. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Carias (Honduras), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Iran), Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of El Salvador, the German Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Sri Lanka and the United Republic of Tanzania 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. Rosales Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, since my country is speaking for the first time in public during your presidency, we should like to reiterate here what we have already stated during our private meetings: that is, that in the discharge of your responsibilities you may rely on the support of the Spanish delegation. It is rare that we have the opportunity to have a distinguished lady such as you presiding over our meetings. We should like to wish you every success and, of course, the courtesy due you and your rank as a Minister of the Government of the United States and as a Permanent Representative of the Council and President of this important body.

4. I should also like to express thanks for the skill demonstrated by the representative of the United Kingdom, my friend Sir Anthony Parsons, and for his work in the Council. We are very sorry that he will soon be leaving us. His country is a rich one, whereas my own is not so rich. It may be that the United Kingdom can afford the luxury of allowing a person of Sir Anthony's capability, ability and skill to retire. My hope is that we shall soon see him at some other post and entrusted with other political tasks, and that he will not be allowed to languish in tranquillity and inactivity, but will rather be kept in the heart of the battle — "at the cannon's foot", as we say in Castilian — where his ability and skill merit his presence.

5. I should also like to reiterate my gratitude to the Soviet Union for having presided over the Council

during the month preceding the United Kingdom's service. The truth is that the Security Council has not been inactive, but, quite to the contrary, has been extremely busy. Nevertheless, one of the most important characteristics of the Council is that work silently accomplished in private meetings is often more effective than that done in public meetings. In any situation, however, it is always necessary to air the problems that afflict the world, and that is why we are meeting on this occasion.

6. Upon the request of the Government of Nicaragua, the Council is studying the situation affecting that country and, in a broader context, the entire Central American region. In recent days, we have heard the statement by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Mr. Ortega [2335th meeting], and the statement made by the Council's President as the representative of the United States [*ibid.*], as well as those made by representatives of other Governments, all rightly concerned at the recent changes in the specific situations of the countries of that region.

7. The Government of Spain has on previous occasions expressed its concern, which it shares with other Governments, at the deterioration of the situation in a part of the world with which it feels so closely united by bonds of history, culture and shared aspirations. My Government regrets that the development of events has pitted against each other or could lead to confrontation among countries to which we are linked by what we hope will be ever-growing co-operation and friendship.

8. On behalf of my Government, I wish to state clearly at this time the basic lines of our stand with regard to the problem now being considered by the Council.

9. First, the Government of Spain deems unacceptable any type of intervention or interference in the internal affairs of States in violation of the sovereign will of peoples. This is a basic principle of Spain's foreign policy, and one that we regard as a universally applicable norm. There can be no exceptions to this principle, for that would be tantamount to opening the way to a disintegration of the very foundations of international order. The Government of Spain, therefore, stands ready to condemn any attempt at interference in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. Secondly, the Government of Spain is prepared to support and to do all in its power to achieve steps towards peaceful solutions to this or any other dispute. It cannot be denied that a situation of tension exists in the Central American region. But recognition of this should lead immediately to an unequivocal determination, on the part both of the countries concerned

and of those that in one way or another can lend their support, to resolve that situation of tension by peaceful means. Nothing should deter us, and we must base ourselves on the premise that through negotiations understanding is always possible. We must reject solutions of force that, as history has demonstrated, contain the seeds of their own failure. In a word, it is through constant and patient dialogue that we can hope to achieve a formula for a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned.

11. In this connection—and this is the third point I should like to bring out—we are aware of the efforts of some Governments, and especially that of Mexico, to find formulas that may make it possible to reconcile the various points of view in this dispute. In the present debate we have also had the opportunity to hear the constructive ideas of the Governments of Honduras [2336th meeting] and Panama [2338th meeting], and particularly the latter's positive contributions to the search for a solution, which should be studied with the greatest attention. Although, owing to the very nature of the negotiations under way, our knowledge of these formulas is necessarily fragmentary, what we do know of them enables us to hope that it may be possible to reach a common ground for a negotiated solution that would eliminate the basic causes of destabilization, which are none other than social imbalances, injustice and repression, and to arrive at elements for an urgent solution, such as mutual guarantees of non-aggression and the exclusion of the use or the threat of use of force between neighbours.

12. The Spanish Government wishes once again to express its faith in the virtues of pluralistic democracy. The stability of Central America turns upon the same point as that of any other region in the world: on the necessary base of popular support, without which it is impossible to ensure social peace and respect for human rights.

