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2342nd MEETING: 31 MARCH 1982

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NOTE

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2342nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 31 March 1982, at 10.30 a.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/2342)

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 11.50 a.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, 2339th and 2341st meetings], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Benin, Cuba, El Salvador, the German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Honduras, India, Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mexico, Mozambique, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia 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. Soglo (Benin), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Rosales Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Carias (Honduras), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Iran), Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Mad-

agascar), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung (Viet Nam), Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) 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 Chile, Colombia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, the Syrian Arab Republic and Zimbabwe 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 provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Trucco (Chile), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Mashaire (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/14936, which contains the text of a letter dated 30 March, from the representative of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, I should first of all like to convey my warm and sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of March. We have had many occasions to appreciate your talents and your outstanding human and intellectual qualities in the course of the debates in the Council. The intelligence, diplomatic tact and wisdom with which you have been conducting the proceedings of this Council serve only to honour even further the representative of a great Power and great people with which Zaire enjoys excellent relations of friendship and co-operation.

5. I should also like to pay a tribute to Sir Anthony Parsons, your predecessor, for the distinction, born of remarkable simplicity, human sensibility, rich expe-

rience and a keen sense of dialogue and dynamic compromise, with which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in February.

6. The Republic of Zaire has followed with genuine concern the grave deterioration of the political situation in Central America and the Caribbean. It is only natural that the development of the situation in that historically sensitive area should be a matter of concern for the Council, since it is difficult at the present time to detach the many hotbeds of local or regional tension in the world from the current world context of cold war, distrust and a crisis of confidence in international relations, and of insecurity and uncertainty for so many peoples and countries in the world.

7. The statements we have heard from the Coordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra [2335th meeting], from the representative of the United States of America [*ibid.*] and from other parties concerned about the present situation in Central America and in the Caribbean, clearly should encourage the Council to remind all parties—that is, Member States—of their duties and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and particularly of the necessary respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter and other international instruments such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,¹ the resolution titled Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States,² the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security³ and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,⁴ just to mention those few.

8. The Council should therefore, in our view, recognize that the parties have stated their determination and their readiness to settle their difference by peaceful means and by direct contacts, in a spirit of good-neighbourliness, in accordance with the Charter and the principles of positive international law.

9. In that context, we believe that the Council should encourage the interested or concerned parties to resolve any dispute that exists between them by appropriate negotiations, conducted in conditions and within a context that would ensure every chance of success, and should ask the Secretary-General to follow the development of the situation and to report on it.

10. The obligations and duties of each Member State of the United Nations under the Charter to respect the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations, the territorial integrity and political independence of States, non-recourse to subversion and other attempts at destabilization, peaceful settlement of disputes and the

rights of peoples to self-determination—all those obligations and duties are, I should like to recall, of universal application.

11. That is why the Council would be justified in inviting, at the same time as it calls upon the parties concerned to have recourse to dialogue and negotiation to resolve their difference, all Member States to contribute to the quest for peaceful solutions to the problems of Central America and the Caribbean, to refrain from heightening tension and dissension or exacerbating contradictions between American States, in order to meet the wishes of the Charter, which calls on each and every one of us to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take all other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace. In that spirit, Zaire is gratified at the initiative taken by Mr. José López Portillo and at his proposal for negotiations to restore peace in the region of Central America and in the Caribbean.

12. In disputes of this nature, the complexity of which is understood by everyone—particularly as, in historical processes, ends are often transformed into means and means into ends—no one should be tempted to take the place of the States of the region and attempt to find appropriate solutions for their problems.

13. Exchanges of recriminations would be to no purpose if the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular are to be and to remain a centre for the harmonization of the efforts of nations to achieve common goals.

14. The problems in Central America and the Caribbean should therefore be solved by the peoples and States of Central America and the Caribbean, which are bound by so many links forged by history, geography, language and culture and complement each other in so many ways, in an atmosphere free from any subversion, from any pressure and from acts of force from any quarter.

