



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 30 November 1989, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. LI Luye

(China)

Members: Algeria
Brazil
Canada
Colombia
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Malaysia
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. FORTIER
Mr. PENALOSA
Mr. TADESSE
Mr. TORNUDD
Mr. BLANC
Mr. RAZALI
Mr. RANA
Mrs. DIALLO
Mr. BELONOGOV

Mr. RICHARDSON
Mr. PICKERING
Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 27 NOVEMBER 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF EL SALVADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20991)

LETTER DATED 28 NOVEMBER 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NICARAGUA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20999)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): Members will note that the Council Chamber has been equipped so that they can view a video presentation. I have been informed by the representatives of El Salvador and Nicaragua that their respective delegations intend, during their statements, to show audio-visual material relating to the item under consideration. In keeping with past practice and as agreed in the Council's prior consultations, I have requested the Secretariat to make the necessary technical arrangements.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of El Salvador and Nicaragua in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Castañeda (El Salvador) and Mr. Serrano Caldera (Nicaragua) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 27 November 1989 from the Permanent Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/20991.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them a letter dated 28 November 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/20999. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: document S/20985, a letter dated 22 November 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, and document S/20994, a letter dated 27 November 1989 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela addressed to the Secretary-General.

The Security Council is mindful of the need to encourage efforts at ensuring that the peace process in Central America goes forward and that nothing be done which would adversely affect those efforts. It is for this reason, as agreed in the course of the Council's prior consultations, that I appeal at the very outset to all speakers to show restraint in their statements so as not to disturb the peace process.

I first call on the representative of El Salvador.

Mr. CASTAÑEDA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. President, first of all allow me to congratulate you on the excellent performance of your work during your term as President of the Council and to thank you for your kind response to our request for an urgent meeting of the Council to consider serious events and aggressions directed against my country, which add a further dimension to the state of conflict in Central America - events whose very nature violates the provisions of the United Nations Charter and which, if continued, would jeopardize peace and security in Central America, with a serious potential to spill over beyond the immediate area. I should like also to

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congratulate Mr. Fortier, Permanent Representative of Canada, for the commendable work he performed as President of the Council for the month of October.

El Salvador has turned to the Security Council as it finds itself forced to lodge a complaint against the Government of Nicaragua because of serious acts of aggression, the grave responsibility for which lies at the highest levels of the Sandinista régime. However, before describing these events, I should like to set forth some of the background and describe events underlying the aggressive attitude of the Sandinista Government.

El Salvador, with the utmost goodwill, subscribed to the Esquipulas II Accords and the Costa del Sol Agreement. Subsequently, as a result of the presidential elections in which the people of El Salvador freely exercised their sacred and inalienable right to universal suffrage, Mr. Alfredo Cristiani was elected President of the Republic for a constitutional term of office of five years. Since the beginning of his mandate President Cristiani has attached the utmost importance to regional agreements with a view to contributing to peace and the social and economic development of the area. He gave his utmost support to the outline for a democratic, pluralistic and participatory process in Central America. Accordingly he gave his support to the work carried out at the meeting of Presidents in Tela, Honduras, on 5, 6 and 7 August 1989, which resulted in a new agreement ratifying the terms and provisions of the previous accords to promote solutions to problems in the area. All these agreements established as one of the prerequisites for a political solution of the conflicts in Central America a total ban on Government assistance to irregular forces operating in various States.

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

The Tela Accord recommends a cessation of hostilities and the integration into democratic life through political negotiations of these forces. Of course the negotiations would be seriously hampered if such irregular forces were to continue receiving further weapons, military equipment, logistic support or sanctuary, which would serve to encourage the use of violence by such minority insurgent groups. However, above and beyond this impact on the dialogue, there is a further dimension which is all the more serious: the violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the commission of acts of aggression as defined in international instruments.

Successive Governments in El Salvador since 1980 have come before the General Assembly, the Security Council, the regional forum of the Organization of American States and our own subregional forum, the Meeting of Central American Presidents, in order to denounce the purblind attitude of the Sandinista régime, which persists in a policy of assistance to irregular forces in El Salvador. To avoid going back over the past 10 years, we would refer the Council to document S/19486, published on 3 February 1988, which contains the request of the Government of El Salvador that the ad hoc group of the International Verification and Follow-up Commission conduct an inspection, during its visit to Nicaragua on 5 and 6 January of that year, of elements concerning support given by the Sandinista Government to irregular forces operating in El Salvador. This persistent conduct has been magnified in recent months. On 18 October of this year a truck was captured on Honduran territory after crossing the Nicaraguan border, and that truck contained a sizeable quantity of weapons which were intended for the arsenal of the irregular forces operating in El Salvador. The statements of the driver were clear and emphatic. He stated that the transfer of weapons had been carried out

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ceaselessly over the past 12 months. The truck contained the following: 17 M-3 sub-machine-guns, calibre 45; 6 sterling calibre 9mm sub-machine-guns; 13 Madsen calibre 9mm sub-machine-guns; 1 M-23 calibre 9mm sub-machine-gun; 1 Garand M-1 rifle; 20 AK-47 or AKM assault rifles; 4 M-16 assault rifles; 9 Galil assault rifles; 3 FN/FAL 30mm assault rifles; 1 FN-CAL calibre 223 assault rifle; 2 9mm pistols; 1 A-4 sub-machine-gun; 1 60mm mortar; 1 RPG rocket launcher; 30 RPG rockets; 19,000 rounds of ammunition for light arms; 553 60mm mortar shells; 102 hand grenades; 365 rifle grenades, and so on. In this connection, the Government of Honduras issued an official statement at that time.

Following the ruthless attack by the irregular forces on the people of El Salvador, in San Salvador, which began with a criminal attempt to assassinate the President of the Republic, whose official residence and private residence were attacked with mortars, together with a similar criminal attempt on the life of the President of the Legislative Assembly and other high officials, the conduct of the Sandinista régime became clearer following official statements emanating from Daniel Ortega and spokesmen of the régime, who whole-heartedly supported the anti-democratic efforts of the irregulars operating in El Salvador, including the support given by Radio Venceremos, the voice of the irregular forces, whose signal was linked with that of Radio Sandino, raising its transmitting power.