13. We hope that the discussion of this item in the Council may contribute to clarifying the complexity of the situations we are considering, and that it may, with the extension of the principle of democratic government, the sense of freedom and the respect for legitimate interests, as well as with the exclusion of violence and interference, help to bring about an understanding that will dispel any shadow of threat to international peace and security.

14. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): First, Madam President, I should like to offer you my most heartfelt congratulations on two counts. First, I congratulate you on your extremely skilful, elegant and altogether human conduct of the presidency during this rather difficult month. The way in which you have done it has, I think, been a lesson to us more orthodox bureaucrats. Secondly, I congratulate you on the fact that today is 30 March and only another 36 hours remain for you to be in this very difficult position. It is, of course, an enormous pleasure to us

to have in the Chair the representative of the United States, a country with which our relationship goes back—I think it is exactly 370 years now, and to which we are linked by such close and elaborate ties, that are both indefinable in words and inextricable in practice.

15. I should like also to express my very warm thanks to all those members of the Council and non-Council members who have been so kind as to say nice things about my presidency last month. Having been absent from New York, I read those tributes with great gratification.

16. I was particularly touched by the tribute just paid to me by my old friend Jaime de Piniés. If he is right that my retirement is going to be postponed and that I shall have another diplomatic post to fill, I think that the excitement and interest involved in that will actually outweigh my longing for the more vegetative life of retirement, which I have desired now for over 40 years.

17. My delegation has listened to the succession of speakers in this debate with great interest. Despite appearances to the contrary, there is common ground amongst them, particularly amongst those most closely involved in the problems of the Central American region. There seems to be a clear wish for peaceful solutions. There appears to be a common desire for, to quote a number of speakers, negotiation and co-operation rather than confrontation.

18. However, I have to admit that my delegation does not view the arrival of this issue in the Council with enthusiasm. This is not because problems in the region do not exist: they clearly do. This is not because we are not concerned about these problems: though geographically distant from Central America, we are concerned about problems that afflict States in the region, with which we have a long history of friendship and co-operation. More important, we are concerned as a responsible member of the international community, and as a member of this council, about tension, instability or conflict, wherever these occur.

19. What we question is whether the airing the issues are being given in the Council will help to promote peaceful solutions. Many of the charges which have been levelled in the Council are more extravagant than any available evidence could conceivably sustain. Above all, there seems to be a need not for rhetoric in this Council but for negotiations between the main parties concerned. We support the previous speakers who have called on the parties to meet and pursue their discussions wherever this is likely to be most fruitful. This might be on a bilateral or regional basis, or in co-operation with other States in the region; it is not for the Council to specify which.

20. I now turn to the main allegation of the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua, Mr. Daniel

Ortega Saavedra. His letter of 18 March to the Secretary-General [S/14913] stated that an invasion of Nicaragua by the United States was imminent. On 25 March [2335th meeting], he claimed before the Council that the United States was preparing in a number of ways to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. But the United States Government has declared quite categorically, before the Council and elsewhere, that it has no intention of invading Nicaragua. The United States has responded favourably to suggestions that there should be direct talks with the Nicaraguans, and I am sure that it is only in such direct talks that the necessary atmosphere of trust can be created for the two countries to re-establish a relationship based on friendship and co-operation.

21. My delegation believes that all of the countries in the region must abide by the principle of non-interference. We are concerned by reports that some of them may be supporting violence and subversion in the territory of their neighbours. Any such activities must be halted if peace is to be established. We are also concerned at the military build-up in some parts of the region, where resources are so sorely needed for development programmes. The increases currently planned for the Nicaraguan armed forces, for example, seem to go well beyond any defence needs that country might have. We call on all the peoples of the region to reject violence as the means of achieving their social and political objectives. The death toll from the past four years in Central America has reached horrific levels. This week's issue of the magazine *The Economist* reports that since 1978 a total of 90,000 people have died in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, three countries with a combined population of 15 million. That is nearly one person in every 150, losses comparable to those sustained by my own country in the whole of the Second World War.

22. There is a crying need for vision and statesmanship in the region; there is a need for restraint; there is a need for the protagonists to understand better the legitimate and genuine concerns of their adversaries and to break out of the circle of charge and counter-charge. We appeal to all of them to look beyond the conflicts of their recent history, to leave behind the misery and trauma of the past few years, and to work together in exploiting the resources of the region for the benefit of all their peoples.

23. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): There is no need to state that there is universal agreement that a tragic and very explosive situation prevails in many parts of Central America and the Caribbean region. That consensus of profound concern is rooted in objective as well as subjective factors, exemplified by profuse blood-letting, suffering, insecurity and deprivation over the years—indeed, over the decades. The boiling-point has now been reached. I do not believe that anyone of goodwill, of whatever persuasion or ideology, can ignore or overlook such a bleak situation, which can never be resolved by anything other than peaceful and far-sighted means.

24. Jordan is deeply concerned about the events in the region for many reasons. First, as a loyal Member of this world body, Jordan is inherently and inescapably committed to abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which specifically mandate non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign, independent States either by overt or by covert means, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State.

25. No country in the world has any entitlement to create other countries in its own image, no matter how much more advanced it may be in consequence of historical evolution and development. The peoples and States of every region must be afforded the opportunity to run their own affairs, learning in the process and discovering by trial and error the most appropriate system for their own salvation. They might commit mistakes along the way, but the world was not created in one day. I do not know how long it took the "big bang" to take place, but at least the world was not created in one day.

26. Secondly, Jordan is deeply concerned over the rapidly deteriorating situation in the region because of its precious historical Spanish-heritage link and the sizable communities from our region—indeed, from our country—which have been there since the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and for whose welfare as loyal citizens of their new countries Jordan has the most sincere sentiments and hopes. We are proud that their loyalty is solely to the country of their choice.

27. Thirdly, Jordan, as a member of the Council, must necessarily be deeply concerned with regional and international peace and security. It cannot be simply parochial. This solemn obligation devolves upon Jordan as one of the members of the extensive continent of Asia as well as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose principal objective is to lessen international tensions wherever and whenever they may arise and to express its views with judicious and unprejudiced candour.

28. My delegation has listened with the utmost attention to the complaint presented to the Council by the Co-ordinator of the Junta Governing Council, Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, in which he enumerated covert acts of sabotage by mercenaries and threats of indirect intervention, in particular by the ousted and discredited Somoza fiefdom rule which the world has universally condemned because of its unbridled and ruthless selfishness, exploitation and oppression. Nicaragua has the right and the duty basically to alter a previously inhuman and intolerable situation, unhindered by fears of force or threats of force and in a manner compatible with its own declared aspirations, in the course of ousting a repressive régime.

29. Jordan has also listened to the serious misgivings expressed by the chief of mission of the United States:

they should be heeded, inasmuch as the States of Central America and of the Caribbean are the next-door neighbours of the United States. But this is all the more reason why a super-Power can afford to seek, and is in a position to do all in its power to join in, a dialogue and negotiations towards an understanding.

30. Nicaragua, as well as the United States, has expressed its willingness to do so. Let us all hope that this will take place with the utmost expedition. Indeed, it is already under way, directly and indirectly. There can never be a military solution to what are fundamentally socio-economic issues as well as respect for human rights and dignity, no matter from where violations may emanate.

31. If Israel, which is oceans away, is receiving close to \$3 billion per annum, surely a next-door neighbour, in the backyard of the United States, has no less an entitlement to assistance. Other countries in the world should also make their contribution, and I am not excluding any region. If this had been done courageously and on a massive scale, then we probably would not be meeting today to debate this seemingly—and I emphasize "seemingly"—intractable situation in Nicaragua and in other countries in Central America and the Caribbean. This is our hope and our prayer.

32. Let us turn a potential nightmare, to which we are subjected day and night in the mass media—in the newspapers, the headlines—into a glorious dream of good-neighbourly relations, prosperity and a zone of permanent tranquillity.

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

34. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Madam, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the high post of President of the Council for the month of March. We are convinced that your academic background, which gives you a broad perception of world problems, together with the experience that you have gained in your responsible function in the United Nations, will contribute to the successful outcome of the consideration of the important problem currently on the agenda of the Council.

35. At the same time, I should like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the President for the month of February, Sir Anthony Parsons, whose skill and experience greatly contributed to the work of the Council.

36. The Council has met to consider the tense situation in Central America, full of different kinds of conflict stemming from the long internal and external subjugation of the peoples of the countries in that region. This has generated deep internal contradictions, the solution of which the people have this time taken into their own hands.

37. The situation prevailing in Central America and in the Caribbean represents an anachronism in an era when the aspiration of peoples to emancipation, to the right to decide freely on their destiny, has become the predominant characteristic of contemporary development in the world. We are today witnessing ever stronger expressions of irrepressible strivings not only by peoples still under colonial rule and foreign domination and occupation, but also by all other peoples still living in the bondage of the past and of poverty, to create a society that will truly respond to their needs. Such an aspiration is evident in all parts of the world and is the moving force of humanity's progress.

