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2336th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 25 March 1982, at 4 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/2336)

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 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 2335th meeting, I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table and the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Cuba, Honduras and Mexico to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Roca (Argentina), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Carias (Honduras) and Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

3. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the general mandate which I have received from the non-aligned countries to speak in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of

Non-Aligned Countries at the United Nations on those matters of interest to the Movement, I shall speak this afternoon exclusively in that capacity.

4. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been paying particular attention throughout these years to the serious situation in Central America and the Caribbean resulting from imperialist domination and interference against the wish of the peoples of the region to affirm the exercise of their right to independence and freely to determine their destinies.

5. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, at the Sixth Conference, which was held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, in their Political Declaration recalled "the already long struggle of the peoples of Latin America for their independence and sovereignty" and urged "all States to show the strictest respect for the principles of self-determination, non-intervention and territorial integrity in Latin America", reiterating their

"unconditional support for the right of the peoples of this region to effect changes in the political, economic and social structures of their countries, to regain the control and free use of their natural resources and to work for the establishment of the New International Economic Order."¹

6. The Heads of State or Government meeting in Havana

"greeted with satisfaction the victory of the Nicaraguan people and their vanguard, the Sandinist National Liberation Front, over the Somoza dictatorship, the product of imperialist intervention and imposition, and emphasized the enormous historic significance of this event for the peoples of the Americas and the rest of the world that are struggling to obtain their true and definitive independence. The participants in the Conference welcomed Nicaragua's entry in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries."²

7. The Conference also expressed

"its profound concern over the manoeuvres that are going on abroad against the Nicaraguan revolutionary process and are directed by the most reactionary and aggressive of the deposed Somoza's supporters, promoted by imperialism, and it warned

of the need to maintain close international vigilance over machinations directed against the long-suffering and heroic Nicaraguan people".³

8. The situation in Central America and the Caribbean, far from taking a turn for the better, became even more disquieting in the months following the Sixth Conference. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981,

"noted with concern the tension prevailing in certain parts of Central America and the Caribbean, which threatened the national independence of some States and the peace and security of the area. They urged all States to adhere scrupulously to the principles of non-use of force or of threat of force, of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and of respect for the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region and for the right of all States of the region to be free from any interference or external pressure of any kind.

"...

"The Ministers . . . also expressed concern about, and warned against, any attempt at direct military intervention in this area, which would lead to an extension and regionalization of the conflict, thereby increasing the sufferings of the peoples of the area."⁴

9. The Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and heads of delegations of the non-aligned countries to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, held on 25 and 28 September 1981, in referring to this question once again,

"noted with deep concern that in the Western Hemisphere also increased tension has been building up in the Caribbean and Central America . . . [and] stressed that the politics of aggression, interference and intervention, pressures and economic or military blockades can only worsen the situation and endanger international peace and security even more. In this context, they expressed concern about the carrying out of military naval manoeuvres in the region and about the attempts at destabilizing the Government of Grenada, the exertion of economic and other pressures, destabilizing manoeuvres against Nicaragua and the pursuit of hostile policies and actions against Cuba by the United States of America". [See S/14713, annex, pp. 16-17.]

10. The plenary meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in New York on 14 December last, after hearing a statement by the representative of Nicaragua on the situation in Central America, issued a communiqué in which it expressed its "concern about the gravity of the general situation in the region" and recalled

"the duty of all States to adhere to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, non-use of force or threat of use of force in international relations, peaceful settlement of disputes between States, as well as the duty to respect the right of all peoples to choose their own political, economic and social system, and to refrain from causing tension among States in detriment of regional and international peace and security".⁵

11. The seriousness of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean to which the Non-Aligned Movement has been drawing attention seems to have reached a critical stage, one which the countries of the region—and, indeed, international public opinion—perceive as fraught with threats to the peace and security of the region and of the world.

12. In these circumstances, we should like to reiterate before the members of the Council our most serious concern over the threats and hostile acts directed against the people and Government of Nicaragua and the grave tensions which obtain in the region. There is still time to prevent a larger-scale conflict and its unforeseeable consequences—if there is a deviation from the path of aggression and covert action, if those who today are threatening to use force apply the principle set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

13. The Security Council, the principal organ charged with ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security, must unequivocally state its opposition to the threat or use of force against Nicaragua and the other peoples of the region, and call upon all States to refrain from taking such steps and to respect the inalienable right of peoples to determine their own destinies.