15. The duty of the international community is to help the States concerned to come together to transcend their contradictions and bring about regional co-operation by solving the economic, social, intellectual, humanitarian, and political problems which arise; to transcend egocentric impulses where everyone gives himself preference; to transcend ethnocentric impulses where it is one's own people one uses as a point of reference and of preference; to transcend sociocentric impulses, where one's own society becomes the centre of reference and of preference; to transcend, finally, in the interests of peace, that failing so characteristic of this end of our century—the failure to recognize the same facts as the adversary, a failure that only encourages the facile mechanisms of rejection which, in the closed universe of totalitarian concepts, are disqualification, diversion and indignation.

16. Here as elsewhere, what we are calling upon others to respect in our regard we should be in a position to respect in regard to others. The principles of the Charter are and must remain valid for all States, whatever their political, economic and social options, and in all circumstances. It is precisely when we fail to respect the principles which we call upon others to respect that we run the risk of discrediting both those very principles and our own right to demand respect for them from others.

17. I have had occasion to recall in other circumstances that it is the gap between what we demand that others respect and our own attitude with regard to respect for the same principles in analogous situations which lies at the very root of the maintenance of a climate of distrust and tension in international relations—a climate which allows matters to get out of hand in defiance of reason.

18. I cannot conclude my remarks without saying how much the delegation of Zaire appreciates the measured way in which the Nicaraguan delegation approached this problem before the Council when it stated:

“We have requested this meeting for serious and extremely urgent reasons, and not to make use of this forum to hurl insults at the United States Government . . . ;

“ . . .

“We have not come here to level accusations . . . and

“ . . .

“Nicaragua calls on the Security Council to issue an explicit pronouncement . . . regarding the obligation to seek peaceful means of solving the problems of the Central American region and the Caribbean . . . [ibid, paras. 28, 74 and 87].

19. I therefore feel that in its patient quest for an appropriate solution to the problem before it, the Council should stay within the framework of that eminently politic and judicious request.

20. Mr. DORR (Ireland): Madam President, this is the last day of the month, but it is also the first time I have had occasion to speak in the Council in the month of March. Had I spoken earlier, I should have expressed to you my good wishes for your future conduct of the office of President. As it is, it seems more appropriate to thank you and to congratulate you warmly on the way you have presided over our work during a very difficult month.

21. I should like to take this opportunity also to thank your predecessor, Sir Anthony Parsons. For those of us who know him, it goes almost without

saying that he conducted what may well be his last presidency of the Council with great distinction, but sometimes that which should go without saying still needs to be said. I should therefore like to offer him our good wishes and thanks.

22. Not every major issue between States comes before this Council. But when we are called on to consider any such issue, those of us who are members of the Council at the time carry a heavy responsibility.

23. My delegation interprets that responsibility as obliging us, in addressing ourselves to any such issue, to uphold the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations at all times. We see it further as an obligation for the Council and its members to seek, wherever possible, to promote peaceful solutions to international disputes before they reach crisis level.

24. To do this is to work for one of the basic purposes of the United Nations as spelled out in Article I of the Charter, that is:

“to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”.

25. Three points are important to us in that basic Charter formulation. They are “peaceful means”, “justice” and “international law”. But I should like to add a fourth point, taken from the very next paragraph of Article I of the Charter: the concept of

“friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples”.

26. Those points taken together set a broad framework for the Council’s consideration of the issue which has come before it.

27. Clearly, there is a difference of view about Nicaragua’s decision to take this matter to the Council. But we are glad that its right to do so was not questioned, and it is now for us who have to address the issue as members of the Council to seek by every means to encourage a peaceful settlement. In our view, that would mean the restoration of friendly relations between the United States and Nicaragua—on the basis, of course, of full respect by all for fundamental Charter principles. The question for us, however, is how best we can help to bring that about.

