

CONTENTS – TABLE DES MATIÈRES

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Counter-Memorial of the United States of America (Questions of Jurisdiction and Admissibility) — Contre-mémoire des Etats-Unis d'Amérique (questions de la compétence et de la recevabilité) | |
| INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY | 3 |
| Introduction | 3 |
| Summary of argument | 5 |
| PART I. NICARAGUA HAS NOT INVOKED AN EFFECTIVE TITLE OF JURISDICTION | 10 |
| Introduction | 10 |
| Chapter I. Nicaragua has never accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction and therefore has no right to invoke that jurisdiction against the United States | 11 |
| Section I. Nicaragua never accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice | 11 |
| A. Only parties to the Protocol of Signature to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice could accept that Court's compulsory jurisdiction | 11 |
| B. Nicaragua never became party to the Statute of the Permanent Court | 13 |
| 1. 14 September 1929: Nicaragua signed but did not ratify the Protocol of Signature | 13 |
| 2. 24 September 1929: Nicaragua made an ineffective declaration under the Optional Clause of the Protocol of Signature | 13 |
| 3. 1930-1935: Nicaragua's domestic consideration of the Protocol of Signature | 14 |
| 4. 1936-1938: Nicaragua's withdrawal from the League of Nations | 15 |
| 5. 1939-1946: Communications between Nicaragua and the League confirmed that Nicaragua had not accepted the Permanent Court's compulsory jurisdiction | 15 |
| Section II. Because Nicaragua's Declaration was never an acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, the Declaration cannot be deemed under Article 36 (5) to be an acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice | 18 |
| A. According to the plain meaning of the words "still in force", Article 36 (5) applies only to declarations binding the declarant to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court | 18 |
| 1. "In force" means "binding" | 18 |
| 2. The French text of Article 36 (5) of this Court's Statute also requires that a declaration be binding under the Statute of the Permanent Court in order to be deemed an acceptance of this Court's jurisdiction | 20 |
| 3. Article 36 (5) cannot bring into force a declaration that had never been in force under the Permanent Court's Statute | 22 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| Section III. Nicaragua is required by the Charters of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States to seek regional solutions to problems concerning the maintenance of regional peace and security | 174 |
| Section IV. Adjudication of only one part of the issues involved in the Contadora process would necessarily disrupt that process . . . | 175 |
| SUBMISSIONS | 176 |
| <i>Annexes to the Counter-Memorial of the United States of America</i> | |
| <i>Annex 1.</i> Affidavit of Secretary of State George P. Schultz dated 14 August 1984 | 177 |
| <i>Annex 2.</i> Affidavit of Stephen R. Bond, Counselor for Legal Affairs with the United States Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, concerning file entitled “League of Nations Archives, 1928 to 1932, Statute of the Court, signature and ratification by the Government of Nicaragua”, Registry Number 3C/12843/279, dated 31 July 1984 . . . | 181 |
| <i>Annex 3.</i> Letter from the Division of Foreign Affairs, Federal Political Department, Government of Switzerland, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated 22 October 1929 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/12843/279) | 182 |
| <i>Annex 4.</i> Letter from the League of Nations Legal Adviser to the Chief of the Federal Political Department, Division of Foreign Affairs, Government of Switzerland, dated 25 October 1929 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/12843/279) | 183 |
| <i>Annex 5.</i> Letter from the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated 29 October 1929 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/12843/279) | 184 |
| <i>Annex 6.</i> Letter from the League of Nations Legal Adviser to the Chancellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Austria, dated 7 November 1929 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3D/12843/279) | 185 |
| <i>Annex 7.</i> Letter from T. F. Medina, Nicaraguan Delegate to the League of Nations, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated 29 November 1930 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/12843/279) and French translation | 186 |
| <i>Annex 8.</i> XXXIX <i>La Gaceta</i> 386-387 (1935) (Referral to the Protocol of Signature to the Nicaraguan Congress) and English translation | 187 |
| <i>Annex 9.</i> XXXIX <i>La Gaceta</i> 1033 (1935) (Nicaragua’s Senate approves the Protocol of Signature) and English translation | 188 |
| <i>Annex 10.</i> XXXIX <i>La Gaceta</i> 1673 (1935) (Nicaragua’s Chamber of Deputies approves the Protocol of Signature) and English translation | 189 |
| <i>Annex 11.</i> Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated 4 April 1935, and English translation | 190 |
| <i>Annex 12.</i> Letter from the Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, dated 6 May 1935 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/17664/1589) | 191 |
