



President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General (continued)

1. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): There is an increasing danger of further escalation and a growing potential for the region of Central America to be engulfed by the fires of war. This is another link in the worldwide net of situations that are the result of attacks on the right to self-determination, independence and freedom.

2. The peoples of Central America have been for an unbearably long time saddled with exploitation, political and economic inequality and social injustice. The only way to overcome this is through a process of emancipation and through a struggle for national, political and cultural equality and independence—in brief, through self-determination.

3. The resistance to the process of emancipation is strong and multifaceted. There are futile attempts to maintain obsolete relationships and further entrench positions acquired in bygone times, and the means used are well beyond the limits of acceptability in international relations today. There are attempts to internationalize the conflicts in the region and to perceive them within the context of bloc rivalry. An ever-growing variety of forms of interference in internal affairs, of subversion and even of armed incursions is being applied.

4. However, it is encouraging, on the other hand, that an overwhelming number of countries believe that social, political and economic issues are at the core of the problems in Central America. It is encouraging as well that the international community holds that the foreign interference and intervention are doing nothing but aggravating the issues. If we are to contribute to peace and security and democratic development in the region, it would be advisable to keep this in mind, and it would be advisable to refrain from perceiving social changes and reforms as threats to the security of others.

5. Peace, security and democratic development can be built only on and around full and unconditional respect for self-determination, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference and full respect for the right of peoples freely to choose their social and economic development. Foreign interference and outside political, economic and

military pressures are simply not an environment conducive to peace, security, democracy and economic development.

6. At their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, the ministers and heads of delegation of Non-Aligned Countries expressed their firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an urgent cessation of all threats, attacks and hostile acts aimed against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. They pronounced themselves once again against acts of aggression and interference, and they emphasized again the need for a political solution. Non-aligned Nicaragua, with which we maintain relations of friendship, is under severe pressure aimed at the destabilization of its Government and causing suffering and loss of human lives, taxing its economic life and restraining its potential for social development.

7. Dialogue is the only feasible way to face the issues and resolve them; but independence and territorial integrity are sovereign rights, and they cannot be the subject of negotiations.

8. It is widely believed that the existing difficult situation in El Salvador can be overcome only through the equitable participation of all democratic forces, including the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR]. Here it is to be recalled again that there is no substitute for dialogue and negotiations in order successfully to meet the challenge of the issues and conflicts.

9. The 15 October meeting of the highest representatives of the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN and the FDR met with general acclaim, and rightly so. This meeting reflected the essence of General Assembly resolution 38/10, adopted 11 years ago, which was also contained in the documents formulated by the meetings of non-aligned countries as well as in the proclamations of the two movements. On this ground, the positive response of the Government of El Salvador and the first meeting of the two sides give us hope that the negotiations will continue and lead to the cessation of the armed conflict and to a peaceful and above all just solution of the internal issues. This would contribute to the lessening of tensions in the whole region.

10. It is worth repeating that tensions can be reduced only if all the peoples of Central America can freely and without outside interference and pressures exercise the right to self-determination. This is one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and one of the leading principles of non-alignment. That should be applied indiscriminately to all the peoples of the world, and it is the *conditio sine qua non* for bringing about stable international relations in general as well as in the region of Central America.

11. The activities of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the countries of the Contadora Group—are firmly anchored in those principles. Their common interest in securing peace, stability, independence and co-operation on the basis of equality and good-neighbourliness in the region is their most immediate and overriding concern. For two years they have enjoyed ever-growing support by the international community. They have remained true to the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America,¹ issued by their Presidents on 17 July 1983, containing an appeal for political commitments by the countries situated in and outside the region with the aim of achieving lasting peace in the area.

12. The Contadora Group received unequivocal support during the recent general debate in the General Assembly. This support can be interpreted as a strong appeal to all involved in the conflict to co-operate with the Contadora Group. It is to be noted that the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora countries issued an important communiqué in Madrid on 17 October [A/39/604, annex], in which they noted that there had been a very significant strengthening of widespread international support for their peace initiative. They referred in particular to the support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Group of 77. In the same document they reaffirmed the readiness of their Governments to continue to work to resolve the grave crisis besetting Central America.

13. We of Yugoslavia support the Contadora Group and ask that its recommendations be accepted as a way out of the crisis. The principle of political settlement based on the authentic interests of all countries and peoples of the region results from our continuing support for the struggle for peace and progress in the world in general and especially the struggle for political and economic emancipation and independence. Delays and procrastination may damage the Contadora process. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] should be adopted by all and be implemented in the shortest possible time. But this can happen only if the interested parties respect the principles contained in the Act, and it is to be expected that all will follow the example of the Government of Nicaragua and show the necessary political will so that the Act is adopted, honoured and applied in good faith by all.

14. The Contadora Group submitted the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. In our view it is to be understood as an additional obligation of the General Assembly and the Security Council to do everything possible to make peace and co-operation in the region not merely a dream of peoples but a reality.

15. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The deterioration of the situation in Central America over the past few years continues to arouse alarm in the world community. This is confirmed by last year's urgent debate on the situation in the region by the General Assembly and its adoption of the well-known resolution 38/10, in which the States of the world clearly declared themselves to be against acts of aggression and other hostile actions against the countries of Central America, and spoke out in favour of the peaceful settle-

ment of the existing problems by the States of the region themselves, without any outside interference.

16. In spite of that clearly stated will of the world community and the sincere desire of the peoples of the region to live in peace and tranquillity, and in spite of the tireless efforts of Nicaragua, Cuba and the States making up the Contadora Group, it has not been possible so far to achieve any improvement in the situation in the region.

17. What is the cause of this situation? Recent events in Central America convincingly reveal the reason. The policy of State terrorism stubbornly pursued by the United States of America against the countries of the region in order to reaffirm its domination in the region is the principal source of tension. A year ago that policy took the form of brazen aggression by the United States against Grenada. It is being demonstrated today by the constant, flagrant interference in the affairs of the countries of the region, in political, economic and military pressure and blackmail and in overt and covert acts of sabotage and subversion against Cuba and Nicaragua, aimed at destabilizing the situation in those countries and altering their social and political systems.

18. The mining of the approaches to Nicaragua's ports and harbours and the recent scandalous exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] instruction manual on terrorism [A/39/596, annex] are clear evidence of the aggressive actions of the United States against the Republic of Nicaragua. These shameful actions by the United States are being conducted through mercenaries and assassins who are trained and launched from the territories of States bordering Nicaragua.

19. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with many other countries, firmly rejects the attempts by imperialist and reactionary forces to justify their aggressive actions through rationalizations concerning an alleged East-West confrontation in the region. In this connection, my delegation wishes to refer to the relevant section of the final communiqué of the meeting of ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, where it is stated that "the processes of change in Central America could not be explained in terms of ideological confrontation between the military blocs" [A/39/560, annex, para. 81].

20. Many delegations, both during the general debate and during the present discussion, have rightly pointed out that the deep roots of the crisis in Central America lie in age-old continuing injustices in social and economic conditions.

21. The aggressive actions of the United States against Nicaragua and other States of the region are a flagrant violation of the elementary norms of international law. They are firmly condemned by the overwhelming majority of the States of the world. This condemnation was clearly demonstrated at meetings of the Security Council, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries and in the interim measures enacted by the International Court of Justice. The present discussion of the problems of Central America once again shows that the world community of States rejects the policy and the implementation of State terrorism by the United States in this region.

22. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has been consistently speaking out in favour of a political solution of the problems in Central America. In that respect, we express our support for the peaceful efforts and initiatives of Cuba, Nicaragua and the Contadora Group. Our delegation highly values the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] and considers it to be a basis for the political settlement of the situation in the region. In this connection, it welcomes the unqualified adoption of that Act by the Government of Nicaragua and calls on other States in the region to act likewise, thus facilitating the process leading to peace in the region. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic also expects the United States to sign the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation without any procrastination or reservations and honestly to fulfil its conditions. Only then will it be possible for us to expect a peaceful settlement of the problems of Central America.

23. The Mongolian delegation, in connection with the discussion of the situation in Central America, supports draft resolution A/39/L.7, submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua, because it considers that adoption of that draft resolution would definitely contribute to the protection of the security and independence of the Republic of Nicaragua from the aggressive actions of the United States. We likewise support draft resolution A/39/L.6, submitted by the Governments members of the Contadora Group, as it proceeds from the desire to contribute to the peaceful process in Central America.

24. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): One year ago the General Assembly, in resolution 38/10, expressed its view on the nature and the causes of the problems in Central America, on ways to resolve them and to assure the peoples of this region of their right to self-determination, independence and social progress. The Assembly stressed that it was "deeply concerned at the worsening of tensions and conflicts in Central America and the increase in outside interference and acts of aggression against the countries of the region, which endanger international peace and security", and it decided it would continue to follow developments in the situation.

25. Unfortunately, the past year has not brought a just settlement of those problems, but rather a deterioration. The risk of an explosion of conflicts has increased, recourse to the threat or use of force by imperialism has grown, and artificial barriers have been raised to the negotiated settlement of problems.

26. We cannot fail to subscribe to the position of the non-aligned countries recently set forth in the final communiqué of their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, especially when they state that "in spite of the calls made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the UN General Assembly, the situation has been further aggravated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention" [A/39/560, annex, para. 81].

27. The causes of the problems of Central America are well known and have been outlined by previous speakers. They derive from the attempts of imperialism to maintain its neo-colonialist domination and exploitation in the region and, by allying itself with reactionary circles in the area, to halt social and political processes in that part of the world through

pressure and military force, in order to stifle the aspirations of these peoples to national independence, democracy and social progress. As part of this plan, foreign troops have been sent to the region, military exercises have been carried out for the purpose of intimidation, and drill grounds have been prepared for reprisal expeditions.

28. A tragic example of this is the fate of Grenada, whose freedom and independence were brutally trampled under foot by imperialism. The United States armed intervention against that small non-aligned country was an open act of aggression designed to crush the liberation movement in the region. The military occupation of the island continues, along with the resulting brutal violations of the political, economic and social rights of the population. The campaigns of "psychological operations" and disinformation to mislead world public opinion are indicative of the imperialists' intentions and plans for the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

29. A vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 38/7, which called the invasion of Grenada a flagrant violation of international law and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. The international community calls for the complete restoration of the sovereign right of the people of Grenada to choose, freely and without foreign interference, its own political, economic and social order.

30. The sustained efforts of imperialism to exert political, economic and military pressure on free Cuba have proved to be a no less important factor in the destabilization of the region. We declare our solidarity with and unreserved support for the heroic people of Cuba in its efforts to build a new socialist society.

31. We note with concern that tension is increasing around Nicaragua. Despite the clear position of the great majority of the States Members of the Organization and in defiance of world public opinion, the "secret" war against the people of that country has continued. We have seen persistent attempts to use the territory of neighbouring States to infiltrate counter-revolutionary bands with a view to preparing armed aggression against Nicaragua. We have seen increasing numbers of air and naval attacks against economic targets and against the civilian population and even the mining of Nicaragua's ports by the United States special services in defiance of the most elementary rules of international law. That political line—quite rightly characterized as the policy of State terrorism—is most clearly expressed in the manual prepared by the United States CIA for use by mercenaries operating against Nicaragua. That manual contains advice on sabotage, on blackmailing the population, on assassination of civilians and on public executions of officials. Such methods have deservedly been indignantly condemned even by United States political figures.

32. Acts of this kind completely contradict the commitments of States under the Charter of the United Nations. The most prestigious international bodies have made this clear in their decisions, which include Security Council resolution 530 (1983), the decision of the International Court of Justice dated 10 May 1984, and General Assembly resolution 38/10. Those documents constitute a categorical

reaffirmation of Nicaragua's right to national sovereignty and political independence and of its right to live in peace and security free from all foreign interference.

33. Since last year the principal diplomatic efforts in the search for a just regional solution of the problems of Central America have been made within the framework of the Contadora process. That is only natural, especially in the light of the fact that in resolution 38/10 the General Assembly expressed "its firmest support for the Contadora Group and urges it to persevere in its efforts, which enjoy the effective support of the international community and the forthright co-operation of the interested countries in or outside the region".

34. Following long and difficult negotiations, agreements were reached reflecting in a thoughtful and balanced way the security interests of all the States of the region. The Act proposed by the Contadora Group for peace and co-operation in Central America includes a number of specific and realistic proposals. These are designed to safeguard peace in the region, put an end to military escalation, prevent foreign intervention, and prevent armed interference from foreign territory by bands of mercenaries, as well as other acts of terrorism, pressure and blackmail against various countries of the region.

35. The present stage of the Contadora Group's efforts is a decisive and very sensitive one; it will become clear to what extent the countries of the region will be able, in the light of their true national interests, to show the political will necessary to consolidate the balance which has been achieved and to proceed forthwith to sign the Contadora Act. Nicaragua's position in this regard is very constructive; it has declared itself ready to accept the whole of this document and to sign it without delay. In our view, it is important that other Central American States should now take the same approach, thereby contributing to the success of this valuable regional initiative.

36. In any event, in order that this process may continue and lead to a settlement of the deep-rooted problems of the region, it is essential that the United States stop creating artificial obstacles.

37. The Bulgarian delegation firmly believes that the crisis in Central America, with its attendant bloodshed and the innumerable misfortunes it brings to the peoples of the region, must be peacefully resolved by political means, with sure guarantees of the national independence, sovereignty and security of the States concerned. On the basis of that position of principle, we express our approval of the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua [A/39/L.7], which is designed to defend the legitimate interests of that country, and the draft resolution submitted by the four Contadora Group countries [A/39/L.6]—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—as steps towards peace in the region.

38. In conclusion, we believe in the capacity of the United Nations to make a tangible contribution to a just and peaceful settlement of the problems in Central America. Bulgaria for its part is prepared to support all efforts designed to eliminate that dangerous hotbed of war and to settle in a comprehensive manner the conflict there, thus opening up for the peoples of the region the possibility of building their future without imperialist intervention, in accord-

ance with their own choice and their own national interests, in conditions of peace and social progress.

39. Mr. ROHAN (Austria): Austria is following the developments in Central America with great attention. There are elements in the present situation—I refer in particular to the broad support for the Contadora Act and to the 15 October meeting at La Palma, El Salvador—which give us hope that a peaceful solution of the crisis might finally be within reach. On the other hand, fighting continues, tensions are high, and the danger of a widening of the conflict remains a source of serious concern. The coming months could be of crucial importance for the fate of Central America. In this situation the United Nations must make every effort to strengthen the forces of conciliation and to give a positive impetus to the peace process.

40. Let me briefly reiterate Austria's position on the item under consideration. We strongly believe that the roots of the crisis in Central America lie ultimately in the unjust social and economic conditions in the region. Centuries of exploitation and repression have perpetuated a highly unequal society, divided between a small wealthy minority and a large economically deprived and politically powerless majority. The widespread apathy and resignation of the poor are now rapidly giving way to a determination to achieve economic equality and social justice. While in some countries—I refer especially to the remarkable example of Costa Rica—stability and social peace can be maintained, the rigid political structures in other States have resisted peaceful transformation. Hence a tragic circle of violence and counterviolence, insurgence and regression, has been set in motion.

