

CONTENTS – TABLE DES MATIÈRES

	<i>Page</i>
Memorial of Nicaragua (Merits) — Mémoire du Nicaragua (fond)	
PART I. THE FACTS AND THE EVIDENCE	3
Chapter I. The facts	3
Section I. Prior proceedings in this case	3
Section II. Introduction and summary	3
A. Developments since the Court's Judgment of 26 November 1984	5
B. The future intentions of the United States	8
Section III. Statement of facts	9
Chapter II. The nature of the evidence before the Court	39
Section I. Purpose of this Chapter	39
Section II. The provisions of Article 53 of the Statute	39
Section III. Express admissions of responsibility on the part of the Government of the United States	41
A. The legal basis of admissibility of evidence in the form of admissions of government officials	41
B. Express admissions made by President Reagan and other responsible officials of the United States Government	43
1. Public statements of President Reagan	43
2. Public statements of other senior Administration officials	48
3. House of Representatives: Report of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence	49
C. The particular relevance of express admissions on the part of United States officials	50
D. Official descriptions of United States operations as "covert action"	51
Section IV. The evidential significance of the reference to collective self-defense by the United States in the previous proceedings in this case	51
Section V. Recourse to inferences of fact and circumstantial evidence	55
A. Matters of public knowledge	56
B. Evidence of a system, a general policy and a pattern of activity	56
Conclusions	57
PART II. THE CONVENTIONAL LAW	59
Chapter III. The actions of the United States established by the evidence before the Court constitute the threat and use of force against Nicaragua in violation of Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, for which the United States is liable under international law	59
Section I. The actions of the United States, as established by the evidence, constitute use of force against Nicaragua in violation of Article 2 (4) of the Charter	60

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE
PLEADINGS, ORAL ARGUMENTS, DOCUMENTS

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

(NICARAGUA *v.* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

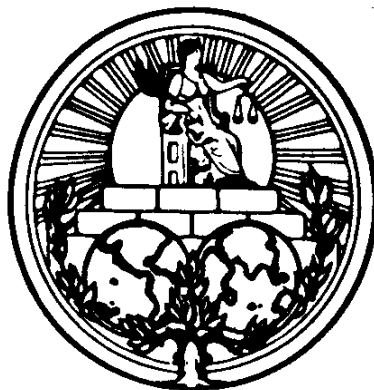
VOLUME IV

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 IV



	<i>Page</i>
Section V. Breaches of the obligation not to infringe the freedom of the high seas or to interrupt peaceful maritime commerce	122
Section VI. Breaches of the obligation not to kill, wound or kidnap citizens of Nicaragua	126
Section VII. Obligations arising under customary international law: the question of justification for breaches	129
Conclusion	129
PART IV. RELIEF REQUESTED AND SUBMISSIONS	131
Chapter VIII. The relief requested of the Court by the Government of Nicaragua	131
Section I. Introduction	131
Section II. The continuing violations	131
Section III. Assessment of the quantum of damages	132
Section IV. Submissions	132
<i>Annexes to the Memorial of Nicaragua</i>	
<i>Annex A.</i> Affidavit of Commander Luis Carrión, Vice Minister of the Interior of Nicaragua	135
<i>Annex B.</i> Affidavit of Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua	161
<i>Annex C.</i> Statements of United States President Ronald Reagan and senior officials of his administration, and official documents of Agencies of the US Government	164
<i>Annex D.</i> United States Statutes	238
<i>Annex E.</i> United States Congressional Reports, debates and other statements by Members of Congress relating to US military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua	242
<i>Annex F.</i> Press disclosures of statements by United States officials and others	285
<i>Annex G.</i> <i>Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare</i> , a manual produced by the US Central Intelligence Agency	293
<i>Annex H.</i> <i>The Freedom Fighter's Manual</i> of sabotage techniques, a booklet produced by the US Central Intelligence Agency	293
<i>Annex I.</i> Reports of attacks by the US-sponsored mercenaries on the civilian population of Nicaragua	294
<i>Annex J.</i> Factual data pertaining to the mining of Nicaragua's ports	295
<i>Annex K.</i> Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between the United States of America and the Republic of Nicaragua, 21 January 1956, and related materials	296
<i>Annex L.</i> List of Nicaraguans killed by United States military and paramilitary activities, 1981-1984	297
<i>Reports submitted by Nicaragua</i>	
Attacks by the Nicaraguan "Contras" on the Civilian Population of Nicaragua: Report of a Fact-Finding Mission, September 1984-January 1985	299
Introduction	299
Part I. Attacks on coffee pickers	304
1. Namasli - January 18, 1983	304