| <i>Annex 13.</i> Letter from the United States Ambassador to Nicaragua to the Secretary of State, dated 13 May 1943, enclosing a letter from the Ambassador to Judge Manley Hudson, dated 13 May 1943, | |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| Section II. The Court cannot adjudicate the rights and obligations of third States without their consent or participation | 134 |
| Chapter II. The Application would require the adjudication by the Court of a subject-matter specifically committed to other modes of resolution by the Charter of the United Nations | 136 |
| Section I. The Nicaraguan allegations constitute a request for a determination by the Court that there exists a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression | 136 |
| Section II. The matters alleged in the Nicaraguan Application and Memorial are committed by the Charter of the United Nations to the exclusive competence of the political organs | 138 |
| A. The text of the Charter | 138 |
| B. The origins and history of the Charter | 142 |
| C. Subsequent practice of States and United Nations organs | 149 |
| 1. The Nicaraguan Application is without precedent | 149 |
| 2. The <i>Corfu Channel</i> case | 150 |
| 3. Post-Charter efforts to define “aggression” | 151 |
| Chapter III. This Court may not properly exercise subject-matter jurisdiction over Nicaragua’s claims | 156 |
| Section I. The Court should defer to the other organs of the United Nations with respect to matters confided to those other organs by the Charter | 156 |
| A. General considerations | 156 |
| B. The <i>Memel</i> and <i>Minority Schools</i> cases are not relevant to the issue before the Court | 159 |
| C. The <i>Diplomatic and Consular Staff</i> case does not establish the competence of the Court to adjudicate Nicaragua’s claims | 160 |
| Section II. Nicaragua is requesting that the Court review decisions already taken by the political organs | 163 |
| Section III. Article 51 of the Charter precludes impairment of the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense | 164 |
| Chapter IV. The judicial process is inherently incapable of resolving on-going armed conflict | 166 |
| Section I. The nature of the judicial function precludes its application to the substance of Nicaragua’s allegations | 166 |
| Section II. The situation alleged in the Nicaraguan Application cannot be judicially managed or resolved | 167 |
| Section III. The conclusion that the Court cannot judicially determine the matters alleged in the Nicaraguan Application does not mean that international law is neither relevant nor controlling | 169 |
| Chapter V. The Nicaraguan Application is inadmissible because the established processes for resolution of the overall issues of Central America have not been exhausted | 170 |
| Section I. The Contadora process, to which Nicaragua is party, is recognized, both by the political organs of the United Nations and by the Organization of American States, as the appropriate method for the resolution of the issues of Central America | 170 |
| Section II. The Contadora process has adopted, among its aims, principles directed to the very claims and issues raised by the Nicaraguan Application | 171 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| 4. Denial of a right of modification to a State not making an express reservation in an older declaration would be inequitable and cannot be justified in light of the fundamental changes which have occurred in State practice under the Optional Clause | 117 |
| (a) The inherent right asserted by the United States is fully consistent with the nature and operation of declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction as articulated by this Court in the <i>Right of Passage</i> case | 117 |
| (b) It would be inequitable to treat States unequally with respect to the right of modification by failing to interpret older declarations, like that of the United States, in light of the fundamental changes in the Optional Clause system that have been brought about by State practice | 119 |
| Section IV. Even if construed as a termination of the 1946 declaration, the 6 April modification of the United States Declaration effectively suspended, before seisin, Nicaragua's claims from the scope of the United States consent to jurisdiction | 121 |
| A. Nicaragua's declaration, were it effective, would be immediately terminable | 122 |
| 1. Nicaragua's declaration is indefinite in duration, not unlimited | 122 |
| 2. Older declarations of indefinite duration, like that of Nicaragua, are immediately terminable | 123 |
| B. Nicaragua never accepted "the same obligation" as the United States six-month notice proviso and may not, therefore, oppose that proviso as against the United States | 124 |
| C. The principles of reciprocity, mutuality and equality of States before the Court permit the United States to exercise the right of termination with the immediate effect implicit in the Nicaraguan right of termination, regardless of the six-month notice proviso in the United States declaration | 125 |
| Section V. The United States 6 April 1984 note is effective under international law and is valid under United States law | 127 |
| A. The 6 April note is effective under international law regardless of its status under domestic United States law because a foreign minister has the apparent authority to bind the State represented | 128 |