38. The revolutionary changes in Nicaragua are the direct outcome of the struggle of its people to overcome the injustices of the past and to create a society in which all strata of the population will live in freedom and in creative effort towards the establishment of equitable relations.

39. The present division of the world into blocs leads to continuous rivalry under various pretexts and causes increased tension, first of all in the regions of direct bloc confrontations, often distorting the character of the problems whose origins are embedded in the authentic aspiration of peoples to change the conditions of their lives. Such a bipolar concept of the world is frequently the starting-point for claims to the right to intervene, whereby the global rivalry of bloc interests prevails over the inalienable right of peoples of various regions to self-determination, independence and equitable participation in international relations. This often leads to the suppression of indigenous and authentic social processes in various parts of the world. Sovereign rights of countries and peoples are violated, their freedom and territorial integrity are threatened and new hotbeds of crisis are created, jeopardizing peace and security in the world.

40. The situation in Central America as well as in the Caribbean region has become ever more exacerbated. We cannot but be concerned at the intensified violence, a whole series of conflicts, *coups d'état*, interference in internal affairs, the use of mercenaries, threats of military intervention and enormous loss of human life and material damage. There is no doubt that the consequences of such developments could bring about a wider conflict which would jeopardize the sovereignty and freedom of the countries of that region, with broader implications for the international situation as a whole.

41. Proceeding from the well-known principles and policy of Yugoslavia, we have always stressed the need for strict adherence to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and the inadmissibility of all forms of pressure, threats or use of force against sovereign countries, irrespective of their proponents and under whatever pretexts. For us there is not, nor can there

be, any principle in international relations which supersedes the right of every country to be the decisive and only arbiter of its internal system, way of life and path of development. No reasons can be accepted as justifications for the imposition of foreign will and given models of socio-political systems, regardless of the strategic, political, ideological or any other kind of cause for which they may be claimed. As long as such a practice and such behaviour exist in international relations, there will be no lasting peace or stability—either in Central America or elsewhere.

42. The policy of non-alignment, which was born in the struggle for the affirmation of such principles, stands for the elimination of such behaviour in international relations. Therefore, Yugoslavia, which consistently adheres to the principles of non-alignment, cannot remain silent when the freedom and independence of any country are threatened or infringed upon.

43. We consider the request of Nicaragua for the convening of a meeting of the Council to be in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the need for the United Nations to deal with such problems. Therefore Nicaragua, like any other country, has the right to turn to the organ which under the Charter has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. The objective of the Organization must be the alleviation of the situation through a search for a peaceful solution of the current problems in Central America.

44. The first and indispensable step in that direction is, we firmly believe, recognition of the necessity of avoiding a further deterioration and of assuring that all directly concerned factors—above all those that could possibly contribute to the solution of the situation in the region—demonstrate a full sense of responsibility, utmost restraint and realism in their behaviour.

45. It is obvious that the only possible way to find lasting and comprehensive solutions in the interest of both the countries of the region and wider stabilization is through negotiations, political dialogue and the settlement of all problems and conflicts by instruments of peace, in order to establish conditions under which every country and every people can freely develop their social and national being.

46. In that context, we consider that the positive programme presented by the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, undoubtedly constitutes a very constructive contribution to the efforts to find a peaceful settlement. His proposals are based on perception of the real causes of the crisis and on the search for realistic ways of solving it with full recognition of every authentic interest.

47. It is important that the proposals of the President of Mexico have received broad international support both in the region and outside it. It is also of

great significance that they come from a country of the region whose commitment to peace and friendly relations with all countries has been widely recognized. It is particularly encouraging that these proposals have been supported by the countries of the region that are most directly involved, particularly Nicaragua itself.

48. The realities of the region are both simple and complex. They are simple since countries and peoples have the right to free themselves from underdevelopment and social inequality; they are complex because of the involvement of factors whose negative impact can be overcome only through genuinely non-aligned action in defence of the right of every country, regardless of its geographical position, to free development. Here as anywhere else, consistent adherence to the principles and objectives of non-alignment offers the only lasting solution to the crisis.

49. We expect the Council to act in accordance with its responsibilities and to respond to the gravity of the situation by adopting a decision which will generate conditions for a peaceful solution of all the problems.

50. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

51. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): Madam President, may I extend to you my congratulations and good wishes on your assumption of the presidency for the month of March. We are confident that under your able guidance the Council will bring to a satisfactory conclusion the matter that is the subject of its present deliberations.