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The fact that several guerrilla leaders in the irregular forces had been in Nicaragua before the implementation of their violent criminal plan for the purpose of preparing and directing from their command centre in Managua tactical operations that were to result in more than 1,000 dead and a large number of wounded is further proof of Sandinist assistance in the warlike policy of those irregular forces, which have systematically denied the democratic process and rejected all genuine attempts at dialogue, thereby breaching the agreement reached at Mexico City to pursue the dialogue.

The underhand attack on El Salvador with modern assault weapons is evidence of a recent supply of military matériel and it is clear that the equipment had not merely been stockpiled in recent months but that it reflected a continuous flow of supplies sufficient to maintain the level of fire power for more than eight days. That criminal, desperate plan of the minority, anti-democratic irregular forces required the whole-hearted solidarity of the Nicaraguan régime, which took the form of moral, propaganda and diplomatic support, as well as a demonstration of that régime's determination to continue uninterrupted its assistance to the irregular forces operating in the territory of El Salvador.

I do not wish to minimize the internal factors at the root of the problems of all our Central American countries or the many extraneous factors that influence them. However, looking objectively at the recent history and development of events in the region we can state categorically that the rigidity, nature and approach of the Sandinist régime, which is bent on imposing an anachronistic and anti-democratic system upon its people - or, even more serious, on exporting that system to neighbouring countries - and its refusal to modify and relax its conduct of relations in the area to the benefit of regional interests have been the principal causes of tension in relations between the Central American countries and

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

the fundamental obstacle to progress in dialogue and co-ordination to achieve stable and lasting peace.

Accordingly, the Sandinist Government has put before the Esquipulas, Costa del Sol and Tela regional agreements its own personal determination to commit itself to the irregular forces and has run the risk of becoming involved, at this critical juncture, in the dangerous game of providing equipment and weapons to an anti-democratic minority force operating under the slogan "now or never", in the hope that the Salvadorian people will rise up to support their strategy. The people's reply to that aggression has been a categoric and emphatic rejection.

It has become clear that the Nicaraguan régime was not acting in good faith when it signed the Central American agreements. It did so only to reduce and eliminate Nicaraguan insurgence, but never intended to apply the same rule of conduct with respect to the irregular forces operating in El Salvador. Thus its determination and thinking were diametrically opposite to its treatment of the Nicaraguan insurgency. The strategy of the Sandinist régime has been shown to be that of seeking to crush Nicaraguan national resistance while at the same time strengthening the irregular forces in El Salvador.

That two-track approach by the Sandinist régime became clear on 25 November when an aircraft not registered in El Salvador crashed in Salvadorian territory. The details are as follows: Cessna 310 light aircraft crashed at co-ordinate 7547J/E1 Transito/Usulután at 5.30 a.m.

Characteristics of the aircraft are: twin-engined Cessna 310; Official licence number: FASAND 534; General licence: YN-BYK. Flight path: take-off from Monte Limar (86° 32' 9" W, 11° 47' 1" N). From there it flew on a 268° magnetic course to San Felipe (87° 50" W and 12° 25" N) and on a 325° course to a point at 88° 21' W and 13° 10' N. The aircraft was carrying one 75 millimetre G-10 cannon,

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No. 4615490; one tripod, No. 3790; one goniometer No. 60-2 K2-10 NMO5302; one Red-Eye missile; 22 82mm shells; 25 75mm cannon shells; and 24 SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles.

There are the following further data. A year earlier the aircraft had been observed by the communications system entering Guatemala with Sandinist Air Force identity number 534.

The documents found included a small coloured aeronautical map of El Salvador; a large coloured map; 8 loose sheets of paper with handwritten operating details from the flight manual of the Cessna 310 aircraft (servicing checklist); a sheet of bond paper with handwritten instructions on the use of the Red-Eye missile; a small handwritten manual, on the use of the C-2M complex, marked "destroy if need arises"; two report forms on the repair of aircraft of the Servicio de Transporte Aero S.A. of Managua, Nicaragua; three photographs, two passport sized and one large coloured; two 500-cordoba coins; two urban transport tokens; one small key; one black billfold and a piece of cardboard shaped like a figure four with a handwritten flight itinerary.

For the information of Council members, I request permission to put at their disposal a document giving the details I have cited.

The seriousness of this fact is evident in that it is an attempt to introduce a qualitative change through the use of highly sophisticated armaments, such as surface-to-air missile launchers. Thus it is that the Sandinist régime is doubtly responsible, since it has participated not only in the supplying of weapons but in the introduction of the most sophisticated means of waging war, increasing the danger of an escalation of the conflict situation in the region.

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

So that the Council may have direct knowledge of the type of weaponry aboard the crashed aircraft and may realize the irresponsibility of the Nicaraguan régime in its constant attempts to maintain ties of solidarity with the irregular forces operating in El Salvador, regardless of the consequences, the international instruments currently in force and the possible effects on the relations between our countries in the regional context, we shall exhibit one of the SAM-7 surface-to-air missile launchers carried by the aircraft.

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

In addition, we should like, with the permission of the Council, to display a short videotape, which will be narrated by Colonel Carlos Armando Aviles.

A videotape was displayed in the Council Chamber.

Mr. AVILES (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): The videotape was shot in the Piedra Pacha zone, El Tránsito jurisdiction, Usulután Department, 80 kilometres east of our capital city, San Salvador. At approximately 5.30 a.m. on 25 November 1989, a downed aircraft was discovered, identified as a Cessna 310 two-engine plane, official Sandinist air force registration number 534. Its general registration was YN-BYK. The tape now shows the weaponry carried by the aircraft. The plane's four occupants perished; three of them were wearing camouflage uniforms, and the pilot was wearing civilian clothing.

The matériel on board included a 75-millimetre recoil-less cannon and one Redeye missile. The tape now shows the weapon with which, according to a peasant in the area, one of the occupants of the aircraft committed suicide.

The tape now shows the Redeye missile and 24 SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles, and an air-navigation map and a flight plan that shows the plane as having taken off from Monte Limar, Nicaragua. The bloodstains on the map are apparently from the pilot who was killed when the plane crashed. The tape now shows other captured equipment.