| B. The 6 April note was valid under United States law | 129 |
| 1. The United States declaration is not a "treaty" for purposes of United States constitutional processes | 129 |
| 2. The President may narrow or terminate United States obligations under its declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction | 129 |
| PART IV. THE INADMISSIBILITY OF THE APPLICATION | 132 |
| Introduction | 132 |
| Chapter I. The Nicaraguan Application is inadmissible because Nicaragua has failed to bring indispensable parties before the Court | 133 |
| Section I. Adjudication of Nicaragua's claims would necessarily implicate the rights and obligations of other States | 133 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| Section II. The 6 April note effected a modification temporarily suspending in part the operation of the United States declaration accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction; it did not terminate that declaration | 99 |
| Section III. The 6 April note validly modified the United States 1946 declaration with immediate effect | 101 |
| A. Declarations under the Optional Clause are subject to modification at the discretion of the declarant State in any manner not inconsistent with the Statute at any time until an application has been filed with the Court | 101 |
| 1. Declarations are <i>sui generis</i> in character; they are not treaties and are not governed by the law of treaties | 101 |
| (a) It is incompatible with the terms of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court to regard declarations as treaties | 102 |
| (b) Declarations differ fundamentally from treaties in the unilateral nature of their formation | 103 |
| (c) Declarations differ fundamentally from treaties in the treatment of reservations | 103 |
| (d) The right of unilateral modification of declarations sanctioned by the <i>Right of Passage</i> case is alien to treaty law | 105 |
| (e) Publicists generally concur that declarations are <i>sui generis</i> | 105 |
| 2. A State's sovereign right to qualify its acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction is an inherent feature of the Optional Clause system, as reflected in, and developed by, State practice | 106 |
| (a) The system of reservations to declarations is based not on the Court's Statute but on State practice | 106 |
| (b) A right to qualify acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction necessarily derives from the consensual basis of jurisdiction and the principle <i>in plus stat minus</i> | 107 |
| (c) Reserved rights to modify declarations, or to terminate declarations and substitute new declarations therefor with immediate effect, dominate the present-day Optional Clause system | 109 |
| (d) States have exercised their right to modify a declaration to avoid prospective adjudication | 110 |
| (e) States have modified or terminated their declarations in the absence of a reserved right | 111 |
| 3. The Court has confirmed the evolution of State practice with respect to declarations, and has recognised an inherent, extra-statutory right to modify declarations in any manner not inconsistent with the Statute at any time until the date of filing of an application | 113 |
| (a) The date for determining jurisdiction is the date of seisin, which is the date of filing of an application with the Court | 113 |
| (b) Declarant States have an inherent right to modify their acceptances of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction at any time until the filing of an application | 116 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| B. The exclusion from international arbitration or adjudication of matters affecting the interests of absent third parties has been a consistent United States practice before and after adoption of the multilateral treaty reservation | 81 |
| C. The multilateral treaty reservation protects the United States and third States from the inherently prejudicial effects of partial adjudication of complex, multiparty disputes | 83 |
| Section III. Because States that would be “affected by” the Court’s decision are not present, the Court is without jurisdiction over Nicaragua’s Application | 86 |
| A. Nicaragua’s Application on its face affects the interests of Honduras and Costa Rica | 86 |
| B. El Salvador will be affected by a decision of the Court on Nicaragua’s claims | 88 |
| C. Grant of the relief requested by Nicaragua would directly interfere with the interests of the other Central American States in the Contadora process | 89 |
| D. The multilateral treaty reservation excludes Nicaragua’s Application from the United States consent to the Court’s jurisdiction because any decision on Nicaragua’s claims will affect the legal and practical interests of Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador | 90 |
| Section IV. Nicaragua’s claims styled as violations of customary and general international law merely restate Nicaragua’s treaty-based claims and cannot, in any event, be determined without reference to those treaties, in particular the Charter of the United Nations . . . | 91 |
| A. Nicaragua’s customary and general international law claims merely restate its treaty-based claims | 91 |
| B. Nicaragua’s “evidence” of customary international law consists of General Assembly resolutions that merely reiterate or elucidate the Charter | 93 |