52. May I also express my delegation's appreciation to the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons, for the valuable services he gave during his presidency of the Council in February. I am certain that all his colleagues on the Council share the sentiment I should like to express: delight at knowing that the vegetative life for which he has been yearning must for the present continue to remain an aspiration.

53. The Council is engaged in considering the representations made by the Head of the Nicaraguan Government, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, about a serious situation confronting his country. The Council has heard you, Madam President, in your capacity as the representative of the United States, responding to those representations. The Council has also heard the views of other representatives, both from the region and beyond. There has scarcely been any dispute that the issue before the Council constitutes a threat to stability in Central America which, if escalated, would have implications for international peace and security.

54. There has hardly been a debate in this Council at which speaker after speaker has not recalled the principles which should govern inter-State relations.

They have been embodied in the very first two Articles of the Charter of the United Nations and elaborated in subsequent documents of the Organization, in the charters of regional organizations and in the declarations of the non-aligned. The absence of a recitation of those principles does not mean a diminution of our adherence to them. We thought it preferable to focus attention on the question that has brought this Council into session.

55. At the very outset may I say that the representations that are now before the Council, irrespective of their source, are matters which the Council does have the jurisdiction to entertain, examine and pronounce upon. My delegation can see no doubt or ambiguity in this regard, because whatever other arrangements there might be, bilateral or regional, for the peaceful settlement of disputes, no Member State of the United Nations can be expected to forgo its right to have recourse to the Charter and to this Council, which is its executive and enforcing authority.

56. The promptness with which you, Madam President, convened the Council over representations involving your own country and the hearing which is being given them are both a recognition of this right of Member States and a tribute to the great tradition of democracy for which the United States is known.

57. Nicaragua's contention before this Council has been that there is an imminent threat to its territorial integrity from the United States. As evidence of that, Nicaragua has cited a number of actions that have taken place or have been initiated in its neighborhood which, while being publicized in the media, have gone uncontradicted. However, we have heard you, Madam President, in your capacity as the representative of the United States assure this Council that there is no basis for this charge and that the United States Government has repeatedly stated that it has no intention of invading Nicaragua and has indicated its willingness to negotiate with Nicaragua.

58. At the same time, the Head of the Nicaraguan Government spoke of what we have also learned from the media: that there has been a series of meetings between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico and his counterpart, the United States Secretary of State, at which proposals made by both sides have received their active consideration. The Head of the Government of Nicaragua has acknowledged these proposals as an encouraging element. These exchanges have been confirmed to the Council by the representative of Mexico who spoke last Friday, 26 March [2337th meeting]. Since then, what awaits some finality is a date for the commencement of those negotiations.

59. For our part, we shall support any initiative that defuses the situation and expedites negotiations. Such negotiations will, we believe, reassure both Nicaragua and the United States, as well as the other countries in the Central American region, that there

will be a mutual and reciprocal application of the principles embodied in the Charter and elaborated elsewhere.

60. Pending the commencement of these negotiations, we would urge that all the States involved respond to the repeatedly expressed hopes of the international community that both in their words and actions they will exercise the greatest degree of restraint. We believe that, having come this far, our common objectives would be better served by avoidance of mutual recrimination which detracts from, rather than contributes to, understanding. It is in this same spirit that we ask that we avoid any attempt to pass judgement on the charges and counter-charges that have been heard.

61. In conclusion, may I say that in speaking at these proceedings in the Council we have no wish to condemn or revile any of the States involved in this matter; nor are we motivated by a desire to internationalize what some see as being exclusively a regional question. It has been brought before the Council because there has been no solution forthcoming from bilateral or regional forums, which in turn has led to a renewal of tensions. If the Council's attention results in a reduction of those tensions and apprehensions and ensures the commencement of negotiations, the time and effort it has expended will be worth while.

62. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin and Zambia 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. Soglo (Benin) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

64. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): On behalf of my delegation I wish to congratulate you, Madam, on your assumption of the office of President for the month of March. I am confident that you will preside over the Council's deliberations with success.

65. I should like also to express my delegation's appreciation to Sir Anthony Parsons of the United Kingdom for the successful manner in which he discharged his responsibilities as President of the Council last month. Of course Sir Anthony is aware that I shall not eulogize him as the representative of Spain

has done; the reason is that he already knows my delegation's attitude towards him. However, I am confident that the representative of the United Kingdom will convey my delegation's sentiments to him.