According to our information, exactly one year ago the plane's communications system was being repaired in Guatemala. It entered Guatemala with Sandinist air force registration number 534.

The tape now shows 82-millimetre grenades, which numbered 22, and a missile that broke in two on impact. Members can now see a recoil-less cannon, and the tail part of the aircraft, which was undamaged. The registration number has been effaced with white paint.

(Mr. Aviles, El Salvador)

Members can now see the two navigation maps of the Republic of El Salvador indicating the intended flight-plan to land in El Salvador; the yellow dots indicate the take-off and destination points.

The videotape constitutes tangible proof of the facts reported by Ambassador Castañeda.

Mr. CASTAÑEDA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): El Salvador does not want the problematical situation in Central America to lead to actions falling in the category of legitimate self-defence. We want to believe that Esquipulas II, Costa del Sol and Tela agreements provide a way of containing such irresponsible aggressive actions. The Council should ensure that the conflict does not spread in the region and that an end is put to all these violations of Central American agreements, since strict and effective implementation of their provisions will lead to regional harmony.

Notwithstanding these acts of aggression, the Government of El Salvador has been making a constructive effort, and considers that there is still time to rescue the agreements, provided that the Security Council shoulders its primary responsibility by making an effective and impartial contribution to corroborating the substance of our charges.

The Government of El Salvador is not asking the Council to act in any specific way; the Council should use the means it considers most appropriate to carry out its purposes. But if the Council were to decide to send a mission to corroborate in situ the facts and the responsibility for them, the Government of El Salvador would co-operate fully with that mission so that it can itself confirm our charges. The mandate of such a mission could derive from the spirit of the Security Council resolution that established the United Nations Observer Group in

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Central America (ONUCA). It would provide an opportunity to demonstrate the Security Council's effectiveness in meeting its responsibilities. We hope the Council, impartially and objectively, will adopt the measures it considers appropriate, since it is our intent to avoid an exacerbation of tension, through strict, full and effective compliance of commitments undertaken to achieve peace and stability in the region.

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

If the evidence presented here and world public opinion, as reflected in the media, are sufficiently convincing and clear to make the Council believe that it is unnecessary to appoint a mission, the legitimate Government that I represent wishes to state formally that its desire is that there be strict compliance with the Central American agreements. Only in that way will it be possible to avoid any worsening of the situation between El Salvador and Nicaragua. El Salvador will not stand idly by if the Sandinista régime does not end its interventionist policy. If it continues its aggressive and irrational attitude, which runs counter to history, the Sandinista régime will be initiating a cycle of events that will destroy peace in Central America.

Unfortunate circumstances have led El Salvador to resort to the Security Council for the first time in its history, to make a complaint against the Sandinista régime. By its resolutions 637 (1989) and 644 (1989), the Security Council became the guarantor of compliance with the Central American agreements. If nothing is done to discourage the Sandinista régime's flagrant violations of fundamental provisions of those agreements, provisions that give them structure and balance, the process of peace and socio-economic development in the region will be blocked, and could even be set back, since violations of the Esquipulas II, Costa del Sol and Tela agreements render them null and void.

The Government of El Salvador still sees a glimmer of hope that the Sandinista régime will abide by the regional agreements - not because that régime signed them in good faith or because it believes in their underlying philosophy, but because it will come to the pragmatic realization that otherwise every country in the region would suffer.

The Sandinista régime either will choose to continue to help the groups of irregular forces operating in El Salvador, to the detriment of peace in Central

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America, or will accept the historic responsibility to reach a modus vivendi in which the Governments concerned at least respect one another on the basis of regional agreements, reached at presidential level, which have the unreserved support of the international community.

The Security Council has met on other occasions to consider the situation in Central America, to consider events which have worsened tensions and the possibility of armed confrontation between States of the region or to support efforts and means to bring peace to the area. As a result, it has adopted resolutions containing a series of principles and recommendations for all States. They include: the right of all States of the region to live in peace and security, free from outside interference; the avoidance of any measure or attempt to destabilize or undermine other States and their institutions; respect for sovereignty and the inalienable right of peoples freely to choose their own political, economic and social system; the development of relations in accordance with the interests of the peoples, excluding outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion and threats of any kind; the non-use against any State of the region of any measures that could impede the pursuit of peace, and renunciation of support for or promotion of such measures; and an immediate halt to any kind of aid, whether given openly or covertly, by any Government, within the region or outside, to irregular forces or insurgent forces operating in the region.

Those principles and recommendations provide rights, but they also impose obligations; the Central Americans have an obligation to respect them scrupulously, so that third-party States are not provided any opportunity to justify intervening in a crisis, which must be resolved by the Central Americans themselves. Accordingly, the Sandinista régime, which has had recourse to the Security Council in certain situations, is now required to comply with and respect those principles.

(Mr. Castañeda, El Salvador)

The Government of El Salvador, which was freely elected, is confident that the case of aggression that it has brought before the Council today will receive the attention that it urgently demands.

The behaviour of the Sandinista régime, which I have described in my statement, was such that the democratic Government that I represent had to suspend diplomatic relations with Managua. President Cristiani did not go so far as to break off relations, because he wanted to leave the door open, to make it possible for the international and Central American mechanisms to work to restore the legal validity of the regional peace agreements, lost as a result of the irrational conduct of the Sandinista régime. If that régime does not comply with the provisions of the Central American agreements, El Salvador will be bound to break off relations with the Government of Nicaragua.

However, we believe that it is worth holding a presidential summit meeting, on different dates from those planned before the crisis caused by the Nicaraguan Government's intervention in El Salvador; they will have to be renegotiated. The summit could take place anywhere; the Government of Guatemala has offered to host it. Only Nicaraguan territory is, for now, excluded, for reasons of political ethics. President Cristiani's flexibility, Central American spirit and commitment to peace could not be more clearly seen than in this statesmanlike decision.

We view the future with a sense of history, but we shall never bow to anti-democratic forces or threats.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of El Salvador for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Nicaragua, on whom I now call.

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Before making my statement, Mr. President, I should like, with your permission, to show the Council some slides and videotapes, which have a bearing on the various subjects that I shall deal with later.

A series of slides was projected in the Council Chamber.

COMMENTATOR (interpretation from Spanish): These photographs show victims of the death squads.