28. We know that the immediate issue must be seen against the wider background of events in the region and of the upheaval which Nicaragua had to go through three years ago to rid itself of the Somoza régime. Today, several countries in Central America are in turmoil. In those countries, highly stratified societies

structured on a grossly unequal basis and frequently maintained by repression have crumbled or are beginning to do so. Small nations whose real need is peace and development have been torn apart in civil strife, as the violence built into unjust social structures over many generations takes a more open form once those structures are openly challenged. Ruling élites react repressively in the face of threats to their position and seek to maintain themselves against militant expressions of popular discontent. Death and injury have become commonplace and almost casual, not to say banal. Nicaragua went through just such an upheaval three years ago in ridding itself of the unjust and repressive Somoza régime. In El Salvador, and to a lesser extent in some other countries of the region, turmoil still continues.

29. What can we in the wider international community do in the face of this upheaval?

30. It is, of course, as in all such cases, primarily a matter for the peoples of the region to work out their own destinies. But turmoil and potential conflict in any region today, especially if they involve not only injustice and loss of life but friction and increased tension between the major Powers, must be a matter of concern to all members of the international community. Such events simply cannot be seen now as of concern only to the countries of the region or to the major world Powers themselves.

31. There are obvious reasons for that. In the first place, we are now at a stage in world affairs where the international community as a whole should show a legitimate concern to see basic rights upheld and greater justice achieved in societies that have suffered under oppressive oligarchic rule for many generations and where today in some cases an appalling toll of death and injury takes place. A people like the people of Nicaragua deserves sympathy and understanding in its effort to reconstruct after the ravages of Somoza.

32. In the second place, there is a real danger of hostilities and international conflict between neighbouring countries in the region. It is understandable that those who have successfully challenged repressive and despotic rule in their own countries should show sympathy for those of like mind who face similar opponents in neighbouring countries. But if sympathy, moral support and encouragement for greater justice should go beyond that and become active and militant intervention, then there would be a serious danger of hostilities between the States involved.

33. Third, and more serious still, is the fact that larger global tensions and rivalries are already being superimposed on the existing regional instability. The dangers would be very great indeed if the already complex and difficult regional issues were now to become part of a global confrontation between the major Powers.

34. Those are all legitimate reasons for wider international concern. Our hope is that in expressing that concern here, as we must, we shall be able to do so in ways that will help and not hinder the solution we want to see, that is, peace, justice and full respect for human rights and for international law throughout the region.

35. It is, of course, not difficult to state that general aim: it is easy enough too to set out the general principles that should be followed by all concerned: they are to be found in the Charter and in other documents elaborated over the years as the basic rules for relations between States.

36. One such principle, for example, is that of self-determination. Every people is entitled to decide for itself its own political system, and it should be free to work out its own pattern of economic, social and cultural development.

37. Another principle is that every State should be free to conduct its own affairs, with due respect, of course, for the rights of its neighbours. It should be free from the threat or use of force or from any attempt at subversion from outside.

38. Yet another principle is that States should deal with each other on a basis of sovereign equality. They may differ in size and importance, but the sovereignty of each must be fully respected, and no State should be subjected by others to coercive pressure or to attempts at domination.

39. But can we go beyond that statement of general principles, which all concerned have said they accept, to suggest a practical way forward towards a settlement? I should like to think that we could, and I should like to think too that such suggestions as we make here, and any outcome of the Council's consideration of the issue, will be acceptable and helpful both to Nicaragua and to the United States.

40. We are all aware that relations between Nicaragua and the United States have been growing more tense for some time now. But, to judge from what has been said here and elsewhere in public statements, one may hope that this does not derive from any fundamental hostility between the two countries. Nor is it inevitable that tension between them should continue to rise. Quite the contrary: In the period immediately after the overthrow of Somoza the relations between the two countries had begun to develop well, and the United States gave significant support at that stage to Nicaragua's effort to restore its shattered economy. The question now is: How can the recent deterioration of relations be halted, and the more constructive relationship of two years ago be restored? The obvious answer has to be by negotiations—whether direct or through the help of a willing mediator, and the primary aim of this Council, or indeed of any other international effort to resolve the

crisis, should be to encourage the parties in every way possible to get such negotiations under way.