41. As the causes of the crisis in Central America are indigenous in nature, its solution must be achieved by the countries of the region themselves. Foreign intervention from whatever side and under whatever pretext will only exacerbate tensions and diminish the prospects of peace. The crisis must not be reduced to a matter of East-West confrontation or to an issue of spheres of influence or competing ideologies. We do not believe that the problems afflicting Central America will be resolved through building up military arsenals or through the use of armed force. Only an end to foreign interference and a genuinely regional process of peace can ensure stability and progress in Central America.

42. One essential element of such a process is the effort to achieve national reconciliation in the countries of the region. Let me express our satisfaction at the meeting at La Palma between the Government of El Salvador and representatives of the opposition. By starting this dialogue both parties have displayed courage and wisdom. Austria hopes that the meeting will lead to a process which will finally bring peace to that country, which has suffered for so long. I should like to stress the importance we attach to the intensification of the dialogue among the political forces in all States of the region. We support the establishment of genuinely democratic systems where human rights are guaranteed and all political groupings participate in free elections. In this context, we observe with great interest the preparations for the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua. Austria hopes that further determined steps will be taken to strengthen democracy in Nicaragua. At the same time it must be emphasized that the chances of a process of democratization in Nicaragua would be

greatly enhanced if the outside pressures on this country were removed.

43. A second element is negotiations among the States of the region on an equitable settlement of their differences. Of the many peace proposals put forward on various occasions, the initiative of the Contadora Group has emerged as the one offering the best chances of success. As a country which has from the outset supported the Contadora process, Austria is gratified that the efforts of the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have resulted in substantial progress. Most significantly, their proposal for a framework for coexistence and co-operation among the countries of Central America, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex], has found broad support in the region. Of course, important obstacles remain in the way of peace, and further intensive diplomatic efforts are required to resolve the outstanding differences of view. At this crucial stage of the negotiations it appears essential that all States concerned, within and outside the region, abstain from any actions that might jeopardize the momentum of the Contadora initiative, and that they demonstrate a strong commitment to bring it to a positive conclusion. The countries of Western Europe, with their traditional close ties with Central America, should continue to play a useful role in the negotiating process.

44. Policies which directly address the economic and social root causes of the crisis in Central America are a third important element of a viable peace process. Measures by the Governments of the region to secure the basis for economic progress and to strengthen social justice must be accompanied by concerted international efforts to resolve the grave economic difficulties and by a substantial expansion of economic assistance. An encouraging sign of the growing awareness of the need for such endeavours was the ministerial meeting of the European Community member States, Portugal and Spain, the Contadora Group and the Central American countries, held at San José on 28 and 29 September. Indeed, it is in this regard that countries outside the region can make a tangible contribution to stability and development in Central America. Austria for its part will continue to intensify its economic co-operation with this region.

45. A peaceful solution of the problems afflicting Central America is not an easy objective to attain. It requires not only an end to violence and foreign interference, but also far-reaching structural changes in the region. All political and social groups must be allowed to share in economic progress and to participate actively in the political process. The States of the region must firmly commit themselves to working towards this goal. Their partners in the hemisphere and in the international community as a whole must give them their full support. This is the only way to do justice to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Central America and to eliminate one of the most serious sources of international tension.

46. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): The question of United States aggression and intervention against the Central American countries was raised at a recent meeting of the Security Council. In his response in regard to those matters, the United States representative did not hesitate to refer to them in the past tense. However, they do not belong to the past. Aggression and intervention are an inherent part of

the imperialist policy directed against the sovereignty of peoples and against the peace and security of the region. The facts show that acts of this nature are still going on in various forms in that part of the world.

47. On this day last year, the whole world voiced the strongest condemnation of the United States aggression against Grenada. At a special meeting the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 38/7, demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from this tiny island country. The events in Grenada are only the tip of the iceberg. The presence of United States armed forces and their activities constitute a permanent source of tension and threat to the national independence, security and stability of all the countries in the area. Puerto Rico has become a training ground from which United States troops took part in the aggression against Grenada. United States air and ground forces in Guantanamo on the island of Cuba have been excessively reinforced, posing a constant threat to the Republic of Cuba. United States warships are patrolling the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific Ocean. Military exercises in a Central American country which are intended to last for years provide a pretext for thousands of United States troops to be stationed there, ready to engage in Grenadan-style aggression against Nicaragua and Cuba. The present situation is further aggravated by the large volume of United States military aid being supplied to pro-United States dictator régimes, by the application of the "counter-insurgency" strategy and by United States acts of sabotage and subversion. The peoples of the region, where the United States and its agents are ready to flex their military muscles, are fully justified in their legitimate concern about wicked United States designs. They wonder what will happen in the wake of the United States presidential election.

48. In this context, the people of Nicaragua have to bear the brunt of United States pressure, aggression and threat of aggression. The Republic of Nicaragua has repeatedly denounced to the world those acts of systematic sabotage and subversion committed by the United States against the Sandinist Government. Recently, in his address to the General Assembly [16th meeting] and at a press conference, Commander Daniel Ortega referred to an aggression carefully prepared by the CIA to topple his Government and hinder the general elections in Nicaragua. Events of the last five years clearly demonstrate what has been going on. Immediately after the overthrow of the Somoza dictator régime, the United States stopped its aid to Nicaragua. It then gathered the notorious killers of the old régime and formed the so-called "contra groups" funded by the CIA. These groups are based in Nicaragua's neighbouring countries, and from there they carry out acts of sabotage against the people of this country. Houses, schools and hospitals have been razed to the ground; a number of economic installations have been destroyed; thousands of Nicaraguan civilians have been killed or kidnapped. Loss of property alone amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, not to mention the far-reaching consequences to the economic, social and cultural life of these people.

49. Yet United States acts do not simply end there. In total disregard of international law, the United States has bombed and mined Nicaragua's ports, thus starting a *de facto* blockade against Nicaragua. This is a vivid reminder of the United States "quarantine" of Cuba in 1963. Furthermore, United States mer-

cenaries are now taking an active part in military campaigns against Nicaragua. A CIA document called "Psychological operations in guerrilla warfare", instructing Nicaraguan rebels in the techniques of political assassination and guerrilla warfare, was recently exposed and denounced in the United States Congress and in newspapers. The aforementioned acts by the United States fit completely into the mould of State terrorism, which is now inscribed on the Assembly's agenda as a separate item. As victims of the Viet Nam war by the United States and of the multifaceted sabotage war by our northern neighbour, the Vietnamese people understand that State terrorism constitutes a real, serious danger to all peoples and to international peace and security.

50. To justify its acts, the United States Administration often bellows about the so-called Soviet and Cuban threats, the flow of weapons from Nicaragua to El Salvador and so on and so forth. But what is the true story? Many American observers have described these allegations as "crying wolf" and as a pretext for a forthcoming United States aggression against Nicaragua. The United States has resorted to this trick many times before: in Cuba in 1963, in Dominica in 1965, in Argentina in 1973, in Chile in 1973, just to name a few. And as far as the weapons story is concerned, a former CIA expert refuted it as a hoax; he himself for two years had been looking in vain for evidence to support that myth. And who is so naïve as to believe that Nicaragua, a country of only 3 million people which has had no peace for the last 70 years, has any ambition other than to live in peace with its neighbours and to build its country's prosperity? And this November, they will cast the first votes of their lives in a free general election throughout the country to choose the representatives of their aspirations.