| C. This Court cannot determine the merits of Nicaragua’s “customary and general international law” claims without interpreting and applying the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of American States | 94 |
| 1. The provisions of the United Nations Charter relevant here subsume and supervene related principles of customary and general international law | 94 |
| 2. The various multilateral treaties on which Nicaragua bases its claims are the applicable law among Nicaragua, the United States and the other Central American States | 96 |
| Chapter III. The United States consent to this Court’s jurisdiction over Nicaragua’s Application and the claims contained therein is suspended for a period of two years by virtue of the modification of the United States declaration effected by the note of 6 April 1984 | 98 |
| Section I. The United States declaration excludes Nicaragua’s claims from the United States consent to the Court’s compulsory jurisdiction because those claims (1) present a “dispute with a Central American State” and (2) “arise out of or are related to events in Central America” | 98 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| B. The purpose and history of Article 36 (5) confirm that it does not apply to declarations, such as Nicaragua's, which were not in force for the Permanent Court | 22 |
| 1. The general understanding | 22 |
| 2. The United States understanding of Article 36 (5) | 24 |
| C. Article 36 (5) has been applied only to States that had accepted the Permanent Court's compulsory jurisdiction | 26 |
| D. This Court has also interpreted Article 36 (5) to preserve, not to expand, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court | 29 |
| E. The <i>King of Spain Arbitral Award</i> case | 35 |
| F. Nicaragua has been listed as having a declaration in force in various publications only because of confusion over the status of its declaration under the Permanent Court | 38 |
| 1. The <i>Yearbook</i> of the International Court of Justice | 38 |
| 2. United Nations publications | 41 |
| 3. Writings of publicists | 41 |
| (a) Professor Salo Engel | 42 |
| (b) Judge Manley Hudson | 42 |
| (c) Professor Shabtai Rosenne | 44 |
| 4. Publications of the United States Government | 45 |
| 5. Publications of Nicaragua | 46 |
| 6. Conclusion | 46 |
| Section III. The conduct of the Parties cannot, and did not, create an acceptance by Nicaragua of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice | 47 |
| A. A State may not manifest its consent to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of this Court except in conformity with the mandatory legal requirements of this Court's Statute | 47 |
| B. Nicaragua's conduct does not indicate any intent to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of this Court | 48 |
| C. United States conduct cannot create an acceptance by Nicaragua of this Court's compulsory jurisdiction | 50 |
| Chapter II. The Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation provides no basis for jurisdiction in this case | 51 |
| Section I. Having failed previously to identify the FCN Treaty as a basis for jurisdiction, Nicaragua may not now invoke that treaty | 51 |
| Section II. The FCN Treaty is wholly irrelevant to the dispute that is the subject of Nicaragua's Application | 52 |
| Section III. Nicaragua may not invoke the compromissory clause of the FCN Treaty because it has made no effort to resolve by diplomacy any disputes under the FCN Treaty | 54 |
| PART II. STATEMENT OF FACTS RELEVANT TO JURISDICTION AND ADMISSIBILITY | 56 |
| Chapter I. Nicaragua has engaged in armed attacks on its neighbors | 57 |
| Section I. Nicaragua has promoted and supported guerrilla violence in neighboring countries | 57 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| estic Service, 25 July 1984, as transcribed in <i>FBIS</i> , 25 July 1984 (Nicaragua) | 440 |
| <i>Annex 98.</i> FSLN Comandante Henry Ruiz, <i>Barricada</i> , Managua, 25 July 1984 (English translation provided) | 440 |
| <i>Annex 99.</i> NOTIMEX, Mexico City, 28 June 1984, as reprinted in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 2 July 1984 | 440 |
| <i>Annex 100.</i> "Nicaraguan Hails 'Fluid' Talks with US on Security", <i>Washington Post</i> , 12 August 1984 | 440 |
| <i>Annex 101.</i> United Nations Security Council resolution 530 (1983), 19 May 1983 | 441 |
| <i>Annex 102.</i> Communication to the Registrar of the Court from Costa Rica, 18 April 1984 | 441 |
| <i>Annex 103.</i> Communication to the Registrar of the Court from El Salvador, 19 April 1984 | 441 |
| <i>Annex 104.</i> Note from Honduras to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, 18 April 1984 | 441 |
| <i>Annex 105.</i> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, Press Release, 16 April 1984 | 442 |
| <i>Annex 106.</i> Memorandum of John Foster Dulles concerning acceptance by the United States of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, reprinted in <i>Compulsory Jurisdiction, International Court of Justice; Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on S. Res. 196, 79th Cong., 2d Sess. (1946)</i> | 443 |
| <i>Annex 107.</i> Report of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, No. 1835, 79th Cong., 2d Sess. (1946) | 446 |