41. There is already some basis for such an effort. We are well aware that the two opening statements in the present debate on Thursday last expressed fundamentally different perceptions as to the cause of the present quarrel. But it was also striking that they had one major point in common—the strong emphasis by each side on its will to solve the problems at issue through negotiation. This willingness indeed seemed to extend not only to direct negotiations and to the immediate points at issue but to other countries of the region and to the general situation in the area as a whole.

42. Such a will to negotiate on both sides is, regrettably, a rare enough feature of debates in this Council. Where it does exist, the Council must surely try to build on this fact. We must support negotiations; and we must give every encouragement to countries of the region, such as Mexico, that have been working in recent weeks to get negotiations under way. In this way—and contrary to criticisms sometimes made of our Organization—we shall be using the Council and the United Nations as it should be used: as an instrument to ease tensions and reduce the danger of conflict between States.

43. Over recent weeks, the efforts of the Government of Mexico have been channelled very much in that direction. Proposals made publicly by Mexico envisage three main points: the threat or use of force should be ruled out; there should be a balanced reduction of military forces in the area, involving also an end to the training and activities of paramilitary groups outside Nicaragua and a willingness by Nicaragua itself to halt its own military build-up; and there should be a system of non-aggression pacts, both between Nicaragua and the United States and also within the region generally. There is much here in those Mexican proposals of interest which those directly involved could consider and explore further.

44. For our part, I should like to encourage here warmly, on behalf of my delegation, these efforts to mediate and to start a dialogue undertaken by the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, and by Foreign Minister Castañeda. Recent reports about the prospects have alternated between optimism and pessimism. But with all our heart we wish success to every such attempt to start a real dialogue between two countries that should not be enemies.

45. On the United States side, too, there are already proposals by Secretary of State Haig which deserve study by all concerned; and there are proposals and a will to negotiate on the Nicaraguan side, as was stressed at the outset of this debate by Commander Ortega. Furthermore, several other speakers in the debate have already put forward interesting proposals—all directed towards dialogue, negotiation and peace-

ful settlement of the problems of the region. For example, Panama, a country of the region and a member of the Council, envisages a system of agreements to reduce tensions between the States of the region: a guarantee by every Central American country to maintain a democratic, pluralistic and multi-party system upholding human rights, and a regional summit conference in Panama to develop these ideas further. These seem to us—as, if I may say so, a country outside the region—to be very constructive ideas which deserve to be explored further when discussions get under way. Proposals were also made here by the representative of Honduras, urging steps towards regional disarmament. These too should be taken into account, along with all the other useful ideas which have emerged.

46. There is another point to consider. Since many of the problems of the Central American region derive from long-established economic and social conditions that require reform and redress, then economic assistance to the countries of the region should also be part of any overall settlement. The plan announced by President Reagan some weeks ago for economic assistance to the Caribbean region, including Central America, contained much of interest. If taken together with the efforts of other major countries in the hemisphere, such as Mexico, Venezuela and Canada, it could be built on and developed to good effect, with the ultimate aim of creating an atmosphere of co-operation involving the major economic Powers of the hemisphere. I would add that the Heads of State and Government of the 10 member States of the European Community, to which Ireland belongs, at their meeting at the European Council at Brussels yesterday, decided to intensify their own and the Community's economic assistance to the countries of the region.

47. Clearly, therefore, if a real will to negotiate exists there are very many elements already available which could be drawn on for a peaceful settlement. This could cover both the points at issue between Nicaragua and the United States and, more ambitiously, the general problems of the region. With careful handling here, restraint by all concerned and, most importantly, the help of willing mediators, we may hope to see such a serious dialogue get under way. We offer it our full support and encouragement.

48. That, then, is the approach which Ireland takes to the difficult issue we are now faced with as a member of the Council. I may summarize our view in four points.

49. First, we believe that the present turmoil in Central America must be a cause of legitimate concern to the whole international community, because it involves basic human rights issues and tragic loss of life, because it could lead to wider regional conflict and because it has already increased tension between the major Powers.