	<i>Page</i>
2. Telpaneca - December 4, 1984	305
3. Agronica Farm (Felipe and Maria Barreda) - December 28, 1982	306
4. La Sorpresa - November 14, 1984	311
Part II. Attacks on farms and villages	313
5. La Estancia - October 14, 1982	313
6. Sumubila - April 17, 1984	314
7. Bocana de Paiwas - August 1981-November 1984	317
8. Jalapa - July 1982-June 1983	320
9. Ocotal - June 1, 1984	323
10. Rancho Grande - March 25, 1983	326
11. El Coco - December 18, 1983	327
12. El Jicaro - October 1982-October 1984	329
13. Jacinto Hernandez Co-operative - December 16, 1983	331
14. Northern Jinotega - January 1982-November 1984	332
15. Bernardino Diaz Ochoa Co-operative - November 18, 1984	334
16. Siuna - August 1982-November 1984	335
17. San Jeronimo - May 16, 1984	339
18. El Castillo Norte - May 15, 1984	341
Part III. Ambushes of civilian vehicles	343
19. San Juan de Limay (Sister Nancy Donovan) - January 8, 1985	343
20. CEPAD/TELCOR ambush - September 1, 1984	344
21. Ambushes in El Cua - October 1984	345
Part IV. Kidnappings	346
A. Individual kidnappings	346
22. Six examples	346
William Santiago Vasquez	346
Antonio Espinoza Morales	347
Ernesto Pineda Gutierrez	347
Moise Fajardo Sambrana	348
José de la Luz Padilla Rojas	348
Amado Gutierrez	349
B. Mass kidnappings on the Atlantic Coast	349
23. Slimalila - April 23, 1983	350
24. Francia Sirpe - December 19, 1983	353
25. Set Net Point - June 19, 1983	357
26. Sukatpin - October 1983	358
27. Sangnilaya - December 11, 1984	359
Part V. Rapes	360
28. Seven examples	360
Digna Barreda de Ubeda	360
Marta Arauz de Ubeda	361
Mirna Cunningham	362
Mileydis Salina Azevedo and Ermelina Diaz Talavera	363
Josefina Inestroza and Abelina Inestroza	364
Statement of Donald T. Fox and Michael J. Glennon, March 7, 1985	365
Methodology	365
Scope	366

	<i>Page</i>
Findings	366
Conclusion	368
Recommendation	369
Biographies of members of fact-finding delegation	369
<i>Supplemental annexes to the Memorial of Nicaragua</i>	
<i>Supplemental Annex A.</i> Chronological account of military and para-military activities in and against Nicaragua, April-August 1985	370
<i>Supplemental Annex B.</i> Statements of President Ronald Reagan and senior officials of his Administration	379
I. Statements of President Ronald Reagan	379
II. Statements of senior Reagan Administration officials	389
<i>Supplemental Annex C.</i> United States Congressional debates and enactments	400
<i>Supplemental Annex D.</i> Press disclosures relating to United States military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua	401
<i>Supplemental Annex E.</i> An Americas Watch Report, Human Rights in Nicaragua: Reagan, Rhetoric and Reality, July 1985	404
<i>Supplemental Annex F.</i> Communication dated 17 July 1985 delivered to the Government of Nicaragua by the Ambassador of the United States in Managua, and note verbale dated 18 July 1985 by the Government of Nicaragua in reply	442
<i>Supplemental Annex G.</i> Affidavit of Edgar Chamorro	445
<i>Supplemental Annex H.</i> Note for the United States Department of State to the Embassy of Nicaragua, Washington, 1 May 1985	455
Document Informally Made Available to Members of the Court by the United States Information Office in The Hague — Document mis officieusement à la disposition des Membres de la Cour par le Bureau d'Information des Etats-Unis à La Haye	
“Revolution beyond Our Borders”: Sandinista Intervention in Central America	459
I. What the controversy is about	459
II. The praxis of intervention	462
A. El Salvador	466
B. Honduras	478
C. Costa Rica	483
III. The collective response	487
IV. Conclusion	507
<i>Appendices</i>	
1. Glossary	509
2. Chronology	512
3. Former guerrillas	518
4. Nicaraguans in exile	521
5. M-16s	526
6. Evaluation by the General Command of the FMLN upon the first phase of the general offensive	528
7. Sources	531