| <i>Annex 108.</i> Note from the Government of the United States to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, 6 April 1984 | 446 |
| <i>Annex 109.</i> United States Department of State, Departmental Statement, 8 April 1984 | 446 |
| <i>Annex 110.</i> Translation of news report in <i>Critica</i> of observations by Foreign Minister Oyden Ortega Duran of Panama, 14 October 1983 | 446 |
| <i>Annex 111.</i> Certification | 447 |
| Declaration of Intervention of the Republic of El Salvador (Article 63 of the Statute) — Déclaration d'intervention de la République d'El Salvador (article 63 du Statut) | |
| LETTER FROM THE AMBASSADOR OF EL SALVADOR TO THE REGISTRAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE DATED 10 SEPTEMBER 1984 | 451 |
| Written Observations on the Declaration of Intervention — Observations écrites sur la déclaration d'intervention | |
| LETTER FROM THE AGENT OF NICARAGUA TO THE REGISTRAR SUBMITTING THE OBSERVATIONS OF NICARAGUA ON THE DECLARATION OF INTERVENTION OF EL SALVADOR DATED 10 SEPTEMBER 1984 | 465 |
| LETTER FROM THE AGENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REGISTRAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE SUBMITTING THE OBSERVATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE DECLARATION OF INTERVENTION OF EL SALVADOR DATED 14 SEPTEMBER 1984 | 467 |
| LETTER FROM THE AGENT OF EL SALVADOR TO THE REGISTRAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE DATED 17 SEPTEMBER 1984 | 472 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| <i>Annex 80.</i> 1980 Nicaraguan order of battle, based on figures compiled by the United States Government from unclassified sources | 410 |
| <i>Annex 81.</i> 1982 Nicaraguan order of battle, based on figures compiled by the United States Government from unclassified sources | 410 |
| <i>Annex 82.</i> 1984 Nicaraguan order of battle, based on figures compiled by the United States Government from unclassified sources | 411 |
| <i>Annex 83.</i> The International Institute for Strategic Studies, <i>The Military Balance 1983-1984</i> , London, 1984 (excerpts) | 411 |
| <i>Annex 84.</i> Arturo Cruz, "Sandinista Democracy? Unlikely", <i>New York Times</i> , 27 January 1984 | 411 |
| <i>Annex 85.</i> Text of Nicaraguan Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) Study on the Electoral Process, <i>La Prensa</i> , 26 December 1983, as excerpted in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 5 January 1984 | 411 |
| <i>Annex 86.</i> "Face the People" Program with Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Junta Member Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Managua Domestic Service, 28 July 1984, as transcribed and excerpted in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 31 July 1984 | 412 |
| <i>Annex 87.</i> Alianza Revolucionaria Democratica (ARDE), <i>For Peace and Democracy in Nicaragua</i> , 20 February 1984 | 413 |
| <i>Annex 88.</i> Declaration of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force of February 21, 1984, 21 February 1984 | 415 |
| <i>Annex 89.</i> Press Conference, Edén Pastora, <i>Agence France Press</i> report, reprinted in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 13 June 1984 | 417 |
| <i>Annex 90.</i> "Ley Complementaria y del Decreto 1477" ("Supplemental Law to Decree 1477"); 6 August 1984 (unofficial text, English translation provided) | 417 |
| <i>Annex 91.</i> "Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America", annexed to United Nations document A/38/303; S/15877, 19 July 1983 | 417 |
| <i>Annex 92.</i> Note by the Secretary-General, "The Situation in Central America", S/16041**, 18 October 1983 | 418 |
| <i>Annex 93.</i> "The Situation in Central America: Threats to International Security and Peace Initiatives", United Nations General Assembly resolution 38/10, 11 November 1983 | 421 |
| <i>Annex 94.</i> OAS General Assembly Resolution of 18 November 1983 on Peace Efforts in Central America, AG/Res. 675 (XIII-O/83), attached as Annex II to United Nations Security Council document S/16208, 9 December 1983 | 422 |
| <i>Annex 95.</i> United States Department of State, <i>US Efforts to Achieve Peace in Central America</i> , Special Report No. 115, 15 March 1984 | 424 |
| <i>Annex 96.</i> "Acta de Contadora para La Paz y la Cooperacion en Centroamerica" ("Acta" on Peace and Co-operation in Central America"), <i>La Nación</i> , San José, 11 July 1984 and 12 July 1984 (English translation provided) | 425 |
| <i>Annex 97.</i> Broadcast, San José Radio Reloj, Costa Rica, 14 July 1984, as transcribed in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS)</i> (Costa Rica), 16 July 1984; San Salvador Radio Cadena, 28 June 1984, as transcribed in <i>FBIS</i> , 2 July 1984 (El Salvador); <i>La Estrella de Panama</i> , 27 June 1984, as reprinted in <i>FBIS</i> , 28 June 1984 (Honduras); Panama, ACAN, 4 July 1984, as transcribed in <i>FBIS</i> , 5 July 1984 (Guatemala); Managua, Radio Sandino Network, 10 July 1984, as transcribed in <i>FBIS</i> , 11 July 1984 (Nicaragua); Managua Dom- | |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| bassy of Honduras to the United States of America, 23 August 1982 | 335 |
| <i>Annex 63.</i> Diplomatic Notes from the Government of Costa Rica to the Government of Nicaragua, OEA/Ser.G CP/INF.2050/83 (30 September 1983); OEA/Ser.G CP/INF.2132/84 (29 February 1984); OEA/Ser.G CP/INF.2152/84 (24 April 1984) | 344 |