50. Secondly, we want the Council in its approach to the issue now before it to try to be helpful to both parties. As I said, they should not be enemies. The Council should therefore direct its efforts at all times to easing present tensions, reducing the danger of conflict and restoring the much more constructive and friendly relationship between Nicaragua and the United States which had existed for a time as Nicaragua began the major task of reconstruction and development of its whole society after the Somoza régime was overthrown. That would, of course, presuppose as an absolute condition a willingness by all concerned to show full respect for international law and for the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. Thirdly, we believe that this effort to restore friendly relations requires dialogue and negotiation between the two countries and that this in turn requires a measure of restraint and understanding on each side in this Council and elsewhere. I want to express Ireland's full support for all constructive and serious efforts to get such a dialogue under way.

52. Fourthly, we would ideally like to see—and I do not think it either utopian or presumptuous for a State outside the area to hope for this—a real détente involving all the countries of the region, including those which have hitherto been excluded from such discussions. This could come through a major negotiation covering political and economic issues and providing eventually for a reduction of and limits on armaments, restraint and co-operation in regional relations, respect for human rights and pluralism and acceptance of these concepts in all of the countries involved.

53. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Madam President, I should like first of all to compliment you on the manner in which you have been carrying out your responsibilities as President this month. It is indeed fortunate that a person with your experience and ability has been guiding the work of the Council at a time when it has been called upon to deal with troublesome questions.

54. I should like also to express my gratitude to Sir Anthony Parsons, who so skilfully presided over the work of the Council during the month of February.

55. The Government of Japan has been following closely the recent developments in Central America, and my delegation has listened attentively to the statements made by the previous speakers.

56. My Government believes that the instability prevailing in Central American States should be resolved by the people of each State themselves. Outside intervention must be avoided, since it may aggravate the situation and hamper the process of the healthy development of each nation.

57. We further believe it essential to the fundamental solution of the instability in the region to promote economic development to attain social justice. Accordingly, in order to achieve long-term stability in the Central American region, it is indispensable scrupulously to respect the principle of non-intervention and to promote economic development for the realization of social justice.

58. My Government therefore hopes that the States concerned will conduct patient dialogues based on the principles of non-intervention and peaceful settlement of disputes, with a view to rebuilding the friendly relations among them. At the same time, we welcome international co-operation for assisting national efforts for the acceleration of economic development and the achievement of social justice in the countries of the region, such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which has been promoted jointly by the United States, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela and other countries.

59. Regarding the question of current relations between the United States and Nicaragua, it is our understanding that efforts are being made to resume the dialogue between the two countries, as is evidenced by Secretary of State Haig's recent announcement of the fact that the United States Government had earlier transmitted to Nicaragua its proposals for improving the bilateral relationship. Further, we note with appreciation the initiatives of Mexico and the offers by other third countries to use their good offices. My Government urges that, in order to make the dialogue truly meaningful and fruitful, the United States and Nicaragua should undertake frank and exhaustive discussions on all issues of mutual concern.

60. We believe it desirable that efforts to resolve the issues under discussion be made first through bilateral talks between the two States concerned or, if necessary, through discussions among countries in the region or in such regional organizations as the Organization of American States (OAS).

61. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): Madam President, it gives me great pleasure to convey to you, on behalf of the delegation of Uganda, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency for the month of March. At a time when the Council is confronted with many challenges, we are fortunate to have a person of your ability and distinction at the helm. I salute you also as the representative of a country with which Uganda has very cordial and fruitful relations.

62. I take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Anthony Parsons, who guided the work of the Council during the month of February with the political wisdom and diplomatic skill for which we have come to respect and admire him so much.

63. My delegation listened very carefully and with great interest to the statement made on 25 March be-

fore the Council by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua [2335th meeting].

64. We in Uganda have some understanding of the predicament of the people of Nicaragua. In 1979 Uganda, like Nicaragua, emerged from the grips of a particularly brutal and traumatic Fascist dictatorship. We know how harrowing the legacy of such an experience can be and how daunting the subsequent task of national reconstruction and rehabilitation. We therefore understand the desire of the people of Nicaragua to have a period of peace and stability, a breathing space in which they can devote their attention and energies to the urgent task of rebuilding a shattered society. Nothing should be done to make this colossal task even more difficult.