66. The Council continues to meet today in response to the request made by the Government of Nicaragua, which has drawn the Council's attention to the worsening security situation in Nicaragua and in the Central American region as a whole. It is clear from the statements which have been made so far and also from the documents that have been made available to us since the debate started last Thursday that there is tension in the Central American region and that that tension is likely to escalate if the present trend is not arrested soon.

67. Two years ago, the new realism had won out in Nicaragua and Zimbabwe. It is true that neither society is a paradise; but equally true is the fact that neither society represents a threat to any other State or a triumph for any other State. Socialism anywhere in the world, including Central America, especially if it comes about by a popular movement or by democratic elections, is not a threat to anybody.

68. The Government and people of Nicaragua would like to devote all their energies to the reconstruction of their country, because they inherited enormous economic problems after the downfall of the Somoza régime. In any case, why should a Government like the present one in Nicaragua which sets as its priorities health care, literacy, land reform and equality of opportunity be an automatic "enemy", and why should a dictatorship of the right that exercises power on behalf of a few land-owners and industrialists be an automatic "friend"? The people of Nicaragua want to see their political revolution matched by economic development of their country.

69. It is thus not surprising that the Government and the people of Nicaragua view with great concern any measure of insecurity affecting their country, from any quarter. That was made clear before this Council at its meeting on 25 March [2335th meeting], when the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Commander Daniel Ortega, expressed his Government's fervent desire for peace in order to reconstruct the country. The Government and the people of Zambia share the concern and desire of Nicaragua.

70. We share their concern because we know that in any tense situation there cannot be normal economic activity. The basic social, economic and other needs of the people cannot be adequately met because the resources are expended on meeting security requirements. We have experienced, and we are still experiencing, a similar situation in the southern African region, where the *apartheid* régime of South Africa causes insecurity and is constantly violating the sovereignty and independence of independent African States in the area.

71. We share Nicaragua's desire for peace because Zambia believes that the Government and the people of Nicaragua have an important contribution to make towards the development of the Central American region. They can effectively do so only if they feel secure within their borders. Nicaragua's contribution would be good not only for its people and for those in the Central American region but also for us all.

72. Furthermore, it is my delegation's strong view that nations of the world should try as much as possible to separate global military confrontation from internal political struggles in the third world, since these struggles do not pose threats to anyone, whatever the outcome. The inevitability of radical change in desperate countries on the brink of starvation or in the grip of murderous Governments ought to be obvious, but it by no means follows that revolutionary Governments are either anti-this-State or pro-that-State.

73. It is gratifying to note that the people of Nicaragua and their Government do not desire confrontation; rather, they desire peace and tranquillity in the area. Their request for the Council to discuss the matter must be seen in this light. There is need, therefore, for all those concerned to seize this opportunity and sit down to serious negotiations so that a solution can be found to the dangerous situation that has developed in Central America. All peace efforts need the support and the encouragement of the Council and, indeed, of the entire international community.

74. The Council, in the discharge of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided for under the Charter of the United Nations, should ensure that the Charter principles are upheld by all Member States of the United Nations. My Government believes that strict adherence by Member States to Charter principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States would greatly contribute towards the establishment and strengthening of friendly relations between States. It is incumbent upon all of us as Member States of the United Nations to honour the principles of the Charter, and I hope that the Council will reaffirm that position at the conclusion of this debate on Nicaragua.

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

76. Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, since you have allowed me to speak—for the first time—before the representatives of the States of this Council, over which you are presiding with such skill, I should like to express my gratitude and the great honour it does me. I should also like to express my hope—indeed, my conviction—that under your skilful guidance the

Council, which bears the main responsibility for the weighty task of maintaining international peace and security, will see, in the calm, thoughtful and responsible statement made by Mr. Daniel Ortega the moving appeal of the people of Nicaragua which, in the face of the sinister designs of international imperialism, are crying out to the world their desire to live in peace and their will to remain sole masters of their destiny.

77. This appeal, this cry, is voiced not only by the people of Nicaragua or the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, Grenada or Cuba; it is the appeal and the cry also of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East which, because they have resolved to construct in full liberty a dignified and prosperous society where the odious policy of exploitation of man by man will be outlawed and where the rank weeds bequeathed by centuries of colonial and neocolonial exploitation, racism and *apartheid* will be uprooted, are experiencing daily threats to their sovereignty and independence.