| <i>Annex 64.</i> Diplomatic Note from Government of Costa Rica to Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, 2 May 1984 | 349 |
| <i>Annex 65.</i> “Under Salvador’s Duarte, Death Squad Killings Fall”, <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> , 10 August 1984 | 350 |
| <i>Annex 66.</i> Editorial, “The Duarte Difference”, <i>New York Times</i> , 2 August 1984 | 350 |
| <i>Annex 67.</i> “Program of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua”, 9 July 1979 | 351 |
| <i>Annex 68.</i> “Estatuto Fundamental” (“Basic Statute”), Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, <i>La Gaceta</i> , 22 August 1979 (English translation provided) | 368 |
| <i>Annex 69.</i> “Estatuto Sobre Derechos y Garantías de los Nicaragüenses” (“Law on Rights and Guarantees of Nicaraguans”), <i>La Gaceta</i> , 17 September 1979 (English translation provided) (reprinted in Nicaraguan Permanent Commission on Human Rights, <i>Decrees and Provisions of the Present Nicaraguan Legislation that Threaten Humans</i> [sic] <i>Rights</i> (1983), pp. 32 <i>et seq.</i>) | 373 |
| <i>Annex 70.</i> “Ley que Aprueba y Ratifica la Convencion Americana Sobre Derechos Humanos Celebrada en San José, Costa Rica, 1969” (“Law Approving and Ratifying the American Convention on Human Rights, Signed at San José, Costa Rica, 1969”), Decree No. 174, <i>La Gaceta</i> , November 1979 (translation appears in document D, deposited with the Court) | 382 |
| <i>Annex 71.</i> United States Agency for International Development, <i>Annual Budget Submission, FY 83 (Nicaragua)</i> , Vol. 1, June 1981 (excerpts) | 382 |
| <i>Annex 72.</i> United States Agency for International Development, “United States Assistance to Nicaragua”, 13 July 1979-31 May 1981 | 382 |
| <i>Annex 73.</i> Nicaraguan Permanent Commission on Human Rights, <i>Report 1983 (Annual Report)</i> | 383 |
| <i>Annex 74.</i> “Pastoral Letter on Reconciliation from the Nicaraguan Bishops”, 22 April 1984 | 399 |
| <i>Annex 75.</i> Comments of Commander of the Revolution and Coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Managua Domestic Services, 25 April 1984 as transcribed in <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 26 April 1984 | 404 |
| <i>Annex 76.</i> “Ley de Emergencia Economica y Social” (“Law of Economic and Social Emergency”), <i>La Gaceta</i> , 10 September 1981 (English translation provided) | 406 |
| <i>Annex 77.</i> “Ley de Emergencia Nacional” (“Law of National Emergency”), <i>La Gaceta</i> , 20 March 1982 (English translation provided) | 408 |
| <i>Annex 78.</i> Organization of American States, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, <i>Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 1982-1983</i> (excerpts) | 410 |
| <i>Annex 79.</i> The International Institute for Strategic Studies, <i>The Military Balance 1977-78</i> , London, 1978 (excerpt) | 410 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| <i>Annex 43.</i> “For the Record”, from a statement, 29 March 1984, by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (Democrat – New York), 10 April 1984, <i>Washington Post</i> , p. A-20 | 279 |
| <i>Annex 44.</i> <i>Congressional Record</i> , 2 August 1984, pp. H 8268-8269 | 280 |
| <i>Annex 45.</i> Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, 10 January 1984 (excerpts) | 283 |
| <i>Annex 46.</i> “Nicaraguan Bares Plan to Discredit Foes”, <i>Washington Post</i> , 19 June 1983 | 283 |
| <i>Annex 47.</i> “Bases for Ferrying Arms to El Salvador Found in Nicaragua”, <i>Washington Post</i> , 21 September 1983 | 283 |
| <i>Annex 48.</i> “Cuba Directs Salvador Insurgency, Former Guerrilla Lieutenant Says”, <i>New York Times</i> , 28 July 1983 | 283 |
| <i>Annex 49.</i> “Salvador Rebels Still Said to Get Nicaraguan Aid”, <i>New York Times</i> , 11 April 1984 | 284 |
| “A Former Salvadoran Rebel Chief Tells of Arms from Nicaragua”, <i>New York Times</i> , 12 July 1984 | 284 |
| <i>Annex 50.</i> United States Department of State, “Communist Interference in El Salvador”, Special Report No. 80, 23 February 1981 | 285 |
| <i>Annex 51.</i> Interview with President Magana, <i>ABC</i> (Madrid), 22 December 1983 | 293 |
| <i>Annex 52.</i> Inaugural address of President Napoleon Duarte, San Salvador, 1 June 1984, <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 4 June 1984 | 295 |
| <i>Annex 53.</i> Press Conference with President Duarte (San Salvador), 27 July 1984, <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 30 July 1984 | 297 |
| <i>Annex 54.</i> Broadcasts, Radio Venceremos (Farabundo Martí Liberation Front), <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , June–August 1984 | 300 |
| <i>Annex 55.</i> United States Department of State, Congressional Presentation, “Security Assistance Programs”, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, FY 1981-FY 1985 | 302 |
| <i>Annex 56.</i> United States Department of State, “El Salvador: Revolution or Reform?”, Current Policy No. 546, February 1984 | 303 |
| <i>Annex 57.</i> Costa Rican Ministry of Foreign Relations and Worship, <i>Las Relaciones entre Costa Rica y Nicaragua (Relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua)</i> , 28 July 1982, attachments not provided (English translation provided) | 306 |