65. The delegation of Uganda is concerned about the deteriorating situation in Central America and the Caribbean, a situation that poses a danger to international peace and security. The Council has a positive and preventive role to play in this situation, to ease tension and to prevent conflicts.

66. First, the Council must underline the obligation of all States to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the principle of self-determination for all peoples and the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States.

67. Secondly, the Council must reaffirm the right of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean to determine their own destinies without outside interference. No attempt should be made to impose a particular social system or political preference on the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. They are able and ready to make their own choices.

68. Thirdly, the Council should take this opportunity to encourage all the parties concerned along the path of negotiations and peace. In this connection, my delegation has followed with great interest over the last few weeks certain initiatives aimed at reducing tension in the region of Central America and the Caribbean.

69. We are especially impressed by the Mexican initiative, the outline of which was formally announced before the Council on 26 March [2337th meeting]. We believe that the Mexican proposals constitute a very useful framework for negotiated peace in the region. We accordingly appeal to all parties concerned to support these initiatives in order to give peace a chance.

70. I take this opportunity to express to our brothers and sisters in Central America and the Caribbean the solidarity of the Government and people of Uganda in their struggle for social justice and dignity. We share in their hopes and aspirations.

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

72. Mr. MASHAIRE (Zimbabwe): Before I proceed, Madam President, allow me to extend my delegation's sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. In our opinion, your tenure of this office could not have come at a more appropriate time. As the representative to the United Nations of one of the super-Powers whose prime function in this body is the maintenance of international peace and security by safeguarding the adherence of the international community to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations, your judicious handling of the serious issue before the Council will contribute in a large measure towards reinforcing the world's commitment to the provisions of the Charter that deal specifically with the duties incumbent upon the Security Council.

73. The tension prevailing in certain parts of Central America and the Caribbean is a subject on which various Governments and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have expressed great concern. As a result, the need to adhere to the principles of the non-use of force or threat of force and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, to the principles of respect for the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States in the region and the right of all States of the region to be free from interference or external pressure of any kind, has been reiterated on many occasions and in many forums.

74. Respect for the principles I have just cited implies due deference to a number of other elements. First, it implies the right of nations to exist in accordance with their beliefs, their aspirations and their own form of government. This, in fact, means the right to exist in accordance with their freely chosen social, economic and political policies and organization. And that, in turn, demands of other nations that their foreign policies respect such choices and that those policies must be conducted in the spirit of such respect.

75. The people of Nicaragua, inspired by the spirit of the heroic Augusto Sandino, succeeded, after long struggle and awesome sacrifice, in breaking the chains of the brutal and inhuman system of dictatorship in July 1979. The people of Nicaragua had hoped that their victory over oppression and exploitation would open the way to peace and progress. However, instead of opening the way to peace and progress, their struggle and victory has now almost been turned into a worse nightmare by a number of external factors. A month before their final victory in July 1979, the United States Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, advanced the proposal that an OAS "peace-keeping force" intervene in Nicaragua against the imminent Sandinista victory over Somoza. That clearly demon-

strated that the Sandinista movement, representing the aspirations of the people of that strife-torn country, had already been labeled an enemy even before the attainment of statehood. Suffice it to say that had that action been implemented, it would have left the proud, war-weary people of Nicaragua with no option but to die in defence of their motherland, since the indomitable spirit that had sustained them and had won for them their humanity and dignity could never have been suppressed. It was out of that realization that an effective and meaningful dialogue between the Sandinista Government and the Carter Administration, aimed at readjusting and improving relations between the two countries, became possible.