51. The present state of Central and Latin American countries is the direct consequence of the so-called *Pax Americana*. Let us walk down memory lane and we will see that contemporary history fully testifies to that statement. The success of the struggle by the American people against the domination of the British Empire encouraged other peoples in this region to rise up and fight against the European colonial Powers for their national independence. They were supported by their northern neighbour. And here the ironic twists and turns began. These peoples only jumped out of the frying pan right into the fire. The United States did not sincerely want them to be freed; it only used them to ward off the European colonial Powers. In the wake of the introduction of the Monroe Doctrine, United States imperialism tightened its grip on the region and kept it exclusively for itself. Like the giant in an old story, it does not allow any "foreign bird" to come and twitter in its garden. It installed in power those militarists and dictators who were quite ready to turn their countries into havens for United States interests, to cede part of their territories to the United States and to accept United States military bases and installations on their soil. In short, the United States has given itself the right to call the shots. And when the people of a country choose for themselves a political and social system that the United States does not like, it will try, by hook or by crook, covertly or overtly, unilaterally or multilaterally, to intervene. But I do not want to refer to Grenada twice.

52. From their bitter experience, the peoples of Central and Latin America have seen the real nature

of neo-colonialism and the need for changes. Following in the footsteps of Bolívar and José Martí, they fought for their national independence, and now they are standing up and taking up arms to fight for a decent life in peace and genuine independence. They are showing their good will and their belief in the peaceful settlement of their differences through negotiations within the regional context.

53. The Sandinist Government of Nicaragua has been holding talks with the United States on some fundamental issues of concern to both sides. The four countries of the Contadora Group have made great efforts to reduce regional tension and friction. This has resulted in the Contadora Act on Peace and Cooperation in Central America, of 7 September 1984. World public opinion welcomes the good will, constructive attitude and positive contributions of Nicaragua and the Contadora countries. All non-aligned countries also express their concern about the situation in this region and call on the parties concerned to settle their divergencies through peaceful means.

54. Regrettably, the other side does not adopt a similar attitude. Six meetings between Nicaragua and the United States achieved absolutely nothing, because of the two-faced attitude of the United States. As for the Contadora Act, the United States at first pretended to support it; but now that Nicaragua has accepted it in its entirety, the United States—directly or indirectly through some agent countries—opposes its adoption.

55. In El Salvador, the Government armed forces launched a fierce attack against revolutionary forces right after the initial talks between the FMLN and the Salvadorian authorities.

56. In acting as it does, the United States is now challenging all the peoples of the region, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the world. It is further exposing itself as a regional gendarmerie. The present upheavals in the region are deeply rooted in the United States policy of domination and exploitation. Even the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, notwithstanding its constant slanders against the revolutionary forces, had to refer to the economic and social cause of the present unrest in this region. It is therefore logical that the peoples there are standing up to be counted and to take the future into their own hands. Central and Latin America of the present day is not what it used to be. It is high time for the United States to accept this reality and to learn how to live in peace with its neighbours.

57. As a people that has lived through the most bloody wars, unleashed against them by imperialism and the international reactionaries, in an area that has had no peace for the last 40 years, the Vietnamese understand the value of the fundamental national rights of all peoples. We stand firmly at the side of our Cuban brothers and sisters, who have given imperialism no room for manoeuvre, thereby safeguarding their national independence and freedom. We fully support the people of Nicaragua in the defence of their country against United States imperialism and its agents. Their cause is also ours—all of us who cherish freedom and independence more than anything else. We support the just struggle of the Salvadorian people under the leadership of the FMLN. We support all other peoples of this region in their struggle for independence, peace and social progress. We support the people of Panama in their

struggle to regain their full sovereignty over the Panama Canal. We demand that the United States withdraw all its troops from Grenada and put an immediate end to all acts of aggression and subversion against Cuba, Nicaragua and other Central American States, so as to allow these peoples to decide their own destiny.

58. We commend the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to contribute to the settlement of the region's conflicts. We are confident that at the age of 40 the United Nations will be more effective in its action, thereby living up to its role as the defender of justice and of peoples faced with aggression and threats of aggression.

59. We fully support draft resolution A/39/L.7 introduced by Nicaragua, and we shall vote in favour of it.

60. In the present world, peoples need the full support of the international community in their struggle to preserve peace and independence. Solidarity will lead to victories. Through their victorious struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the peoples of Viet Nam, Algeria, Cuba, Palestine and Angola and many others have understood that truth. We now join other peoples in voicing our strong support for and militant solidarity with the peoples of Central and Latin America.

61. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic share the concern expressed by many peoples and Governments at the events in Central America, where we see imperialist intervention and acts of aggression, economic warfare, a lack of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and interference in the domestic affairs of States whose political order is not to the liking of those in foreign monopolistic circles. Peace in that region is disturbed, and imperialist threats are creating fears of a heightening of tension endangering world peace. We do not want the sorry example of the occupation of a small island by the military might of a super-Power to be followed with regard to other sovereign States of the region. The judgement of the world concerning the invasion of Grenada is still fresh in our minds. In keeping with General Assembly resolution 38/7, we once again call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Grenada and for respect for the right of that people freely to determine its own political, economic and social system.

62. As for the questions on the agenda here, they are not a matter of confrontation between East and West, of confrontation between military blocs, as certain circles falsely allege. The concern is, rather, of fundamental questions of relations between the peoples and States of a region, of peaceful coexistence between large and small States that differ in many respects and each of which desires to choose its own course—the understandable aspiration to liberation from all imperialist tutelage, transforming the life of peoples.

63. More than five years ago the people of Nicaragua, after a long struggle and many sacrifices, eliminated the brutal, criminal dictatorship of Somoza, who enjoyed the favour of foreign monopolists. The gallant people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinist Liberation Front, were able to set about establishing a free and democratic order in which justice would prevail and which would guarantee for all citizens a

life of dignity. The people of Nicaragua applied themselves energetically to healing their wounds, restoring the national economy, developing national education for the benefit of all, improving medical services and carrying out many other tasks. Relations based on equality and mutual advantage were established with other peoples. In spite of the relatively short period that has elapsed, the revolution in Nicaragua can now claim major achievements that benefit all the people.

64. However, the peaceful work of reconstruction in Nicaragua has aroused the ire of a major imperialist Power. As the representatives of Nicaragua and of many other States have noted with indignation many times in the Security Council and at the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, thousands of mercenaries trained, financed and equipped by the great Power to the north have been mobilized against the people of Nicaragua and their legitimate Government. They assassinate and plunder; they attempt to overthrow the order which the people have established in the country. These facts cannot be hidden by any of the statements, however fine, made on numerous occasions in the Security Council, according to which there is no intention whatsoever to eliminate the Government of Nicaragua. Yet the facts are quite different, and the world sees them and knows them. What, then, is the purpose of the massive preparations for intervention, of the concentration of United States military machinery around Nicaragua?

65. The German Democratic Republic is in agreement with the vast majority of States in its appraisal of the situation in Central America. Quite appropriately, the Ministers of States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, observed that:

“in spite of the calls made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the UN General Assembly, the situation has been further aggravated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention through the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States, the installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilization of the Nicaraguan Government, such as the mining of its main ports and harbours in violation of international law, as well as the numerous acts of aggression, pressure and economic coercion exerted against the countries in the region” [A/39/560, annex, para. 81].

66. We agree with the appraisal made by the Central American States that the tensions and present conflicts are worsening and could lead to a world war.