| <i>Annex 58.</i> “Honduran Army Defeats Cuban-Trained Rebel Unit”, <i>Washington Post</i> , 22 November 1983 | 312 |
| <i>Annex 59.</i> Speech by Roberto Martínez Ordóñez, Honduran Ambassador to the Organization of American States, 14 July 1983, <i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service</i> , 20 July 1983 | 313 |
| <i>Annex 60.</i> Remarks of Mr. Flores Bermudez, Representative of Honduras, before the United Nations Security Council, 4 April 1984, S/PV.2529 (excerpt) | 323 |
| <i>Annex 61.</i> Diplomatic Notes from the Government of Honduras to the Government of Nicaragua, OEA/Ser.G, CP/INF.2012/83 (5 July 1983); OEA/Ser.G, CP/INF.2016/83 (11 July 1983); OEA/Ser.G, CP/INF.2187/84 (20 July 1984) | 332 |
| <i>Annex 62.</i> Honduran Ministry of Foreign Relations, <i>Resumé of Sandinista Aggressions in Honduran Territory in 1982</i> , from the Em- | |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| <i>Annex 28.</i> Nicaraguan Instrument of Ratification of the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice | 207 |
| <i>Annex 29.</i> Report of Subcommittee D to Committee IV/1 on Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, dated 31 May 1945, document 702, <i>United Nations Conference on International Organization, Documents</i> , Vol. 13, pp. 557-560 (English), 562-565 (French) | 208 |
| <i>Annex 30.</i> Proposals by the Delegation of France relating to Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, dated 5 June 1945, document 947, <i>United Nations Conference on International Organization, Documents</i> , Vol. 13, pp. 485 (English), 486 (French) | 211 |
| <i>Annex 31.</i> Summary Report of Nineteenth Meeting of Committee IV/1, dated 7 June 1945, document 828, <i>United Nations Conference on International Organization, Documents</i> , Vol. 13, pp. 282-284 (English), 288-290 (French) | 212 |
| <i>Annex 32.</i> Report of Rapporteur of Committee IV/1, dated 12 June 1945, document 913, <i>United Nations Conference on International Organization, Documents</i> , Vol. 13, pp. 381, 384, 390-391 (English), 416, 419, 425-426 (French) | 215 |
| <i>Annex 33.</i> Signature by Turkey of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the Optional Clause concerning the Protocol, League of Nations Circular Letter 58.1936.V | 218 |
| <i>Annex 34.</i> Submission of the <i>King of Spain Arbitral Award</i> case, with Appendices | 220 |
| <i>Annex 35.</i> Letter from the Registrar of the Court to Judge Hudson, dated 2 September 1955 (from Judge Hudson's papers on deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Harvard Law School Library) | 253 |
| <i>Annex 36.</i> Letter from the Deputy-Registrar of the Court to Judge Hudson, dated 28 September 1955, enclosing a letter from Mr. Pelt, Director, European Office of the United Nations, to the Registrar of the Court, dated 14 September 1955 (from Judge Hudson's papers on deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Harvard Law School Library) | 255 |
| <i>Annex 37.</i> "Honduras and Nicaragua: An Opinion by Manley O. Hudson", Memorandum, December 1955 (from Judge Hudson's papers on deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Harvard Law School Library) | 258 |
| <i>Annex 38.</i> Letter from Judge Hudson to the Foreign Minister of Honduras, dated 12 August 1955 (from Judge Hudson's papers on deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Harvard Law School Library) | 266 |
| <i>Annex 39.</i> American Treaty on Pacific Settlement (the "Pact of Bogotá") | 267 |
| <i>Annex 40.</i> Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Nicaragua and the United States of America, signed at Managua, 21 January 1956, entered into force, 24 May 1958. 9 <i>UST</i> 449; <i>TIAS</i> 4024; 367 <i>UNTS</i> 3 | 271 |
| <i>Annex 41.</i> Committee on Foreign Relations, Executive Report Number 9, Commercial Treaties with Iran, Nicaragua and the Netherlands, US Senate, 84th Congress, 2d Session, 9 July 1956, pp. 1, 4 | 272 |
| <i>Annex 42.</i> Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1984, Public Law 98-215, §109 (a), 9 December 1983 (excerpts) | 276 |

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| and an unsigned copy of the decree of 11 July 1935 and English translation | 192 |
| <i>Annex 14.</i> Telegram from Managua to Secretary, League of Nations, dated 30 November 1939, and English translation | 194 |
| <i>Annex 15.</i> Affidavit of Stephen R. Bond, Counselor for Legal Affairs with the United States Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, concerning file entitled "League of Nations Archives, 1933-1940, Procole et Statut établissant la Cour permanente de Justice internationale, signé à Genève le 16 décembre 1920, signatures et ratifications, Turquie", Registry Number 3C/19181/1589, dated 31 July 1984 | 195 |
| <i>Annex 16.</i> Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated 16 July 1935 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 196 |
| <i>Annex 17.</i> Letter from the Acting Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, dated 29 July 1935 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 197 |
| <i>Annex 18.</i> Letter from M. Hammarskjöld, Registrar of the Permanent Court, to the Legal Adviser of the League of Nations, dated 18 March 1936 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 199 |