14. The Council must, and can, spare the world the scourge of a new act of intervention in Latin America. The non-aligned countries trust that reason and right will prevail over might and force.

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

16. Mr. CARIAS (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for the opportunity given to our delegation to participate in this debate on the question raised in the letter of 19 March 1982 from the representative of Nicaragua.

17. Matters such as the one being presented by the Government of Nicaragua are, in our opinion, for procedural reasons and in accordance with Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations, matters which should have been brought up before the Organization of American States (OAS).

18. Honduras has ample documentary proof as to the nature of numerous incidents which have occurred in the region, and in this regard we have submitted both complaints and protests through diplomatic channels to the Ambassador of Nicaragua at Tegucigalpa and our Ambassador at Managua, and in communications of representatives of both countries at the highest level. We have done this also before international bodies such as the OAS. We have submitted full information to the United Nations because we believe it should be evident that Honduras, by means of this evidence, can effectively rebut certain accusations which have been levelled at us.

19. Nevertheless, the democratic Government of President Roberto Suazo Córdova believes it to be neither appropriate nor salutary to have this constant levelling of accusations, because it sincerely believes that that does not help the cause of peace for which Honduras struggles. We are not here seeking confrontation, but rather to find regional solutions which would be harmful to no one, and we seek peace by civilized methods that would call a halt to violence.

20. It is for that reason that, in view of this international conduct of Honduras in favour of peace and our concern over the situation in Central America, the Government of Honduras, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Edgardo Paz Barnica, on 23 March before the Permanent Council of the OAS made a statement which laid down its position with regard to a regional policy for the internationalization of peace. I should like to quote the following paragraphs from that statement made by Mr. Paz Barnica:

"Our identification with the democratic system of government as the result of free and honest elections impels us to express our solidarity with all those peoples and Governments which, in true respect for the expression of popular sovereignty, have chosen as the means for solving their problems a system where the person, the citizen, expresses and delegates his mandate. This was the system chosen by more than 1.5 million Honduran citizens at the end of 1981 in the largest vote ever recorded in 161 years of independent life—a system which all Hondurans are equally obliged to defend wholeheartedly and unreservedly".

21. Mr. Paz Barnica continued:

"Honduras knows full well and firmly believes that peace in Central America can be attained, but only if we combine goodwill with a sincere desire on the part of the parties concerned to solve conflicts by peaceful means, with the aim of reaching responsible, serious and lasting agreements in the interests of peace, justice and freedom.

"Guided by these objectives and responsibilities, the Government of Honduras hereby proposes, in this honourable forum of the Americas:

"First, that the basic elements should immediately be prepared with a view to general disarmament in the region. This would involve not only a halt to the arms race, which has caused so much tension and instability in relations within Central America and on the continent, but also a genuine reduction in armaments and in military strength in order to ensure that the countries which have armed forces maintain them at the levels strictly necessary for the defence of sovereignty and territorial integrity and for the maintenance of law and order, in accordance with the universally accepted requirements and criteria acknowledged in all democratic societies governed by law. Such basic elements should also contain agreements on the type of weapons to be limited and prohibited as part of this general disarmament plan.

"Secondly, that there should also be agreement on reducing, on an objective and reasonable basis, the number of foreign military and other advisers, as well as any other elements likely to create suspicion and uneasiness or to distort the identity of the respective nations.

"Thirdly, that consideration should be given to, and agreement reached on, appropriate mechanisms to ensure that, through a process of international supervision and monitoring, to which Honduras is committed, there is verification of compliance with obligations entered into by the Governments of the Central American region. Such supervision and monitoring would cover countries where there are conflicts and sensitive elements which may affect peace in the region, such as ports, airports, border areas and strategic sectors. Honduras is truly and fully prepared to submit its territory, without reservations, to any type of international supervision or monitoring that is agreed upon for the basic purpose of securing and strengthening peace.

"Fourthly, that there should be discussion of, and agreement on, the most appropriate procedures and mechanisms for halting the traffic in arms in the region.

"Fifthly, that there should be absolute respect for delimited and demarcated borders and the traditional and jurisdictional frontier-lines of States in the region, lest peace should be affected by fresh disputes in matters relating to territory or to the sea.

"Sixthly, that the framework for a permanent multilateral dialogue should be defined. At the internal level, such a dialogue, on the basis of this initiative, would also create the right climate for political arrangements to strengthen the democratic and pluralist system, which in turn would enforce respect for the freedoms of the people and for their right to free expression of their wishes.