These are the victims of the most recent bombardment of the civilian population by the Salvadorian army. The violence has stricken the mothers of those under suspicion. The Oficina de Comadres, an organization of mothers of prisoners, was destroyed last month.

This is the headquarters of the labour union FENASTRAS, which was destroyed by the explosion of a bomb attributed to the Salvadorian military circles.

This is a photograph of the late Archbishop Arnulfo Romero, who was assassinated by the death squads.

In this slide can be seen the Church of San Fernando, which was bombed by the Salvadorian armed forces.

This photograph shows the brutally slain Jesuit priests and their two assistants at the Catholic University of San Salvador. The killings were attributed to sectors of the Salvadorian armed forces.

Lastly, these are photographs of the bombardment of the civilian population by the Salvadorian army, including houses destroyed and children who were the victims of that indiscriminate bombardment.

Now we shall show a brief videotape of those recent events.

A videotape was displayed in the Council Chamber.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE (interpretation from Spanish): The human, social and economic costs have been very high, but here hope is still alive.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE (interpretation from Spanish): I do not believe that all is lost. These have been painful years, but I believe that it is going to make it possible for us to achieve great political and social progress.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE (interpretation from Spanish): Who can quantify the cost of 10 years of war - 70,000 dead, the crimes of the newly active death squads - which were all committed with impunity - the assassination of Archbishop Romero, the many thousands of displaced persons, and the flagrant abuses of human rights? There are many Salvadorians whose lives have been destroyed or have been severely stricken by the war over the last, long 10 years. It is a war that seems to have no end. The number of victims could rise.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE (interpretation from Spanish): In 1988, violations of human rights in El Salvador increased by 67 per cent, according to the Catholic Church. Most of the deaths were caused by Government security forces and death squads.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: To defend democracy means that we have a democracy here. Unfortunately, we do not have a democracy here.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: Father Martin Barro, an American-educated social psychologist, came to El Salvador 20 years ago. He conducts the only independent polling in the country.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: Has this become an American war too?

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: It is an American war, because America is the main force in this country. The United States is the main provider of military support for one of the contenders, and Americans pay for the war.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: The pictures you are about to see are dramatic evidence that, in spite of massive United States support of the Salvadorian army -

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: Listen: the problem of this country is not a problem of communism or capitalism. The problems of this country are problems of very basic wealth distribution, of very basic needs.

Well, in this country, you ask for satisfaction of those needs, you become a subversive. And you are a subversive. Why? Because if you want to satisfy those basic needs, you have to change the social system. You have to change the régime. But then you become a communist, then you become a rebel, then you become a revolutionary, and then you have to be repressed, and you are repressed. And there you have repression, and there you have the civil war starting.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: El Salvador, 1989. More than 800 people killed since Saturday, among them six Jesuit priests, dragged from their beds, tortured and murdered overnight. In all, more than 70,000 deaths in the past 10 years.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: The planes and helicopters, the fear, and again the horror of atrocity. Some time after three this morning, about 20 uniformed men broke into this university compound. They beat and tortured six priests, a housekeeper and her daughter. Then they shot them to death. ABC News correspondent Peter Collins said that suspicion centres on the country's notorious death squads.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: The Government immediately blamed the leftist rebels for this, but the circumstantial evidence so far points in the other direction, toward the extreme right.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: The death squads have been associated with the right-wing political party ARENA, which holds the presidency and a plurality in the legislative assembly.

Ignacio Correa - he and his fellow priests edited a journal of Central American studies. They were often accused of sympathizing with the rebels. Two weeks ago, one of the victims, Dr. Segundo Montes, told an interviewer of threats: "I was erroneously accused of justifying FMLN violence by the armed forces and ARENA. Normally what ensues is death squad executions," he said, "but so far I have not been killed".

A month ago, another victim, Dr. Ignacio Martín Barro, a vice-rector of the university, said he accepted the possibility of death.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE: I believe it is a clear indication of the risks that whoever stays in favour of the rights of the majority of the Salvadorian people faces. We are willing to accept those concerns.

SOUNDTRACK VOICE (interpretation from Spanish): In El Salvador, while the army accuses the Government of Nicaragua of arming the guerrillas, the leaders of the FMLN find that the Nicaraguan Contras are among their principal aggressors.

Here, we have a comment on the source of arms in Central America.

COMMENTATOR (interpretation from Spanish): Now we shall show you some pictures and simply draw your attention to the following.

Note the photograph of the plane, completely wrecked. This is an Associated Press photo. Now notice the weapons which supposedly came in this plane, but which are completely intact. The Salvadorian Government officially declared that the pilot of the plane was Mauricio Quiros, of Nicaraguan nationality, who according to this version had died. This picture from the Philadelphia Enquirer is accompanied by statements by Mr. Quiros, who is in perfect health in Managua.

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me to express our satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the work of the Council for this month, and to congratulate you on the way in which you have guided the work of this important United Nations body.

My Government expresses great satisfaction that our request, made in order to expand the scope of this meeting to "include consideration of the grave repercussions which the serious deterioration of the situation in El Salvador is having on the peace process in Central America" (S/20999), was immediately accepted. That makes it possible for the problem to be viewed as part of the overall picture in its true magnitude and perspective.

The situation as described by the representative of El Salvador is merely a cover-up for the real causes of the tragedy which the Salvadorian people have been living through for some time. The real causes of the tragedy of this fraternal Central American people cannot and must not, if one has the slightest sense of responsibility, be attributed to external factors supposedly attempting to destabilize the internal situation in El Salvador.

El Salvador is one of the most heart-rending cases in the history of Latin America. Systematic and deep-rooted exploitation have been the behavioural norm for the successive Governments of the country, with the people as the eternal

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

victim. The alliance between one of the most insensitive oligarchies and one of the most repressive armies has used blood and fire to maintain the mechanisms and instruments by which the people are exploited. Anyone with the slightest capacity for concern would try to view the problem in terms of its true root causes.