67. Much has been done in recent months to prevent such a development. The proposals and specific actions of the Government of Nicaragua and of other Governments in the region, as well as words and acts of support from outside Central America, have indicated opportunities for reducing tensions and eliminating this dangerous source of conflict. On 10 May of this year the International Court of Justice indicated, in paragraphs 41.B.1 and 41.B.2 of its order, that

“The United States of America should immediately cease and refrain from any action restricting, blocking or endangering access to or from Nicaragua ports, and, in particular, the laying of mines”

and that

“The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by the Republic of Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities which are prohibited by the principles of international law”.²

68. These demands are supported by the German Democratic Republic, which has elevated into State policy the development of peaceful relations with other States in the common interest, while respecting their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The Government and people of the German Democratic Republic are following the Contadora process with careful attention, hope and approval. My Government regards it as the way towards negotiations and a peaceful solution to the problems in the region. We also believe that the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America provides a good basis, since it states that the restoration of peace and confidence in the region may be achieved only through unconditional respect for the principles of international law, particularly that which concerns the right of peoples to choose freely and without external interference the form of political, economic and social organization that best serves their interests, and to do so through institutions which represent their freely expressed will.

69. We are in favour of the demands of the peoples of Central America, in the interests of peace and social prosperity, to leave the path laid down by the outdated Monroe Doctrine and to follow that suggested by the Contadora Group. We have noted with interest that some Western European Governments have also stated that it is impossible to resolve the problems of the region by means of arms, and that what is required is political solutions coming from the region itself.

70. International public opinion demands that an end be put to the policy of State terrorism of which Nicaragua is the victim. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic strongly supported the proposal of the Soviet Union [A/39/244, annex] that we discuss “inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States” as an important and urgent question at this session.

71. My country, my Government is not pursuing any special interests in Central America. We wish to maintain with the States of the region peaceful relations of mutual understanding, relations that are useful to all the parties and serve peace and fruitful international co-operation. That is why, in agreement with the overwhelming majority of States, we demand here that the acts of aggression against the Nicaraguan people and its Government be ended and that no action that could further worsen the situation in Central America be taken or planned. Similarly, we call for an end to the policy of threats and blockade against Cuba.

72. In the name of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, I repeat that the German Democratic Republic stands steadfastly at the side of the people of Nicaragua fighting to defend the sovereignty and independence of their country. My country is a staunch friend of the free people of Cuba.

73. The German Democratic Republic will exercise its authority in all international gatherings in order that the peoples of Central America may freely choose, without any foreign interference, their political, economic and social system and may develop in peace and security.

74. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 11 November 1983, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 38/10, on the item that is once again before us today. On that occasion, fortunately, consensus was possible, thanks to the constructive approach and desire for understanding of the parties principally concerned.

75. Almost a year later the Secretary-General has rightly emphasized in his report [A/39/562] “the persistent gravity of the situation in Central America”. In this regard he refers to the continuation of armed aggression, frontier incidents, subversion, losses in human life and material and the presence of military forces from outside the region. That description clearly indicates the continuation of a situation that is dividing kindred peoples, undermining the peaceful traditions and solidarity of Latin America and threatening international peace and security.

76. My Government fully shares the Secretary-General’s concern about the delicate and extremely fragile state of relations in Central America.

77. In my delegation’s view, there are today some circumstances that differ significantly from those of the past, circumstances that have in a way made it possible to reshape the context of events and that we should bear in mind.

78. First, the efforts of the member countries of the Contadora Group have ceased to be a promising initiative and have now become a tangible and viable hope for political compromise and co-operation in Central America. In this regard the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America proposed by the Governments of the Contadora Group to the five countries concerned, a draft now in its final phase of revision and completion, represents a decisive landmark in the prospects for negotiation now being pursued, and certainly for the future of the Central American process. We are particularly pleased that the text of the draft annexed to the Secretary-General’s report is the result of a long series of negotiations at which those concerned have worked in co-operation to ensure that the final document would take into account the interests of all the countries of the region.

79. During those endeavours we learned of the climate of cordiality and openness to dialogue and understanding among the Governments concerned. If matters had been otherwise, the efforts of the Contadora Group probably could not have had the results that we now see. We should keep trying to promote that spirit of co-operation, in order to consolidate the shift that is taking place from the sphere of confrontation to the diplomatic sphere.

80. In the same way, various recent national developments and others that we can expect in the immediate future are clearly significant steps which, we sincerely hope, are leading to the achievement of a goal of great importance in overcoming the region’s problems. We are referring to national reconciliation in each and every Central American nation.

81. There likewise exists a third factor—linked to the previous ones but perhaps less evident—whose validity is beyond discussion: the vitality and dynam-

ism of the process undertaken on the basis of the Contadora initiative and the efforts of the Central American countries to reach institutional stability have had and continue to have the merit of relieving tension and moderating the utterly counter-productive atmosphere that was menacingly eroding relations between sister nations, dividing them rather than helping unite them. And although we must be realistic and express ourselves in necessarily relative terms, all of us in this Assembly could agree that the tendency towards confrontation and militarism that we so fear has been significantly curbed.

82. We hope that the same will occur increasingly with respect to the tendency to be receptive to the pressures exerted by interests foreign to the Latin American region.

83. The avoidance of the heightening of confrontation and the effective promotion of dialogue and conciliation in Central America are thus the first achievements for which the international community has to thank the efforts and perseverance of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

84. My delegation will not repeat here the approach of the Peruvian Government to the problems of Central America and the guidelines and principles of its position, which the Governments here represented have had occasion to hear through our participation in the General Assembly, the Security Council and the meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I shall recall only that backwardness, poverty, domination and the concentration of power and wealth have historically all too frequently and violently interrupted the task of institution-building and the advance of the peoples of Central America towards higher standards of living. Those negative factors have created a complex situation of instability and tension, impairing domestic undertakings and damaging the concord and unity that are so necessary to sustain the economy and pursue the development of the countries of the subregion.

85. Bearing in mind the structural components of the Central American crisis, my Government was pleased to note the holding, at San José on 28 and 29 September, of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Portugal and Spain and of the Central American and Contadora States. That Conference set forth encouraging prospects for economic co-operation within and *vis-à-vis* Central America, and it was an important political reaffirmation of support for the peace initiatives of the Contadora countries.

86. We believe also that that meeting was an intelligent example of a truly comprehensive approach to the problems of Central America, which to our way of thinking requires the understanding of the urgent need simultaneously and as a priority to promote basic solutions aimed at overcoming the acute social, economic and cultural handicaps that have been the age-old scourge of the nations of Central America.

87. I wish to conclude this short statement by setting forth the criteria which, in the view of my delegation, should guide and preside over the negotiations now being pursued by the Governments of Central America under the aegis of the Contadora Group.

88. First, it should be understood that it would be extremely difficult to find an alternative or a possible solution that would be authentically subregional and

Latin American outside the framework drawn up by the Contadora Group.

89. Second, we should maintain the fundamentally regional autonomy of the negotiating process, and the parties directly concerned should preserve their Central American identity and their Latin American outlook.

90. Third, the five Central American countries and all the parties concerned should demonstrate genuine political will, good faith, flexibility and dispassion. The Central American Governments should honour the historical links, traditions and natural complementarity of their countries and begin to build up among themselves the necessary confidence to develop for their own benefit the potential that unites them.

91. Fourth, the Central American countries and all parties connected with the region should decisively encourage negotiations until they are carried to a successful conclusion. In the interim, they should respect their integrity, independence and plurality and should abstain from the threat or use of force and from adopting attitudes that could weaken the process and dangerously delay the agreement provided for in the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in the region.

92. Fifth, the rule of consensus should continue to be the basic guideline of the negotiations. My delegation is aware of the enormous pressure exerted on Central America and how it tends to distort the parameters within which such a consensus could more easily be reached if that foreign presence did not exist. But we believe also that without the consent of all the parties concerned, a broad and lasting political solution simply is not possible.