". . .

"In connection with this peace initiative, Honduras is prepared to set in motion, immediately, a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned.

"Our country has no wish to become involved in the violence afflicting Central America. Our country wants to remain in a state of internal and international peace. Our country wishes to commit itself fully to the immense and demanding task of improving the economic and social well-being of the people. Our country wishes to devote itself to the strengthening and defence of its democratic system of government.

"The people and Government of Honduras do not want their territory to be used for destabilization in the region and will not tolerate such a development. They call on the States of the region to seek civilized formulas for coexistence, through a process of frank and unreserved dialogue.

"It is my pleasure to inform the international community that we think it would be useful, as soon as I return to Honduras and as soon as circumstances permit to have a wide-ranging exchange of views with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua and with representatives of other Governments in the region. The Government of Honduras sincerely hopes that such an exchange will provide a starting-point for the formulation of proposals, such as this one, which are prompted by good faith, in the best interests of Central America.

"I wish to express our concern at the apparent attempt to ascribe to our Government, through a campaign of disinformation, actions and policies not consistent with the facts or with the direction which we wish to give to our international conduct. On behalf of the Government and people of Honduras, I appeal for a true understanding of our situation, of our efforts to achieve peace and of the difficult road still ahead. I am confident that, on the basis of good faith at the international level, solidarity between fraternal peoples and genuinely democratic approaches, we will together be able to give Central America a future that holds a promise of co-operation in conditions of interdependence, peace and dignity.

"I also wish to reiterate the statement made by Mr. Roberto Suazo Córdova, the constitutional President of the Republic, as he assumed the management of the public affairs of Honduras on 27 January 1982:

"Honduras neither seeks nor desires to become an arbiter of the region's expectations, concerns and hopes. That is not its role.

"But it does desire, while remaining committed to the principles of self-determination and

non-interference, to be a force for stability and harmony in the search for a common destiny for Central America."

And Mr. Paz Barnica concluded his statement as follows:

"With a sense of historic responsibility, the Government of Honduras, through me, puts forward these initiatives for implementation, in this forum of American consciousness. We do so with a sense of pride, because we are proclaiming with honour that we are a non-belligerent democracy, inspired by the solemn declaration embodied in the preamble to the Charter of the Organization of American States that:

"... the true significance of American solidarity and good neighbourliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man." [S/14919, annex.]

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

23. Mr. de FIGUEREIDO (Angola): I should like to pay a tribute to the Council and to those on whom falls the arduous task of guiding its work each month.

24. On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, I should like to convey greetings to Comrade Daniel Ortega and, through him, to the Government and people of Nicaragua.

25. We are meeting to debate an issue of extreme concern to all non-aligned countries, to the entire third world, and specifically to the Government and people of Angola—namely, the right of each nation and country freely to choose its own path of political, economic and social development; the right of each country to feel secure within its sovereign borders; the right of each country not to be intimidated, harassed, threatened, subverted or invaded by a militarily aggressive, reactionary imperialist Power of the region or by its surrogates; and, finally, the right of an entire region not to be made the battlefield of imperialist machinations and neo-colonialist adventurism.

26. That, unfortunately, is what is happening in Central America, in southern Africa and in the Middle East.

27. The people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista Front, overthrew a repressive régime headed by a tyrant whose family had turned the country into a fiefdom. An oligarchy allied to foreign imperialist interests controlled virtually every sector of the eco-

conomic and political life of the country, while the majority suffered external and internal exploitation.

28. In a mass popular movement, the Nicaraguan people liberated their country from fascist and overseas domination and set about trying to create institutions and structures which either had not existed before or had been destroyed in the decades Nicaragua spent under occupation by the United States Marines.

29. We are often perplexed and mystified by the fact that the efforts of countries like ours to introduce social justice, to eradicate illiteracy, hunger and disease, the efforts to reconstruct our countries after the ravages of war and colonialist exploitation, the efforts to create better lives for our people, the efforts to participate with dignity and self-respect in regional and international affairs, and even our attempts to safeguard our sovereignty and territorial integrity—all are seen as threats to the power, the might, the security and the way of life of Western imperialist Powers, in particular the United States of America.