78. These are the cries of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, and People's Kampuchea; the cries of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Seychelles, Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe, which are living under the constant threat of aggression. It is also the cry of my people, the hard-working and militant people of my country, the People's Republic of Benin, against which, it should be recalled, international imperialism, bent on vengeance, on Sunday, 16 January 1977, perpetrated a vile and craven act of aggression for colonial reconquest.

79. In other words, the delegation of Benin, perhaps better than anyone else, understands and shares the grave concern of all peace-loving peoples over the threat and the hostile acts which have been visited upon the people and the Government of Nicaragua.

80. And I should like here, on behalf of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party and its National Executive Council, to convey to Comrade Daniel Ortega and, through him, to the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua, the fraternal and militant greetings of the revolutionary people of Benin. They are waging the same liberation struggle against the retrograde forces of reaction and international imperialism.

81. The frequency of all these counterrevolutionary assaults which they have unjustly fallen victim to and the increasingly savage escalation which characterizes the criminal acts of aggression of international imperialism and its lackeys and local agents are living proof of the fierce determination of the anti-popular forces to put down at all costs the noble and heroic national liberation struggle embarked upon by our peoples in a world where there is growing evidence of the unshakable determination of peoples: to fight to the last ditch against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and *apartheid* in order to be freed completely

and once and for all from the yoke of foreign domination; to eliminate foreign capitalist monopolies in order fully to control their national resources; to overthrow minority reactionary régimes in the pay of international imperialism so as to set up progressively and in full sovereignty people's democratic régimes that will yield more prosperity and happiness for their peoples.

82. Thus, by managing to throw off the chains of a brutal and inhuman system on 19 July 1979, the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua is held to be guilty of the same crime as that committed by the people of Benin on 26 October 1972, when they decided fully to exercise their legitimate national and sovereign rights over their land and national wealth.

83. Those who have built their might on genocide, on slavery and the forced labour of black people, on theft and pillage of the wealth of the third-world countries, find it difficult to understand—even inconceivable—that erstwhile oppressed peoples should today seek to participate on an equal and sovereign footing in the onward march of history.

84. The bitter lessons of the intervention in Viet Nam or the Bay of Pigs have been too swiftly forgotten. The universally accepted principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes among States are made subordinate to gun-boat diplomacy. The sacrosanct principle of the political independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity of States has been cynically flouted. The principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is shamefully infringed. The inalienable right of all peoples to choose their own political, economic and social system is blithely disregarded.

85. These fundamental principles are none other than those contained in the Charter of the United Nations and in pertinent resolutions of the Organization. They should be reaffirmed by the Council, for the benefit of those who should be the last to play fast and loose with them, in order to avert the dangers and perils which threaten not only Nicaragua but all the States of Central America and the Caribbean.

86. The desire frequently expressed by Commander Daniel Ortega to improve relations with the United States on the basis of mutual respect and the unconditional recognition of the right of Nicaragua to self-determination; his oft-reiterated desire immediately to undertake frank and open negotiations with the Government of the United States; the initiatives and proposals made by the Mexican President, José López Portillo, on 21 February at Managua: all these are measures which are likely to promote détente, stability and progress in Central America and the Caribbean.

87. The threat is a serious one; it endangers international peace and security, and it is up to the most

appropriate organ in this world Organization, rather than a regional organization which has ostracized certain States in that part of the world, to make an effective contribution, with all the credibility and authority lent it by its universality, to settling the existing problems in Central America and the Caribbean by peaceful means of negotiation. Ready for revolution; the struggle continues!

88. The PRESIDENT: The representative of El Salvador has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

89. Mr. ROSALES RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on behalf of my Government for the very efficient and very fair way in which you are guiding the work of the Council.

90. I should like to thank the members of the Council for having granted me the honour of addressing it. I am speaking in order to reply to two delegations that rashly affirmed that the elections on 28 March in El Salvador were going to be a "predictable failure", or at least expressed doubts about the way in which those elections would be conducted.

91. The answer to those ill-intentioned words is the eloquent way in which the Salvadoran people, without distinction, turned out in force throughout our national territory to deposit their votes, thus exercising the sacred and inalienable right of all peoples to choose their own leaders. This consultation with the people was aimed at electing a Constituent Assembly which will have the power not only to redraft the new political Constitution of the Republic but also to lay new foundations for government. The civic holiday that characterized the electoral event and the sacrifice which it represented in other areas where citizens were threatened by armed extreme leftist elements wishing to boycott the process before and during the day of the elections, in spite of the fact that leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front had affirmed that no shots would be fired against the voters, confirmed that those political leaders have no weight in the decisions of the alliance that they have formed. That popular demonstration bears eloquent witness to a resounding "No" to violence, the banner of those who, being a minority as has been clearly demonstrated, wish to impose through the force of arms their individual will on the overwhelming majority will of the Salvadoran people.