When the Church dissociated itself from this oppressive alliance after feeling the beneficent and renewing influence which came in with the Vatican II Council of 1962 to 1965 and the Medellin Conference of 1968, and when priests, monks and nuns from many parts of the world, from Latin America and particularly those from El Salvador, took up their responsibilities and vocations, with all their consequences, on behalf of the poor, they became targets for repression and institutionalized violence. It is only from this historical and structural perspective that the causes, origins and development of the Salvadorian crisis can be appreciated fully and honestly.

The response of the minority, privileged sectors of El Salvador to the just and pressing demands of the majority was to violate the human rights of the Salvadorian people. That is the only context in which the violation of human rights by the power structure in El Salvador can be explained, and anyone who knows anything at all, however basic, about the history of this tormented country, will know that violence against the poor, the dispossessed and the marginalized has covered this neighbouring country in blood for a number of decades now, although never during the last 10 years has the repression reached such chilling proportions.

It may be that not everybody is aware that since 1932 El Salvador has been in mourning from horrific episodes. When 30,000 peasants were murdered for demanding minimal subsistence living standards, that began a reign of terror and cruelty. The most anguishing moments in this reign of terror include the murder of the Archbishop of El Salvador, Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the murders of a number

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of North American nuns, the President of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador and, most recently, the murders of trade unionists and the Jesuit priests, crimes which shocked the conscience of the world.

We cannot fail to express our serious concern at the repression of which the Salvadorian people continues to be the victim. We have mentioned a few cases, perhaps the ones which have had the greatest impact on world public opinion in the last few days; however, we do not wish to expand upon this recital of horrors here. Nevertheless, we cannot fail to bring to the Council's attention the fact that Mrs. Lucia Barrera de Cerna, a witness to the abominable crime of just a few days ago, has been unable to stay in her country for want of assurances from the Salvadorian Government, and has had to leave for the United States with her family in order to protect their lives. Nor can we fail to show our astonishment at the letter sent by the State Prosecutor, and publicly at that, to request the Holy Father to withdraw all his clergy from the country as their lives and physical safety could in no way be guaranteed.

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I say that this has caused me sheer astonishment because of the level at which this statement was made and also because in my country it is customary for priests and other clergy not only to be respected and well-loved but to become foreign ministers, ministers and ambassadors.

We cannot fail to show the same concern as that shown by the Mayor-elect of New York, David Dinkins, and the Mayor of Boston, Raymond Flynn, who, along with a long list of mayors and high officials of many cities of the United States in a letter to the President of the United States, Mr. George Bush, and the Members of Congress, criticized the military assistance provided by the United States to the Government of El Salvador. They said:

"Over the past nine years the United States has supplied more than \$3.5 billion worth of assistance to El Salvador and hundreds of personnel in connection with the war. But United States policy has failed to bring about the reforms needed to establish democracy, stability and peace for the people of El Salvador".

We cannot fail to note a remark made by Mr. Elliot Abrams, whose views are well known to all and who cannot be suspected by anyone of having any sympathy at all for the causes of the popular masses in Central America. According to an EFE News Agency cable of 26 November from Washington, he said:

"Judging by the past 10 years of the history of the Salvadorian conflict, I presume that the deaths of the Jesuits and the two women were the work of the military and not of the FMLN. ... We have no record of the guerrillas doing this kind of thing. In the past, certain Salvadorian military people have been associated with the so-called death squads and the right".

We cannot fail to draw attention to the indignation expressed by countless persons, among them the Jesuit Joseph O'Hare, President of Fordham University, who

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accused the United States Government - and I quote an EFE report of 22 November - "of supplying weapons to the butchers in El Salvador, thus making it indirectly responsible for the deaths of the six priests last week". Furthermore, he said:

"After 10 years of evasions and equivocations and a tissue of ambiguities, the killings last Thursday have raised with brutal clarity the question which continues to obsess United States policy on El Salvador: can we give weapons to the butchers without staining ourselves with the blood of the innocent victims?".

The Reverend O'Hare made that statement in a sermon during a mass which was held in memory of the Jesuits who had been assassinated, and which was attended by more than 1,000 high ecclesiastical authorities, among them the Archbishop of New York, John O'Connor, three bishops and the representative of the Holy See at the United Nations, Monsignor Renato Martino.

We wish to draw the a Security Council's attention to the joint statement made by various leaders of the most representative churches in the United States, among them Monsignor Edmond Browning, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church; Monsignor James Andrews, the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church of the United States; and the Reverend James Hamilton, Secretary General of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States. In their statement, these members of the clergy say, among other things:

"We believe that the action taken by the Government of the United States so far has not been sufficient to secure any significant change in the behaviour of the Salvadoran Government. Moreover, we are deeply upset by the fact that attention is turning away from the current crisis as a result of the recent incident involving the crash of an aircraft carrying weapons which allegedly originated in Nicaragua. Such a distraction is unacceptable".

We cannot fail to share the sentiments of the Assembly of the European

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Community, which went on record - and I refer here to an EFE dispatch of 23 November from Strasbourg, France - as being

"profoundly concerned and indignant over the brutality of the death squads that have taken advantage of the war situation to carry out unscrupulous acts".

The European Commission, represented by its senior foreign policy official, Frans Andriessen - and I quote the same source:

"agreed to the request of the European deputies to suspend immediately Community aid to El Salvador until the signing of an armistice between the Government and the rebels".

We cannot fail to mention the report of Americas Watch, dated 24 November, in which it is revealed that the Salvadorian armed forces have been carrying out selective killings, arbitrary arrests of non-combatants and torture, and, to the extent that it is possible to determine, have caused large-scale losses of civilian lives as a result of indiscriminate air attacks on poor neighbourhoods. In the same communiqué Americas Watch drew attention to the fact that the ARENA Government this week once again submitted to the Congress of El Salvador a law which had previously been proposed but which had not been adopted because of international criticism. However, we now know that that law has been adopted and that it imposes harsh penalties on anyone taking part in any organization which may arbitrarily be regarded as subversive or anyone who may have in his possession literature that can be described in the same manner.

This new legislation will regard as criminal any report on human rights sent to international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States. It states that any visit to a foreign country or messages promoting declarations which prompt other States or international organizations to intervene in the internal affairs of El Salvador will be punished by 5 to 10 years' imprisonment.

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That new law can also be used against foreign agencies that provide humanitarian assistance and against those receiving such assistance. By virtue of the same law, the press can be given arbitrary sentences ranging from one to four years of imprisonment.