76. It is indeed regrettable that that dialogue and that tolerance of the Sandinista Government have not been maintained by the new Administration in Washington. Apart from the evidence supplied by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, in his statement in the Council on 25 March [2335th meeting], there have been other reports dealing with the examination of various options for use in Nicaragua, among them one providing for a blockade or an invasion for which appropriations of several millions are reported to have been made. Those reports have not been denied by senior officials in Washington, nor has the intent—namely, the destabilization or destruction of the Nicaraguan Government—been refuted. Evidence ostensibly showing the extent of the Nicaraguan menace has also been produced, evidence that includes aerial reconnaissance photos to prove that the Nicaraguan military forces are being expanded. Needless to say, the taking of those photographs constituted a flagrant act of aggression, since such flights had knowingly violated the aerial space of a sovereign State. It is also worth noting that the evidence cited with regard to Nicaragua's involvement in the civil war in El Salvador and its interference in the internal affairs of its neighbours has not been proven. In addition, the evidence that has been produced has not been convincing, and its objectivity and validity have been questioned by the press and by numerous bodies and Governments.

77. Evidence has been produced of the training of Somozist counter-revolutionaries in various places in the region and elsewhere for the purpose of waging subversive activities aimed at inciting civil unrest in the country and undermining the credibility and control of the Sandinista Government. Recently, serious acts of sabotage have been carried out in Nicaragua. On the other hand, the Nicaraguan Government, demonstrating its commitment to maintaining a conscious policy of non-alignment, has on numerous occasions restated its willingness to enter into non-aggression and mutual security pacts with its neighbours on the basis of the policy of non-intervention and mutual respect. To that end, Nicaragua has suggested the formation of a joint control of the common borders with Honduras and Costa Rica for the purpose of

impeding the irregular activities of elements which might be hostile to the three Governments. These are not typical gestures of a Government bent on destabilizing its neighbours.

78. Even at these meetings of the Council, Nicaragua has restated its willingness to maintain friendly relations with the United States—for example, through the initiation of talks on any matter of mutual concern and importance, particularly talks oriented towards a negotiated solution of conflicts and the development of regional economic co-operation.

79. The Central American and Caribbean boiling-pot needs to be handled carefully, and its hot contents must not be allowed to spill over through errors of omission or commission. The fire must be put out through a combination of respect for the Charter, correct economic measures to redress the social and economic imbalances and a more meaningful and constructive dialogue. Above all, political will must prevail. To that end we urge the countries of the region to give maximum attention to the proposals made by President López Portillo aimed at a far-reaching solution to the turbulence in Central America.

80. Madam President, my delegation asked for your permission to participate in the discussion on this item because we wanted in this way to register our concern at the deteriorating situation in Central America. Having listened to the statement made earlier this month by Commander Daniel Ortega, we also wanted to express Zimbabwe's solidarity with his Government and the people of Nicaragua.

81. The people of Nicaragua have won a lot of sympathy in many countries, including my own, by their courageous struggle to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship. They made great sacrifices to achieve that victory. The circumstances that caused the people of Nicaragua to make those great sacrifices were similar to our own. Their present struggle for economic reconstruction along socialist lines is also similar to our own. But, unlike the people of Nicaragua, the people of Zimbabwe enjoy very good relations with the United States, whose assistance in our economic reconstruction is greatly appreciated by all Zimbabweans. We should like the United States to treat the people of Nicaragua in the same spirit of generosity.

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

83. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Madam President, in keeping with the practice of this esteemed body, I congratulate you on your becoming President of the Council for this month.

84. I should also like to convey my appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of the United

Kingdom, for the efforts he exerted while presiding over the Council last month.

85. I should like to thank the Council for giving me this opportunity to address it on this important issue.

86. The Council is meeting to discuss an extremely grave question—namely, the threats and dangers that a certain area of the world is facing nowadays. In particular, these threats are aimed at a small non-aligned country whose peaceful people struggled for many years and made great sacrifices until they were finally able to get rid of a repressive dictatorial régime and set up the political and economic system of their choice.

87. Nicaragua was certainly right when it requested the Council to convene in order to look into those threats directed at its security and stability. There is no one among the representatives present at this meeting who has not heard or read in the media the various statements made by American officials expressing hostility towards Nicaragua. I do not think anybody can deny that the United States Administration is utilizing all available means in order to destabilize Nicaragua with a view to toppling its Government.