92. The present Government offered a change in the archaic and unjust socio-economic system, and made that change. This sociological process is irreversible, but another corner-stone of democratic life in any legitimate society is the right of social components to decide through the voting process the future of the country. Therefore, the people alone is the subject and the ultimate recipient of its own destiny.

93. The commitment undertaken to the people to conduct an open, free and democratic electoral process in which all ideological trends could participate, a commitment which led to elections for that highest representative body, the Constituent Assembly, on the 28th of this month, has been fulfilled before the eyes of the entire world: the information media, television networks, observers from many countries, and political personalities from all over the world have reported on the process. We can state with pride that for the first time in 50 years there have been genuinely free elections in El Salvador, elections in which there was a massive turn-out of voters and the significance of which was crucial at this historical and political moment in the country. The political aphorism that in any democratic body power emanates from the people has become fact in El Salvador. The idea of a republican representative State is fully consonant with the expression of the will of the people, unassailably and unequivocally expressed at the polling booths. The people has expressed with its verdict a clear-cut rejection of terrorist violence and has clearly borne witness to the fact that the democratic fibre exists at its very heart. Respect for the will of the people means, therefore, that there must be no endangering of the national sovereignty or the powers that stem from it. Only through the voting process is it possible to obtain a share of power, and it is only by means of a clean, unpressured vote that political groups acquire representative strength. Joint declarations by third countries can never substitute for what is proper and essential to the will of a people, to what constitutes its essence, and is at the same time the conquest or legitimate recognition of the popular will.

94. For all those who believe in the path of democracy and of peace, the doors of clean and democratic disagreement will continue to open, and conscience will decide whether they choose the route of harmony and participation or the tortuous path of violence. Would that other countries of Central America that today boast of being democratic, pluralist and revolutionary might follow the civic example provided by the Salvadoran people on the 28th of this month, when, in an unprecedented demonstration of civic virtue and even at the cost of great personal sacrifice, it expressed its sovereign will through its vote. But El Salvador will not attempt to impose its model on anyone.

95. Since I assume that the members of this Council have read the letter of 25 March, distributed under the symbol S/14927, sent by the Government of El Salvador through me to the Security Council, I shall not repeat its contents; I shall merely repeat my Government's position by referring to that letter. None the less, I do wish to add, since El Salvador has been mentioned in discussions, the following.

96. First of all, the problem of El Salvador is the exclusive purview of the Salvadoran people, which comes under its internal jurisdiction and therefore is subject to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

97. Secondly, the problems of international relations in the inter-American sphere should be solved through the organs created by the regional system.

98. Thirdly, the Salvadoran Government maintains and will continue to maintain relations of co-operation of all types, based on the norms recognized by international law, by the Charter of the United Nations, by the Charter of the Organization of American States and other international instruments, with the country or countries that find this consistent with their own interests.

99. Fourthly, El Salvador does not constitute a threat or source of friction at the international level for any country, nor has it ever violated the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States in the Central American region, much less of States distant from that region.

100. Fifthly, on the contrary, El Salvador has been the victim of acts of intervention which took place against the will of the Salvadoran Government and which constitute aggressive behaviour; but in spite of those interventionist and aggressive acts against our sovereignty, in order to maintain friendly relations with the countries that promote or implement those acts we have asked that they put a halt to them, but have not presented a formal complaint before the competent international bodies.

101. Sixthly, if those interventionist and aggressive acts continue, El Salvador will be compelled to use its right to bring into operation the machinery of the inter-American regional system that it considers appropriate in order to preserve its sovereignty and national dignity.

102. El Salvador and its Government alone will decide on how that inalienable right should be exercised.

103. A few brief words in conclusion. The heartfelt civic fervour which was demonstrated by the Salvadoran people last Sunday in the most adverse circumstances is a plebiscite in favour of democracy and against totalitarianism. This new stage in the history of the country opens the path for the parliamentary process and the institutionalization of political reform. This humble people, simple but courageous, which expressed its unequivocal mandate for peace and its consequent repudiation of violence, must not be frustrated in its exercise of the principle of self-determination.

104. To that people, which is the essence of the homeland, we pay a tribute from this rostrum—a tribute expressed in the first verses of our national hymn: "We hail the homeland, proud to call ourselves its children."

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.