93. Sixth, the Contadora Group should remain solidly united around the goal it has set and the procedures that are suitable to reach it.

94. Seventh, the political and moral support of the international community for the Contadora Group is today more necessary than ever.

95. My delegation will support any statement by the General Assembly that will effectively contribute to the pacification of Central America once and for all, in conformity with the guidelines I have just set forth.

96. The international community one year ago expressed its support for and hopes in the Contadora process, and the results reached thus far demonstrate that that hope was not vain. The international community should reiterate increased faith in the initiative for peace and reconciliation in Central America that has been adopted by the sister republics of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

97. Mr. BARBOSA DE MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): A conference on "The Democratic Challenge in Latin America" was held in June at Lisbon, bringing together the representatives of 30 countries. It was possible at that conference to appreciate the concern of the Portuguese public at developments in the situation in Central America. The fears expressed were prompted by the many human rights violations, interventions by forces from outside the region, acts of violence and the use of force, but above all by the feeling that a decisive moment had come for the elimination of the danger of the conflict becoming general.

98. It was clear that the need to avoid the extreme step of recourse to the threat or use of force and the great danger posed by the level of stockpiles of armaments made it a matter of urgency to find solutions that would take account of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region, with respect for the principles of self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the inviolability of State borders.

99. Portugal's solidarity with the countries of Central America, based on long-standing historical and cultural ties, makes the public in my country especially aware of the persistence in that part of the world of serious problems stemming from economic backwardness, social injustice and, in many cases, a flagrant absence of political democracy.

100. The scope of these difficulties is broadened by the repercussions of the world economic crisis, whose implications for the region have long ceased to be a purely technical economic question and, owing to the growing discontent of the people, have become a political problem which could jeopardize the process towards democracy attempted in some States. This is a set of circumstances which has had and continues to have serious consequences for the Central American nations and others in Latin America and has frequently had a negative influence on political development, for totalitarianism always finds fertile ground in deteriorating economic situations and social instability.

101. Moreover, in recent years the tension between the great Powers has been superimposed on these endemic factors. Portugal has condemned acts of interference whenever they have been confirmed, because it considers it essential for the peoples of the region to find solutions to their problems free from outside pressure and subversion. The most urgent task at the moment is the creation of conditions in which their legitimate aspirations can be fulfilled, including economic development, social well-being and political pluralism.

102. Similarly, and taking into account the dimensions of the problems, my delegation has always maintained that lasting solutions can be found only through serious dialogue among the factions involved. The authorities in power must understand that the elimination of the opposition will not bring peace and that conflicts among countries cannot be resolved by force, but only through a comprehensive political and diplomatic solution. In other words, they must understand that the peace-making process in Central America must be based on three essentials: dialogue, a spirit of national conciliation and a political settlement originating in the region itself.

103. It is in this spirit that it is possible to appreciate the importance of dialogue and the benefits it can bring, even when the interests and ideas involved are initially antagonistic and irreconcilable. We can see these advantages in the renewal of existing bilateral contacts and in the efforts at national reconciliation now being made in El Salvador.

104. Portugal hopes that these efforts will be able to contribute to establishing the climate of confidence which is so necessary for the solution of the problems of the region. We therefore follow with great interest the efforts of countries like those of the Contadora Group which are fully aware of the complexities of

the problems and the realities and nature of the conflicts.

105. Having joined in the consensus on resolution 38/10 at the previous session of the General Assembly, my delegation has often reiterated its support for the Contadora Group, whose actions are an authentic effort at regional mediation in the search for a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in Central America. That effort requires more effective support by the international community, including European countries, to prevent the East-West conflict from being extended to Central America and turning the region into a fringe area of confrontation.

106. The Contadora Group's conciliation efforts and consultations in its search for solutions based on negotiations led recently to a draft Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex]. That diplomatic instrument, under which Central American countries would enter into general commitments and commitments concerning political, security, economic, social and humanitarian matters, offers a solid basis for improvements in the situation.

107. Portugal is glad that the draft Act affirms the principles of non-intervention, social justice, economic progress, the strengthening of pluralism, the full effectiveness of democratic institutions, and respect for and promotion of human rights. In view of the importance of the commitments involved, my delegation believes that this document must be examined with special care, in particular as far as questions relating to monitoring and verification of its implementation are concerned.

108. Clearly, it is first of all for the parties directly concerned to evaluate the draft Act. We hope, however, that any necessary changes will be made in a constructive spirit so that it may be possible at an early date to sign a comprehensive agreement that can bring peace to the region, a peace based on the development of democratic institutions, respect for territorial boundaries, détente, an end to the arms race and the cessation of support for rebellion in neighbouring countries, a peace founded on rejection of the harmful effects of internal authoritarianism, external security, respect for human rights and the establishment of political pluralism in each State and non-interference throughout the region.

109. Portugal believes that Europe, which has no ambitions for political or economic domination but seeks balance, should play a very special role in the dialogue with the peoples of Central America, so as to keep them out of the confrontation between the great Powers. It believes too that the forthcoming expansion of the European Economic Community [EEC] to include Portugal and Spain will contribute, because of the presence of those two countries, to increasing European sensitivity concerning Latin American problems.

110. Indeed Europe must endeavour, by means of effective schemes of co-operation, to bring its technical and financial contribution to improving the viability of projects of genuine regional development, which are essential for the future economic and political well-being of the population, because the aspirations to the economic integration of the nations of the region can hardly be realized without outside help.

111. In this context, my country participated, together with the States of Central America, those of the Contadora Group, those of the EEC and Spain, in

a meeting in Costa Rica, in the course of which attempts were made to find, in the spheres of political and economic co-operation, new orientations that could lead to a solution of the problems of the region. The peoples of Central America, which have suffered so much during past decades, have the right to expect that the international community will give them increasing attention and that it will renew its support for them.

112. For its part, Portugal will continue to support unequivocally the regional peace initiatives proposed by the Contadora Group and also any other actions designed to establish confidence, dialogue and non-confrontation, which could provide the parties concerned with protection for their legitimate interests by means of active negotiations.

113. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Spanish Government continues to be deeply concerned over the situation in Central America. We must recognize that in the months that have elapsed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, not only has it been possible to avoid an escalation of the conflicts in the region but indeed significant progress has been made in the multilateral and bilateral negotiations aimed at resolving the problem. Nevertheless, the deep roots of the crisis still exist, and the security and living conditions of the inhabitants of the five countries of Central America continue to deteriorate, to the extent that more than 300,000 persons have been compelled to leave their homes.

114. Considering this picture of light and shadows, my delegation believes it necessary once again to emphasize its conviction that the ultimate cause of the Central American situation lies in the unjust economic, social and political structures, aggravated by the growing tendency to militarization.

115. In view of the true nature of the crisis, only a comprehensive, negotiated, peaceful, regional solution will make it possible to establish lasting peace in the region. Accordingly, an attempt to bring the Central American problem into the East-West confrontation would not only raise a further obstacle to peace but would also mean denying the Central American countries their own direct responsibility in the search for a way out of the crisis.

116. Spain considers that the efforts of the Contadora Group constitute the framework that is best suited to the achievement of regional peace. In accordance with that conviction, my Government has tirelessly supported all the peace efforts advanced by the Contadora Group since its inception. The latest phase in this encouraging process has been the 17 October meeting of the Group at Madrid on the occasion of the award of the 1984 Prince of Asturias Prize, when the comments of the Central American countries on the revised version of the Contadora Act were discussed.