88. We have seen pictures of some United States Central Intelligence Agency agents, followers of Somoza, receiving their training in a camp in the United States. Such training is obviously a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and United States law, particularly the Neutrality Act, which prohibits the launching of acts of aggression against other countries from United States territories.

89. The United States Administration has also published some pictures it says are of military installations in Nicaragua. Such pictures make it clear to world opinion that the United States Government has violated Nicaragua's airspace in order to spy on it. We have also read in the American press that the United States National Security Council has approved a sum of \$19 million to promote destabilizing covert actions in Nicaragua.

90. This evidence irrefutably testifies to the aggressive intentions against Nicaragua and indicates that American military intervention in Central America is imminent.

91. The Reagan Administration's policies in Central America, as in most areas of the world, are prompted by arrogance and obsession with the madness of power. It does not believe that there are non-aligned countries, and it sees the world as divided into two categories: into countries which are either stooges or enemies of the United States. Those small countries which desire to live in peace have no choice but to submit to the will of the United States Administration, which has arrogated to itself the right to act as the

policeman of the entire world, and to carry out its orders.

92. The United States Administration does not learn from the lessons that history offers. In spite of the defeat of the United States in Viet Nam, it is still contemplating the possibility of a direct military intervention in El Salvador. In spite of the futility of its political and military support for the Fascist régimes to enable them to continue to oppress and intimidate their peoples and to serve United States interests—as happened in the case of the Somoza régime, which collapsed totally—it continues its support for the present régime in El Salvador, notwithstanding the fact that that régime is facing a revolution by the people. Thus the United States Administration stands against the will of peoples and their right to adopt the political, economic and social systems of their choice.

93. The policies of the United States Government in Central America are no different from its policies in the Arab region and southern Africa. In each of these areas, it provides the Fascist and racist régimes with all the military and material aid they need in order to repress innocent citizens and prevent them from expressing their opinions or exercising their rights.

94. The United States Administration also takes a hostile attitude towards every country that opposes its policies. The manifestations of such hostility, however, pass through various stages. At the beginning, they take the form of verbal threats, media campaigns and political intervention; then they rise in intensity and assume the shape of economic sanctions; and finally, they culminate in military provocations and plots to destabilize and overthrow nationalist Governments.

95. The problems for the Reagan Government in Central America result from the fact that it has still not become aware of the necessity for change in some of the countries of the region in response to the ambitions and aspirations of their peoples. The United States Government wishes to perpetuate its hegemony over those countries and its domination of their peoples. Therefore, the United States Government is one of the obstacles to stability in the area, especially since so far it has demonstrated no encouraging response to the efforts exerted by some countries, especially Mexico, to seek a political solution to the problem of El Salvador and relations between the countries of the region.

96. President Reagan, in his State of the Union message on 26 January 1982, suggested solving problems "by pursuing peace at the negotiating table". But in this case, the United States Government has rejected the idea of negotiation.

97. The United States Administration speaks about human rights. But on what terms? The answer the

Reagan Administration is offering is that as long as the régimes and the rulers serve United States interests they are exempted from criticism and punishment by the United States Government, even if they are not elected and are perpetrating acts of repression, brutality, atrocity and terrorism. But if they want to be independent and non-aligned and they refuse to be tools in the hands of the United States, then they will be considered human rights violators, terrorists and tyrants, in accordance with the American description.

98. As a non-aligned country, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya expresses its solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and all the other peoples of Central America in their endeavours to ensure a better future and stands by them in their struggle to maintain their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of the threats directed at them.

99. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, while encouraging every initiative to find a peaceful solution to the prob-

lems of Central America through dialogue and co-operation between the States concerned and without any foreign pressure, calls on the Council fully to assume its responsibilities to ensure international peace and security and to adopt all necessary measures that can help Nicaragua maintain its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and, as Mr. Daniel Ortega, the Sandinist leader, demanded, put an end to "the policy of aggressions, threats, interventions, covert operations and invasions against [Nicaragua] and the region . . ." [*ibid.*, para. 74].

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

² General Assembly resolution 36/101.

³ General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV).

⁴ General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.