30. I fail to understand how the opening of schools, clinics and hospitals, assistance to agricultural and industrial production and the creation of social institutions to serve the people have turned Nicaragua into a threat to the mighty United States, a threat that is perceived in such dimensions that the "over-kill" includes the choking off of aid to Nicaragua, the planning of a covert force to invade the country, the mobilization of reactionary international and regional forces to destabilize the Government and threats to blockade the area.

31. A threat to Nicaragua is a threat to the principles of non-alignment on which most of the third world fashions its policies. Attacks upon the sovereignty of Nicaragua are attacks upon all those countries which have a common past of colonialist domination and a similar present of neo-colonialist adventurism. There are many battlefields, but only one war; there are many fronts, but only one enemy; there are many tactics, but only one response: we, the revolutionary peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia, will never allow the resurgence of imperialism nor threats to our sovereignty and dignity as independent States.

32. Though all of us are willing to do battle, we prefer negotiation and peace—as we have demonstrated so often, whether in southern Africa or in the Caribbean and Central America. The people of the region, especially the Government of Nicaragua, have expressed constantly and sincerely their support for and endorsement of the Franco-Mexican principles for bringing peace to this troubled region [see S/14659, annex]. Most recently, President López Portillo of Mexico presented a set of proposals which could result in a solution to most of the problems that plague that region. In fact, the Government of Nicaragua last month proposed negotiating points which, if they had

been accepted by the United States, could have brought about an end to instability and wars in that area. Nicaragua has offered to sign non-aggression pacts with its neighbours, to form joint border patrols with Honduras and Costa Rica and to hold negotiations on all points of friction with the United States.

33. My Government urges the Security Council to take note of the genuine desire of Nicaragua to work out a negotiated solution, including the desire to see the area declared a zone of peace.

34. I have already referred to the ludicrousness of considering Nicaragua a threat to the security of the United States. However, the obverse is certainly a fact. Nicaragua today is under siege—and not only by a concerted effort of Western imperialism and its many partners. And it is not only Nicaragua that is threatened. Imperialism's aggressive plans include threats to countries like Cuba and Grenada, and imperialism's activities in Central America cannot be isolated from its designs in southern Africa, where imperialism's closest ally and partner, the racist *apartheid* régime in Pretoria, strikes again and again at the People's Republic of Angola in an attempt to undermine my Government's support for the genuine independence of the Namibian people and the Angolan people's commitment to the path of revolutionary progress. In that connection, I should like to refer to a common threat faced by countries on the Atlantic—whether they be African or Latin American. I refer to the proposed formation of a South Atlantic treaty organization, which is intended to be the southern Atlantic counterpart of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and in which South Africa, along with a number of Latin American States, would carry out imperialist activities which are outside NATO's operational area. That not only will mean closer and co-ordinated co-operation—militarily and otherwise—between the Western imperialist countries and their Latin American surrogates and South Africa, but will also mean a noose around the neck of all those countries that are in the area covered by the new organization and that oppose the military expression of imperialist policies and *apartheid*.

35. The racist South African régime, with its massive military machine and nuclear capability, is engaged in a series of acts of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, in addition to being in illegal occupation of Namibia. The racist régime has introduced such tension into the region that international peace and stability are threatened. In a similar fashion we see a threat to international peace and security in Central America posed by a fragile situation that could explode into a wider war at any moment.

36. I have so often spoken in the Council on the issue of South African threats against the sovereignty of Angola. Today, as I speak of the threats faced by Nicaragua, I am filled with a sense of *déjà vu*, almost as if I were speaking of my own country—and in a sense

I am, for the people of Angola feel a solidarity with the people of Nicaragua, a solidarity based on common goals and on common obstacles to those goals.

37. Both our countries and others like them are engaged in a war on poverty, injustice and exploitation. Our lands still reek of the blood of our freedom-fighters, our slums and *barrios* still bear witness to unequal colonialist development and our graveyards are full of the freshly dug graves of the brave sons and daughters of our countries. Our meagre resources, so desperately needed for economic reconstruction and development, simply have to be expended on defence if we are to retain our independence and our sovereignty. If those who presume to control the destiny of certain parts of the world could only visit countries like Nicaragua and Angola and see what our peoples are engaged in, the massive odds that face our Governments in their national task, the legacy of oppression and ruin that has to be combated, then we would cease to be perceived as threats and would be accepted for what we really are—emerging nations trying to struggle to reach a level of development which ensures the continued survival of all our peoples, not just a few; justice for all our peoples, not just a few; and the chance of a better life for all our people, and not just a few.