We cannot help but view with sheer astonishment the lengthy list of violations of human rights contained in the reports of Amnesty International, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, and others; and since 1980 the United Nations General Assembly has voiced its profound concern over the human-rights situation in El Salvador. Thus, on 11 March 1981 it decided to appoint a special representative to investigate the human-rights situation in that country. In his report (E/CN.4/1989/23) that Special Representative, Mr. Jose Antonio Pastor Ridruejo, refers to a steady increase in the number of serious human-rights violations committed for political ends and in particular in connection with the mounting number of instances of torture, arrests and attacks on the life and integrity of persons and the frequent violations of the norms of international humanitarian law.

Nor can we fail to associate ourselves with the legitimate concern and indignation expressed in statements and sermons by Their Eminences Arturo Rivera y Damas, Archbishop of El Salvador, and Gregorio Rosa Chavez, Auxiliary Bishop. Also, we must voice our grief, and our solidarity with the statements made by the Vicar General of the Jesuit Order and many other statements made in many other parts of the world.

We cannot fail to view with astonishment the attitude taken by the Government of the United States towards the arrest of Mrs. Jennifer Casolo of the "Christian Education Seminars" group. As reported in The New York Times of 29 November 1989, the White House spokesman, Mr. Fitzwater, has denied to his own compatriot the presumption of innocence, universally recognized as one of the bases of human

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rights and one of the fundamental guarantees of due legal process. We cannot but share the judgement of Senator Christopher Dodd on this matter. He stated:

"I am outraged by comments attributed to U.S. Government officials in the last 48 hours that assert or even imply Jennifer Casolo is guilty of anything".

(The New York Times, 29 August 1989, p. A8)

Claiming that the Bush Administration was denying Mrs. Casolo the presumption of innocence, Senator Dodd went on to say that the comments of Administration officials on the case were "unwarranted, prejudicial and irresponsible". (Ibid.)

It is impossible to hide behind a smokescreen, a screen of blood, and the world community must resolutely and courageously play its proper role by discussing problems and seeking solutions to them within the true framework within which they occur and not by viewing them in the light of spurious situations that are actually attempts to distort the facts and conceal the true sources of responsibility.

It is even more astonishing when those who come to hurl accusations at Nicaragua in the Security Council are the very ones who are historically responsible for the tragedy of their own people and who have also for years been a key, an intrinsic part of the United States plan of aggression against my country.

Salvadorian airports have been used on numerous occasions for the take-off and supply of the aircraft that have for years been transporting weapons to the counterrevolutionaries. Suffice it to refer to the case of Eugene Hasenfus, the United States mercenary captured when his plane was shot down in Nicaraguan territory after having taken off from the Ilopango airport in El Salvador - as was irrefutably proved at the time and as Mr. Hasenfus himself stated. I would point out that the ground-to-air missiles that have been brought here - which could have come from anywhere and been brought by anyone, and which prove absolutely nothing -

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were introduced by Nicaragua during a qualitative escalation of the Central American war. I do not want to belabour this point - it is not the essential one - but I would merely remind the Security Council that the one who first introduced ground-to-air missiles into Central America was the Government of the United States when, in the mid-1980s, it gave them to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

One need only have read the daily newspapers and listened to the newscasts about the trial of Oliver North to become aware of the vast degree of responsibility borne by the Governments and the army of El Salvador in the criminal, illegal and immoral war against Nicaragua.

Those who have acted in that way in their own country and in the context of the Central American crisis can have no intention but to endanger deliberately the peace mechanism that has so arduously been constructed over the four years since the first historic meeting at Esquipulas in 1986. And they are doing it, for the internal and external motives to which we have referred, because they are incapable of fulfilling their commitments under the Esquipulas, Alajuela, Costa del Sol and Tela agreements; the oligarchy, the army and the Government are incapable of fostering reforms that could bring about acceptable conditions of social and economic justice in a country where throughout its history power and property have been in the hands of a tiny minority of families. They are also doing it because they are incapable of giving effect to the Central American agreements by entering into serious and substantive negotiations with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to find a political solution to the conflict in that fraternal country. The bomb which was tossed into the premises of FENASTRAS, a Salvadorian labour union, and which killed 10 of its leaders, and the rejection of the commitments set out in the Central American peace agreements are also at the origin of recent events.

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We can only think that was their intention, having jeopardized Central American machinery and instruments established in the years since Esquipulas and having broken or suspended relations with Nicaragua - about which my Government had received no official communication at the time I wrote this statement, although there had been announcements galore by President Cristiani. But after writing my statement, I received today from Managua a note I think arrived yesterday: three or four days after President Cristiani's public announcement.

We can only think their deliberate intention is to jeopardize the Esquipulas peace-making machinery that is to be set up by the United Nations in the context of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) and the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV) when the Government of El Salvador rejected the Security Council's request to postpone the present meeting to facilitate negotiations to salvage the next Central American summit.

In any event, there is a clear difference in attitude between Nicaragua and El Salvador. El Salvador is breaking relations, disregarding the request of the Security Council and bringing this matter to the Council in order to poison the atmosphere just before a possible summit meeting of Central American Presidents. El Salvador is announcing a break in relations with Nicaragua and rushes to the Security Council bypassing the Executive Committee and other machinery established by the Central American agreements. On the other hand, Nicaragua has never done this, although it is no secret that the Salvadorian army and Government have been involved in aggression against my country. Nicaragua has never done this, although everyone knows who is financing and directing the war, and where the counter-revolutionaries' bases are located: the counter-revolutionaries whose attacks for nearly a decade have caused mourning and bloodshed in my country.

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No other Central American country has suffered such concerted crime. But our position has always been to seek the civilized path of dialogue, diplomacy and international law to find a solution to the conflict.

We sponsored and enthusiastically supported the presidential summits; for the past 10 years we have been urging the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) to become involved in the Central American crisis to facilitate a solution. We were among those most keenly interested in the establishment of ONUCA and the CIAV; we have fulfilled our commitment obligating all Central American States to enable international observers to verify elections; we have brought forward our elections by one year; we have released from prison most of those detained for counter-revolutionary military activities; we have adopted a new law on the media; we have reformed our electoral laws; and we have fulfilled our commitments on national dialogue. I ask what the others have done.