117. In conformity with the full support it has given, my country has made public its intention in due course to sign the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act [*see A/39/562, annex, part III*] and to participate, if so requested, in the verification and control mechanism established under the Act.

118. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Portugal and Spain with their counterparts of the five States of Central America and of the Contadora Group, held at San José on 28 and 29 September, is an example of true interregional

co-operation. The Conference gave its support, at the political level, to the specific peace initiatives of the region, without entering into the details of their content, a task belonging to the Central American countries themselves. Similarly, the Conference made it possible to establish, at the economic level, realistic and effective foundations for co-operation in solving the problems of the region.

119. In its desire to contribute to resolving the Central American crisis, my country will continue to support the efforts of the countries of the region to establish political systems based on respect for human rights and on ideological pluralism. In this context, the latest peace initiative in El Salvador and the general turn of events in the region enable us to hope that the Central American region will ultimately emerge from the crisis.

120. At this time, when efforts are being made to establish a binding legal text, one containing verifiable undertakings as regards both security and political and social matters, the support of the entire international community for the Contadora peace process is more than ever necessary. The draft resolution sponsored by the member States of the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*] offers the Assembly a historic opportunity to demonstrate its desire to co-operate in the search for a comprehensive, negotiated, peaceful, regional solution to the problems of Central America. My delegation associates itself with the representatives of the four Contadora countries in calling upon the General Assembly to adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

121. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again examining the situation in Central America. There is no doubt that the examination of this situation requires us to exercise collective responsibility in analysing a problem that constantly threatens international peace and security in that strategic region of the world and poisons international relations generally in our interdependent world. The situation in Central America, contrary to what we had expected, is deteriorating and is inflicting on the people there heavy human and material losses. If this situation persists it will cause further suffering and might even lead to all-out war which would spare no State in the region.

122. What profoundly disturbs us are the manoeuvres being carried out, both secretly and openly, to sabotage the peace efforts. In the front rank of these peace efforts is the formula of the Contadora Group, which, if it were realized on the basis of mutual confidence, could fulfil the aspirations of the peoples of this region for coexistence, co-operation and the elimination of all the causes of tension. What disturbs us is that the path of peace, represented by the efforts of the Contadora States, coincides with systematically repeated aggressive acts whose purpose is to bring about conditions that would upset the Sandinist revolutionary régime, whose enemies encircle it on all sides and by all means.

123. The General Assembly must determine what responsibilities are emerging from the rapid deterioration of the situation in Central America. It is clear that the overwhelming majority of members support the Contadora formula published in the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/562*]. The Ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries, at their meeting in New York from 1 to 5 October.

expressed their concern at the persistence and increase of tension and confrontation in Central America. They attributed this to recent developments in the launching of an air and naval war which brought about the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and enormous economic losses in an effort to destabilize and overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, which would further increase the dangers of an outbreak of regional war. This led the Ministers to express their belief that Contadora represents an authentic regional initiative and the best chance of resolving this crisis by political means. The Ministers welcomed the fact that Nicaragua had already accepted to subscribe immediately to this document in its totality and without any reservations, and they affirmed the need for all States concerned in the region to support this peace instrument.

124. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries expressed their satisfaction at the ministerial meeting which took place at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 between the member States of the EEC, Portugal and Spain, the countries of Central America and the States of the Contadora Group. Those attending the meeting renewed their commitment to peace and co-operation in Central America. In addition, the Ministers mentioned with concern that the aggressive acts against Nicaragua had not ceased in spite of the bilateral discussions between the United States and Nicaragua. They asked for an immediate end to the threats and aggressive actions against the people and Government of Nicaragua and invited the Government of the United States of America to apply strictly the interim measures recommended by the International Court of Justice on 10 May 1984.²

125. From the foregoing, it follows that the international community in its overwhelming majority stands in solidarity with Nicaragua and considers that the cause of this crisis does not derive from East-West tensions but from the opposition of certain circles and certain States, headed by the United States, to Nicaragua's adopting a régime based on the elimination of class differences, exploitation and feudalism and on the people exercising the right to choose a régime springing from the people's Sandinist revolution of five years ago.

126. In the light of all the foregoing, the General Assembly is committed to unmasking the truth and determining responsibility, especially since the situation in Central America clearly threatens, as we stated earlier, a large-scale regional war whose consequences for international peace and security as a whole cannot be predicted. If we compare the record of Nicaragua—a State whose population numbers scarcely 3 million inhabitants and which is suffering from inherited backwardness and aggression which has blocked its progress—with the record of the United States of America—the richest State in the world, with an area and population approximately 100 times the area and population of Nicaragua—we find that the record of Nicaragua with regard to peaceful solutions displays numerous multilateral and bilateral initiatives aimed at bringing about entente, harmony and peaceful coexistence in the Central American region, while the record of the United States is stained with the blood of all those who resist submission and servility, who defend the honor of their nation and their freedom and independence and their economic and social achievements on the way to building a society liberated from

exploitation. For the era of the Somoza dynasty is still alive in the minds of the Nicaraguans, just as it is alive in the mind of the international community.

127. During the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the United States delegation stated here:

“We believe that the General Assembly has a solemn obligation to grant unequivocal, unconditional support to the Contadora process. This is what the Government of the United States does and we would like to invite and encourage all other Governments here today to join us.” [*See 48th meeting, para. 160.*]

At that time we were convinced that the state of affairs in Central America would then develop in compliance with the principles and goals of Contadora, but very soon it appeared that that declaration was very far from the genuine intentions of the United States, on the one hand, and the situation in the field, on the other.

128. A quick glance at the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/562], which was submitted in conformity with General Assembly resolution 38/10 and Security Council resolution 530 (1983), shows that the security situation in Central America is in direct and sharp contrast with the efforts of the Contadora Group. In that report the Secretary-General states that since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, acts of armed aggression, frontier incidents and acts of sabotage with the consequent losses in human life and material damage have continued and, in certain cases, increased. The Security Council has met three times this year to examine complaints by Nicaragua, including the one concerning the mining of a number of Nicaraguan ports. The United States used the veto to block the adoption of even a watered-down draft resolution warning against the continued escalation of all forms of aggression against Nicaragua and calling for a return to peace efforts.

129. But the United States Secretary of State visited Managua and a United States envoy held six meetings, under Mexico's sponsorship, with the Nicaraguan side. It is evident from the results that these meetings were nothing but American manoeuvres within the particular context of the presidential campaign between the two American parties. It is as if the right to self-determination and the right of States to exist in peace and to choose the system they wish were conditioned by electoral interests outside national borders and detrimental to the interests of independent peoples, as if they were a part of the American imperialistic régime. All this can be explained historically only by the policy the United States has pursued since the nineteenth century, under which it regards itself as the guardian of all the States of Latin America. That logic is rejected by virtue of the Charter, which has abolished all doctrines, including the Monroe Doctrine, that are contrary to the Charter and which interpret the United States role as a super-State giving priority to its own interests, at the expense of the interests of the States of half the Western hemisphere, and at the same time giving it the absolute right to impose its hegemony on the entire hemisphere and to consider anything contrary to its interests and its will a violation of American international law. There is abundant proof in this regard.

130. In his report the Secretary-General describes the outcome of the efforts of the Contadora Group as

the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments. The revised draft version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America represents an effort to incorporate the various contributions and reconcile those aspects on which the parties had divergent views. This document, which is legally binding on the parties to it, will enter into force as soon as it is ratified, and the parties will be committed, from the date of signing the document, to refraining from any acts running counter to the objectives and aims of the instrument.

131. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is pleased to note that, in its letter of 21 September 1984, Nicaragua solemnly stated that it accepts the document in its entirety and is prepared to sign it immediately, without any reservation or amendment. Nicaragua has invited the Government of the United States to sign and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Act and, consequently, to refrain from any act of aggression against Nicaragua. But this appeal has not been heeded, which shows once again that Washington's assessment of the Contadora Group's efforts is contrary to the intentions of the parties genuinely seeking the establishment of peace in the region.

132. It is regrettable that some Latin American countries have submitted supplementary conditions and amendments to the revised document, which has already been accepted—as if the date of 15 October 1984 had not been the end of a long road but rather the time to submit new suggestions affecting the very essence of the document and changing what had already been agreed upon by the five States of Central America, under the auspices of the Contadora Group and thanks to superhuman efforts and long negotiations. That confirms our opinion that serious attempts are being made to block the efforts of the Contadora States, to continue the destabilization of the situation and to unleash a local war.

133. Here it seems necessary to compare, on the one hand, what the Nicaraguan Government has done to ensure understanding in Central America, to compare the efforts it has exerted and continues to exert to ensure co-operation in good will with all the countries of Latin America and the Contadora Group—the author of the initiative that has been approved by the entire world—and, on the other hand, the policy pursued by the United States to delay the establishment of peace in that region of the world. Nicaragua has undertaken the obligation to accept the Contadora Act, which requires that the States of Central America engage in dialogue and negotiations to reduce tension and lay the foundations for peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of States. Nicaragua undertook this obligation by attending the first meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States of Central America, held at Panama City on 20 and 21 April 1983, and by participating in all the other meetings sponsored by the Contadora Group. The most recent of those conferences was the seventh joint meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the five Central American countries held at Panama City on 7 September 1984. While Nicaragua made every positive effort based on mutual understanding, the United States, despite all its statements calling for dialogue, is engaging in action absolutely contrary to the Conta-

dora objectives and to the interests of the peoples of the Central American States.

134. Beginning in September 1983 organized military pressures began against the Sandinist revolution. Elements hostile to the revolution operating out of countries bordering on Nicaragua have, under orders from the CIA, unleashed armed attacks on economic targets within Nicaragua, including bombing the Managua airport, the port of Corinto, factories, petrol installations and the country's airfields. In that month 5,500 American soldiers also participated in land manoeuvres held by United States armed forces in the region.

135. It was in that aggressive atmosphere, in total contradiction to "peaceful" American statements, that United States forces invaded the island of Grenada. All of this proves that the United States of America speaks of dialogue while it is preparing a wider aggression, ignoring any signs of peace from Managua, the most important of which is the signing on 9 September 1983, by Nicaragua and by the other Central American States concerned, of the Document of Objectives,³ containing 21 points. That Document fulfils all the aspirations of the countries of Central America. In addition, Nicaragua submitted a number of draft treaties reflecting American demands in a mutual way. On 8 January 1984 Nicaragua, along with other Central American countries, joined in adopting the measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives,⁴ and Nicaragua regards that action as the culminating point of its efforts to achieve a deeply rooted and permanent understanding in the region.

136. Washington, however, instead of realizing the importance of the steps taken by Nicaragua, increased its military pressure through the CIA, which mined the port of Corinto. Washington has met understanding with violence and sabotage, accompanied by aggressive statements by American leaders.

137. The American Administration has relaxed its aggressive behaviour only in the face of strong protests from its allies—among them Great Britain and France—against the mining of the ports. The policy of force has created a rift in American public opinion, a rift deepened by the attitude taken by the United States Administration in refusing to comply with the decision handed down by the International Court of Justice with regard to American actions.

138. Such widespread discontent with United States actions has nearly undone the efforts of the Contadora Group. The Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated that the bombing of Managua, the armed aggression against the ports of Corinto and Sandino and the border skirmishes have led the countries of the Contadora Group "to feel that there was some link between our meetings and the desire to obstruct them through such activities." As for the President of Mexico, he stated in the Congress on 16 May 1984 that he was issuing a warning against the myth of recourse to force and attempts to impose democracy by force, stating that "a uniform style of democratic life cannot be imposed by anyone."*

139. In an article published in the Fall 1984 issue of *Foreign Policy*, the author Roy Gutman summed up the American equivocations with regard to the restoration of peace in Central America as follows:

"Further, sharp divisions exist in the Administration over whether pressures are meant to lead to

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

overthrow or accommodation. Nearly every top political appointee seems to favour overthrow: Menges, Kirkpatrick, Director of Central Intelligence William Casey, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and his deputy assistant for this region Nestor Sanchez, and Shultz and Motley, as well as Gorman. Those who want pressure to lead to accommodation are said to include members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a great many professional diplomats, as well as military and intelligence analysts. A third possibility is a U.S.-led invasion.”*

140. We might also mention the following comment on American policy in an article published in the July-August 1984 issue of *Report on the Americas*:

“For the United States, Contadora’s real success will lie in its eventual—and drawn-out—failure. As one State Department official recently remarked, ‘The United States would like to go on supporting Contadora as long as nothing happens.’ This was not always the case. The Reagan Administration at first openly opposed the Contadora effort. Only after the four nations had demonstrated their resolve to play a role in settling their own region’s problems did the United States determine to play along, changing its demands when resolution seemed near and stepping up the war when peace threatened to break out. Ultimately, Contadora is an object lesson in how the strong deal cynically with the weak and further confuse the bewildered in the process.”*

141. In view of all these contradictions in the American attitude, with appeals for peace on the one hand and the unleashing of war by the CIA on the other, we believe that it is most important that a frank reply be given to the following question put to the General Assembly on 2 October this year by Commander Ortega Saavedra:

“The world has the right to demand of the current leaders of the United States a clear, definitive answer to a very concrete question. Are they for or against the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America presented by the Contadora Group on 7 September to all the Central American Governments? Are they for, or against, peace?” [See 16th meeting, para. 46.]

142. In the light of our experience, we are confident that the United States Government’s concept of peace means nothing other than imposing a *fait accompli* on peoples. The situation in Palestine, in the Golan Heights and, very recently, in southern Lebanon bears this out. We feel certain, however, that the people of Nicaragua, following the example

of the Arab peoples, will not submit in any way to threats, although all the indications are that the United States continues to plot against Nicaragua as if it wanted Somoza to return to that country, a country that is small in area but very big in its determination to struggle to maintain its dignity, its independence and revolutionary achievements.

143. The Syrian Arab Republic, which unswervingly confronts all imperialist plots, reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and the Sandinist movement in their struggle, despite the geographical distance between Central America and the Middle East, because imperialism never ceases to extend its grasp to encompass the whole world. Solidarity is therefore essential to defend the freedoms which world imperialism attempts to plunder and abuse wherever it spreads.

144. It is our duty to give a warning about the role being played by Israel in certain Central American countries by supplying aid, including Israeli weapons, to the enemies of Nicaragua and to other countries, with funding by United States taxes. The role of Israel against the Central American and other peoples is in no way different from the role of the CIA. I will quote from an article by Jacques Lemieux in an October 1984 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, under the heading “The role of Israel in Central America”. The article says:

“If Israel has supplied arms to Honduras with the knowledge of the facts, it has become a mercenary of the American Administration in the service of a policy which is controversial even in the United States. To sell weapons out of necessity is one thing. To act as an agent of the CIA is another.”‡

145. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the two draft resolutions submitted to us—the first by the Contadora Group [A/39/L.6] and the other by Nicaragua [A/39/L.7].

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15877, annex.

²Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984, p. 169.

³Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16041, annex.

⁴Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984, document S/16262, annex I, appendix.

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

‡Quoted in French by the speaker.