38. We must live inside history; we cannot exist outside it. The people of Nicaragua made known their choice once and for all in 1979, and the international community must accept it with the respect for sovereign States that is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. No Power, great or small, should have one set of principles for its friends and another set for those it arbitrarily deems to be foes.

39. The Security Council, as the United Nations body concerned with international peace-keeping, must pay close heed to the Nicaraguan position stated before it today [2335th meeting] if a wider conflagration is to be prevented. And the Council must act and not be merely a silent observer. Otherwise, justice will founder on prudence. Revolutions never go backwards, and revolutionaries would rather die on their feet than live on their knees. Revolutions are made to obtain freedom and to preserve it, not to compromise freedom and lose it. And no matter how many battles the revolutionaries lose, we always win one—the last one. For us the revolutionaries, those of us who fight for freedom, liberty, justice and equality—the inalienable rights of all men—the cost of liberty is less than the price of oppression. These rights of nations and States are set forth in the Charter, and guarded by the Security Council. Here is another chance for the Council to put into practice that which it was created to uphold and protect.

40. Until final victory, the struggle continues.

41. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Argentina 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.

42. Mr. ROCA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I go into the matter at issue at this meeting, I should like to make a very brief personal statement. I presented my credentials only a few hours ago, and my first official act is to make a statement in exercise of right of reply to the statement made by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua. Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, concerning the alleged intervention by my country in the internal affairs of his country, with which the Republic of Argentina maintains regular diplomatic relations. I therefore regret beginning my official activities with a negative rather than a positive act which might contribute to the peace process in this Organization, to which I wish to make a modest contribution.

43. I also wish to affirm that between the Republic of Argentina, located in the southernmost area of the American continent, and the countries of Central America there is a time-honoured and deeply felt friendship. Almost all of our flags bear the same colours. Our cultures are similar. We feel their problems very deeply.

44. In his statement this morning, the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua leveled accusations and denunciations of various kinds against several countries, some of which he mentioned by name and some of which he referred to indirectly. He mentioned my country, and he referred to members of its armed forces in a manner which was completely inconsistent, based on a statement by an individual whose testimony should be disqualified, since the least we can say about it is that since he is a professional activist of subversion, his credibility should not be upheld.

45. My country strongly rejects the accusations by the representative of the Government of Nicaragua. Relations between the Government of Argentina and the Governments of Salvador and Honduras, of a diplomatic, economic, commercial, cultural and even military nature, are normal and clear and cannot be said to be contrary to the practices of international relations among States or directed against any country. To make such statements constitutes a procedure the purposes of which escape our understanding. There does not exist, in the Charter of the United Nations or in the Charter of the Organization of American States, any limitation on relations between the armed forces of sovereign States other than respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of other States. In regard to that question, we must recall that this principle, which can without exaggeration be said to be the cornerstone of the inter-American system and which the Republic of Argentina has endeavoured to embody in its acts throughout its diplomatic history, is a principle which gives rise to duties and obligations: the right not to suffer external intervention, as well as the obligation not to practice such intervention in any of its forms.

46. My Government trusts that it is still possible to adopt moderate, rational and just positions based on the strict and realistic application of the essential principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of American States—that is to say, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of other States, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes—which may make it possible to arrive at just, peaceful and democratic solutions.

47. In that context, I believe it timely to point out that, the day before yesterday, the Foreign Minister of Honduras advanced some ideas, which were presented at the Permanent Council of the OAS [see S/14919, annex]. My country is studying those ideas with great attention, as a valuable and very interesting contribution to a solution to the problems of the region.

48. Finally, I wish to point out that the Government of Argentina has repeatedly denied the participation of Argentinian military forces. The President of the Republic publicly stated on 14 February that Argentina "has no intention of sending forces to any Central

American country or any other country. It has not thought of such action, has no such commitment, nor has it received any suggestion or request from any Central American country to that effect."

49. I now conclude this statement—which I greatly regret having had to ask to be allowed to make—by clearly and conclusively saying that the Government of Argentina, through me, denies any direct or indirect act of intervention in the internal or external affairs of Nicaragua or of any other country of the region.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/34/542, annex, Political Declaration, para. 156.

² *Ibid.*, para. 177.

³ *Ibid.*, para. 181.

⁴ A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex, Political Part, paras. 99 and 101.

⁵ A/37/59, annex I.

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