The United States has publicly, through all the outlets available to it, opposed the demobilization of the counter-revolution by the dates established by the Central American Presidents in the Tela agreements. It is clear that between now and 5 December the Contras will not be demobilized; yet that is the key and the essential factor for the achievement of peace.

As we have said, it is obvious that the Government of El Salvador has failed to meet any of the obligations undertaken in Central American agreements and commitments.

In the Esquipulas II agreements and following Declarations, the Salvadorian Government undertook to carry out a process of political dialogue and efforts at national reconciliation leading to an agreed cease-fire and a political settlement of the Salvadorian conflict. More recently, at Tela, Honduras, Central American Presidents strongly urged

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"the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) to carry out a constructive dialogue for the purpose of achieving a just and lasting peace. Similarly, [they urged] the Government of El Salvador to arrange, with full guarantees and in the spirit of point II of the Guatemala Procedure, the integration of the members of FMLN into peaceful life". (S/20778, annex I, p. 10)

We wonder what the Government of El Salvador has been doing to resolve the internal conflict that has been tearing its people apart. Is President Alfredo Cristiani able to provide, as he undertook to do in Tela, Honduras, guarantees for the integration of the members of FMLN into peaceful life?

The Cristiani Government's refusal to agree to a cease-fire with the guerrillas and resume the negotiating process which was to have continued in Mexico and in San José, Costa Rica, and its decision to break off diplomatic relations with my country and turn down the invitation to the next Central American summit to be held in Managua in December, indicate a clear unwillingness to take the path of dialogue and negotiation and a clear decision to return to the path of war.

That situation is what is of grave concern to Nicaragua, and, I am sure, the Security Council and the international community.

We cannot disregard the grave responsibility of the Government of the United States of America with respect to this entire situation. It sends billions of dollars in military assistance to the Government of El Salvador. It has put obstacle after obstacle in the way of the peace efforts of the Central American Presidents. It has decided not to demobilize the Contras, in violation of the Tela agreements, which specify that those mercenary forces must be demobilized, disarmed and repatriated or relocated by 5 December this year.

Peace must be a joint effort by all, and must be based on an honest

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recognition of the obligations borne by each party: I refer to all the Central American States parties to the peace plan, and to the United States, which is a party to the war plan.

Meanwhile, it is urgent that the Council take the measures necessary to guarantee basic human rights in El Salvador and promote measures towards an agreed cease-fire and the commencement of effective, substantive negotiations between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, as required by agreements among the Central American Presidents and by the call of the international community, including the call of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, the European Parliament, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and others.

In that spirit, my delegation wishes to add to our humanitarian petition to end the blood-bath in El Salvador a draft resolution, which we conveyed yesterday to the President of the Security Council.

Bearing in mind the importance of preserving the peace process begun by Esquipulas II and the holding on time of the next presidential summit, we believe the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the OAS, beyond their laudable work in all aspects of the Central American conflict, should use, or continue to use, their good offices to guarantee the holding of the coming Central American summit scheduled for early December. Their participation, and that of other countries truly interested in promoting peace in Central America - whether or not they have been involved in past peace-making activities - would be a most important factor, especially now, at a time when the grave deterioration of the situation in El Salvador poses a serious threat to the Central American peace process, which calls for most effective assistance by the international community in the search for a solution to the conflict.

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While we urge a halt to the war as the essential condition for peace in El Salvador, we also vigorously call for social and economic justice, which will reduce inequalities and restore the elementary human dignity of the people of that country.

It is urgently necessary to end the war, but that is not enough. War negates peace, but the end of war does not fully restore genuine peace. Peace is not only the absence of war, although that is a necessary condition for peace; peace means living a free and decent life, with respect for human moral values and for the self-determination and sovereignty of peoples. Peace means respect for life and physical well-being. It means respect for human rights.

Although we call for a cease-fire and an end to the war in El Salvador, we cannot overlook the fact that it is essential to establish a more human and more socially just system in that country.

We believe that, as the Esquipulas II agreement of 7 August 1987 states, we must all

"take up fully the historical challenge of forging a peaceful destiny for Central America",
committing ourselves

"to the struggle for peace and the elimination of war",
and making

"dialogue prevail over violence and reason over hatred". (A/42/521, p. 3)

I should like to conclude by echoing the message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to the Society of Jesus, as follows:

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"Having been informed of the horrendous killing in El Salvador of six Jesuit fathers, I wish to convey to your society, my feelings of great sorrow as I share the grief of the entire Society of Jesus and the relatives of the victims. At the same time, I pray to Our Lord for their souls, begging that this sacrifice will not prove to have been in vain, but will be the seed of brotherly love and harmony for the martyred country of El Salvador."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Nicaragua for his kind words addressed to me.

The representative of El Salvador has asked to speak, and I call on him.

Mr. CASTAÑEDA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): My statement was very cautious, restrained and constructive, but I cannot remain silent after what I have heard here, after such insolence from the representative of a Government that is afraid to confront the freely expressed will of its own people. That Government is putting up a smoke-screen while making a ferocious attack on my country, helping irregular forces, flouting the most fundamental principles governing the international community, violating all the agreements to which it has subscribed and acting in an irresponsible, unrestrained way in speaking about the internal affairs of another State.

Under its Constitution, my country is required to respect human rights. That is a commitment which we shall honour, not only because it is enshrined in our Constitution, but because it is the vocation of the people and Government of El Salvador.

Very painful events have occurred in my country in recent days. How many people have died as a result of the weapons which have been brought in from Nicaragua? Nicaragua is feeding aggression against my country, and it is that aggression that I have come to the Council to denounce.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): It is with profound regret that I have to speak to denounce as baseless the many charges made by the representative of Nicaragua against the United States. It is unfortunate that he appeared in his long and inflammatory discourse somehow to be laying the foundation for trying to justify the actions of his Government, so clearly involved in interfering in the internal affairs of El Salvador.

The FMLN's war on the democratically elected Government of El Salvador has escalated dramatically. The Governments of Nicaragua and Cuba have made this possible by organizing, as we have seen here on the screen, the massive rearming of the FMLN with sophisticated Soviet-source weaponry, now including SA-7 missiles.