| <i>Annex 19.</i> Letter from the Norwegian delegate to the League of Nations to the Legal Adviser of the League of Nations, dated 15 April 1936 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 200 |
| <i>Annex 20.</i> Letter from the Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to the Norwegian Delegate to the League of Nations, dated 21 April 1936 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 201 |
| <i>Annex 21.</i> Letter from the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom to H. McKinnon Wood of the Legal Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, dated 8 July 1937 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 202 |
| <i>Annex 22.</i> Letter from H. McKinnon Wood of the Legal Section of the League of Nations Secretariat to the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom, dated 13 July 1937, enclosing a note prepared by the Treaty Registration Branch of the League of Nations Legal Section (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/19181/1589) | 203 |
| <i>Annex 23.</i> Letter from the Acting Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, dated 30 November 1939 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/17664/1589) | 204 |
| <i>Annex 24.</i> Letter from Judge Hudson to Mr. Lester of the League of Nations Secretariat, dated 4 August 1942 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/17664/1589) | 204 |
| <i>Annex 25.</i> Letter from the Acting Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to Judge Hudson, dated 15 September 1942 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/17664/1589) | 204 |
| <i>Annex 26.</i> Letter from the Acting Legal Adviser of the League of Nations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, dated 16 September 1942 (League of Nations Archives, file number 3C/17664/1589) | 204 |
| <i>Annex 27.</i> League of Nations <i>Official Journal Special Supplement</i> , Number 193, dated 10 July 1944, p. 43 | 205 |

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE
PLEADINGS, ORAL ARGUMENTS, DOCUMENTS

**CASE CONCERNING MILITARY AND
PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES IN AND
AGAINST NICARAGUA**

(NICARAGUA *v.* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

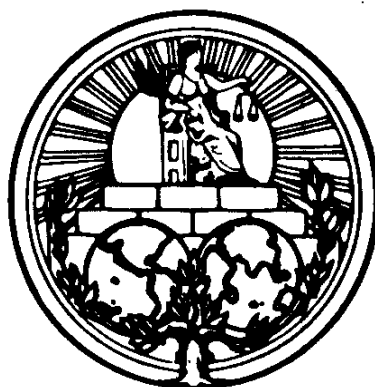
VOLUME II

COUR INTERNATIONALE DE JUSTICE
MÉMOIRES, PLAIDOIRIES ET DOCUMENTS

**AFFAIRE DES ACTIVITÉS MILITAIRES
ET PARAMILITAIRES AU NICARAGUA
ET CONTRE CELUI-CI**

(NICARAGUA *c.* ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE)

VOLUME II



| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Section II. Nicaragua has openly conducted cross-border military attacks on its neighbors | 60 |
| Section III. Nicaragua's neighbors have requested assistance from the United States in their self-defense | 60 |
| Chapter II. The underlying problems of Central America are region wide and arise principally from interrelated social, economic, political and security factors | 62 |
| Chapter III. Revolution in Nicaragua | 64 |
| Section I. The 1979 Revolution in Nicaragua promised democratic reforms and was widely supported internationally | 64 |
| Section II. The Sandinista régime has violated its domestic and international promises | 65 |
| Section III. The Sandinista régime's policies have generated an armed internal opposition | 67 |
| Chapter IV. The United States, Nicaragua and the other States of Central America have agreed to resolution of the conflict in Central America through the Contadora dispute settlement process | 69 |
| Section I. The Central American parties and the United States as well as the competent international political organs have agreed upon the nature of the dispute, the scope of the issues to be addressed in a settlement and a specific procedure for the peaceful settlement of the dispute | 69 |
| Section II. The Contadora process has resulted in a draft "Acta" addressing regional issues | 70 |
| Section III. The United States and Nicaragua are engaged in negotiations ancillary to the Contadora process | 71 |
| Section IV. The United States has acted to help preserve the viability of the agreed Contadora dispute settlement mechanism | 71 |
| PART III. NICARAGUA'S CLAIMS DO NOT COME WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE UNITED STATES CONSENT TO THE COURT'S JURISDICTION | 74 |
| Introduction | 74 |
| Chapter I. The Court has jurisdiction over Nicaragua's claims only if the United States had expressly consented to that jurisdiction in the United States declaration in force on the date that Nicaragua filed its Application with the Court | 76 |
| Chapter II. The multilateral treaty reservation to the United States declaration expressly excludes Nicaragua's claims from the scope of the United States acceptance of this Court's compulsory jurisdiction because any decision that the Court could render would affect States not before the Court that are party to the multilateral treaties on which Nicaragua relies | 78 |
| Section I. Introduction | 78 |
| Section II. The intent and effect of the multilateral treaty reservation are to preclude jurisdiction when treaty parties that would be affected by the Court's decision are not before the Court | 79 |
| A. The multilateral treaty reservation was adopted specifically to preclude jurisdiction when treaty parties that would be affected by the Court's decision were not before the Court | 79 |