We are astounded at the Sandinistas' reckless, dangerous and inexcusable escalation of the conflict in El Salvador, which can only contribute to the prolongation of violent confrontation. The war in El Salvador, as clearly evidenced, is produced in Managua. The Sandinistas, in flagrant violation of the commitments they undertook in the Esquipulas and Tela peace agreements, continue to resupply the FMLN, with the support of Cuba, under the auspices of FMLN commanders located in Managua.

One must ask what the Sandinista Government is trying to accomplish. In recent months the Sandinistas have suspended a cease-fire within Nicaragua. They have moved large numbers of troops to their border with Honduras, and they have introduced a new generation of weapons into the conflict in El Salvador.

The Government of Nicaragua clearly wants to focus attention in Central America on military conflict, rather than on its own electoral processes. The Sandinistas are clearly violating the Esquipulas and Tela Accords in shipping arms and supplying weaponry to the FMLN. We appeal urgently to the Government of

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Nicaragua and to those who are supplying the suppliers to abide by the spirit of the agreements.

Let there be no mistake: the United States supports the process of democratization and peace enshrined in the Esquipulas agreements. Those agreements offer a workable procedure for establishing a truly stable and lasting peace in Central America and a better life for the region's many victims of war and economic deprivation. The economic, military and humanitarian assistance the United States provides to El Salvador is aid directed to a constitutionally elected Government in support of the peace process and used to offset guerrilla damage and attacks on the economy and infrastructure.

Concerning aid to the Nicaraguan resistance, the United States position is crystal clear. The United States has ceased all lethal aid to the Nicaraguan resistance, and we are in compliance with the Esquipulas process. Indeed, the Tela Accords specifically allows for the provision of humanitarian assistance.

The Government of Nicaragua has acted in exactly the opposite manner. Nicaragua aids an insurrectionist group whose political representatives received less than 4 per cent of the vote and which has returned to fighting a constitutionally elected Government, in direct violation of the peace process. Nicaragua's aid to the insurgents is not only military in nature but is also perpetuating the worst kind of inhumane aid - the abetting of guerrilla terrorism that is resulting in the tragic loss of more lives.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

That is no way to promote a peace process. The world and the Salvadoran insurgents finally must recognize and respect the democratically elected Government if there is to be any peace and order. That is why we continue to support the Government of El Salvador - so that democracies can survive. The United States stands by its commitment to support the democratically elected Government of El Salvador in its struggle against the Sandinista-supported violent and terrorist tactics of the FMLN.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I now call on the representative of Nicaragua.

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): We have at last heard from the representative of the country that is behind the Central American crisis. It is good that it should speak in this forum, where it bears a responsibility that is hard to shirk. The provision of arms - which I am not inventing - is neither a hypothetical truth nor a pretext, but has been confirmed and recognized by the Government of the United States itself, which is responsible for 50,000 deaths in Nicaragua and 70,000 in El Salvador.

It is good that responsibilities are being clarified, but obviously I must call attention to the fact that it is precisely the inveterate arms suppliers in Central America who are the ones drawing attention to that issue. I believe that the history and the facts are there for all to see. We can all see the reality. I am not inventing anything here, nor am I resorting to rhetoric to justify my position. The fact is that the United States itself has acknowledged its eight years of warfare against my country, in which it has armed and managed the counter-revolutionary forces. Those are facts, and not rhetoric.

Another curious thing is that he should come here to discuss the Nicaraguan elections, when he represents a country that has been seeking to interfere in the

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electoral process of my country by publicly acknowledged financial backing of the opposition.

Finally, the fundamental point of my statement - and the whole Council, including the representative of the United States, has understood this - is that I wish to draw attention to a situation and to reaffirm that one cannot play with external theories concerning the crisis nor deny each country's responsibility in it. That was the nucleus of my statement.

When I speak of internal issues I am referring to the United States, whose actions in Central America can be considered not as an external factor but as a cause of destabilization, both in the region and within each of the Central American countries. The United States is behind all of the dictatorships, which have never been concerned by the relentless exploitation of the Central American peoples, so it bears a large share of the responsibility for that problem.

However, the intention of my statement - and I am sure you have understood this - was also to appeal for peace, an agreed cease-fire, an effective, immediate and substantial dialogue, as well as genuine negotiations in which the foundations can be laid for a solution to the Salvadoran conflict.

I also appeal to the Government of the United States to act in a manner consistent with what, until very recently, were the glimmers of peace in Central America. We are all struggling together so that the situation will not overwhelm the current political, economic, social and cultural life of Central America. We appeal to the United States to contribute to and encourage the opportunities for Central Americans themselves to solve their own problems and reach agreement amongst themselves, because in truth, when all is said and done, despite all the contradictions, the conflicts and crises, the roots that unite our peoples are very

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deep, and because, as I have said many times in my various statements here in the United Nations, that which unites us is much stronger than that which can separate us.

That was the spirit of my statement, which is a reflection of the position of the Nicaraguan Government. We would hope that, also in that spirit, the United States will at long last understand that the peoples have their own destiny, that they are not merely reflections in a mirror nor the mere by-products of a country's foreign policy - however large that country may be - and that, in the final analysis, injustice is always at the root of any crisis. But at the heart of every hope lies a hidden possibility, a reality that tomorrow we may begin to lay the foundations and principles of peace, as well as the future opportunities for all Central Americans who wish to live in peace.

It is not enough for the United States to make declarations after the the Tela accords that the Contras will be demobilized not by 5 December but only after the elections. It is not for that country to make those connections, because it has no right to do so. No one gave it the right to say so. We must all show respect, and I have not made an inflammatory speech at all. Perhaps it is inflammatory to the representative of the United States to call things by their name and to refer to the facts of the case rather than to spurious and deliberately mystifying effects. When it is said that the Contras will not be demobilized until after the elections, that is plain interference in Nicaragua's domestic politics; it is a clear violation of the agreement between the Central American Presidents and a clear obstacle to the peace process in Central America.

However, I conclude by appealing for reason, rationality, and the possibility that all of us together, under the ecumenical wing of the United Nations, can work to find the path to peace in Central America.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be determined in consultation with members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

